

BEARING ARCHIVAL WITNESS TO EURO-AMERICAN VIOLENCE  
AGAINST CALIFORNIA INDIANS, 1847-1866: DECOLONIZING NORTHERN  
CALIFORNIA INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

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CALIFORNIA INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

A Project

by

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## ABSTRACT

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### BEARING ARCHIVAL WITNESS TO EURO-AMERICAN VIOLENCE AGAINST CALIFORNIA INDIANS, 1847-1866: DECOLONIZING NORTHERN CALIFORNIA INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

by

Kimberly A. Johnston-Dodds

**Statement of the Problem:** Most Californians are ignorant of events that destroyed lives and livelihoods of California's Indigenous Peoples around the time of statehood. Through digitized images of primary sources, this project documents how Euro-Americans in California used militias and independent companies to eradicate Indigenous Peoples within the state. A literature review provides background for the project, covering American Indian historiography, themes of colonization and decolonization, California Indian historiography, and the role that public history and archives play in creating new participatory historical narratives.

**Sources of Data:** Published and unpublished primary and secondary sources were reviewed in repositories throughout Northern California including county archives, historical societies, museums, public libraries, and the California State Library. Types of materials reviewed were newspaper articles, federal government documents, state government documents, muster rolls, unpublished manuscript collections, dissertations, masters' theses, national and state park historical reports, and published works such as books, historical society journal articles and publications. For this project, digital images of key primary source documents are organized chronologically into annotated timelines covering the period of 1847 to 1866. Sixteen northern California counties are represented: Butte, Del Norte, El Dorado, Humboldt, Klamath, Lassen, Mendocino, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Shasta, Sierra, Siskiyou, Tehama, Trinity, and Yuba.

**Conclusions Reached:** This project is a public history that contributes to efforts to decolonize Northern California Indian historiography. Newspaper accounts reveal violent activities against California Indians in sixteen counties within a fifteen-year period. Rosters compiled from state records show at least 4,899 names attached to fifty-four militia or independent company units supported by the Governor and the Legislature. Authors recounting atrocities perpetrated against California Indigenous Peoples in the newspaper articles and government documents typically used euphemistic language to describe the brutality of their actions. This project will be posted to an internet site where information about Euro-American violence against California's Indigenous Peoples will be accessible to the public.

\_\_\_\_\_, Committee Chair  
Lee Simpson, Department of History

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

## PREFACE

One spring day, as I was walking to my job in downtown Sacramento, I saw a disheveled African American man, sitting on the curb at the bus stop, engrossed in an animated conversation with an unseen force. He had two big plastic bags with him that contained personal effects and clothing. As I walked quickly past him, the gentleman passionately said to the invisible force: “*Everybody has a history, everybody has a past, do you know what I’m saying?!*” I stopped dead in my mental tracks, but kept on walking to work. I thought about him all day. His indictment moved me deeply. I have often thought about him since.

*Everybody has a history; everybody has a past.* But not everybody’s history and past are recognized, honored, or respected. What is considered “evidence” of history to historians, anthropologists, educators or others is not always found in documents that can be verified as “true,” or “legal.” For California Indigenous Peoples<sup>1</sup>, the “evidence” of their “history” has often been discarded, destroyed or hidden away – in essence, silenced. When documentary “evidence” does exist in governmental institutions in California, on a practical level it is inaccessible, housed in miles of cardboard boxes and microfilm in vaults or on shelves in such places as the California State Library and California State Archives in Sacramento.

Public historian Denise Meringolo in an April 2009 blog posting entitled “Bearing Witness: Revisiting Public History as Service” observed:

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<sup>1</sup> The terms Indigenous Peoples, Native Peoples, Native American, California Indians, and American Indian will be used interchangeably based upon their use by the authors and scholars in their works cited and examined in the following chapters.

Public historians are indeed in a unique position to hear and echo the needs of diverse publics, and we have a clear understanding that our work serves a larger political purpose. Our collaborative form of scholarly inquiry allows us to bear witness to pressing social issues, and our work helps lend legitimacy to the voices of vulnerable or under served communities.<sup>2</sup>

My interest in bearing witness to Euro-American violence against California Native Peoples evolved from three pivotal experiences: writing a report in 2002 entitled *Early California Laws and Policies Related to California* at the request of State Senator John Burton; visiting California tribal communities throughout California as part of California State Library initiatives to work with California tribal libraries and communities; and managing a historical document digitization project about California Indian history sponsored by the California State Library.

The first important component to this thesis project arose from my employment as a senior researcher and policy analyst at the California Research Bureau, California State Library.<sup>3</sup> I conducted research and wrote a report entitled *Early California Laws and Policies Related to California Indians* at the request of Senator John Burton in 2002. The report provides four examples of early State of California laws and policies that

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<sup>2</sup> “Bearing Witness: Revisiting Public History as Service” posted by Denise Maringolo, April 3, 2009; ncph 2009 Conference Blog, <http://ncph2009.blogspot.com/2009/04/bearing-witness-revisiting-public.html>, accessed on September 8, 2009.

<sup>3</sup> CRB provides non-partisan research and information services to the Legislature, Governor’s Office, Cabinet level and other constitutional officers. The California State Library serves as the central reference and research library for state government, provides assistance to local libraries, and collects and preserves California historical materials. It is important to note that the State Library/CRB is a state agency mostly considered an informational institution by California Natives and the public, in contrast to a regulatory agency such as the California Indian Gaming Commission, or a state agency with a long history of conflicted relations with California Natives such as the California Department of Transportation (Caltrans). I worked at CRB from January 2001 to the end of January 2008. From February 2008 up to the time of this writing, I have been a Native American Liaison in the Native American Liaison Branch at Caltrans.

significantly impacted California's Indigenous peoples lives and livelihoods in devastating ways. The research assignment exposed me to evidence of state supported Euro-American violence against California Native Peoples during the 1850s-1860s of which I was previously unaware.<sup>4</sup>

During 2003 to 2005, while still at the State Library, I worked extensively on Native American initiatives that attempted to remedy the fact that materials then in use in most California public schools, libraries, parks and museums did not accurately reflect historical and contemporary information about California Native Peoples. This fact was documented through multiple avenues.<sup>5</sup> One key effort, supported by intermittent federal funding, found me traveling with another CRB staff member, research librarian Susan Hanks,<sup>6</sup> to over twenty-five counties, to meet with forty-two local tribal offices, libraries, education centers, and/or cultural centers, and inter-tribal organizations. Our purpose was to initiate collaborative dialogue to identify information needs, locate appropriate resources, and then develop new resources based on those needs and concerns communicated to us by California Natives. In tandem with these meetings, we visited an additional fifty-one county and city public libraries, parks, and museums in twenty-seven

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<sup>4</sup> The report may be found at <http://www.library.ca.gov/crb/02/14/02-014.pdf>.

<sup>5</sup> In 2001, the California State Legislature and the Governor recognized this fact passing and enacting Senate Bill 41 in an attempt to rectify the situation. [http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/pub/01-02/bill/sen/sb\\_0001-0050/sb\\_41\\_bill\\_20011014\\_chaptered.pdf](http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/pub/01-02/bill/sen/sb_0001-0050/sb_41_bill_20011014_chaptered.pdf), accessed on October 10, 2009.

<sup>6</sup> At the time, Susan Hanks was a research librarian at CRB, having over 20 years of public library experience prior to state civil service. Currently, she is a Library Program Consultant at the State Library, and past president of the American Indian Library Association. With extremely limited resources, she continues to work at the state and national level to provide library services and resources to tribal libraries and communities.



counties throughout California.<sup>7</sup> We visited facilities to view and to begin compiling recently published information about California Natives accessible in these public venues routinely visited by students, teachers, and the general public.

In every meeting with California Native Peoples, we encountered the theme of Euro-American violence against California Indians illustrated in specific examples communicated to us that have been passed down through families and communities through their oral histories and testimonies. As professional researchers our curiosity piqued. As state agency representatives learning about state-approved atrocities, we were compelled to find further evidence beyond the information described in the 2002 *Early Laws Report*.

Another important outcome of the listening process during our tribal visits was that the California State Library supported the development of the California Indians Historical Resources Project (CIHRP). This project involved the compilation of nineteenth century newspaper articles, federal and state government documents related to the early history of California Indians, and government relations. CIHRP was prepared as an educational resource to be distributed to California Tribes and public libraries by CD-ROM.

This thesis documents the historical research process of CIHRP, builds on the materials in the CIHRP by creating new web accessible resources, and reveals areas for

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<sup>7</sup> A combined list of all counties includes: Del Norte, Humboldt, Trinity, Modoc, Mendocino, Lake, Sonoma, Lassen, Plumas, Shasta, Butte, Alpine, Inyo, Mono, Sacramento, Calaveras, San Joaquin, Madera, Fresno, Kings, Tulare, Tuolumne, Kern, Los Angeles, Orange, San Bernardino, Riverside, San Diego.

further research. Chapter 1 provides a description of the project, and a discussion of future research that may be possible. Chapter 2 reviews background literature relevant to placing the project in historical context. Chapter 3 describes the “listening process,” the methodology observed in working with California Native communities, and research strategy utilized to collect the documents, build the timelines and create the website. Chapter 4 provides a summary of historical findings observed through the process of reviewing, organizing, and digitizing the primary source documents, along with evaluating the trends that emerged when creating the timelines. Appendices provide examples of materials prepared for the project website, including a bibliography of secondary sources reviewed, an exemplary historical timeline, images of primary source documents, and screenshots of the prototype website.

It is my sincere hope that this project builds on my previous professional experiences by helping to break a longstanding silence, and by providing an easily accessible internet forum to bear witness to the history of early California and its Indigenous Peoples.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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In addition, I have the privilege of knowing these strong women who I admire deeply for their unrelenting integrity and untiring efforts to make our communities better places: Cynthia Gomez; Raquelle “Kelly” Myers; Irenia Quitiquit; and Sandra Romero. I thank them for sharing their hope, laughter, and insights with me, along with their confidence in the spirit of this project.

Many librarians and staff at the California State Library collections shared their expertise and assistance in locating materials for use in this project. I especially thank Gary Kurutz, Curator of Special Collections, California State Library, for his cordial willingness to share his extensive knowledge of California history resources and materials. I list their names in appreciation of their individual and collective efforts: Christi Henningfeld; Janet Clemmensen; Kathy Correia; Michael Dolgushkin; Vicky Dulaney; Catherine Hanson-Tracy; Karen Paige; Dawn Rodrigues; Kelisha Skoglund;

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Preface.....	vi
Acknowledgments.....	xi
List of Tables .....	xiv
Chapter	
1. PROJECT DESCRIPTION .....	1
2. LITERATURE REVIEW .....	5
3. METHODOLOGY .....	49
4. FINDINGS .....	61
Appendix A. Project Bibliography .....	68
Appendix B. Example Timeline from 1853 to 1855.....	101
Appendix C. Example Newspaper Article .....	131
Appendix D. Example Federal Document .....	132
Appendix E. Example Roster .....	133
Appendix F. Website Template .....	136
References .....	137

## LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 3.1 General Active Listening Skills .....	48
Table 3.2 Project Timelines .....	53
Table 3.3 California Newspapers.. ..	54
Table 3.4 California Militia Units, 1854-1864.....	57
Table 4.1 Examples of Euro-American Renaming in Four California Counties .....	63

## Chapter 1

### PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Many narratives construct the history of California. Popular images on television highlight the more pleasant aspects of California, such as its beaches, coastal climate, surfer culture, Hollywood movie industry, or northern wine country. Professional historians have constructed narratives about numerous aspects of nineteenth century California using mostly pleasant terms. This project focuses another lens on early California history by documenting the violence perpetrated by Euro-Americans against California Indigenous Peoples around the time of statehood. Most California residents are ignorant of the events of the 1850s to 1860s that destroyed California Indigenous Peoples' lives and livelihoods. California school children are taught a California Indian history that emphasizes the Spanish mission period, with little attention to Euro-American settlement and violence. The timelines and digital materials presented in the project website should assist professional and public historians, California Indigenous Peoples, educators and school children to better understand this aspect of California's history.

This project is an important and unique contribution to public history because it will provide web access to thousands of primary source documents related to California Indian history including nineteenth century California newspaper articles, federal government documents, and State of California documents (1847 to 1866). Prior to this project, access to primary documents for this topic has been limited to small collections with annotations or interpretive commentary added with the re-published documents by a

variety of scholars across disciplines.<sup>8</sup> The general public has had very limited access to primary source documents about this period because they are scattered in many state and federal repositories, as well as in countless public and private archives.

### *Project Description*

This project makes available, in one venue, digital images of 1,812 historical California newspaper articles representing twenty-six publications and 448 federal government documents organized chronologically in annotated timelines. The exact content and creation of the timelines are further described in detail in the chapter on Methodology. Once prepared in digital format, these document images and timelines can be viewed electronically on an internet web site or on CD-ROM.

Digital copies of California documents are linked electronically to chronological timelines that bear witness to the magnitude of Euro-American violence against Northern California Indigenous Peoples in sixteen northern California counties from 1847 to 1866:

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<sup>8</sup> Examples include: Robert F. Heizer, ed., *They were Only Diggers: A Collection of Articles from California Newspapers, 1851-1866, on Indian and White Relations* (Ramona: Ballena Press, 1974); Robert F. Heizer, ed., *The Destruction of California Indians: A Collection of Documents from the Period 1847 to 1865 in Which are Described Some of the Things that Happened to Some of the Indians of California* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993); Norris A. Bleyhl, *Some Newspaper References Concerning Indians and Indian-White Relationships in Northeastern California Chiefly Between 1850 and 1920* (Chico: Regional Programs, California State University, Chico, 1979); Norris A. Bleyhl, *Indian-White Relationships in Northern California, 1849-1920 in Congressional Set of U.S. Public Documents* (Chico: Regional Programs, California State University, Chico, 1978); Clifford E. Trafzer, and Joel R. Hyer, eds., *Exterminate Them! Written Accounts of the Murder, Rape, and Enslavement of Native Americans during the California Gold Rush* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999); and Frank H. Baumgardner, *Killing for Land in Early California: Indian Blood at Round Valley, 1856-1863, Founding the Nome Cult Indian Farm* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2005).



Butte, Del Norte, El Dorado, Humboldt, Klamath, Lassen, Mendocino, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Shasta, Sierra, Siskiyou, Tehama, Trinity, and Yuba.<sup>9</sup>

In addition, based upon archival research and review of State of California Adjutant General military records and muster rolls, the project names and provides specific information about the officers and members of fifty-four militia units or independent companies supported by the State of California from 1854 to 1864. Timeline documents contain digital links to information for each militia unit. In California, state supported militia units or independent companies were used to systematically exterminate California Indians. The California documents illustrate how, in one state, Euro-American militia systems were used as political and social institutions to destroy Indigenous Peoples in North America.

#### *Future Directions*

Research for this project built upon previously developed material useful to the California Indians Historical Resources Project and focused primarily on collections of the California State Library, documents at the California State Archives, select treaties available in the National Archives Records Administration (NARA), and muster rolls. These documents form an excellent foundation for understanding Euro-American violence committed against California's Native Peoples around the time of statehood;

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<sup>9</sup> The twenty-seven original counties created in 1850 included: Butte, Calaveras, Colusi[a], Contra Costa, El Dorado, Los Angeles, Marin, Mariposa, Mendocino, Monterey, Napa, Sacramento, San Diego, San Francisco, San Joaquin, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, Shasta, Solano, Sonoma, Sutter, Trinity, Tuolumne, Yolo, and Yuba. Klamath, Nevada, and Placer counties were created in 1851. Sierra and Siskiyou counties were created in 1852. Humboldt County was created in 1853. Plumas County was created in 1853. Tehama County was created in 1856. Del Norte County was created in 1857. Lassen County was created in 1864. See generally, Owen C. Coy, *The Genesis of California Counties* (Berkeley: California Historical Survey Commission), 1923.

however, more historical interpretation and additional kinds of documents will strengthen this project.

Future research can focus on two efforts to further enhance the project. First, materials used for this project can be used as historiographic tools to write subsequent historical narratives. The documents are organized within timelines to aid the researcher or educator in understanding the chronology of events, patterns of violence across geography, and the creation of militia units throughout the state. Secondly, mining additional kinds of historical documents will provide a more complete picture of these events. For example, settler diaries and letters may contain descriptions of events also described in newspaper articles. The recounting of these events among California's Native Peoples, as oral narratives passed through several generations, remains common today. California Native Peoples' oral histories, either historical or modern, are a rich source of historical material that has not been fully considered. Official correspondence between local militias, the state government, and federal government should also provide a more complete picture of the development, organization and culture of California militias and independent companies.

## Chapter 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

The topic of Euro-American violence against California Indians can be discussed from many perspectives, each with its own literature. For example, this aggression might be viewed through the lens of frontier settlement and nation building during territorial expansion of the United States, or in the context of institutionalized violence perpetrated by government agencies, and further, within the expanded framework of indigenous rights and genocide. The following literature review focuses on the evolution of Indigenous scholarship from the “New” American Indian historiography to an emerging Indigenous Paradigm in American Indian historiography. This chapter then explores links between American Indian historiography, emerging Indigenous decolonizing strategies and related paradigms to public history as service.

#### *The “New” American Indian Historiography and American Indian Activism*

Several themes in American Indian historiography have evolved from the 1960s to the present. The dialogue between “traditional” academic historians and a new generation of American Indian scholars has centered on three key issues: 1) who is writing the history, and why? 2) sources of material for historiography such as written records (mostly by whites) versus oral histories (mostly by American Indians); and 3) the tension between “objective” non-political historical description by traditional historians versus “activism” of Indigenous scholars who desire to use history as a tool for improving conditions of their nations and communities historically colonized and dominated by Euro-American society.

## Wilbur Jacobs and the Turnerian School

Examining two essays authored by noted American Indian historian and Turnerian scholar Wilbur Jacobs, provides a useful starting point to study the evolution of the “New” Indian history from the mid-1960s forward.<sup>10</sup> Jacobs’ essay, “Frederick Jackson Turner: Turner’s ‘Significance of the Frontier in American History,’” first appeared in 1964 in *American West Magazine*. Jacobs observed that Turner’s “approach to history was distinctly modern in that it was nonliterary and sought to borrow from the scientific method what history could use. Turner was preoccupied with the massing of evidence, the sifting of data to reach objective conclusions, and the consideration of theoretical formulations and hypotheses.”<sup>11</sup> Jacobs describes Turner’s essays as “clear, unadorned historical interpretations, the product of a logical and questioning mind,” exploring “western development not as a romantic saga of American history but as a

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<sup>10</sup> Frederick Jackson Turner was an influential historian who wrote at the end of the nineteenth century about the frontier in American history. Turner created the “Frontier Thesis” which dominated American historiography for over fifty years. The Frontier Thesis asserts that the frontier helped to create unique differences between Americans and people from the European countries where most Americans originated. Historian and Turnerian scholar, Ray Allen Billington described the essence of the Frontier Thesis: “Americans have been endowed with certain traits (mobility, wastefulness, materialism, anti-intellectualism, the spirit of innovation, optimism, a faith in the idea of progress) and with certain basic values (a fervent belief in democracy and social mobility, an intensified nationalism) as a result of their pioneering heritage.” Ray Allen Billington, “The American Frontier Thesis, *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 23, no. 3 (May, 1960): 209-210. See generally, Wilbur R. Jacobs, *The Historical World of Frederick Jackson Turner* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968); Wilbur R. Jacobs, *On Turner’s Trail: 100 Years of Western History* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994); and Wilbur R. Jacobs, ed., *Frederick Turner Jackson’s Legacy: Unpublished Writings of American History* (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1965).

<sup>11</sup> Wilbur R. Jacobs, “Frederick Turner Jackson: Turner’s ‘Significance of the Frontier in American History,’” reprinted in *The Fatal Confrontation: Historical Studies of American Indians, Environment, and Historians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 138.

complex ‘process’ that needed to be understood in all its details.”<sup>12</sup> In a previously unpublished essay at the time of Jacob’s writing, Turner himself described this process as a four-part series of separate but related movements:

(1) the spread of settlement steadily westward, and (2) all the economic, social, and political changes involved in the existence of a belt of free land at the edge of settlement; (3) the continual settling of successive belts of land; (4) the evolution of these successive areas of settlement through various stages of backwoods life, ranching, pioneer farming, scientific farming, and manufacturing life.<sup>13</sup>

Jacobs points out that Turner complained that previous American historians wrote about the West merely in terms of an “annexation-of-territory history.” Turner described himself and his work in the following way:

Although my work has laid stress upon two aspects of American history --the frontier and the sections (in the sense of geographical regions, or provinces...), -- I do not think of myself as primarily either a western historian, or a human geographer. *I have stressed these two factors, because it seemed to me that they had been neglected, but fundamentally I have been interested in the inter-relations of economics, politics, sociology, culture in general, with the geographic factors, in explaining the United States of to-day by means of its history thus broadly taken.*<sup>14</sup> (Emphasis added)

While taking such a “broad view” of American history, Turner ignored the White Buffalo in the room, along with all the American Indians in his “new Wests” of the Frontier.<sup>15</sup> In this essay, Jacobs failed to identify Turner’s neglect of the existence of American Indians and the merit of including them in his broad view of American history.

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<sup>12</sup> Wilbur R. Jacobs, “Frederick Turner Jackson: Turner’s ‘Significance of the Frontier in American History,’” reprinted in *The Fatal Confrontation: Historical Studies of American Indians, Environment, and Historians*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 138.

<sup>13</sup> Wilbur R. Jacobs, “Frederick Turner Jackson: Turner’s ‘Significance of the Frontier in American History,’” 139.

<sup>14</sup> Wilbur R. Jacobs, “Frederick Turner Jackson: Turner’s ‘Significance of the Frontier in American History,’” 142.

<sup>15</sup> Wilbur R. Jacobs, “Frederick Turner Jackson: Turner’s ‘Significance of the Frontier in American History,’” 140.

Sometime between 1964 and 1973, Jacobs must have had a “conversion experience” before penning his second essay, titled “The Indian and the Frontier in American History – A Need for Revision.” His opening sentence states: “The proposition that I am setting forth here is that although much traditional Indian-white frontier history is of great significance in illuminating our knowledge of the past, there is a need to focus more of our attention on what might be called the Indian point of view.”<sup>16</sup> Current events of the late 1960s, cross-cultural experiences with indigenous peoples in Papua New Guinea and Australia, and further historical research during this time apparently affected Jacobs profoundly enough to advocate including “the Indian point of view” and Native perspectives in American Indian history during this period and throughout the rest of his career. Historian and former student, Albert Hurtado, in his introduction to *The Fatal Confrontation*, a representative collection of Jacobs’ essays, states:

When Jacobs first expressed these [“new western history”] ideas, however, some historians—especially those who cherished an unreconstructed Turnerian perspective—considered them to be novel revisions, or something worse. Jacobs was among the leaders of the movement, beginning in the 1960s, to make American history more inclusive of diverse ethnic groups. ‘You must see history from the Indians’ point of view,’ he used to tell his seminars. He insisted that the nation’s historical record must include its mistakes as well as its triumphs.<sup>17</sup>

In “The Indian and the Frontier in American History – A Need for Revision,” Jacobs argues that “[i]f we are going to tell the whole story of Indian-white relations, we

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<sup>16</sup> Wilbur Jacobs, “The Indian and the Frontier in American History – A Need for Revision,” reprinted in *The Fatal Confrontation: Historical Studies of American Indians, Environment, and Historians*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 92.

<sup>17</sup> Albert Hurtado, “Introduction” in *The Fatal Confrontation*, xiv-xv.

must make an all-out attempt to picture the clash of cultures so that there will be an understanding of both cultures, not just one.” He further states “[w]e need to ask ourselves if the history of the United States is only the history of white people, or if it also includes the American Indian, as well as other ethnic minorities.” While well intentioned, what is problematic with Jacobs’ statements (criticized by Indigenous scholars then and now), is first the assumption that there is *one* “Indian” culture to understand. Furthermore, American Indians are not just another “ethnic minority.”<sup>18</sup> In terms of his modified view of the Turnerian frontier theme, Jacobs states

by basing our research on documentary evidence, American historians, including specialists in frontier history, have often tended to assume that the history of America is largely a function of white culture alone. My purpose here is to refute that assumption; indeed, the Turnerian theme of progress and development as an explanation of frontier advance is largely an interpretation of Euro-American white history of political party changes and the evolution of sectional characteristics and national ideals.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> This line of reasoning fosters a flawed question that was on the lips of Americans in the 1970s during the Indian self-determination movement, and in California as recently as the past two election cycles with the current Governor’s demand for the state’s “fair share” from Indian gaming revenues. The question: is it fair, or even legal, for the federal government to provide special privileges and protections to Native Americans that are not available to other citizens, particularly other minority groups? Native Americans would agree with law professor and federal Indian law scholar Brenda Jones Quick’s unequivocal response: “Certainly, [because] the fatal flaw exists in the question rather than in the answer.” Jones Quick points out that

The statement makes the assumption that American Indians are granted special protections and privileges by Congress, not afforded others, simply because they are an ethnic minority. Nothing could be more inaccurate. While there are laws to protect the disenfranchised among the American population, in particular minorities, and these laws may benefit American Indians because of the fact that they have suffered from discrimination, the special treatment to which only Indians are entitled is not the result of their minority status; rather the laws enacted for the benefit of the nation’s indigenous peoples are the result of the political status they hold with the federal government.

See Brenda Jones Quick, “Special Treatment is Fair Treatment for America’s Indigenous Peoples,” *Michigan State University Law Review* 3 (Fall 1997): 783-784.

<sup>19</sup> Wilbur R. Jacobs, “The Indian and the Frontier in American History – A Need for Revision”, 92.

As a tenured professor and recognized historian, Jacobs' departure from the ranks of traditional frontier historians was seminal; perhaps even considered an activist stance in that era and culture.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, his metamorphosis strengthened over the next two decades and influenced a new generation of professors tenured in the 1980s, one of whom is Patricia Nelson Limerick, who has been lauded and criticized for her "presentist" approach to the historiography of the West, which Daniel Worchester articulated as an attempt to establish the continuity of western history by "the juxtaposition of contemporary developments with those of the past." The main criticism at the time was that her approach abdicates objectivity "in the interest of making history speak to contemporary issues."<sup>21</sup>

During the mid-1960s to 1970s, in tandem with Jacobs' transformation, American Indian scholars and activists joined their voices to the writing of Indigenous history. A national resurgence of ethnic pride, evidenced by the Red Power Movement and characterized by the occupation of Alcatraz (1969-1971), led Native American activists to document their own historical perspectives. Concurrently, federal, multi-agency Indian policy provided much needed resources that went directly to Tribes to advance self-determination.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> See generally, Wilbur R. Jacobs, ed., *Frederick Turner Jackson's Legacy: Unpublished Writings of American History* (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1965); Wilbur R. Jacobs, *The Historical World of Frederick Jackson Turner* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968); and Wilbur R. Jacobs, *On Turner's Trail: 100 Years of Western History* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994).

<sup>21</sup> See Donald Worster and others, "The Legacy of Conquest, by Patricia Nelson Limerick: A Panel of Appraisal," *Western Historical Quarterly* XX, no. 3 (August 1989): 303-322; 312.

<sup>22</sup> See generally, Joane Nagel, *American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Red Power and the Resurgence of Identity and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); George Pierre Castile, *To Show Heart: Native American Self-Determination and Federal Indian Policy, 1960-1975* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998); Thomas Clarkin, *Federal Indian Policy in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, 1961-*



### **American Indian Historical Society and *The New Series of The Indian Historian***

Emerging Native American self-determination and renewal inspired the December 1967 publication of *The New Series of The Indian Historian* by the American Indian Historical Society. The groundbreaking inaugural issue included an impressive list of thirty-nine American Indian scholars, from the disciplines of anthropology, history, geography and others as contributing editors.<sup>23</sup> In announcing its editorial policy, the Editorial Board emphasized:

These pages are open to any opinion, if that opinion is responsible and the points raised are properly authenticated. These pages are open to scholarly articles in the fields of anthropology, archaeology, history, geography, literature, art, social sciences, ethnology, education, and current affairs as they concern the past, present and future of the American Indian. These pages are wide open to the opinions, contributions and narratives of Indian historians, leaders, educators, and scholars. We believe keenly that there must be the broadest discussion, representing all conceivable points of view, on any subject of interest to Indian people.<sup>24</sup>

The Editorial Board also stated that, “*The Indian Historian* does not engage in politics. An equal space will be granted to any opinion, but the opposite opinion must also receive recognition in the same way. Let The People decide for themselves what is true and what is false, what is right and what is wrong.”<sup>25</sup>

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1969 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001); and Christopher K. Riggs, “American Indians, Economic Development, and Self-Determination in the 1960s,” *The Pacific Historical Review* 69, no. 3 (August 2000): 431-463.

<sup>23</sup> The list included such notable scholars as: Warren L. D’Azevedo, Lowell John Bean, William Bright, John Caughey, Alvin Josephy, Jr., Alfred Kidder, Jr., Nancy Oestreich Lurie, Phil C. Orr, James J. Parsons, Carl Sauer, Edward Spicer, Omer Stewart, William C. Sturtevant, Sol Tax, Adan Treganza, Ruth Underhill, and Wilcomb Washburn. *The Indian Historian* 1, no. 1 (December 1967).

<sup>24</sup> *The Indian Historian* 1, no. 1 (December 1967): 4.

<sup>25</sup> *The Indian Historian* 1, no. 1 (December 1967): 4.

From its inception, *The Indian Historian* placed a strong emphasis on correcting inaccurate histories about American Indians contained in school textbooks, and advocated for better educational opportunities for American Indians. By March 1969, the Editorial Board of *The Indian Historian*, and the American Indian Historical Society “formulated plans for a national Convocation of American Indian Scholars to take place at Princeton University a year later in March 1970.”<sup>26</sup> Supported by the Ford Foundation, approximately 200 Indian and non-Indian scholars participated in the four day proceedings, including thirty-six Native college students.<sup>27</sup> The topics debated included American Indian philosophy, the 1968 Indian Civil Rights Act, tribal autonomy, Native American Studies programs, Native arts in America, the American Indian in American history and in textbook literature.<sup>28</sup>

At the First Convocation, the editor of *The Indian Historian*, Jeanette Henry (Eastern Cherokee), organized and moderated a session entitled “The American Indian in American History.” Recognized as a Native historian, intellectual and activist, Henry

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<sup>26</sup> “An Interdisciplinary Event in the Exploration of Knowledge,” Alfonso Ortiz, “Call for the First Convocation of American Indian Scholars,” *The Indian Historian* 2 no. 3 (Fall 1969): 4-5.

<sup>27</sup> The roster of participants is a veritable Who’s Who of a generation of Native intellectuals and activists who have and continue to influence current Native/Indigenous academics and intellectuals. Examples include Vine Deloria, Philip Deloria, William Demmert, Patricia Ann Dixon (History professor, Palomar College; Vice Chair, Pauma Band of Mission Indians) John Echohawk (lawyer and founder of Native American Rights Fund), Frank LaPena (internationally recognized Wintun/Pit River California artist, retired CSUS professor), Bea Medicine (Native anthropologist), N. Scott Momaday, Alfonso Ortiz, Simon Ortiz, and Dick West, Jr. (W. Richard West, Jr., 1971 Stanford Law School graduate, former Director of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, in Washington, D.C.).

<sup>28</sup> See generally, *Indian Voices: The First Convocation of American Indian Scholars* (San Francisco: The Indian Historian Press, Inc., 1970). One of the many significant consequences of the convocation and other events during 1970 was the birth of the National Indian Education Association. The association continues today as the oldest and largest association (and collective advocate) devoted to “help[ing] our Native children excel academically while being grounded in their unique languages and cultures. <http://www.niea.org/profile/history.php>, accessed on September 9, 2009.

discussed American historiography from a Native perspective in her published presentation, choosing the following excerpts from Turner's famous essay:

Up to our own day American history has been in a large degree the history of the colonization of the Great West. *The existence of an area of free land*, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development...In this advance (western expansion), the frontier is the outer edge of the wave—the meeting point between savagery and civilization...The most significant thing about the American frontier is, that it lies at the *hither edge of free land*...(Emphasis added to original quotation)

The frontier army post, serving to protect the settlers from the Indians, has also acted as a wedge to open the Indian country...Every river valley and Indian trail became a fissure in Indian society, and so that society became honeycombed.<sup>29</sup>

Henry perceived Turner's view as a "philosophy of imperialist expansion at the expense of the Native peoples," concluding that "if one wishes to *understand why* the textbooks are filled with misconceptions and distortions, we must look to the philosophy of historiography developed by the historians of the United States."<sup>30</sup> This conclusion logically harkened back to Wilbur Jacobs' analysis of Turnerian historiography from a non-Native perspective. However, Henry's observation, as a Native intellectual, differed in that it was delivered in an "activist" forum - - a convocation convened during the occupation of Alcatraz - rather than in a non-Native-- dominated Western Historical Association conference.

In 1971, the American Indian Historical Society organized another meeting of Indian scholars. The Second Convocation of Indian Scholars convened in Aspen,

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<sup>29</sup> Quoted in Jeanette Henry, "The American Indian in American History," in *Indian Voices: The First Convocation of American Indian Scholars* (San Francisco: The Indian Historian Press, Inc., 1970), 109.

<sup>30</sup> Quoted in Jeanette Henry, "The American Indian in American History," in *Indian Voices: The First Convocation of American Indian Scholars* (San Francisco: The Indian Historian Press, Inc., 1970), 109.

Colorado, and included Indians only, with fewer participants than the previous year. During that same year, *The Indian Historian*'s Editorial Board grew to twenty-one members, changing the "Contributing Editors" to "Contributors" commencing in the Spring 1971 issue. The contributors were reduced to seventeen, all of whom were anthropologists, linguists or geographers with the exception of ethnohistorians Bernard L. Fontana, Charles Hudson, and Wilcomb Washburn.<sup>31</sup> In the late 1977 publication, eleven recognized contributors included only anthropologists or linguists, with the lone ethnohistorian, Bernard L. Fontana remaining on the list.<sup>32</sup>

### **Traditional Academia's Response to Emerging Indigenous Scholarship**

During this time, academic institutions and organizations throughout the country responded to the emergence of new Indian historical scholarship by holding conferences and symposia to discuss the writing of Indian history *without* Indian voices. For example, Colorado State University hosted conferences on the topic in 1972 and 1974, privately publishing only a very abbreviated record of the 1974 proceedings. "Part One: Non-Indian Viewpoints of Indian-White Contact," of this publication contained six of the total nine essays of the publication. The perspectives ranged from traditional frontier western exposés in the Turnerian tradition, such as John Ewer's "Indian Views of the White Man Prior to 1850: An Interpretation," to a recounting of why fur traders expected

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<sup>31</sup> *The Indian Historian* 4, no. 1 (Spring 1971). Further research is needed to determine the motivation of the Editorial Board, and circumstances surrounding the reduction in numbers and editorial change in the designation of contributors. Linguist William Bright and geographer Carl Sauer attended.

<sup>32</sup> *The Indian Historian* 10, no. 4 (Fall 1977). In recounting the history of the make up of editorial board of *The Indian Historian* from 1967 to 1977, the author relied on the issues published during that time in her personal collection. *The Indian Historian* ceased publication sometime in the early 1980s; the history and circumstances surrounding its cessation are beyond the scope of this literature review.

“Indian giving” from Indians.<sup>33</sup> Only well-known American Indian scholars Vine Deloria, Jr. (Standing Rock Sioux) and R. David Edmunds (Cherokee) authored two of the remaining three essays published in “The Indian Response” section. The editor of the volume, Daniel Tyler, a non-Indian academic, summarized the two days of dialogue from the remaining American Indian participants in less than five pages of text. Interestingly, these comments came from the participants who held either non-academic positions or taught at community and tribal colleges.<sup>34</sup> Tyler was initially candid about his criteria for selecting essays written in Indian voices, stating: “[w]hat is represented herein is the editor’s view of that portion of the discussion which relates to the concept of cultural Weltanschauung (world view) and how, in particular, the Indian perception of the world affects their writing of history. The editor has selected those contributions which seemed most appropriate to the theme, but this in no way implies that what was left out of the book is of lesser quality.”<sup>35</sup> (Emphasis added) However, he continues:

It is important for the reader [of the compilation] to bear in mind that Indian authors were purposely excluded from this [first] section. Ewers, Miller, Berthrong, Munkres, Cash, and Baird were expected to use traditional types of documentary source material, and they were expected to *pursue historical veracity in the best tradition* of western world historians. Although this volume

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<sup>33</sup> David Miller, “The Fur Men and Explorers Meet the Indians,” in Daniel Tyler, *Red Men and Hat Wearers: Viewpoints in Indian History* (Privately Published, 1976), 34.

<sup>34</sup> Tyler is an emeritus professor who authored *The Silver Fox of the Rockies: Delphus E. Carpenter and Western Water Compacts* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003). In writing the book, Tyler had access to 90 boxes of Carpenter’s personal and legal papers that have been subsequently donated to the Colorado State University Water Resources Archives by Carpenter’s grandsons. [http://comment.colostate.edu/index.asp?page=display\\_article&article\\_id=933750046](http://comment.colostate.edu/index.asp?page=display_article&article_id=933750046), accessed December 16, 2004; page accessed again on September 9, 2009, and listed as an archived e-comment post. The collection has been processed and a finding aid is available on-line: *Guide to the Papers of Delph E. Carpenter and Family* (2005), <http://lib.colostate.edu/archives/findingaids/water/wdec.html>, accessed on September 9, 2009; Daniel Tyler, *Red Men and Hat Wearers: Viewpoints in Indian History* (Privately Published, 1976).

<sup>35</sup> Daniel Tyler, ed., *Red Men and Hat Wearers: Viewpoints in Indian History* (Privately Published, 1976), 2.

actually devotes more space to their point of view, the conference itself gave more time to the Indian speakers, who not only critiqued the formal papers, but also discussed in some detail the Indian view on a number of related subjects. Thus, the reader should weigh the *historical techniques* of these traditional historians against the *logic and worldview* of Indian commentators.<sup>36</sup> (Emphasis added)

Tyler's carefully constructed and ethnocentric assumptions come across as disingenuous. He suggests that scholars should give more credence to traditional historians' research methods over the Indians' worldview when telling their own history. His argument fails in that he judges the merits of Indian scholarship without providing equitable space in the publication for native historians to elaborate on those unique worldviews *in their own words*. Perhaps the voices contained in proceedings tapes or transcripts of "what was left out" still reside somewhere in an archive or special collection at Colorado State waiting to be heard...again.

Ethnohistorian Wilcomb E. Washburn (1915-1997) stands as another influential figure in American Indian historiography. As the volume editor for the Smithsonian's Handbook of North American Indians series volume, *History of Indian-White Relations*, completed and published in 1988, his editorship set the tone for subsequent scholarship, and echoed Tyler's ethnocentrism. From his position of academic, and political power and prestige within the halls of the Smithsonian Institution, Washburn promulgated his views of writing Indian history, separating scholarship from activism. Unfortunately, of the sixty contributors to the volume, only two were identified as Indian authors.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Daniel Tyler, ed., *Red Men and Hat Wearers: Viewpoints in Indian History*, 3.

<sup>37</sup> Wilcomb E. Washburn, ed., *History of Indian-White Relations*, vol. 4, *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1988), 700-702.

In earlier work, from 1967 to 1974, Washburn often contributed to *The Indian Historian*. In the 1970 Winter issue, Washburn wrote a short, but intriguing historical article entitled “The Society of American Indians,” perhaps presaging his conviction that an historian must never become an advocate, as voiced so vehemently in his later essay titled “Distinguishing History from Moral Philosophy and Public Advocacy.” (1987). In his 1970 *The Indian Historian* essay, Washburn provided a brief history of an early 20<sup>th</sup> century pan-Indian association, the Society of American Indians, created in 1911. The society initially characterized itself as “not an association organized for the purpose of antagonizing or opposing the efforts of the Government or of other agencies in their efforts in behalf of the Indian, but to aid every move tending toward race and national advancement.”<sup>38</sup> Washburn, while disclosing the paucity of historical primary written materials available at the time, made a point to emphasize that the society was created by Indian elites with divergent views and agendas that factionalized the organization, and ultimately caused its demise. He called on further historical research because he felt

[t]he story of the Society of American Indians is important not only because it tells us about the past history of an early national organization of American Indians but also because it tells us how present national organizations of American Indians may avoid some of the pitfalls which bedeviled this first pan-Indian body...It is a story worthy of a historian, and, hopefully, of an Indian historian. I invite the Indian readers of this journal to undertake the task.<sup>39</sup>

While Washburn appeared to be inviting Indian historians to investigate Indian histories in 1970, by the late 1980s he was deriding those historians, Indians included,

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<sup>38</sup> Quoted in Wilcomb E. Washburn, “The Society of American Indians,” *The Indian Historian* 3, no.1 (Winter 1970): 21.

<sup>39</sup> Wilcomb E. Washburn, “The Society of American Indians,” *The Indian Historian* 3, no.1 (Winter 1970): 23; Wilcomb E. Washburn, ed., *History of Indian –White Relations*, vol. 4, *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1988).

who also fostered activism. He especially despised those individuals who were “self-appointed Indian spokesmen.”<sup>40</sup> He articulated his strong views in a 1987 essay entitled “Distinguishing History from Moral Philosophy and Public Advocacy.” Washburn mandated that a clear delineation between academics and advocacy must be maintained when writing about Indian history, and Indian-White relations. One does not need a crystal ball to decipher his views:

Recent Indian history, in particular, is shrouded, or clouded, by the fog of war, the smoke of deliberate deception, and the coloring of special interest. Historical facts, to the extent they are used at all, are filtered through the ideological perspective of the writer. Since the elaboration of an ideological position is more a mental exercise than a search for factual knowledge, and since it requires assumptions about motives and purposes, Indian history has increasingly become a matter of assumptions and assertions rather than a catalog or analysis of factual truths...

Historians as activists march to a different tune and hear a different piper than historians as scholars...In the process of using history to promote non-historical causes, the enterprise of history is inevitably lost or cheapened. Ideological concepts replace specific facts. Action replaces thought. I am not one to decry activism. I enjoy a fight. I relish debate and advocacy. But the individual as advocate has different standards and obligations than the individual as historian. If the obligation to truth is not the first and most overriding obligation of the historian, then he is not a historian.<sup>41</sup>

With regard to Indians telling their pre-contact and/or post-contact cultural histories in their own voices or oral traditions, Washburn had this to say:

Since the Indian was never fully available for study by outsiders in the pristine pre-contact form...all historical study of the American Indian I would assert, is contact history. Those who decry the intrusion of the white presence in Indian history are often simply unwilling to recognize that Indian history is, for good or ill, shaped by the white presence, whether physically, in terms of European

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<sup>40</sup> Wilcomb E. Washburn, “Distinguishing History from Moral Philosophy and Public Advocacy,” in Calvin Martin, *The American Indian and the Problem of History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 93.

<sup>41</sup> Wilcomb E. Washburn, “Distinguishing History from Moral Philosophy and Public Advocacy,” 92, 95.



immigrants, or intellectually, in terms of Western historical or anthropological theories. Consideration *by Indians* of the Indian past *prior* to white contact must, of course, be excluded from this generalization, but *since* contact such consideration must be included in it, however much one may argue about the uniqueness of the Indians' view of their history.<sup>42</sup>

Washburn concluded by asserting "as an historian, I will accept nothing on religious faith, on ethnic tradition, or because of personal belief in the justice of a particular point of view. There is no place in the scholarly profession of history for such distorting lenses. History to me means a commitment to truth, however difficult to achieve, however contradictory it may be to our inherited beliefs or acquired convictions about how the world should be."<sup>43</sup> Washburn's tone clearly implies that American Indian history during pre-contact times could only have been validated by "outsiders" and not Native peoples themselves, and the content of the documents provided in this thesis project prove his point. The primary source documents included here do indeed reveal "the truth" of the impact of "white presence" upon California Indigenous peoples' homelands during the nineteenth century.

### **Donald Fixico and Devon Abbot Mihesuah**

Within the late 1980s' milieu of American Indian historiography in particular, and the academic debates surrounding "New" Western History in general, emerged two Native American academic and activist historians to influence the contemporary field of Native historiography: Donald Fixico and Devon Abbott Mihesuah. Donald Fixico (Shawnee, Sac & Fox, Muscogee Creek, Seminole) received his doctoral degree in

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<sup>42</sup> Wilcomb E. Washburn, "Distinguishing History from Moral Philosophy and Public Advocacy," 92.

<sup>43</sup> Wilcomb E. Washburn, "Distinguishing History from Moral Philosophy and Public Advocacy," 97.

history from the University of Oklahoma. Fixico used traditional historical methods in researching and writing *Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy, 1945-1960*. In addition, he relied on transcripts and audiotapes of interviews and oral histories of American Indians and government officials. Graduate student field workers conducted the interviews and oral histories during the 1960s and 70s under the auspices of the Doris Duke Indian Oral History Program. Others were conducted through various Presidential Library Oral History Programs (Truman, Kennedy, Johnson).<sup>44</sup>

In 1997, Fixico edited a collection of historiographical essays in a volume entitled *Rethinking American Indian History*. The book is divided into two sections, the first devoted to historiography and the latter addressing analysis and methodology. Included in the first section are concise overviews by James Axtell (“The Ethnohistory of Native America”), William T. Hagan (“The New Indian History”), and Glenda Riley (“The Historiography of American Indian and Other Western Women”). The second section includes contributions by Theda Purdue, Richard White, Angela Cavendar Wilson (Wahpetunwan Dakota) and Donald Fixico. Cavendar Wilson’s essay, “Power of the Spoken Word: Native Oral Traditions in American Indian History,” admonishes academic historians to look to native sources of oral history in addition to primary sources.

In his essay “Reconstructing Native American History,” Fixico provides an interesting historiography of how different methodologies within the discipline of history

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<sup>44</sup> Donald L. Fixico, *Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy, 1945-1960* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), 257-258.

(oral, environmental, biographical, ethnohistory, women's history, quantitative history, demographic and narrative history) when applied to American Indian history "have moved beyond narrative history, [or] simply telling a good story."<sup>45</sup> He surveys a number of methodologies used by various historians that he considers to be successful in departing from an exclusively linear narrative, for example: building cultural backgrounds to explain Indian behavior and response to Euro-Americans (R. David Edmunds); recording oral traditions, oral history and oratory (Richard Erdoes, Alfonso Ortiz, Colin G. Calloway); understanding the interconnection of the physical and spiritual reality of Native peoples (Antonia I. Castañeda); and studying the importance of the environment-tribal relationship (James H. Howard). Fixico argues that in order to provide a more complete understanding of American Indian history, scholars and others must think about "the Indian past as distinct communities with their own cultures and with their own historical relationships with other cultures and Indian communities."<sup>46</sup>

It is in Fixico's most recent work where increasingly audible strains of what Washburn would consider "activism" or advocacy occur. In *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World: American Indian Studies and Traditional Knowledge* (2003), Fixico provides provocative and contemplative essays about "Indian Thinking," particularly how American Indian circular philosophy, oral tradition and traditional knowledge get caught

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<sup>45</sup> Donald L. Fixico, "Methodologies in Reconstructing Native American History," in Donald L. Fixico, ed., *Rethinking American Indian History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 118-119.

<sup>46</sup> Donald L. Fixico, "Methodologies in Reconstructing Native American History," in Donald L. Fixico, ed., *Rethinking American Indian History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 119-12; 126.

within and are forced to respond to the linear bounds of previous American Indian histories. He observes

Typically, American Indian history, produced by linear scholars, is written from a “window” perspective “about Native Americans.” This characteristic is changing. Within this generation of scholarship since the 1980s, historians and insightful scholars are addressing the dynamics of cross-cultural experiences between Indians and whites. But what is needed is a new bridge of innovative theory and methodology to understand Native American history from an Indian and/or tribal perspective.<sup>47</sup>

In addition to forging innovative theories and methodologies, Fixico calls on historians to adhere to a professional code of ethics when considering, constructing, and writing American Indian history. He maintains “the most important ethical concern is for American Indian history to be included in the scope of the American experience, so that historians would encounter it as a part of their training in graduate school. Indian history should not be regarded as a special or exotic subfield to be pushed aside and ignored.”<sup>48</sup> In his writings published in academic venues, Fixico has communicated his concerns and possible remedies to historians within academic and scholarly forums. Arguably, his views fall within the growing continuum of revisionism rather than activism and advocacy.

While initially taking a similar path as Fixico to become an established academic historian, Devon Abbot Mihesuah (Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma/Chickasaw descent) developed a decidedly more militant voice about Indigenous academics as activists.

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<sup>47</sup> Donald L. Fixico, *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World: American Indian Studies & Traditional Knowledge*, (New York: Routledge, 2003), 24.

<sup>48</sup> Donald L. Fixico, “Ethics in Writing American Indian History,” in Devon A. Mihesuah, ed., *Natives and Academics: Researching and Writing about American Indians*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 90.

Mihesuah's 1993 book (based on her dissertation), *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851-1909*, is thoroughly researched and well-written. She used both written primary source materials and Native oral histories from the Oklahoma Historical Society's Living Legends Oral History Collection in the Indian Archives.<sup>49</sup>

In her contribution to the volume *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities* (2004), Mihesuah clearly articulates her views about giving back to Native communities where scholars obtain information to further their careers. She also advocates looking at the past through "history" to attempt to understand current Native issues and problems:

Contrary to the lifestyles of historians in academia, conditions for many Natives remain stark...poverty, racism, disease, frustration, and depression are common throughout many tribal nations. How many works of history actually analyze the perpetrators of colonialism in an attempt to ascertain how we have arrived at this point? How many history books and essays have tried to find solutions to these problems? What can we say is the usefulness of all these history books that focus on Natives?...Ironically, many of the "powerhouse" scholars have never met an Indian or visited tribal lands, illustrating the actuality that "highly educated" people can simultaneously be insulated from many of the realities of life. As a historian who has read hundreds of history works in my eighteen years of seriously studying "Indian history," and who also knows quite a few historians, I can think of only a few non-Native or Native historians who study past events truly with tribes' benefits in mind.<sup>50</sup>

Mihesuah and the contributing Indigenous authors, to varying degrees, look at the halls of the Academy as places of Eurocentric power that need to be decolonized,

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<sup>49</sup> Devon A. Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851-1909*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 170-177.

<sup>50</sup> Devon Mihesuah, "Should American Indian History Remain a Field of Study?" in Devon A. Mihesuah and Angela Cavender Willson, eds., *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 144.

reconfigured, and populated with Indigenous academics who are also activists. Mihesuah continues to call for broader institutional change, in contrast to Fixico's emphasis on changing minds and hearts first through intellectual exchange.

*Contextualizing the Indigenous Paradigm in American Indian Historiography: Anti-colonial Discourses of Cèsaire, Memmi, Fanon, Foucault and Said*

The writings of five liberation or anti-colonialist philosophers and polemicists create an important intellectual framework that current Indigenous scholars look to as a legitimate discourse that contributes to Indigenous research methodologies and decolonizing strategies.<sup>51</sup> Why does this body of work, in particular, resonate with American Indian scholars who are developing an Indigenous Paradigm in American Indian Historiography, as discussed later in this chapter? How does their work relate to the intent behind this thesis project?

To various degrees, the anti-colonial discourse of these five philosophers illuminates how European-constructed knowledge (mainly British, French and American – “Us”) about the rest of the planet (the Other – “Them”) has justified and legitimated the West's will to dominate and conquer non-Western peoples, in both historic and modern times.<sup>52</sup> Contemporary Indigenous intellectuals continue to rely on literary theorist

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<sup>51</sup> For purposes of discussion in this literature review, decolonization is defined as “the intelligent, calculated, and active resistance to the forces of colonialism that perpetuate the subjugation and/or exploitation of [Indigenous] minds, bodies, and lands, and it is engaged for the ultimate purpose of overturning the colonial structure and realizing Indigenous liberation.” According to the online resource, The Free Dictionary, a liberation movement “is a group organizing a rebellion against a colonial power (anti-imperialism) or seeking separation from a state for parts of the population that feel suppressed by the majority,” <http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/Liberation+movement>, accessed on November 13, 2009; Waziyatawin Angela Wilson (Dakota) and Michael Yellow Bird (Sahnish/Arikara and Hidatsa), eds., *For Indigenous Eyes Only: A Decolonization Handbook* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2005), 5.

<sup>52</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Edition, 2003), 6-7.

Edward Said's writings, along with the earlier works of Aimé Césaire, Albert Memmi, Franz Fanon, and Michel Foucault to create new conceptual frameworks and methodologies, to critique and resist colonizing forces, and to underpin their activism to decolonize the historical theories and methodologies created by non-Indigenous historians. Said, and other anti-colonialist works, support Indigenous criticisms that colonizers have written American Indian history using colonialist sources that perpetuate a Eurocentric historiography. This anti-colonialist body of work debunks, from the point of view of Indigenous scholars, the assertion that only "objective" non-political historical description by "traditional" historians is legitimate, or "the truth." Importantly, in an intellectual context, anti-colonialist discourse supports "activist" Indigenous scholars in their efforts to use history as a tool for improving the social and economic conditions of Indigenous nations within a dominant Euro-American culture.

While the works of these anti-colonialist philosophers inform the intent of this thesis project, the project takes their point of view one step further and "turns the table" on the colonizers' use of archival sources to create a dominant, Euro-centric historiography, particularly with regard to the Indigenous peoples of Northern California. While the collection's creators recognize that the primary sources contained in it were generated by Euro-Americans, the documents themselves provide evidence that the so-called "civilized" Anglo colonizers committed widespread violence against Northern California Indians. In fact, the perpetrators themselves authored many of the documents included in the project, describing their acts of violence in published newspaper accounts and reports to government officials. When evaluated as a comprehensive "archive" in

itself, the project evidences Euro-American violence against California Indians, thereby providing a tool to decolonize and foster a new discourse on Northern California Indian historiography. As discussed below, these five philosophers made significant intellectual contributions that place the violent deeds committed against Native Americans by Euro-Americans in an anti-colonialist context.

### **Césaire, Memmi and Fanon**

During the 1950s and 1960s, the French colonies of Martinique, Tunisia and Algeria experienced a wave of political unrest spawned by independence movements, and active revolution. Hailing from this geopolitical context, Césaire, Memmi, and Fanon wrote as militant liberation voices from the vantage point of the colonized and oppressed. Within the last three decades, an entire body of interdisciplinary literature has emerged, now known as post-colonial studies. Authors of this vast literature have analyzed, critiqued, and been inspired by Third World liberation philosophies, and Fanon's writings especially.<sup>53</sup>

In his manifesto, *Discourse on Colonialism* (1955) Césaire, a Martinican poet and Marxist polemicist, answers the question: What fundamentally is colonization?<sup>54</sup> To Césaire, colonialism is internalized within the colonizer's psyche as a destructive force:

“[C]olonization...dehumanizes even the most civilized man; that colonial activity, colonial enterprise, colonial conquest, which is based on contempt for

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<sup>53</sup> Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin in *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts* (London: Routledge, 2005) describe the history of the use of the term post-colonialism/postcolonialism (pp. 186-194). An analysis of post-colonialism and related analysis/critique of Fanon's writings is beyond the scope of this literature review. All of the Indigenous author/scholars whose works are explored herein would agree that colonization and colonialism continues, thus the term post-colonialism will not be used in this essay because “post” connotes colonialism has ended.

<sup>54</sup> Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1955, 1972, 2000), 32.



the native and justified by that contempt, inevitably tends to change him who undertakes it; that the colonizer, who in order to ease his conscience gets into the habit of seeing the other man as *an animal*, accustoms himself to treating him like an animal, and tends objectively to transform *himself* into an animal.”<sup>55</sup>

True “civilization” for Cèsaire is mutually exclusive of colonization: “between *colonization* and *civilization* there is an infinite distance; that out of all the colonial expeditions that have been undertaken, out of all the colonial statutes that have been drawn up....there could not come a single human value.”<sup>56</sup> Moreover, colonization caused the *opposite* of civilizing, creating a brutality and savagery in the colonizers, not the colonized, equaling a “bridgehead in a campaign to civilize barbarism from which there may emerge at any moment the negation of civilization, pure and simple.”<sup>57</sup> In *Discourse on Colonialism*, Cèsaire concludes that the only way to save both colonizer (Europe) and the colonized from all the wrongs of historical racism and domination was for the proletariat to revolt, a viable option considered by many in this politically volatile period.<sup>58</sup>

From the vantage point of a Jewish Tunisian in *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (1957), Alfred Memmi penetrates the consciences of what he considers two incarnations of the colonizer, one who refuses, and one who accepts colonialism. Memmi examines possible answers to a series of fundamental questions such as: Once cognizant of the benefits of his privileged position within colonization, will he accept such a position?

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<sup>55</sup> Aimè Cèsaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 41.

<sup>56</sup> Aimè Cèsaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 34.

<sup>57</sup> Aimè Cèsaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 40.

<sup>58</sup> Aimè Cèsaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 78.

Will he agree to be privileged, and to underscore the distress of the colonized?<sup>59</sup> He concludes that either version of colonizer lives in a privileged position in relation to the colonized:

“He must constantly live in relation to them, for it is this very alliance which enables him to lead the life which he decided to look for in the colonies; it is this relationship which is lucrative, which creates privilege...He thus appears doubly unjust...He is a privileged being and an illegitimately privileged one; that is, a usurper.”<sup>60</sup>

Memmi shows greater disdain towards the colonizer who refuses to bend to colonizing forces because ultimately such an ambiguous form of colonizer (nevertheless still a colonizer) loses touch with reality. Thus, in applying “motives he deems convenient [he] portrays the colonized according to his reconstruction. In short, he begins to construct myths...there is no way out except to assume a hidden, bolder, and nobler motive,” i.e. that of an oppressed colonized in an illegitimate fashion. Memmi argues that ultimately in the end, “while refusing the sinister, the benevolent colonizer can never attain the good, for his only choice is not between good and evil, but between evil and uneasiness.”<sup>61</sup>

In either constructing myths or deploying colonialism, Memmi contends that both types of colonizers falsify history, rewrite laws, and extinguish memories in order to succeed in transforming usurpation into legitimacy. Memmi stresses that such psychological and behavioral strategies are not merely intellectualizing, but a conscious

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<sup>59</sup> Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (New York: The Orion Press, 1957, 1965), 18.

<sup>60</sup> Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 7-9.

<sup>61</sup> Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 32, 42-43. One wonders if this is an internal angst that Memmi inflicted upon himself as well. He devotes a fair amount of the preface describing the ambiguities of being a Jewish Tunisian national, finding himself “one small notch above the Moslem on the pyramid which is the basis of all colonial societies.” xiv

choice as an entire way of life. In making such a choice, the colonizer “cannot help but approve discrimination and the codification of injustice...Everything leads him to these beliefs...the colonial situation manufactures colonialists, just as it manufactures the colonized.” The colonial arrangement also condemns the colonized to lose his memory because “the memory which is assigned him is certainly not that of his people.”<sup>62</sup>

In manufacturing and sustaining the colonial structure, the colonizer further creates a mythical portrait of the colonized: a lazy, weak, wicked, backward person with evil, thievish, and somewhat sadistic instincts. Such a being needs not only prodding or protection at times, but the colonizer needs protection from his banal instincts. Hence, the colonized’s mythical essence, as constructed by the colonizer, justifies and legitimates the colonizer’s oppressive forces. The colonizer can now describe the colonized in a series of negations (or what Edward Said later refers to as binary oppositions), never considering the colonized in a positive light.

In Memmi’s view, “the humanity of the colonized, rejected by the colonizer, becomes opaque.”<sup>63</sup> He draws the same conclusion as Cèsaire: the only option for the colonized is to revolt because “the colonial condition cannot be adjusted to; like an iron collar, it can only be broken; mere existence of the colonizer creates oppression and only the complete liquidation of colonization permits the colonized to be freed.”<sup>64</sup>

In *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963), Franz Fanon examines violence as a way to effect historical change, calling colonized and oppressed peoples to revolt against

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<sup>62</sup> Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 52, 55-56, 103, 105.

<sup>63</sup> Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 81-85.

<sup>64</sup> Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 128; 150-151

colonialism. Fanon argues that there is a need to question the colonial system in its entirety. Successful decolonization only occurs when the whole social structure is changed from the bottom up. He maintains that “decolonization brings a natural rhythm into existence, introduced by new men, and with it a new language and a new humanity. It is the creation of new men.”<sup>65</sup>

In a more forceful but similar manner as Cèsaire and Memmi, Fanon articulates how the language of the settler (colonizer) dehumanizes the colonized by describing them in terms of negative binary comparisons, and through use of zoological terms and allusions to the animal world. Fanon is also deeply critical of the native intellectuals, a small but influential segment of the colonized, who during decolonization sell out the masses by engaging in a dialogue with the bourgeois colonials. The voices of real decolonization, from his perspective, speak the truth in denouncing the language used and actions perpetrated by both settlers and native intellectuals against the colonized/native. Fanon points out that the “starving natives do not lay a claim to the truth; they do not *say* that they represent the truth, for they *are* the truth...Truth is that which hurries on the break-up of the colonialist regime; it is that which promotes the emergence of the nation; it is all that protects the natives, and ruins the foreigners.”<sup>66</sup> While seeking truth, Fanon ultimately advocates revolution to rid the native’s land of settlers and to restore their dignity.

### **Edward Said, *Orientalism* and the *Orient***

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<sup>65</sup> Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1963), 35-37.

<sup>66</sup> Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 42-50.

Since its first printing in 1978, Edward Said's seminal work, *Orientalism*, continues to foster not only discussion and debate in academic venues, but to empower active decolonizing strategies by Indigenous scholars throughout the world. Said describes colonization in *Orientalism* as a theory of gathering knowledge and practice of power developed by the West/Occident (as colonizer) over many generations. *Orientalism* thus became an accepted grid for filtering the *Orient* (the colonized) into Western consciousness. Moreover, he contends that without examining *Orientalism* as a *discourse*, one cannot possibly understand the systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage and produce the *Orient* politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period.<sup>67</sup>

Said elaborates on a multi-layered definition of *Orientalism* as

...a created consistency, a regular constellation of ideas as the pre-eminent knowledge about the Orient...a created body of theory and practice in which, for many generations, there has been a considerable material investment...a discourse that is by no means in direct, corresponding relationship with political power in the raw, but rather is produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power, shaped to a degree by the exchange with power political (as with a colonial or imperial establishment), power intellectual (as with reigning sciences like comparative linguistics, or any of the modern policy sciences), power cultural (as with orthodoxies and canons of taste, texts, values), power moral (as with about what "we" do and what "they" cannot do or understand as "we" do).<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978, 2003, 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Edition), 3-6. For purposes of discussion in this literature review, decolonization is defined as "the intelligent, calculated, and active resistance to the forces of colonialism that perpetuate the subjugation and/or exploitation of [Indigenous] minds, bodies, and lands, and it is engaged for the ultimate purpose of overturning the colonial structure and realizing Indigenous liberation." Waziyatawin Angela Wilson (Dakota) and Michael Yellow Bird (Sahnish/Arikara and Hidatsa), eds., *For Indigenous Eyes Only: A Decolonization Handbook* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2005), 5.

<sup>68</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978, 2003, 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Edition), 5, 6, 12.

While he describes the *Orient* as a place adjacent to Europe where Europe's greatest, richest and oldest colonies were located, scholars have generally viewed the *Orient* metaphorically, and in the case of Indigenous scholars, have literally extended it to all colonized/oppressed peoples. Said contends that by creating corporate institutions (academic and bureaucratic) to deal with and articulate the *Orient* (by employing vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, and doctrines) *Orientalist*/colonizers issued statements, authorized views, described, taught, settled and ultimately ruled the *Orient*/colonized.<sup>69</sup>

Napoleon's extensive use of the academy to first study Egypt in order to conquer it and his subsequent work, *Description de l'Égypte* (1809-1828), ushered in the age of modern *Orientalism*, which Said insists continues into the present. Said argues that after Napoleon the language of *Orientalism* changed dramatically. *Orientalist* discourse "became not merely a style of representation but a language, indeed, a *means* of creation."<sup>70</sup> Later in his career, Said critiqued the work of French scholars Ernest Renan and Silvestre de Sacy, who he considers to be the first modern, institutional *Orientalists*.

Said utilizes Michel Foucault's analysis of the discourse of power to identify the complex oppositional forces within *Orientalism*, extending his own theory beyond

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<sup>69</sup> Said's Europe is situated within Denys Hay's idea of Europe as a collective notion identifying "us" Europeans as against all "those" non-Europeans. Said views the *Orient* as Europe's cultural contestant that helped *Europe to define Europe/the West* as the *Orient's* contrasting image, idea, personality, and experience. Denys Hay, *Europe: The Emergence of an Idea*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966); Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Edition, 2003), 2-6, 86-87.

<sup>70</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 87.

Foucault's, to include exotic "others," i.e., the *Orient*.<sup>71</sup> He also relies on Antonio Gramsci's analytic distinctions between civil (rational, non-coercive) and political society (state institutions – army, police, and central bureaucracy). Gramsci posited the idea of cultural hegemony as a form of cultural leadership where certain ideas are more influential than others in contextualizing how modern *Orientalism* relies on *positional* superiority as a strategy of hegemony. As with Memmi and Fanon's earlier arguments, Said shows how these binary oppositions (us/them; superior/inferior race; good/evil; East/West, etc.) are inherently embedded in both the language and implementation of modern *Orientalism*, and deployed in texts, scholarship, and narrative imagery.

Building on Foucault's discourse regarding the production of knowledge, Said states that narratives about the Orient/colonized, created in the language of the Colonizer, reside in archives that (as Foucault also noted) cannot be described in totality due to the fact that they exist in fragments, regions, and levels. Foucault offered an intriguing definition of the archive of a society in general:

Between the *language* that defines the system of constructing possible sentences, and the *corpus* that passively collects the words that are spoken, the *archive* defines a particular level: that of a practice that causes a multiplicity of statements to emerge as so many regular events, as so many things to be dealt with and manipulated.<sup>72</sup>

Said concludes that the production and control of knowledge lies behind the powerful forces that created *Orientalism*, and issues a warning that similar systems of

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<sup>71</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 3; Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power," in James D. Faubion (ed.), *The Essential Works of Foucault: Power*, vol. 3 (New York: The New Press, 2000), 326-348.

<sup>72</sup> Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 130.

knowledge, and discourses of power are readily “made, applied, and guarded.”<sup>73</sup> While he argues that *Orientalism* ultimately failed (although reconsidering this position in later writings), Indigenous historians and scholars see otherwise, as I will discuss in the next section. The works of Said, Foucault, Memmi, Fanon, and Cèsaire comprise an integral part of the intellectual foundation for Indigenous scholars and practitioner/activists to devise resistance strategies and articulate an Indigenous paradigm in American Indian historiography.

*From Tuhiwai Smith’s Indigenous Decolonizing Strategies to Miller’s Indigenous Paradigm in American Indian Historiography*

Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith relies on Said’s writings, along with the earlier works of Cèsaire, Memmi, Fanon, and Foucault, to develop conceptual research frameworks and methodologies, to critique and resist colonizing forces, and to underpin activism to decolonize the historical theories and methodologies created by non-Indigenous historians. Assuming her audience is already familiar with the works of Cèsaire, Memmi, and Fanon, in *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Tuhiwai Smith does not focus on describing or indicting the conscience of the colonizer. Rather, she describes the devastating generational effects that the “history” of Western research continues to have on Indigenous peoples. Tuhiwai Smith indicts current Euro-American researchers’ domination over the production of knowledge about Indigenous and marginalized peoples and cultures.

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Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 328.



Building on Fanon's reference to the colonizers' use of objectified zoological terms and Foucault's metaphor of the archive, Tuhiwai Smith recounts European imperial and colonial powers' subjugation of the Indigenous through researching, collecting, classifying and archiving their cultural information, sacred objects, and collective identities.<sup>74</sup> Her research further underscores how imperialism and colonialism manipulated cultural "archives" of the Indigenous with Western systems of representation, codes for unlocking systems of classification, and fragmented artifacts of knowledge. Viewed as an object of research, the indigenous does not have a voice, has no life force, no humanity or spirit. Therefore, "it" cannot make an active contribution to the research process.<sup>75</sup>

From Tuhiwai Smith's perspective, research is not an innocent or distant academic exercise, but an activity that has something at stake and that occurs in a set of political and social conditions. Candidly, she describes the Catch-22 aspects of being an Indigenous intellectual who still must interact in a colonized academy that either criticizes Indigenous intellectuals trained through Western education for not speaking from a "real" and/or "authentic" position, or labels them as too "nativist" and activist when they integrate community concerns into their work. In short, as keepers and producers of "knowledge, colonizers have the power and privilege to define 'authentic' and their 'research' creates and continues the legitimacy to do so."<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1999), 1-2.

<sup>75</sup> Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 60-64.

<sup>76</sup> Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 5, 14-15, 73-74.

Despite the criticism, and even because of it, Tuhiwai Smith advocates active agency in creating Indigenous research theories and protocols. Tuhiwai Smith pushes back against the criticism and forges ahead with a commitment to active agency in creating Indigenous research theories and protocols. She argues “decolonization...does not mean and has not meant a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge...it is about centering our concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes.”<sup>77</sup> She emphasizes that Indigenous theory empowers at its most simple level. It helps make sense of reality in that it provides methods for selecting, arranging, and legitimizing an Indigenous archive, and provides strategies to effectively resist colonizing research.<sup>78</sup>

Tuhiwai Smith offers an innovative methodology for Indigenous researchers to consider as a way to empower themselves and the communities they study. She maintains that indigenous methodologies and cultural protocols can be: 1) built directly into research; 2) thought through reflexively; 3) declared openly; 4) discussed as part of final results; 4) disseminated back to the people in culturally appropriate ways and language understood; and 5) maintained as a long-term commitment to sharing knowledge.<sup>79</sup> She articulates broader research agendas that focus on areas of concern such as survival, recovery, development and self-determination. Within these four topics she identifies subfields, for instance in the case of survival, researchers may hone in on

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<sup>77</sup> Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 39.

<sup>78</sup> Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 37-41.

<sup>79</sup> Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 15.

physical, language, and spiritual practices. In another example, she lists territories, indigenous rights, and histories as subtopics of recovery.<sup>80</sup>

Using samples of twenty-five indigenous Maori research projects, Tuhiwai Smith illustrates how to incorporate various methodologies to explore themes of cultural survival, self-determination, healing, restoration and social justice. Her approach includes claiming identity, oral testimonies, story telling, and revitalizing traditions. She concludes that answering questions and addressing concerns relevant to Indigenous peoples should be of utmost importance to them, and that research conducted by them yields culturally and locally relevant information and solutions. “When indigenous peoples become researchers and not merely the researched, the activity of research is transformed,” she states. “Questions are framed differently, priorities are ranked differently, problems are defined differently, and people participate in different terms.”<sup>81</sup> Tuhiwai Smith embodies a new generation of academically-trained Indigenous and American Indian historians who have become successful and respected scholars, and are now cultivating an Indigenous paradigm in American Indian historiography.

In a similar vein, Seminole historian Susan Allison Miller, sets forth an Indigenous model of historiography developed by a small but growing cohort of American Indian historians and scholars who “reject[sic] the consensual narrative of American history and the Euro-American paradigm that frames it to *develop a separate*

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<sup>80</sup> Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 116-117.

<sup>81</sup> Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 193.

*and competing narrative.*” [Emphasis added]<sup>82</sup> In “Native America Writes Back: The Origin of The Indigenous Paradigm in Historiography,” and “Native Historians Write Back: The Indigenous Paradigm in American Indian Historiography,” Miller describes the Indigenous Paradigm’s key concepts: 1) indigenusness, 2) sovereignty, 3) colonization, and 4) decolonization. Fundamentally, the paradigm’s underlying assumptions value Indigenous systems of knowledge by viewing the cosmos as a living being, recognizing that the spiritual realm of Indigenous worldviews is real and powerful within the material world, and acknowledging concepts of “time” and “the past” as different, but no less important constructs than those of Euro-America.<sup>83</sup>

Miller describes the first of these four concepts, *recognizing and respecting Indigenusness to empower* as: “... a pattern of characteristics shared by polities that have not adopted the nation-state type of organization...people as communities; is a way of relating.” Fundamental to this concept is the bond of a community to land, and the interconnection with a living cosmos where everything is related as a single, integrated whole. This stands in sharp contrast to the Euro-American worldview in which the natural environment is a resource to be controlled and individuals are entitled to alienate land as private property.<sup>84</sup>

The second concept, *rejecting a Euro-American construct of sovereignty to liberate*, means that: “Indigenous historians conceive the tribes as holding full rights to

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<sup>82</sup> Susan A. Miller, “Native America Writes Back: The Origin of The Indigenous Paradigm in Historiography,” *Wicazo Sa Review* (Fall 2008): 9.

<sup>83</sup> Susan A. Miller, “Native America Writes Back: The Origin of The Indigenous Paradigm in Historiography,” *Wicazo Sa Review* (Fall 2008): 10; Susan A. Miller, “Native Historians Write Back: The Indigenous Paradigm in American Indian Historiography,” *Wicazo Sa Review* (Spring 2009): 25.

<sup>84</sup> Miller, “Native America Writes Back”, 11-12.

self-determination and control of their resources, rights that are violated when tribes defer to the authority of the United States... ‘limited sovereignty’ is seen as a fictional product of the colonial imagination.” Miller argues that American Indian legal theorists such as Robert A. Williams and Gerald Taiaiake Alfred are reframing a construct of sovereignty in terms of “Indigenous political theory.” Furthermore, she advises Indigenous leadership to incorporate key aspects from the writings of anti-colonialists like Said, Memmi, and Foucault in order to define a political theory from a unique Indigenous perspective. Indigenous communities can then reject the idea of sovereignty as constructed originally by Euro-American political theorists, and ultimately apply an Indigenous political perspective to achieve American Indian objectives.<sup>85</sup>

Miller’s third concept, *recognizing United States’ colonization to reclaim*, asserts that American historians fundamentally do not recognize that the United States stands in a colonial relationship to North American tribes. The United States government claims Indigenous homelands as its territory and if this appropriation is discussed at all, then it done so in a euphemistic, often passive way, using words like “tragic,” or “ironic.” Indian historians reject traditional academia’s prohibition against identifying colonialist, unjust behavior committed by the United States. Miller further distinguishes colonialism from colonization in a North American context. Colonialism means “extracting resources from lands outside the colonial nation’s own land base,” whereas colonization involves reduced land bases, impoverishment, destruction of cultures, governments, languages,

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<sup>85</sup> Miller, “Native America Writes Back: The Origin of The Indigenous Paradigm in Historiography,” *Wicazo Sa Review* (Fall 2008): 13. See generally, Susan A. Miller, “Native Historians Write Back: The Indigenous Paradigm in American Indian Historiography,” *Wicazo Sa Review* (Spring 2009): 25-45.

traditions, genocide and “extraction of resources from colonized peoples.”<sup>86</sup> From Miller’s and California Indigenous peoples’ perspectives, the colonizing events that occurred from the 1850s to 1860s are ignored in California historiography. Miller asserts that in order to reclaim an American Indian historiography, American Indian scholars must raise awareness that the United States colonized North American Indigenous nations and peoples.

Miller’s fourth concept, *conducting decolonization to recover*, is the “...process designed to shed and recover from the ill effects of colonization,” not a useless endeavor to return to the past. Miller refers to Tuhiwai Smith’s work as a foundational theoretical framework that Indigenous decolonization discussants must know. Key to the Indigenous decolonization movement is tribal language recovery. From Miller’s perspective, full recovery from colonization includes producing tribal historiographies in native languages. However, Miller also suggests that decolonizing projects can include both the recovery of discontinued Indigenous practices and the use of non-Indigenous methods for Indigenous purposes.<sup>87</sup>

As mentioned earlier in this literature review, this thesis project as an “archive” is one example of using a non-Indigenous tool for decolonizing purposes. For Northern California Indigenous peoples who desire to develop their historiographies, the discourses of Mihesuah, Tuhiwai Smith, and Miller and decolonization practices and indigenous research methodologies are important conceptual frameworks to consider in

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<sup>86</sup> Miller, “Native America Writes Back”, 13-14.

<sup>87</sup> Miller, “Native America Writes Back”, 15-16.

conjunction with the timelines, primary source documents and militia rosters identified and developed for this project.

*Northern California Indian Historiography*

During the 1970s to 1990s, in tandem with the evolution of American Indian historiography and the emergence of the Indigenous academic and activist discourses previously discussed, a number of non-Native interdisciplinary scholars (including historians, ethnohistorians, and anthropologists) began to write about the impact of the white presence and Euro-American violence against California Indians during the first decades of California statehood. In the mid-1970s, the University of California reprinted six essays authored by demographer Sherbourne Cook during the 1930s-1940s in a compilation entitled *The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization*. Cook reviewed mission records, ethnographic materials collected by anthropologist A.L. Kroeber and his students, and local newspapers collections of the Bancroft Library in order to reconstruct Euro-American treatment of California Indians from the Mission and American periods of occupation.<sup>88</sup>

Also in the 1970s, in the last decade of his life, anthropologist Robert Heizer edited and published certain primary source documents with and without annotations. Heizer, along with Alan Alquist, published an important historical work that documented discrimination against not only Native Americans in California, but also many other groups who endured prejudice and discrimination from the Spanish period to 1920.

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<sup>88</sup> Sherburne F. Cook, *The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.

Subsequently, Heizer and others published useful bibliographies related to California Indian archaeology, ethnography and history. Heizer's edited compilations of primary source documents revealed heretofore ignored atrocities committed against Native Americans in California, including northern California.<sup>89</sup>

Shortly after Heizer shared his evidence of violence perpetrated against Indigenous Californians, the University of Oklahoma Press published *Genocide and Vendetta: The Round Valley Wars of Northern California* (1981) by respected local historians, Lynwood Carranco and Estle Beard. This history contains extensive primary source citations that further expose atrocities committed by Mendocino County settlers during the 1860s. Clearly the authors conducted copious research to substantiate the events that took place. Copies are available to university students and academics in University of California and California State University System collections. However, copies of the publication are extremely scarce, very expensive to purchase, and mainly

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<sup>89</sup> Robert Heizer and Alan F. Almquist, *The Other Californians; prejudice and discrimination under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1971); Robert F. Heizer, *The Eighteen Unratified Treaties of 1851-1852 Between the California Indians and the United States Government* (Berkeley: Archaeological Research Facility, Dept. of Anthropology, University of California, 1972); George Gibbs' Journal of Redick McKee's Expedition through Northwestern California in 1851, edited and with annotations by Robert F. Heizer (Berkeley, California, University of California, 1972); Robert Heizer, ed., *Collected Documents on the Causes and Events in the Bloody Island Massacre of 1850* (Berkeley, Archaeological Research Facility, Dept. of Anthropology, University of California, 1973); Robert F. Heizer, ed., *The Destruction of California Indians: A Collection of Documents from the Period 1847 to 1865 in Which are Described Some of the Things that Happened to Some of the Indians of California* (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1974); Robert F. Heizer, ed., *They were Only Diggers: A Collection of Articles from California Newspapers, 1851-1866, on Indian and White Relations* (Ramona: Ballena Press, 1974); Robert F. Heizer, *The Indians of California: A Critical Bibliography* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976); Robert F. Heizer, ed., and others, *A Bibliography of California Indians: Archaeology, Ethnography, Indian History* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977); George E. Anderson, W.H. Ellison and Robert F. Heizer, *Treaty making and treaty rejection by the Federal Government in California, 1850-1852* (Socorro: Ballena Press, 1978); and Robert F. Heizer, *Federal Concern about Conditions of California Indians, 1853 to 1913 : Eight Documents* (Socorro: Ballena Press, 1979).



restricted to library use only in county public libraries. Thus, the information contained in the book is not accessible to the general public or educators, exemplifying the continuing problem of accessibility with regard to documents showing evidence of the atrocities against California Indians.

In the 1980s, historians James Rawls and Albert Hurtado examined the removal of California Indians from their homelands, government relations with tribal leaders and communities, and published limited examples of extermination conducted by Euro-Americans during the Gold Rush period. During the 1990s, historian George Harwood Phillips focused on the origins of the reservation system in a well-documented account.<sup>90</sup>

In more recent scholarship, Clifford Trafzer and Joel R Hyer have provided additional newspaper transcriptions with limited citations arranged topically in their publication *Exterminate Them! Written Accounts of the Murder, Rape, and Enslavement of Native Americans during the California Gold Rush*. In 2007, Ray Raphael and Freeman House authored *Two Peoples, One Place* which is an excellent resource related to Indian and white relations in Humboldt County, containing extensive primary source citations.<sup>91</sup> In May 2009, Yale graduate student, Benjamin Madley completed his dissertation entitled “American Genocide: The California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873.” According to the abstract published in ProQuest’s online database, Madley’s

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<sup>90</sup> James J. Rawls, *Indians of California: The Changing Image* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984); Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); George Harwood Phillips, *Indians and Indian Agents: The Origins of the Reservation System in California, 1849-1852* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1997).

<sup>91</sup> Clifford E. Trafzer and Joel R. Hyer, eds., *Exterminate Them! Written Accounts of the Murder, Rape, and Enslavement of Native Americans during the California Gold Rush*. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999); Ray Raphael and Freeman House, *Two Peoples, One Place* (Eureka: Humboldt County Historical Society, 2007).

dissertation looks at systematic state-sponsored violence against California Indians, providing “evidence of over 300 massacres and mass killings...constitute[ing] the first comprehensive history of California Indian genocide under United States rule.”

Madley’s dissertation and undoubtedly forthcoming book on the subject will be an important contribution to the historiography of Euro-American violence against Northern California Indians.<sup>92</sup> The collection of documents in this thesis project contributes to wider efforts to decolonize Northern California historiography by providing public access to the primary source documents that Madley must have relied on to make his arguments.

*Public History as Service: Breaking the Silence, Public Memory, and Bearing Witness*

Does the rubric of “public history” fit into the context of an emerging Indigenous model in American Indian historiography, and more specifically, does this project contribute to decolonizing Northern California historiography? If so, how? For the purposes of this section of the literature review, the relevance of two aspects of public history - shared inquiry and public memory - will be discussed with regard to the emergence of Indigenous models of historiography, and to their usefulness in bearing witness to Euro-American violence against California Indians.

Since the mid-1970s when public history emerged as a separate field, historians have expended as much time and effort attempting to determine how to practice public history as they have to building a solid paradigm.<sup>93</sup> According to Katharine Corbett and

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<sup>92</sup> Currently, copies of the dissertation are not available at the request of the author.

<sup>93</sup> Michael Frisch, “The Memory of History,” in *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 15. A review of

Howard Miller, an important aspect of public history involves the practice of shared inquiry, wherein “practitioners and stakeholders join in give-and-take discussion to set mutually acceptable questions and to find mutually satisfying answers.”<sup>94</sup> In practicing shared inquiry, Corbett and Miller distinguish between *history*, a narrative of the past, and *heritage*, something that is inherited. They argue that it is important to acknowledge heritage is stronger than history, urging public historians to explore ways to include “older and more universal forms of past-keeping” when working with communities.<sup>95</sup>

Corbett and Miller observe four important features of public history that arguably are relevant to emerging Indigenous paradigms of historiography and this project in particular. Public history 1) is situational and frequently messy; 2) involves negotiation with non-historians in situations where agency is fluid and even ambiguous; 3) includes stories that public historians (and Indigenous scholars) want to tell, but are not the stories the public wants to hear; and 4) for traditional storytellers and elders, stability matters more than change, and Truth is more important than fact. Implementing a shared inquiry however, provides opportunities to work together to address these aspects across different worldviews. Corbett and Miller term such encounters “the spaces between.” These situations occur when people feel at ease and safe enough to confront their own pasts and

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the evolution of public history is beyond the scope of this literature review. For the practice of public history, see generally, Patricia Mooney-Melvin, “Professional Historians and the Challenge of Redefinition,” In *Public History: Essays from the Field*. James B. Gardner and Peter S. LaPaglia, eds., (Malabar: Keieger Publishing Company, 1999), 5-21; and Constance B. Schulz, “Becoming a Public Historian,” In *Public History: Essays from the Field*. James B. Gardner and Peter S. LaPaglia, eds., (Malabar: Keieger Publishing Company, 1999), 23-40.

<sup>94</sup> Katharine T. Corbett and Howard S. (Dick) Miller, “A Shared Inquiry into Shared Inquiry,” *The Public Historian* 28, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 18.

<sup>95</sup> Katharine T. Corbett and Howard S. (Dick) Miller, “A Shared Inquiry into Shared Inquiry,” *The Public Historian* 28, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 22-23.

share them beyond their immediate communities.<sup>96</sup> Finding “the spaces between” during this project has fostered breaking the silence about Euro-American violence against California Indians. The website will be a public space that provides historical resources that can support telling stories that California Indigenous peoples and others want a broader audience to hear beyond academic venues.

Historian John Bodnar defines public memory as a “body of beliefs and ideas about the past that help a public or society understand both its past, present, and by implication, its future.” He contends that public memory substantiates the structure of power in a given society, because while public memory is constructed from dialogue, the sources of the dialogue- cultural leaders (official) and ordinary people (vernacular) – hold unequal power. Production of public memory originates from political discussion surrounding the existence of a society, and ultimately from the interpretation of reality within this imbalanced power structure. Implementing public memory occurs within an ideological system in the form of special language, beliefs, symbols and stories. Bodnar’s concept of the imbalance of power within public memory dialogues resonates with the anti-colonial discourses of Cèsaire, Memmi, Fanon, Foucault and Said, as well as with the works of Indigenous historians and scholars surveyed here. He suggests that a dominant consensus narrative will ultimately emerge from public dialogue and

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<sup>96</sup> Katharine T. Corbett and Howard S. (Dick) Miller, “A Shared Inquiry into Shared Inquiry,” *The Public Historian* 28, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 19-24.

recognizes that whenever the vernacular voice has been silenced before the beginning of the discussion, that voice will never be heard.<sup>97</sup>

Finally, Historian David Glassberg raises the point that power structures support multiple official histories, all interacting with vernacular memories that place local stories within larger contexts. Rather than choosing only one dominant historical narrative, Glassberg suggests that “the task of the public historian may be more to create spaces for dialogue about history and for the collection of memories, and to insure that various voices are heard in those spaces, than to provide a finished interpretation of events translating the latest professional scholarship for a popular audience.”<sup>98</sup> Glassberg’s perspective also fits squarely within the intent and theoretical orientation of the project as described throughout this chapter.

After reviewing the above exchange of historiographic perspectives, users of the project website will better understand how the availability of primary sources provided in this collection reflects the development of the collection itself, as well as the broader dissemination of information heretofore gleaned about Native California Indian history. It is the intent of this project to assist *anyone*, especially Indigenous peoples of California, to find information about what happened to their ancestors in nineteenth century California. With this project, information about Euro-American violence against California Indians becomes accessible in a public venue—in essence, a public history that

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<sup>97</sup> John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 14-15, 19.

<sup>98</sup> David Glassberg, “Public History and the Study of Memory,” *The Public Historian* 18, no. 2 (Spring 1996): 13-14, citing James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University, 1993).

contributes to the efforts of Indigenous historians and scholars to decolonize Northern California Indian historiography.

### Chapter 3

#### METHODOLOGY

The first, and most fundamental, component of the project methodology, listening to California Native concerns, germinated while I was working as a senior researcher/policy analyst at the California Research Bureau, California State Library as described in the preface. The information gathered through the listening process laid the foundation for a strategy to locate primary sources relevant to remembrances about Euro-American violence against California's Native peoples. In fact, had I not been honing *my own* listening skills while working directly with California Native peoples and communities for the last eight years, this project would never have been conceived.

##### *Components of the Listening Process*

In developing an approach that would be respectful of tribal representatives' limited time and resources, meetings were convened at the local level within Indigenous ancestral homelands and localities, rejecting the typical government agency model of a large meeting in one central location, usually chosen for its convenience to the State Capitol. Traveling to Sacramento would have been logistically and economically preclusive, expensive and time-consuming for tribal representatives and community members to attend. Participants held face-to-face dialogues during local community gatherings over meals, at night, and on weekends if needed. One Indigenous community even extended an invitation for us to meet with parents, students, educators, elders and community leaders all at once at their community's annual summer camping weekend organized by the Indian education center director and staff.

During the meetings, active listening took place with a concerted effort to respect everyone who spoke or contributed to the dialogue. According to psychologist Michael H. Hoppe, active listening involves: paying attention, withholding judgment, reflecting, clarifying, summarizing, and sharing. Within Hoppe's active listening skill set are additional components as listed in the following table.

<i>Table 3.1- General Active Listening Skills</i>	
Pay Attention	Frame of Mind – be present, focus
	Body Language
	Focus on Other Person
Withhold Judgment	Practice Empathy
	Indicate an open mind
	Acknowledge difference
	Be patient
Reflect	Paraphrase information
	Paraphrase emotion
Clarify	Open-ended questions
	Clarifying questions
	Probing questions
Summarize	Restate core themes
	Restate what you have understood
Share	Address concerns
Source: Michael H. Hoppe, <i>Active Listening: Improve Your Ability to Listen and Lead</i> (Greensboro: Center for Creative Leadership, 2006), 12-18.	

Implementing active listening skills can be exhausting but is essential to building rapport and a certain measure of trust with anyone you work with, including Tribal communities.<sup>99</sup>

Mikel Hogan-Garcia's cross-cultural diversity competence process is also particularly useful to consider when practicing active listening skills with California Indigenous peoples. Hogan-Garcia recommends fourteen personal competencies for

<sup>99</sup> See generally Rebecca Z. Shafir, *The Zen of Listening: Mindful Communication in the Age of Distraction* (Wheaton: Quest Books, 2003); Madelyn Burley-Allen, *Listening: The Forgotten Skill*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1995); Michael H. Hoppe, *Active Listening: Improve Your Ability to Listen and Lead* (Greensboro: Center for Creative Leadership), 2006.



establishing successful interaction, seven of which can also be found in Hoppes' skill set: be flexible; be resourceful; assume complexity; tolerate the stress of uncertainty; manage personal biases and stereotypes; keep a sense of humor; and show respect.<sup>100</sup>

During the listening process with California Natives, I settled in to a personal comfort level with fluid Indigenous time frames. Resisting the bureaucratic impulse to set linear agendas fostered more open-ended discussions. Participants had a lot to communicate in their own way, much of which was very painful to recount and share with outsiders. At the same time it was essential to answer questions honestly when asked. I found it important to take as much time as was needed for community members to participate at their own comfort level, and made an effort not to promise something that could not be delivered. During the initial meetings at the local level, in one instance, the tribal members and intertribal organizations participating in a Northern California countywide meeting discovered their collective immediate information needs, and requested a research tour of the California State Library in Sacramento that we did at a later date. Already, one positive outcome of the listening process resulted in facilitating tailored tours for small groups with specific information requests. In that particular instance, old Army Corps of Engineers maps (1910-20), housed in the Government

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<sup>100</sup> Mikel Hogan-Garcia, *The Four Skills of Cultural Diversity Competence: A Process for Understanding and Practice*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition Pacific Grove: Brooks/Cole-Thomson Learning, 2003), 67-75. A thorough treatment of the cultural diversity competence process is beyond the scope of this thesis project. In addition to Hogan-Garcia work, useful resources for further study are Philomena Essed, *Understanding Everyday Racism: An Interdisciplinary Theory* (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1991); Eric Luke Lassiter, "Authoritative Texts, Collaborative Ethnography, and Native American Studies," *American Indian Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (Fall 2000), 601-613; Eric Luke Lassiter, "From 'Reading Over the Shoulders of Natives' to 'Reading Alongside Natives,' Literally: Toward a Collaborative and Reciprocal Ethnography," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 51, (2001), 137-149; and Eric Luke Lassiter, "Collaborative Ethnography," *AnthroNotes* 25, no. 1 (Spring 2004), 1-20.

Publications Section of the State Library that were serendipitously pulled from the collection to be reviewed as part of the information presentation corroborated the location of former wetlands significant to the tribes in attendance, resurrecting information about the location of culturally-important native plants and habitats that had been destroyed by development and other events in later decades. The tribes and the US Environmental Protection Agency happened to be in the process of restoring these wetlands in approximately the same areas. The tribal representatives were thrilled to see that the early twentieth century maps substantiated their traditional knowledge of important natural resources and places once located in their ancestral homelands. The tribes and US EPA continued to use the historical maps as they proceeded with the wetlands restoration initiatives.

Because a researcher and a librarian with corresponding professional backgrounds participated in the listening process, differing but complementary perspectives enabled the documentation and validation of historical information communicated directly by Native leaders, elders, educators, parents and students through non-traditional ways.

Themes that resonated throughout the process include:

- California Indigenous peoples want to tell their stories, their histories themselves.
- California Indigenous peoples desire access to primary historical documents about early California history and government relations.
- California Indigenous peoples desire access to library, information resources, training and materials from California Native perspectives, written by Native authors, and Native perspective children's materials.

With these key points in mind, we proceeded to locate primary source documents pertaining to California Indian history.

*Historical Research Methods to Locate Primary Source Documents*

Another outcome of the listening process was the creation and production of the California State Library *California Indians Historical Resources Project* (CIHRP). The historical research methods utilized for this thesis project were developed during the CIHRP. The CIHRP project entailed historical research, digitization of primary historical documents located in California State Library collections, and the creation of a related searchable database. The procedure to create the CIHRP used rigorous historical research methodology and quality control to ensure that the correct citation for each document was included in the database fields. Research staff first conducted an extensive review of published secondary source materials related to California Indian history and government relations. Next, project staff reviewed microfilm and original copies of nineteenth century newspaper articles, federal government and state legislative materials located in the California History Section and Government Publications Section of the California State Library. Relevant documents were copied, digitally scanned, and indexed for inclusion in the project. Copies scanned from poor quality original microfilm were digitally processed, when possible, to try to improve legibility without affecting the integrity of content. These efforts resulted in the production of three CDs that contained digitized images of the documents, with bibliographic information in a searchable database based on each document type. We completed the initial research and digital production phase of CIHRP in 2006. Additional funding and support enabled the

publication of the content of the CIHRP (documents plus searchable database with instruction booklet), copies of which were provided to California Tribes and county public libraries during the summer and fall of 2008.

*The Project Website – Developing the Content and Structure*

For this thesis project, the method used to locate references to primary source materials documenting Euro-American violence against Northern California Indians was similar to that employed for the CIHRP. I conducted extensive reviews of published and unpublished primary and secondary sources located in a variety of repositories throughout Northern California counties, including Humboldt, Del Norte, Shasta, Trinity, Butte, Nevada, El Dorado, Placer, Colusa, Tehama, and Yuba. The types of repositories visited ranged from county archives and historical societies to museums and public libraries. Additionally, I mined primary and secondary sources housed in the California History Section, Government Publications Section, and Witkin Law Library of the California State Library. The types of materials reviewed in all the repositories included unpublished manuscript collections, dissertations, masters theses, national and state park historical reports, and published works such as books, historical society journal articles and publications. Appendix A, Project Bibliography, provides a complete list of works reviewed for this project.

Next, I created and built a master timeline for the years 1846 to 1868 in a table format that includes primary source citation, and event description for each source of information a column for the date. I extended every effort to make exact citations so each of the documents included in the timeline can be verified independently. For each

newspaper article, federal document and militia roster entry, a weblink path to the primary source document will be provided so the user can view the actual document. I developed the timeline by reviewing the secondary sources listed in Appendix A, along with the CIHRP databases. I expected that once I organized the information from multiple sources chronologically by time, patterns and trends might appear that the historian, educator or viewer can evaluate to infer if events are connected across time, location and institutions (local, state and federal governments).

As the master timeline grew, it became cumbersome to search; therefore, I broke it down into a chronological series of shorter time periods based upon the patterns that I saw as the events unfolded. Appendix B is a representative timeline. Six timelines were ultimately developed for the entire period. The following table lists the total number of types of documents that have been included in each timeline.

<i>Table 3.2 - Project Timelines</i>						
Timeline Years	Total Entries on Timeline	Newspaper	Federal	State	Militia Rosters/Adjutant General Records	Other*
1846-50	89	59	27	2	0	1
1851-52	446	199	222	16	0	9
1853-55	270	152	68	16	31	3
1856-58	539	419	46	41	30	3
1859-60	527	310	12	188	8	9
1860-68	873	673	73	78	47	2
Total	2,744	1,812	448	325	116	27
*May include secondary source citation or important date reference such as date of California statehood, etc.						

As Table 3.2 shows, two thirds (66%) of the primary source citations included on the timelines are California newspaper articles, representing twenty-six publications in existence from 1846 to 1866. Appendices C and D are representative samples of what

each newspaper article and federal document looks like. I then printed copies from the CIHRP compilation, and embedded the exact citation on each page of the article. The document was then digitally scanned and finalized in PDF format. The process to locate, copy and digitize the federal documents duplicated that of the newspaper articles. The following Table 3.3 lists the California newspapers represented in the timelines.

<i>Table 3.3 - California Newspapers</i>		
<b>Timeline Years</b>	<b>No. of Articles per Year</b>	<b>Newspapers Represented (County: City/Town)</b>
1846-1850	Total: 59  1846: 1 1847: 4 1848: 6 1849: 12 1850: 36	<i>The Californian</i> (Monterey: Monterey) <i>The California Star</i> (Monterey: Monterey; San Francisco: San Francisco) <i>Daily Alta California</i> (San Francisco: San Francisco) <i>Marysville Herald</i> (Yuba: Marysville) <i>Placer Times</i> (El Dorado: Placerville) <i>Sacramento Transcript</i> (Sacramento: Sacramento)
1851-1852	Total: 199  1851: 149 1852: 50	<i>The Californian</i> (Monterey: Monterey) <i>The California Star</i> (Monterey: Monterey; San Francisco: San Francisco) <i>Daily Alta California</i> (San Francisco: San Francisco) <i>Marysville Daily Appeal</i> (Yuba: Marysville) <i>Marysville Herald</i> (Yuba: Marysville) <i>Placer Herald</i> (Sacramento: Sacramento; Placer: Auburn) <i>Placer Times</i> (El Dorado: Placerville) <i>Sacramento Transcript</i> (Sacramento: Sacramento) <i>Sacramento Daily Union</i> (Sacramento: Sacramento) <i>San Diego Herald</i> (San Diego: San Diego)
1853-1855	Total: 152  1853: 16 1854: 41 1855: 95	<i>Daily Alta California</i> (San Francisco: San Francisco) <i>Daily Evening Herald</i> (Yuba: Marysville) <i>Georgetown Weekly News</i> (El Dorado: Georgetown) <i>Grass Valley Telegraph</i> (Nevada: Grass Valley) <i>Humboldt Times</i> (Klamath; Humboldt: Eureka, Union; Arcata) <i>Los Angeles Star</i> (Los Angeles: Los Angeles) <i>Nevada Democrat</i> (Nevada: Nevada City) <i>Petaluma Weekly Journal and Sonoma County Advertiser</i> (Sonoma: Petaluma) <i>Placer Herald</i> (Placer: Auburn) <i>Sacramento Daily Union</i> (Sacramento: Sacramento) <i>San Diego Herald</i> (San Diego: San Diego) <i>Union-Democrat</i> (Tuolumne: Sonora)

<i>Table 3.3 - California Newspapers</i>		
<b>Timeline Years</b>	<b>No. of Articles per Year</b>	<b>Newspapers Represented (County: City/Town)</b>
		<i>Weekly Butte Record</i> (Butte: Bidwell, Chico) <i>Weekly Mountain Democrat</i> (El Dorado: Placerville)
1856-1858	Total: 419  1856: 64 1857: 187 1858: 168	<i>Daily Alta California</i> (San Francisco: San Francisco) <i>Grass Valley Telegraph</i> (Nevada: Grass Valley) <i>Humboldt Times</i> (Klamath; Humboldt: Eureka, Union; Arcata) <i>Nevada Democrat</i> (Nevada: Nevada City) <i>Placer Herald</i> (Placer: Auburn) <i>Red Bluff Beacon</i> (Tehama: Red Bluff) <i>Sacramento Daily Union</i> (Sacramento: Sacramento) <i>San Diego Herald</i> (San Diego: San Diego) <i>San Francisco Bulletin</i> (San Francisco: San Francisco) <i>Sonoma County Journal</i> (Sonoma: Petaluma) <i>Weekly Butte Record</i> (Butte: Chico) <i>Weekly Mountain Democrat</i> (El Dorado: Placerville) <i>Weekly Trinity Journal</i> (Trinity: Weaverville)
1859-1860	Total: 310  1859: 165 1860: 145	<i>Daily Alta California</i> (San Francisco: San Francisco) <i>Humboldt Times</i> (Humboldt: Eureka) <i>Nevada Democrat</i> (Nevada: Nevada City) <i>Placer Herald</i> (Placer: Auburn) <i>Red Bluff Beacon</i> (Tehama: Red Bluff) <i>Sacramento Daily Union</i> (Sacramento: Sacramento) <i>San Francisco Bulletin</i> (San Francisco: San Francisco) <i>Sonoma County Journal</i> (Sonoma: Petaluma) <i>Visalia Weekly Delta</i> (Tulare: Visalia) <i>Weekly Mountain Democrat</i> (El Dorado: Placerville) <i>Weekly Trinity Journal</i> (Trinity: Weaverville)
1861-1866	Total: 673  1861: 226 1862: 134 1863: 163 1864: 103 1865: 46 1866: 1	<i>Daily Alta California</i> (San Francisco: San Francisco) <i>Humboldt Times</i> (Humboldt: Eureka) <i>Napa County Reporter</i> (Napa: Napa) <i>Nevada Democrat</i> (Nevada: Nevada City) <i>Oroville Weekly Union</i> (Butte: Oroville) <i>Placer Herald</i> (Placer: Auburn) <i>Red Bluff Beacon</i> (Tehama: Red Bluff) <i>Sacramento Daily Union</i> (Sacramento: Sacramento) <i>San Francisco Bulletin</i> (San Francisco: San Francisco) <i>Sonoma County Journal</i> (Sonoma: Petaluma) <i>Visalia Weekly Delta</i> (Tulare: Visalia) <i>Weekly Mountain Democrat</i> (El Dorado: Placerville) <i>Weekly Trinity Journal</i> (Trinity: Weaverville)
Total Number of Articles 1,812		Total Number of Newspapers Represented: 26
Source: Marianne Leach (compiler), <i>Newspaper Holdings of the California State Library</i> (Sacramento: California State Library Foundation), 1986.		

The state document entries on the timelines are California State Archives references only, gleaned from the agency's online finding aids for the California Indian War Papers collections. There are no active links to these documents on the timelines because the cost to obtain a digital copy of the original manuscripts was prohibitive. To create active links for these items, written permission for each document would need to be obtained, and since they are handwritten manuscripts, they would be hard to duplicate and read in electronic form on a website. However, I have included the State Archives reference information in the timelines in order to compare dates and events captured in this information to the newspapers and federal document created during the same time.

The timelines include fifty-four militia (or independent company) rosters that provide the name of the company, date of organization, county and town where the unit originated, and the name of each officer and member of the unit. Appendix E is an example of one of the rosters that users of the website will be able to navigate to directly from the timeline entries. The following Table 3.4 lists the units included on the timelines.

<i>Table 3.4 - California Militia Units, 1854-1864</i>				
<b>County<sup>101</sup></b>	<b>Town</b>	<b>Militia/Independent Company Unit</b>	<b>No. of Names*</b>	<b>Date</b>

<sup>101</sup> The twenty-seven original counties created in 1850 included: Butte, Calaveras, Colusi[a], Contra Costa, El Dorado, Los Angeles, Marin, Mariposa, Mendocino, Monterey, Napa, Sacramento, San Diego, San Francisco, San Joaquin, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, Shasta, Solano, Sonoma, Sutter, Trinity, Tuolumne, Yolo, and Yuba. Klamath, Nevada, and Placer counties were created in 1851. Sierra and Siskiyou counties were created in 1852. Humboldt County was created in 1853. Plumas County was created in 1853. Tehama County was created in 1856. Del Norte County was created in 1857. Lassen County was created in 1864. See generally, Owen C. Coy, *The Genesis of California Counties* (Berkeley: California Historical Survey Commission), 1923.



<i>Table 3.4 - California Militia Units, 1854-1864</i>				
<b>County<sup>101</sup></b>	<b>Town</b>	<b>Militia/Independent Company Unit</b>	<b>No. of Names*</b>	<b>Date</b>
Klamath	Crescent City	Klamath Mounted Rangers	33	1854
Klamath	Crescent City	Coast Rangers	50	07/11/1854
Trinity	Weaverville	Trinity Guard	79	07/20/1854
Sierra	Downieville	Sierra Guards	88	10/02/1854
Sierra	Goodyear's Bar	Goodyear's Rifles	105	12/27/1854
Klamath	Young's Ferry	Klamath Rifles	72	01/11/1855
Klamath	Union	Union Volunteers	35	03/24/1855
El Dorado	Placerville	Placerville Guard	118	01/30/1855
Yuba	Marysville	Yuba Guard	92	06/09/1855
Placer	Iowa Hill	Mountain Blues	70	07/05/55
Klamath	Sawyer's Bar	Salmon Guard	55	09/11/1855
Sierra	Forest City	Forest Rifles	237	10/27/1855
Klamath	Crescent City	Mounted Coast Riflemen	96	11/03/1855
Yuba	New York Flat	Mounted Riflemen (formerly New York Guard)	80	11/13/1855
Plumas	Quincy	Plumas Rangers	85	12/01/1855
Siskiyou	Hamburg City	Siskiyou Guard	52	12/06/1855
Placer	Auburn	Placer Rifles	80	04/05/1856
Klamath	Crescent City	Crescent Rifles	79	04/15/1856
Klamath	Crescent City	Citizens of Crescent City	6	01/10/1856
Sierra	Eureka City	Eureka Blues	53	05/07/1856
Siskiyou	Scott River	Scott River Guard	70	05/10/1856
Humboldt		Eureka Rifles+		1856
Butte	Oroville	Oroville Guards	78	12/22/1856
El Dorado	Coloma	Coloma Greys		06/16/1857
Sierra	Downieville	National Guard (Sierra Battalion)	98	1857
Sierra	Allegheny	Sierra Rangers	81	01/09/1858
Nevada		Nevada Rifles	106	02/13/1858
Sierra	Shady Flat	Mobile Guard	51	03/19/1858
Trinity	Weaverville	Kibbe Guard	69	09/27/1858
Sierra	La Porte	Sierra Greys	40	10/09/1858
Sierra	Gibsonville	Gibsonville Blues	119	10/10/1858
Trinity		Trinity Rangers+		1858
Tehama		Kibbe Rangers+		1859
Yuba	Marysville	Marysville Rifles	304	10/31/1859
El Dorado	Placerville	Confidence Guard	114	01/27/1860
Yuba	Timbuctoo	Downey Guard	59	09/02/1860
Humboldt		Humboldt Volunteers+		1860
Trinity	Weaverville	Union Guard	49	06/14/1861
Del Norte	Crescent City	Crescent City Guard	34	1861
Humboldt	Arcata	Mounted Volunteers	4	09/09/1861
Trinity	Douglas City	Douglas City Rifles	161	10/19/1861

<i>Table 3.4 - California Militia Units, 1854-1864</i>				
<b>County<sup>101</sup></b>	<b>Town</b>	<b>Militia/Independent Company Unit</b>	<b>No. of Names*</b>	<b>Date</b>
Butte	Oroville	Butte Mounted Rifles	91	07/11/1861
Butte	Oroville	Butte County Dragoons	86	09/06/1861
Humboldt	Eureka	Eureka Rifles	107	06/26/1862
Humboldt	Arcata	Arcata Guard	115	07/09/1862
Trinity	Weaverville	Halleck Rifles	87	10/07/1862
Sierra	La Porte	La Porte Guard	122	06/23/1863
Sierra	Alleghany	Alleghany Guard	86	08/29/1863
Nevada		Grass Valley Union Guard+		1863
Nevada		Nevada Light Guard+		1863
Tehama	Red Bluff	Lassen Rangers	140	05/11/1863
Plumas	Quincy	Union Guard	74	06/20/1863
Siskiyou	Yreka	Siskiyou Light Dragoons (Guard)	122	06/20/1863
Shasta	French Gulch	Truman Head Rifles	82	06/23/1863
Shasta	Shasta	Lyon Light Infantry	142	05/10/1863
Siskiyou	Scott Valley	Scott Valley Guard	44	06/20/1863
Plumas	Taylorville	Indian Valley Rifles	57	06/25/1863
Sierra	Minnesota City	Minnesota Guard	80	10/10/1863
Butte	Chico	Chico Light Infantry	95	11/28/1863
Sierra		Butte Mountain Rangers+		1864
Sierra	Sierraville	Mountain Rangers	73	04/02/1864
Sierra	Howland Flat	Table Rock Guard	84	09/26/1864
Sierra	Eureka	Union Guard (Eureka Guard)	51	12/05/1864
Lassen	Susanville	Honey Lake Rangers	159	07/20/1864
<p>*The total of this column is <b>4,899</b> names represented on the 54 rosters. This total and the number for each roster is conservative because any name that appeared similar or duplicative was not counted in the total for each roster.</p> <p>+The California Archives does not have any muster roll information for these units. However, the newspaper accounts included in the timelines evidence that the units existed and carried out violence against Northern California Indians.</p>				

Appendix F is the Web Template that integrates the timelines, newspapers, federal documents,

State Archives information and the militia rosters into one portal.

## Chapter 4

### FINDINGS

I launched this project to investigate how to bear witness to Euro-American violence perpetrated against California Indians from 1850 to 1866. In the process I discovered three methods that, when practiced together, contribute to such an effort: developing a respectful listening process with California Native communities; conducting historical research within a broad range of local and state repositories; and providing the results of the first two methods in a publicly accessible venue, in this instance as an internet portal. While conducting the historical research, and in reviewing each of the primary source documents, far reaching patterns and magnitudes of violence across northern California counties surfaced. Further evaluation of the Euro-American language used in the newspaper articles and government documents created a better understanding of the perpetrators' use of euphemisms to describe and legitimize their violence. As the inquiry progressed, I found answers to broader questions related to public history and Northern California Indian historiography: Does the rubric of "public history" fit into the context of an emerging Indigenous model in American Indian historiography? Does the project contribute to decolonizing Northern California historiography? If so, how? In this chapter I discuss the answers to these questions, and the findings established by the completed project.

Using public historian David Glassberg's work as a theoretical framework, this public history project does indeed provide an Indigenous model in American Indian historiography. Rather than choosing only one dominant historical narrative, through the

listening process, the project facilitated fresh dialogue about Northern California Indian history and the collective memory. In turn, the listening process created a safe space for various California Indigenous people to contribute their voices and concerns about the historical record. The website offers another portal for California Indigenous peoples and the public to examine 19th century primary sources that document Euro-American violence against Northern California Indians. Rather than creating “a finished interpretation of events translating the latest professional scholarship for a popular audience,” the web portal allows anyone access to primary source materials to review, evaluate and draw their own conclusions about this history.<sup>102</sup>

Similarly, the listening process and the website align with Corbett and Miller’s notion of “the spaces between” and their perspectives regarding shared inquiry. The dialogues at the local level encouraged situations where people felt at ease and safe enough to confront their own pasts and shared it beyond their immediate communities. In conducting the listening process and subsequent historical research, the participants confirmed that public history 1) is situational and frequently messy; 2) involves negotiation with non-historians in situations where agency is fluid and even ambiguous; 3) includes stories that California’s Indigenous peoples want to tell, but are not the stories the public wants to hear; and 4) for traditional storytellers and elders, stability matters more than change, and Truth is more important than fact.<sup>103</sup> By implementing a shared

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<sup>102</sup> David Glassberg, “Public History and the Study of Memory,” *The Public Historian* 18, no. 2 (Spring 1996): 13-14, citing James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University, 1993).

<sup>103</sup> Katharine T. Corbett and Howard S. (Dick) Miller, “A Shared Inquiry into Shared Inquiry,” *The Public Historian* 28, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 19-24.

inquiry during the listening process, participants were able to work together to address the history of Euro-American violence perpetrated against California Indians across different worldviews. The outcome was conducting further historical research and creating content for the web portal.

As I arranged information from multiple sources into a chronological series of timelines, patterns emerged showing the order of events and their connectedness across time, location and institutions (local, state and federal governments). The compilation of almost 2,000 newspapers alone revealed violent activities in sixteen counties within fifteen years, thus demonstrating a phenomenon beyond sporadic acts of small bands of transient ruffians. In terms of the sheer scale of Euro-American participation in the atrocities, rosters compiled from state records showed at least 4,899 names attached to fifty-four militia (or independent company) units supported by the Governor, the Legislature and the Adjutant General.<sup>104</sup> This state-sanctioned political and financial support bears witness to the magnitude of genocidal efforts to annihilate California Indians. Arguably, the violence instigated at the local level echoed a process to dominate and secure natural resources and economic advantages that was well known and used effectively by generations of Euro-Americans colonizers before arriving in California.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Kimberly Johnston-Dodds, *Early California Laws and Policies Related to California Indians*. (Sacramento: California Research Bureau, 2002), at <http://www.library.ca.gov/crb/02/14/02-014.pdf>.

<sup>105</sup> The administrative and legal framework used by officials in the State of California at the local level during the 1850s to 1860s to implement militia systems that killed Indians was rooted far into past English customs and institutions. These institutions originated in Anglo Saxon and Norman England's local government administration and military obligation. Populations that migrated from the British Isles to colonial America during the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century brought these longstanding customs and institutions with them. An exhaustive analysis of this important historical aspect is beyond the scope of the thesis project. However, a background essay on the subject will be included on

Using Foucault and Said's analysis of the discursive production of knowledge and their insight that archives are created in the language of the Colonizer proved pivotal to deciphering the euphemistic language of the authors of the documents recounting atrocities perpetrated against California's Indigenous Peoples.<sup>106</sup> As I searched the CIHRP databases, read the documents, and compared the linguistic conventions of the time period, I became familiar with how Euro-Americans described their efforts to exterminate California Indians in euphemistic or militaristic terms. For example the word "chastise" was used extensively to label attacking and destroying rancherias, villages and the inhabitants who lived there. Currently, "chastise" and synonyms of the word include "reprimand" or "rebuke," connoting less violent circumstances. Other militaristic terms used include "prisoners of war," "seat of war," "volunteers," "rangers," "guards," and "company." The term "militia" is actually used very infrequently in the newspaper articles.

Along with exterminating Native Peoples and expropriating their ancestral lands and resources, in California the Euro-Americans added insult to injury by renaming Indigenous peoples and their ancestral lands in Anglo terms. Suzan Shown Harjo observes: "when one country colonizes another, it disarms and controls the population, and changes the identity of the peoples, both nations and individuals, who are being

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the website in the future. See generally, John K. Mahon, *History of the Militia and the National Guard*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1983.

<sup>106</sup> "Between the *language* that defines the system of constructing possible sentences, and the *corpus* that passively collects the words that are spoken, the *archive* defines a particular level: that of a practice that causes a multiplicity of statements to emerge as so many regular events, as so many things to be dealt with and manipulated." See Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 130.

colonized.”<sup>107</sup> As they confiscated watersheds looking for gold and surveyed the land, they renamed places, including the rivers, creeks, streams and lakes. Often places and watersheds were named after themselves or a prominent military leader.<sup>108</sup> Next, as they encountered indigenous inhabitants, they renamed them as generic groups after the renamed places. The primary source documents included in the project provide numerous examples of this occurrence. Table 4.1 highlights four counties and examples of the Euro-American renaming found in the documents.

<i>Table 4.1 - Examples of Euro-American Renaming in Four California Counties</i>	
County(ies)	Names
Butte and Trinity	Deer Creek Indians, Digger, Eel Creek Indians, Hat Creek Indians, Mill Creek Indians, Trinity Indians
Humboldt	Bald Hills Indians, Eel River Indians, Mad River Indians, Mattole Indians, Red Wood Indians, Yager Creek Indians
Shasta	Pitt River Indians, Rogue River Indians

A more thorough analysis of the documents could be conducted to ascertain the full extent of renaming that occurred throughout the sixteen counties.

While an Indigenous researcher or historian did not develop this project, it offers a suite of tools that can enhance Indigenous decolonization of Northern California historiography on two different fronts. First, the historical primary source documents contained in the web archive confirm that Euro-Americans committed violence against northern California Indians to a far greater extent than previously evidenced. Second, the

<sup>107</sup> Suzan Shown Harjo, “Just Good Sports: The Impact of ‘Native’ References in Sports on Native Youth and What Some Decolonizers Have Done About It,” In Waziyatawin Angela Wilson (Dakota) and Michael Yellow Bird (Sahnish/Arikara and Hidatsa), eds., *For Indigenous Eyes Only: A Decolonization Handbook* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2005): 31.

<sup>108</sup> See generally, Erwin G. Gudde, *California Place Names: The Origin and Etymology of Current Geographical Names*, 4<sup>th</sup> Ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

actual meanings of the euphemistic and militaristic language in the documents collected for the project aligns with the anti-colonialist philosophers and Indigenous scholars' discourse surrounding colonizer "archives" surveyed in an earlier chapter. This phenomenon of using language as a means to dominate indigenous cultures could be further evaluated, as its verification would likely contribute to creating a decolonized Indigenous historiography of the region and time period represented in the project. It is imperative that the euphemistic language used to perpetrate violence against Northern California Native Peoples be exposed as such, and equally essential that such insight be formally integrated into California's public schools curriculum.



## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

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Date	PDF Document Link	Citation – Primary Source	Event/Description
01/18/1853		L. Lea to Ed. F. Beale, <b>January 18, 1853</b> , in <i>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</i> , Sen. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., Spec. Sess., Doc. 4, p. 33 (688).	
02/03/1853		<i>Humboldt Times</i> December 16, ??	Fort Humboldt established on Humboldt Bay to “best afford protection to that section of the country against the Indians...” ; cites editorial in Humboldt Times wants special agent up there asking Henley - in 1853? 1854? Secondary sources: Carranco, Lynwood and Estle Beard. <i>Genocide and Vendetta: The Round Valley Wars of Northern California</i> . Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981, 47; Hoopes, Chad L. <i>Lure of the Humboldt Bay Region: Early Discoveries, Explorations and Foundations Establishing the Bay Region</i> . Dubuque: Kendall Hunt Publishing Co., 1971, 87.
03/03/1853		Alex H.H. Stuart to W.K. Sebastian, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, <b>March 3, 1853</b> , in <i>Letter From the Secretary of the Interior Communicating the Report of Edward F. Beale, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California, Respecting the Condition of Indian Affairs in that State</i> , Sen. Exec. Docs., 32 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 7, Doc. 57, pp. 1-18 (665). [Includes enclosed report of Edward F. Beale, Superintendent of California Indian Affairs, and correspondence from Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs.]	

<b>Date</b>	<b>PDF Document Link</b>	<b>Citation – Primary Source</b>	<b>Event/Description</b>
03/06/1853	<a href="#">1853\03_06_1853.pdf</a>	“Exciting News from Tehama – Indian Thefts-Terrible Vengeance of the Whites.” <i>San Francisco Daily Alta</i> , March 6, 1853, p.2, col. 3	Breckenridge, Deer Creek, Pine Creek, small pox used as a weapon against Indians
04/02/1853	<a href="#">1853\04_02_1853.pdf</a>	“[The Indians About Shasta.]” <i>Placer Herald</i> , April 2, 1853: p. 2, col. 1.	
04/13/1853		R. McClelland to E.F. Beale, <b>April 13, 1853</b> , document no. 89 of <i>Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs</i> , H. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 1, Pt. 1, Doc. 1, pp. 464-466 (710).	
04/14/1853		R. McClelland to Edward F. Beale, <b>April 14, 1853</b> , document no. 90 of <i>Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs</i> , H. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 1, Pt. 1, Doc. 1, p. 466 (710).	
04/23/1853	<a href="#">1853\04_23_1853.pdf</a>	Arrival of the Golden Gate, Sixteen Days Later News [Regards Beale and military reservations.] <i>Placer Herald</i> , April 23, 1853: p. 2, col. 4.	
04/30/1853	<a href="#">1853\04_30_1853.pdf</a>	“Large Gathering of Friendly Indians,” <i>Placer Herald</i> , April 30, 1853, p. 1, col. 4.	
05/03/1853	<a href="#">1853\05_03_1853.pdf</a>	“From the Extreme North,” <i>Placerville Herald</i> , May 3, 1853, p. 4, col. 2.	
05/14/1853	<a href="#">1853\05_14_1853.pdf</a>	“From Shasta,” <i>Placer Herald</i> , May 14, 1853, p. 1, col. 3.	
05/19/1853		[Folder F3753:212], Military Department. Adjutant General. Indian War Papers, F3753, California State Archives.	Letter from William Rose to Dr. Pierce, State Comptroller, asking payment for furnishing a mule for 62 days to Captain Wright’s mounted volunteer company in 1852. Two affidavits accompany letter swearing to facts as stated. Written in Siskiyou County, May 19, 1853. 1 page 2 sides
05/30/1853		[Folder F3753:213], Military Department. Adjutant General. Indian War Papers, F3753, California State Archives.	Letter from Elias Stone to W. Pierce, State Comptroller asking \$200.00 for board and case of I.W. San Banack, commissary officers for Captain Wright’s Mounted

Date	PDF Document Link	Citation – Primary Source	Event/Description
			Volunteers. Attached are affidavits that only Stone cared for San Banack by county clerk and Stone. Also letter from San Banack to Pierce warning against a Dr. Ironside trying to collect mileage and board for wounded; neither performed! Written in Yreka, May 30, 1853. 2 pages 3 sides
Summer 1853			Geiger sells <i>State Journal</i> to owners of <i>The Californian</i> Secondary Source: Potter, David M. (ed). <i>Trail to California: The Overland Journal of Vincent Geiger and Wakeman Bryarly</i> . New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945, 68.
06/04/853	<a href="#">1853\06_04_1853.pdf</a>	"Indian Affairs." <i>Los Angeles Star</i> , June 4, 1853: p. 2, col. 1.	Regards Indian Reservations, Beale
06/18/1853	<a href="#">1853\06_18_1853.pdf</a>	"The Diggers' Fandango," <i>Placer Herald</i> , June 18, 1853, p. 2, col. 2.	
07/16/1853	<a href="#">1853\07_16_1853.pdf</a>	"For the Placerville Herald – July 9, 1853, Camp Creek," <i>Placer Herald</i> , July 16, 1853, p. 2, col. 3	
08/03/1853		Geo. W. Manypenny, "Circular to Agents and Sub-Agents," <b>August 3, 1853</b> , document no. 101 of <i>Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs</i> , Sen. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, Doc. 1, pp. 515-516 (746).	
08/11/1853	<a href="#">1853\08_11_1853.pdf</a>	"The Citizens of Yreka have recently killed twenty-five out of band of thirty Indians," <i>Daily Evening Herald</i> (Marysville), August 11, 1853, p. 2, col. 3.	
08/13/1853	<a href="#">1853\08_13_1853.pdf</a>	"The Yreka Herald," <i>Placerville Herald</i> , August 13, 1853, p. 2, col. 4	Reports livestock stolen by Indians
08/22/1853		E.F. Beale to G.W. Manypenny, <b>August 22, 1853</b> , document no. 91 of "Report of the Commissioner of the Indian Affairs," H. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. I, Pt. 1, Doc. 1, pp. 467-469 (710).	

Date	PDF Document Link	Citation – Primary Source	Event/Description
09/01/1853	<a href="#">1853\09_01_1853.pdf</a>	"The Indians" <i>Daily Evening Herald</i> (Marysville), September 1, 1853: p.2, col. 2.	
09/02/1853	<a href="#">1853\09_02_1853.pdf</a>	"Another Battle with the Indians." <i>Daily Evening Herald</i> (Marysville), September 2, 1853: p.2, col. 4.	
09/02/1853	<a href="#">1853\09_02_1853Late.pdf</a>	"Late and Important. More Indian Fighting." <i>Daily Evening Herald</i> (Marysville), September 2, 1853: p.2, col. 4.	
09/02/1853	<a href="#">1853\09_02_1853One.pdf</a>	"One man shot dead and five wounded." <i>Daily Evening Herald</i> (Marysville), September 2, 1853: p.2, cols. 4-5.	
09/03/1852	<a href="#">1853\09_03_1853.pdf</a>	"[Totas Tribe and Smallpox.]" <i>Placerville Herald</i> , September 3, 1853: p. 1, col. 3.	
09/04/1853		George Stoneman, R.S. Williamson, JNO G. Parke, to E.F. Beale, <b>September 4, 1853</b> , document no. 99 of <i>Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs</i> , H. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 1, Pt. 1, Doc. 1, pp. 478-479 (710).	
09/03/1853	<a href="#">1853\09_03_1853Indians.pdf</a>	"The Indians." <i>Daily Evening Herald</i> (Marysville), September 3, 1853: p.2, col. 3.	
09/20/1853		H.B. Edwards to Supt. Beale, <b>September 20, 1853</b> , document no. 93 of <i>Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs</i> , H. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 1, Pt. 1, Doc. 1, pp. 472-474 (710).	
09/27/1853		E.F. Beale to Wm. M. Gwin and M.S. Latham, <b>September 27, 1853</b> , document no. 95 of <i>Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs</i> , H. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 1, Pt. 1, Doc. 1, pp. 475-476 (710).	
09/30/1853		E.F. Beale to Geo. W. Manypenny, <b>September 30, 1853</b> , document no. 92 of <i>Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs</i> , H. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 1, Pt. 1, Doc. 1, pp. 469-472 (710).	

Date	PDF Document Link	Citation – Primary Source	Event/Description
10/02/1853		John B. Weller to E.F. Beale, <b>October 2, 1853</b> , document no. 97 of <i>Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs</i> , H. Exec. Docs., 1 Sess., Vol. 1, Pt. 1, Doc. 1, pp. 476-477 (710).	
10/10/1853		E.F. Beale to George W. Manypenny, <b>October 10, 1853</b> , document no. 94 of <i>Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs</i> , H. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 1, Pt. 1, Doc. 1, pp. 474-475 (710).	
10/14/1853		J.A. McDougal to E.F. Beale, <b>October 14, 1853</b> , document no. 98 of <i>Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs</i> , H. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 1, Pt. 1, Doc. 1, pp. 477-478 (710).	
11/18/1853		G.W. Manypenny to E.F. Beale, <b>November 18, 1853</b> , document no. 101 of <i>Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs</i> , H. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 1, Pt. 1, Doc. 1, pp. 480-481 (710).	
??		WM M. Gwin, document no. 96 of <i>Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs</i> , H. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 1, Pt. 1, Doc. 1, p. 476 (710).	
12/26/1853		[ Folder F3753:214 ] Military Department. Adjutant General. Indian War Papers, F3753, California State Archives.	Letter from J.P. Goodall to H.H. McMeans, Clerk of War Board forwarding papers of G.G. Holmes and his own for payment for service in Captain Wright's California Mounted Volunteers. Written in Yreka, December 26, 1853. 4 pages 4 sides
1854		Thos. J. Henly [sic] to Geo. W. Manypenny, <b>December 18, 1851 [1854]</b> , in <i>Message of the President Communicating a report from the Secretary of the Interior, relative to the colonization of the California Indians</i> , Sen. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 7, Doc. 41, pp. 3-4 (752).	



Date	PDF Document Link	Citation – Primary Source	Event/Description
??		Ed. E. Cheevers, "Estimate of Expenses of Removing Five Hundred Indians from Guber (Feather River) to Indian Reserve, by Land," document no. 100 of <i>Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs</i> , H. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 1, Pt. 1, Doc. 1, p. 480 (710).	
11/26/1853		Geo. W. Manypenny, <i>Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs</i> , November 26, 1853, H. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 1, Pt. 1, Doc. 1 pp. 243-267 (710).	
12/26/1853		[Folder F3753:214 ] Military Department. Adjutant General. Indian War Papers, F3753, California State Archives.	Letter from J.P. Goodall to H.H. McMeans, Clerk of War Board forwarding papers of G.G. Holmes and his own for payment for service in Captain Wright's California Mounted Volunteers. Written in Yreka, December 26, 1853. 4 pages 4 sides
01/05/1854	<a href="#">1854\01_05_1854.pdf</a>	"Indian Affairs in the North." <i>Sacramento Daily Union</i> , January 5, 1854; p. 2, col. 3.	
01/18/1854	<a href="#">1854\01_18_1854.pdf</a>	"Five Indians Killed." <i>Sacramento Daily Union</i> , January 18, 1854; p. 3, col. 2.	Burnt Ranch, Trinity River
01/23/1854	<a href="#">1854\01_23_1854.pdf</a>	"More Trouble Among the Indians." <i>Sacramento Daily Union</i> , January 23, 1854; p. 3, col. 2.	
01/31/1854		[ Folder F3753:228 ], Military Department. Adjutant General. Indian War Papers, F3753, California State Archives.	War Papers, F3753, California State Archives. Petition from citizens of Klamath County to Governor Bigler asking for arms to protect themselves from Indians. Asks for 10 rifles 20 muskets 1000 cartridges. Written in <b>Klamath</b> County, January 31, 1854. 1 page 1 side
01/31/1854		[ Folder F3753:229 ], Military Department. Adjutant General. Indian War Papers, F3753, California State Archives.	Letter from General Kibbe, Adjutant General, to County Judge, <b>Klamath</b> County informing him of shipment of 10 rifles, 20 muskets, 1000 rifle cartridges as requested for issue to use against Indians. Tells Judge

Date	PDF Document Link	Citation – Primary Source	Event/Description
			he is responsible for arms and their safe return when not needed any longer. Written in Benicia, January 31, 1854. 1 page 1 side
02/02/1854	<a href="#">1854\02_02_1854.pdf</a>	"Yreka News." <i>Sacramento Daily Union</i> , February 2, 1854: p. 2, col. 7.	
02/08/1854		E.F. Beale to G.W. Manypenny, <b>February 8, 1854</b> , document no. 98 of <i>Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs</i> , Sen. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, Doc. 1, pp. 506-508 (746).	
02/20/1854		[Folder F3753:230 ], Military Department. Adjutant General. Indian War Papers, F3753, California State Archives.	List of names of volunteer company organized at Pittsburgh, Shasta County, under Captain Johnson's command. Written at Pittsburgh, <b>Shasta County</b> , February 20, 1854. 1 page 2 sides
n.d.		[Folder F3753: 231], Military Department. Adjutant General. Indian War Papers, F3753, California State Archives.	Petition to Governor Bigler asking protection from Indians. Communications between Crescent City and mines cut off. Have 40 volunteers, not enough. Written in <b>Klamath County</b> , no date. 1 page 2 sides
03/08/1854		[ Folder F3753:232 ], Military Department. Adjutant General. Indian War Papers, F3753, California State Archives.	Affidavit sworn by four men before County Judge that Indians are stealing and attacking homes, trying to burn. Written in <b>Klamath County</b> , March 8, 1854. 1 page 2 sides
03/11/1854	<a href="#">1854\03_11_1854.pdf</a>	"23 Indians Killed." <i>Weekly Butte Record</i> , March 11, 1854: p. 2, col. 5.	
03/18/1854	<a href="#">1854\03_18_1854.pdf</a>	"War Claims." <i>Weekly Mountain Democrat</i> , March 18, 1854: p. 4, col. 2.	
03/30/1854	<a href="#">1854\03_30_1854.pdf</a>	"Condition of California Indians." <i>Grass Valley Telegraph</i> , March 30, 1854: p. 2, col. 1.	
04/13/1854		[Folder F3753: 233], Military Department. Adjutant General. Indian War Papers, F3753, California State Archives.	Letter from John A. Dreibelbis to Governor Bigler complaining that Indians killed 11 Chinese, 2 white miners on McCloud River on February 3, 1854. Local volunteers

Date	PDF Document Link	Citation – Primary Source	Event/Description
			formed Company when refused aid by Colonel Wright, Company Commander Fort Reading (sic), found an encampment, killed 21 Indians, found more, killed seven. Indians raided cattle ranches, pursued again, 17 more killed. Now reporting to Governor State to pay volunteers for services. Written at <b>Pitt River</b> , April 13, 1854. 2 pages 3 sides
04/20/1854	<a href="#">1854\04_20_1854.pdf</a>	"Indian Fight." <i>Grass Valley Telegraph</i> , April 20, 1854: p. 4, col. 1.	
04/27/1854		<b>Klamath Mounted Rangers</b> Item No.: B3415-1, Military Unit Designation: 2nd Brigade, 6th Division	<b>Klamath Mounted Rangers</b>
05/13/1854	<a href="#">Militia Units\KLA_02 Coast Rangers_08_22_09.pdf</a>	<i>Sacramento Union</i> , October 30, 1855, p. 2. col. 2, gave date of formation as 07/11/1854  AG Dead Office File, Row 7, File 4 <i>The National Guard of California, 1849-1880</i> (Part 1), pp. 54-55	<b>Coast Rangers</b> , Sixth Division, Second Brigade, Crescent City, Klamath County  Per <i>Sacramento Union</i> 10/30/1855, formed with enrollment of 38 men.
05/13/1854		California State Archive Item No.: B3409-3, 2nd Brigade, 6th Division	<b>Coast Rangers</b> , Sixth Division, Second Brigade, Crescent City, Klamath County
05/18/1854	<a href="#">1854\05_18_1854.pdf</a>	"Indians In The North." <i>Grass Valley Telegraph</i> , May 18, 1854: p. 4, col. 1.	
05/18/1854	<a href="#">1854\05_18_1854Stor.ms.pdf</a>	"Indian Races." <i>Grass Valley Telegraph</i> , May 18, 1854: p. 2, col. 3.	
05/24/1854	<a href="#">1854\05_24_1854Fight.pdf</a>	"Indian Fight." <i>Nevada Democrat</i> , May 24, 1854: p. 2, col. 3.	
05/24/1854	<a href="#">1854\05_24_1854.pdf</a>	"A War Party." <i>Nevada Democrat</i> , May 24, 1854: p. 2, col. 2.	
05/25/1854	<a href="#">1854\05_25_1854Weimar.pdf</a>	"We have been waited on by Captain Weimar..." <i>Grass Valley Telegraph</i> , May 25, 1854: p. 2, col. 4.	

<b>Date</b>	<b>PDF Document Link</b>	<b>Citation – Primary Source</b>	<b>Event/Description</b>
05/25/1854	<a href="#">1854\05_25_1854W/a r.pdf</a>	"Indian War." <i>Grass Valley Telegraph</i> , May 25, 1854: p. 2, col. 4.	
05/25/1854	<a href="#">1854\05_25_1854.pdf</a>	"Indian Festival." <i>Grass Valley Telegraph</i> , May 25, 1854: p. 1, col. 2.	
06/05/1854	<a href="#">Militia Units\KLA_04 Klamath Mounted Rangers_08_22_09.pdf</a>	<i>Sacramento Union</i> , October 30, 1855, p. 2, col. 2 <i>Sacramento Union</i> , January 19, 1855, p. 2, col. 1 AG Dead Office File Row 3, File 3 <i>The National Guard of California, 1849-1880</i> (Part 1), p. 56	<b>Klamath Mounted Rangers</b> , Sixth Division, Second Brigade, Crescent City, Klamath County
06/05/1854		[Folder F3753: 215], Military Department. Adjutant General. Indian War Papers, F3753, California State Archives.	Affidavits of George Holmes as to his service in Captain Wright's California Mounted Volunteers and that he furnished a horse. Also assignment of power of attorney to J.P. Goodall to collect whatever is due Holmes and forward same. Written in Jackson County, Oregon Territory, June 5, 1854. 5 pages 5 sides
06/07/1854	<a href="#">1854\06_07_1854.pdf</a>	"Fandango." <i>Nevada Democrat</i> , June 7, 1854: p. 2, col. 1.	
07/01/1854		[Folder F3753:217 ], Military Department. Adjutant General. Indian War Papers, F3753, California State Archives.	Power of Attorney from firm of Waterman and Tolin to Alfred Waterman as their agent to collect attached bill for \$517.00 for rental of mules and horses for 93 days by Captain Wright's and Captain McDermett's Ranger Companies in fall of 1852. Written in Yreka, July 1, 1854. 2 pages 3 sides
07/01/1854	<a href="#">1854\07_01_1854.pdf</a>	"Murdered by Indians." <i>Weekly Butte Record</i> , July 1, 1854: p. 2, col. 3.	
07/06/1854	<a href="#">1854\07_06_1854.pdf</a>	"It is reported that Lieut. E.F. Beall (sic), Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California, has been removed..." <i>Grass Valley Telegraph</i> , July 6, 1854: p. 2, col. 5-6.	
07/08/1854	<a href="#">1854\07_08_1854.pdf</a>	"The party who went in pursuit of the Indians who murdered Mr. Person, returned to this place on	

Date	PDF Document Link	Citation – Primary Source	Event/Description
		Sunday last." <i>Weekly Butte Record</i> , July 8, 1854: p. 2, col. 1.	
07/20/1854	<a href="#">Militia Units\TRI 04 Trinity Guard 08 22 09.pdf</a>	AG Dead Office File, Row 5, File 2 Adjutant General Report, 1850-1863, p. 53, 172-173  <i>The National Guard of California, 1849-1880</i> (Part 1), p. 58  Trinity Guard. Item No.: B3412-3, 2nd Brigade, 6th Division	<b>Trinity Guard</b> , Sixth Division, Second Brigade, Weaverville, Trinity County
07/20/1854		Trinity Guard. Item No.: B3412-3, 2nd Brigade, 6th Division	Trinity Guard, Sixth Division, Second Brigade, Weaverville, Trinity County
08/_/1854		Ford to Henley, September 4, 1854, Mf. RG 75, Series M 234, Roll 33:367.	Henley sent Captain H.L. Ford to find location for reservation: "Near the place marked lower forks we met part of the Nome Lace tribe about 50 in number... We learned that their tribe now was reduced to less than 300... They also stated that a party of Mexicans had been for the last six months roving through their country and whenever their women and children ventured out to gather seeds they attacked them and carried off their young women and children..."  Carranco, Lynwood and Estle Beard. <i>Genocide and Vendetta: The Round Valley Wars of Northern California</i> . Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981, 44.
08/01/1854		W. Meclin, "John C. Fremont, late lieutenant Colonel mounted rifles, in account with the United States," <b>August 1, 1854</b> , in <i>Message of the President of the United States, Communicating, In compliance with a resolution of the Senate of the 11<sup>th</sup> instant, copies of letters and vouchers in support of claims presented by and allowed to John C. Fremont</i> , Sen. Exec. Docs., 34 Cong., 1	

<b>Date</b>	<b>PDF Document Link</b>	<b>Citation – Primary Source</b>	<b>Event/Description</b>
08/09/1854	<a href="#">1854\08_09_1854.pdf</a>	Sess., Vol. 16, Doc. 109, p. 6 (825). "Indian Fight." <i>Nevada Democrat</i> , August 9, 1854: p. 2, col. 3.	
08/17/1854	<a href="#">1854\08_17_1854.pdf</a>	"Indian Agent." <i>Grass Valley Telegraph</i> , August 17, 1854: p. 2, col. 3.	Vincent E. Geiger appointed Indian Sub Agent for Northern California.
08/19/1854	<a href="#">1854\08_19_1854.pdf</a>	"Another Indian Reservation." <i>The Union Democrat-Sonora</i> , August 19, 1854: p. 2, col. 4.	Vincent Geiger, formerly of the <i>State Journal</i> will be in charge of an Indian Reservation.
08/23/1854	<a href="#">1854\08_23_1854.pdf</a>	"Indian Reservation." <i>Nevada Democrat</i> , August 23, 1854: p. 2, col. 1.	Vincent Geiger, formerly of the <i>State Journal</i> will be in charge of an Indian Reservation.
08/28/1854		Thos. J. Henley to G.W. Manypenny, <b>August 28, 1854</b> , document no. 99 of <i>Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs</i> , Sen. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, Doc. 1, pp. 508-513 (746).	
08/29/1854		Thos. J. Henley to Geo. W. Manypenny, <b>August 29, 1854</b> , document no. 100 of <i>Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs</i> , Sen. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, Doc. 1, pp. 513-515 (746).	
09/_/1854		J. Ross Browne Letter on the Conditions of the Indian Reservations in California, 1857 Mf. RG 75, Series M 234, Roll 35:952-65.	Nome Lackee Reservation established by Henley  Carranco, Lynwood and Estle Beard. <i>Genocide and Vendetta: The Round Valley Wars of Northern California</i> . Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981, 58, fn 7.
09/21/1854		[Folder F3753:216 ], Military Department. Adjutant General. Indian War Papers, F3753, California State Archives.	Letter to S. Bell, State Comptroller from James P. Goodall saying he had sent powers of attorney to former Comptroller Pierce, and McMeans and was now sending one with Assemblyman C.J. Curtis to collect warrants due a G.G. Holmes for 15 days

Date	PDF Document Link	Citation – Primary Source	Event/Description
			service with Captain Wright's Company on Indian Expedition in 1851. Wants money from someone. Written in Yreka, September 21, 1854. 1 page 2 sides
09/23/1854	<a href="#">1854\09 23 1854.pdf</a>	"Indians." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , September 23, 1854: p. 2, col. 1.	First <i>Humboldt Times</i> entry in California State Library microfilm - illegible
09/23/1854	<a href="#">1854\09 23 1854\Indian Murder.pdf</a>	"Indian Murder." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , September 23, 1854: p. 2, col. 4.	
09/23/1854	<a href="#">1854\09 23 1854\Mattole.pdf</a>	"Mattole River and Valley." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , September 23, 1854: p. 2, col. 4.	
09/30/1854	<a href="#">1854\09 30 1854.pdf</a>	"The Murderer of Mr. Wigmore Killed." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , September 30, 1854: p. 2, col. 3.	
09/30/1854	<a href="#">1854\09 30 1854\Geiger.pdf</a>	"Personal -- Vincent E. Geiger, Esq., Indian Agent for Northern California, paid us a visit on Monday last." <i>Weekly Butte Record</i> , September 30, 1854: p. 2, col. 1.	
10/02/1854	<a href="#">1854\10 02 1854.pdf</a>	"Abducting Indian Children." <i>Alta California</i> , p. 2, col. 1.	Slavery
10/02/1854	<a href="#">1854\10 02 1854\Indian Affairs.pdf</a>	"Indian Affairs." <i>Alta California</i> , October 2, 1854: p. 2, col. 2.	
10/02/1854	<a href="#">Militia Units\SIE-11 Sierra Guards 08 22 09.pdf</a>	AG Dead Office File, Row 4, File 8 <i>The National Guard of California, 1849-1880</i> (Part 1), pp. 61-65	<b>Sierra Guard</b> , First Division, First Brigade, Downieville, Sierra County [look in newspapers for any references]
10/02/1854		Sierra Guards. Item No.: B3413-1, 1st Brigade, 1st Division	Sierra Guard, First Division, First Brigade, Downieville, Sierra County
10/02/1854	<a href="#">1854\10 02 1854\Council.pdf</a>	"Indian Council." <i>Alta California</i> , October 2, 1854: p. 2, col. 6.	
10/04/1854	<a href="#">1854\10 04 1854.pdf</a>	"Grand Indian Council." <i>Nevada Democrat</i> , October 4, 1854: p. 2, col. 1-2.	Meeting with Tribal Leaders, U.S. Senators, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Storm's Ranch re: removing Indians to reservation.
10/05/1854	<a href="#">1854\10 05 1854.pdf</a>	"Maj. Gen. Wool and Col. John B. Weller..." <i>Sacramento Daily Union</i> , October 5, 1854: p. 2, col. 1.	
10/07/1854	<a href="#">1854\10 07 1854.pdf</a>	"Grand Indian Council in Nevada." <i>Alta</i>	



<b>Date</b>	<b>PDF Document Link</b>	<b>Citation – Primary Source</b>	<b>Event/Description</b>
10/09/1854	<a href="#">f</a>	<i>California</i> , October 7, 1854: p. 1, col. 5. Peters to Henley, October 9, 1854, Mf. RG 75, Series M 234, Roll 33:398-99.	J. Montgomery Peters, Judge of 8 <sup>th</sup> Judicial District Court for Northern District (Uniontown/Arcata), wrote to Henley about Indians on main highways leading from Trinidad and Klamath County ....  Carranco, Lynwood and Estle Beard. <i>Genocide and Vendetta: The Round Valley Wars of Northern California</i> . Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981, 45, fn 53.
10/14/1854	<a href="#">1854\10_14_1854.pdf</a>	"Lynch Law." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , October 14, 1854: p. 2, col. 3.	
10/14/1854	<a href="#">1854\10_14_1854Wigmore.pdf</a>	"Two More of the Murderers of Wigmore Captured." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , October 14, 1854: p. 2, col. 3.	
10/14/1854	<a href="#">1854\10_14_1854_Vigilante.pdf</a>	"A Vigilance Committee." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , October 14, 1854: p. 2, col. 4.	
10/15/1854	Genocide and Vendetta, p. 45, fn 51	Henley to Manypenny, September 26, 1854, October 15, 1854 Mf. RG 75, Series M 234, Roll 33:392.	Henley visits location for Nome Lackee reservation; "I have sent for a tribe of Indians numbering about 200 reaching about 70 miles east of the Reserve at the foothills of the Sierra-Nevada Mountains." [Maidus in Grass Valley?]
10/19/1854		Henley to McQueen, September 26, 1854, Mf. RG 75 Series M234, Roll 33:358; Henley to McDaniell, October 19, 1854, Mf. RG 75, Series M 234, Roll 33:359; Henley to Manypenny, October 15, 1854 Mf. RG 75, Series M 234, Roll 33:392.	Henley appoints special agents: Capt. William McQueen and Major William McDaniell as visiting agents "for the country north of San Francisco Bay; D.M. Moony special agent for Trinity County where Indians were destitute and "were to be invited to the reservation in the fall."  Carranco, Lynwood and Estle Beard. <i>Genocide and Vendetta: The Round Valley</i>



<b>Date</b>	<b>PDF Document Link</b>	<b>Citation – Primary Source</b>	<b>Event/Description</b>
			<i>Wars of Northern California</i> . Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981, 45, fn 52.
10/21/1854	<a href="#">1854\10 28 1854.pdf</a>	"Indians." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , October 28, 1854: p. 2, col. 1.	
10/28/1854	<a href="#">1854\10 28 1854Wigmore.pdf</a>	"The Murderers of Wigmore." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , October 28, 1854: p. 2, col. 3.	
10/28/1854		[Folder F3753:218 ], Military Department. Adjutant General. Indian War Papers, F3753, California State Archives.	Affidavit, of David H. Lowry as to accuracy of bill for \$246.35 for cash advanced and supplies furnished Captain Wright's Rangers in September, October, and November of 1852 on Indian Expeditions. Also power of attorney authorizing Wells Fargo and Company as its agent to act for him in collection from California. Written in Siskiyou County, October 28, 1854. 2 pages 4 sides
11/___/1854		Henley to Manypenny, December 8, 1854; January 15, 1855, Mf. RG 75, Series M 234, Roll 34:189, 284.	Special Agent Mooney of Trinity County reports Indians furnished with beef to keep from starving because of failure of salmon to get above the miners' flumes at Scott's Bar and that "the warriors of the Shasta tribe are almost all exterminated leaving a large number of women and children." Mooney brought 200 Indians from Trinity County to Nome Lackee.
			Carranco, Lynwood and Estle Beard. <i>Genocide and Vendetta: The Round Valley Wars of Northern California</i> . Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981, 46, fn 58.
11/08/1854	<a href="#">1854\11 08 1854.pdf</a>	"From Colusa - The Indian Reservation." <i>Alta California</i> , November 8, 1854: p. 2, col. 2.	
11/11/1854	<a href="#">1854\11 11 1854.pdf</a>	"Indians -- Letter from G.W. Taggart, Esq."	

Date	PDF Document Link	Citation – Primary Source	Event/Description
	<a href="#">f</a>	<i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , November 11, 1854: p. 1, col. 4	
11/11/1854	<a href="#">1854\11_11_1854Colusa.pdf</a>	"The Indian Reservation in Colusi connty (sic)..." <i>Weekly Butte Record</i> , November 11, 1854: p. 2, col. 7.	
11/12/1854	<a href="#">1854\11_12_1854.pdf</a>	"The Reservation." <i>Alta California</i> , November 12, 1854: p. 2, col. 2.	
11/14/1854		[Folder F3753:219 J, Military Department. Adjutant General. Indian War Papers, F3753, California State Archives.	Letter from M. Scott to Dr. McMeans, State Treasurer, stating J.R. Reynolds service claim for 34 days in Company C, 1st Battalion, California Volunteers, Captain Dukman, Company Commander. Letter from Witherill states interest and principal is \$71.50 and \$170.00 respectively. Also Authorized Wells Fargo to collect it. Also attached are Reynolds discharge and power of attorney by Reynolds making Witherill his agent. Written in San Francisco, November 14, 1854. 5 pages 5 sides
11/18/1854		Henry R. Schoolcraft, "Report of Henry R. Schoolcraft, on the state of Indian statistics," <b>November 18, 1854</b> , in <i>Report of the Secretary of the Interior, Communicating, In compliance with a resolution of the Senate, a report made by R. H. Schoolcraft, on the state of Indian statistics</i> , Sen. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 6, Doc. 13, pp. 2-11 (751).	
11/25/1854		Geo. W. Manypenny, <i>Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 25 1854</i> , Sen. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, Doc. 1, pp. 211-233 (746).	
11/29/1854	<a href="#">1854\11_29_1854.pdf</a>	"Indian Trouble." <i>Nevada Democrat</i> , November 29, 1854: p. 2, col. 2.	
12/04/1854		R. McClelland, <i>Report of the Secretary of the Interior, December 4, 1854</i> , Sen. Exec. Docs., 33	

Date	PDF Document Link	Citation – Primary Source	Event/Description
12/04/1854		Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, Doc. 1, pp. 29-42 (746). Jefferson Davis, <i>Report of the Secretary of War, December 4, 1854</i> , Sen. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 2, Doc. 1, pp. 3-27 (747).	
12/08/1854		Thos. J. Henly [sic] to G.W. Manypenny, <b>December 8, 1854</b> , in <i>Message of the President Communicating Papers from the Secretary of the Interior relative to the removal of Indians from California</i> , Sen. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 7, Doc. 36, p. 2 (752).	
12/16/1854	<a href="#">1854\12_16_1854.pdf</a>	"The Indians," <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , December 16, 1854: p. 2, col. 4.	
12/16/1854	<a href="#">1854\12_16_1854Reservation.pdf</a>	"The Indian Reservation North," <i>The Union Democrat-Sonora</i> , December 16, 1854: p. 2, col. 4.	
12/16/1854	<a href="#">1854\12_16_1854Northern.pdf</a>	"Northern Indians," <i>Weekly Butte Record</i> , December 16, 1854: p. 3, col. 1.	
12/27/1854	<a href="#">Militia Units\SIE-051 Goodyears Rifles 08_22_09.pdf</a>	AG Dead Office File, Row 3, File 7 <i>The National Guard of California, 1849-1880</i> (Part 1), p. 66	<b>Goodyear's Rifles or Goodyear's Bar Rifles</b> , Fourth Division, Second Brigade, Goodyear's Bar, Sierra County
12/27/1854		<b>Goodyear's Rifles (Goodyear's Bar Rifles)</b> , Item No.: B3414-2, 2nd Brigade, 4th Division	
12/29/1854		[Folder F3753:220 ], Military Department. Adjutant General. Indian War Papers, F3753, California State Archives.	Power of attorney assigned E.J. Curtis by Waterman and Tolin to collect all money due them for transportation or materials furnished Captain Wright's Mounted Rangers in fall of 1852. Written in Yreka, December 29, 1854. 1 page 2 sides
01/02/1855		Goodwin to Henley, January 2, 1855, Mf. RG 75, Series M 234, Roll 34:316.	A.C. Goodwin, special agent on the Russian River, whites threatened to drive the Indians out of the valley should they continue their refusal to work."
			Carranco, Lynwood and Estle Beard.

Date	PDF Document Link	Citation – Primary Source	Event/Description
			<i>Genocide and Vendetta: The Round Valley Wars of Northern California</i> . Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981, 48, fn 61.
01/03/1855		Jeff'n Davis, <i>Report of the Secretary of War, January 3, 1855</i> , Sen. Exec. Docs., 34 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 2, Doc. 1, pp. 3-48 (811). [Includes report compendium.]	
01/04/1855	<a href="#">1855\01_04_1855.pdf</a>	"Government and Protection of Indians." <i>Los Angeles Star</i> , January 4, 1855: p. 2, col. 5.	
01/11/1855	<a href="#">Militia Units\KLA_05 Klamath Rifles 08_22_09.pdf</a>	AG Dead Office File, Row 3, File 3 <i>The National Guard of California, 1849-1880</i> (Part 1), p. 68	<b>Klamath Rifles</b> , Sixth Division, Second Brigade, Young's Ferry, Klamath County.  May have been called Rifle Rangers
01/11/1855		Klamath Rifles (Rifle Rangers), Item No.: B3415-1, 2nd Brigade, 6th Division	Klamath Rifles, Sixth Division, Second Brigade, Young's Ferry, Klamath County.
01/13/1855	<a href="#">1855\01_13_1855.pdf</a>	"From the Mines." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , January 13, 1855: p. 2, cols. 3-4.	
01/13/1855	<a href="#">1855\01_13_1855Citizens.pdf</a>	"Meeting of the Citizens of Orleans Bar." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , January 13, 1855: p. 2, col. 3.	
01/13/1855	<a href="#">1855\01_13_1855Hostilities.pdf</a>	"Threatened Hostilities with the Indians." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , January 13, 1855: p. 2, col. 3.	
01/18/1855	<a href="#">1855\01_18_1855.pdf</a>	"Digger Indians," <i>Georgetown Weekly News</i> , January 18, 1855: p. 1, col. 3.	
01/20/1855	<a href="#">1855\01_20_1855.pdf</a>	"Indian Hostilities -- Three Men Killed." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , January 20, 1855: p. 2, col. 3.	Red Cap Indians, Fort Humboldt
01/20/1855	<a href="#">1855\01_20_1855Postscript.pdf</a>	"Postscript." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , January 20, 1855: p. 2, col. 3.	
01/22/1855	<a href="#">Militia Units\KLA_08 Union Volunteers 08_22_09.pdf</a>	AG Dead Office File, Row 3, File 3 <i>The National Guard of California, 1849-1880</i> (Part 1), p. 71	<b>Union Volunteers</b> , Sixth Division, Second Brigade, Union, Klamath County  Union = Arcata later
01/22/1855		Union Volunteers . Item No.: B3415-1, 2nd Brigade, 6th Division	Union Volunteers, Sixth Division, Second Brigade, Union, Klamath County

Date	PDF Document Link	Citation – Primary Source	Event/Description
01/25/1855	<a href="#">1855\01_25_1855.pdf</a>	"More Indian Troubles." <i>Los Angeles Star</i> , January 25, 1855: p. 2, col. 4.	Union = Arcata later
01/27/1855	<a href="#">1855\01_27_1855.pdf</a>	"Removal of the Indians." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , January 27, 1855: p. 2, col. 1.	
01/27/1855	<a href="#">1855\01_27_1855SanDiego.pdf</a>	"Highly Important from Humboldt." <i>San Diego Herald</i> , January 27, 1855: p. 2, col. 7.	
01/30/1855	<a href="#">Militia Units\ED_08Placerville Guards_08_22_09.pdf</a>	AG Dead Office File, Row 3, File 8 <i>The National Guard of California, 1849-1880</i> (Part 1), p. 72	<b>Placerville Guard</b> , First Division, Fourth Brigade, Placerville, El Dorado County, reorganized in January 1855.
01/30/1855		Placerville Guard . Item No.: B3414-1, 4th Brigade, 1st Division	Placerville Guard, First Division, Fourth Brigade, Placerville, El Dorado County, reorganized in January 1855.
01/30/1855		John E. Wool to L. Thomas, <b>January 30, 1855</b> , in <i>Report of the Secretary of War</i> , Sen. Exec. Docs., 34 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 2, Doc. 1, pp. 73-74 (811).	
01/31/1855		Geo. W. Manypenny to R. McClelland, <b>January 31, 1855</b> , in <i>Message of the President Communicating Papers from the Secretary of the Interior relative to the removal of Indians from California</i> , Sen. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 7, Doc. 41, pp. 1-2 (752).	
02/03/1855	<a href="#">1855\02_03_1855.pdf</a>	"The Indian Difficulties." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , February 3, 1855: p. 2, col. 2.	
02/03/1855	<a href="#">1855\02_03_1855Affairs.pdf</a>	"Situation of Affairs on the Klamath." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , February 3, 1855, p. 2, col. 2.	
02/03/1855	<a href="#">1855\02_03_1855Removal.pdf</a>	"Removal of the Indians." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , February 3, 1855: p. 2, col. 3.	White man tries to rape Indian woman, then he kills an Indian boy – names perpetrator
02/03/1855	<a href="#">1855\02_03_1855Notice.pdf</a>	"Military Notice." <i>Weekly Mountain Democrat</i> , February 3, 1855: p. 3, col. 1.	
02/04/1855		Rosborough to Henley, February 4, 1855, Mf. RG	Rosborough as Special Agent to Klamath

Date	PDF Document Link	Citation – Primary Source	Event/Description
		75, Series M 234, Roll 34:392-95.	<p>River reports from Weitchpec on situation. "There is a large interest at stake on this river. There are probably 500 or 600 miners employed on the Klamath and Salmon Rivers who receive their supplies from Union on Humboldt Bay and Trinidad... This is the lowest mining point on the Klamath and all supplies from above river have to pass this point... There are about 2000 Indians on the waters of the Klamath..."</p> <p>Carranco, Lynwood and Estle Beard. <i>Genocide and Vendetta: The Round Valley Wars of Northern California</i>. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981, 48-49, fn 63</p>
02/05/1855		R. McClelland to the President, <b>February 5, 1855</b> , in <i>Message of the President Communicating a report from the Secretary of the Interior, relative to the colonization of the California Indians</i> , Sen. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 7, Doc. 41, pp. 1-2 (752).	
02/10/1855	<a href="#">1855\02_10_1855Pos</a> <a href="#">tscript.pdf</a>	"Postscript." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , February 10, 1855, p. 2, col. 2.	
02/10/1855	<a href="#">1855\02_10_1855.pdf</a>	"From the Seat of War." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , February 10, 1855, p. 2, col. 2.	
02/17/1855	<a href="#">1855\02_17_1855.pdf</a>	"An Aboriginal Orator." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , February 17, 1855; p. 2, col. 1.	
02/17/1855	<a href="#">1855\02_17_1855Deserving.pdf</a>	"Deserving." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , February 17, 1855; p. 2, col. 3.	
02/17/1855	<a href="#">1855\02_17_1855Letter.pdf</a>	"Letter from Lt. Wiley of the Union Volunteers." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , February 17, 1855; p. 2, col. 5.	
02/17/1855	<a href="#">1855\02_17_1855Out</a>	"Outrageous." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , February	Whites burnt down rancheria of friendly

Date	PDF Document Link	Citation – Primary Source	Event/Description
	<a href="#">rageous.pdf</a>	17, 1855: p. 2, col. 5.	Indians
02/17/1855	<a href="#">1855\02_17_1855Sonora.pdf</a>	"Indian Hostilities in Humboldt County." <i>The Union Democrat-Sonora</i> , February 17, 1855: p. 4, col. 1.	
02/17/1855	<a href="#">1855\02_17_1855Difficulties.pdf</a>	"Indian Difficulties." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , February 17, 1855: p. 2, col. 4.	
02/20/1855		Henley to Manypenny, February 20, 1855, Mf. RG 75, Series M 234, Roll 34:355-65.	Special agents Major William McDaniel and Capt. William McQueen (appointed for north of S.F.) procured indictments for five men who were kidnapping Indian children.  Carranco, Lynwood and Estle Beard. <i>Genocide and Vendetta: The Round Valley Wars of Northern California</i> . Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981, 48, fn 62.
02/22/1855		Rosborough to Henley, February 22, 1855, Mf. RG 75, Series M 234, Roll 34:460-61.	Rosborough reports: "A large body of Indians are being run off, being shot at or outraged by a portion of the whites. These Indians beg for protection and a large majority of whites are anxious to protect them, but they can't guard all the rancherias day and night and at the same time pursue the hostile Indians into the mountains and also work for sufficient gold dust to supply themselves with provisions..."  Carranco, Lynwood and Estle Beard. <i>Genocide and Vendetta: The Round Valley Wars of Northern California</i> . Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981, 48, fn 64.
02/23/1855		U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Indian Affairs, <i>Report on the petition of Felix Argenti</i> ,	

Date	PDF Document Link	Citation – Primary Source	Event/Description
		<b>February 23, 1855</b> , H. Rpts., 33 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, Rpt. 127, pp. 1-3 (808).	
02/24/1855	<a href="#">1855\02_24_1855.pdf</a>	"The Klamath War." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , February 24, 1855: p. 2, col. 2.	
02/24/1855	<a href="#">1855\02_24_1855MountainDem.pdf</a>	"Indian Troubles on the Klamath." <i>Weekly Mountain Democrat</i> , February 24, 1855: p. 2, col. 4.	
02/26/1855		John E. Wool to L. Thomas, <b>February 26, 1855</b> , in <i>Report of the Secretary of War</i> , Sen. Exec. Docs., 34 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 2, Doc. 1, pp. 74-75 (811).	
02/28/1855		P. Clayton, <i>Report of the Second Auditor of the Treasury</i> , <b>February 28, 1855</b> , Sen. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 11, Doc. 69, pp. 1, 99-107 (756).	
02/28/1855	<a href="#">1855\02_28_1855.pdf</a>	"Indian Troubles on the Klamath." <i>Nevada Democrat</i> , February 28, 1855: p. 1, col. 5.	
03/01/1855		Geo. Manypenny to R. McClelland, <b>March 1, 1855</b> , in <i>Message from the President of the United States Transmitting Additional estimates for the pay of Indian agents</i> , H. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 10, Doc. 94, pp. 2-3 (790).	
03/02/1855		R. McClelland to the President, <b>March 2, 1855</b> , in <i>Message from the President of the United States Transmitting Additional estimates for the pay of Indian agents</i> , H. Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 10, Doc. 94, pp. 1-2 (790).	
03/03/1855	<a href="#">1855\03_03_1855.pdf</a>	"Capt. D.H. Snyder." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , March 3, 1855: p. 2, col. 1.	
03/03/1855	<a href="#">1855\03_03_1855War.pdf</a>	"The Indian War." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , March 3, 1855: p. 2, cols. 2-3.	
03/03/1855	<a href="#">1855\03_03_1855Communicated.pdf</a>	"Communicated." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , March 3, 1855: p. 2, cols. 4-5.	
03/03/1855		Congress passes law to add two more reservations in California at the discretion	



Date	PDF Document Link	Citation – Primary Source	Event/Description
03/10/1855	<a href="#">1855\03_10_1855.pdf</a>	"Indian Agency." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , March 10, 1855: p. 2, col. 1.	of the President.
03/17/1855	<a href="#">1855\03_17_1855.pdf</a>	"For the Klamath." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , March 17, 1855: p. 2, col. 1.	
04/_/1855		Henley to Manypenny, April 9, 1855 Mf. RG 75, Series M 234, Roll 34:459.	Henley sends Siskiyou County agent to join a detachment of soldiers (?); complains to Indian Commissioner that soldiers "remain quietly at their posts" when locals looking to Henley to stop the Indian hostilities.
04/07/1855	<a href="#">1855\04_07_1855.pdf</a>	"The Indian Difficulties Settled." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , April 7, 1855: p. 2, col. 1.	Carranco, Lynwood and Estle Beard. <i>Genocide and Vendetta: The Round Valley Wars of Northern California</i> . Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981, 49, fn 65.
04/07/1855	<a href="#">1855\04_07_1855Letter.pdf</a>	"Letter from Major Murdock." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , April 7, 1855: p. 2, col. 2.	
04/07/1855	<a href="#">1855\04_07_1855Indian.pdf</a>	"Lo, the Poor Indian!" <i>Alta California</i> , April 7, 1855, p. 2, col. 1.	Slavery
04/11/1855		John E. Wool to L. Thomas, <b>April 11, 1855</b> , in <i>Report of the Secretary of War</i> , Sen. Exec. Docs., 34 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 2, Doc. 1, pp. 75-78 (811).	
04/14/1855	<a href="#">1855\04_14_1855.pdf</a>	"The Indians." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , April 14, 1855: p. 2 col. 3.	
04/21/1855	<a href="#">1855\04_21_1855.pdf</a>	The Indians." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , April 21, 1855: p. 2, col. 1.	
05/05/1855	<a href="#">1855\05_05_1855.pdf</a>	"Kidnapping Indians," <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , May 5, 1855, p. 1, col. 6.	Slavery
05/10/1855	<a href="#">1855\05_10_1855.pdf</a>	"Indian Murders." <i>Sacramento Daily Union</i> , May 10, 1855: p. 3, col. 1.	
05/12/1855	<a href="#">1855\05_12_1855.pdf</a>	"Indian Difficulties." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , May 12, 1855: p. 2, col. 2.	

<b>Date</b>	<b>PDF Document Link</b>	<b>Citation – Primary Source</b>	<b>Event/Description</b>
05/15/1855	<a href="#">1855\05_15_1855.pdf</a>	"The Indian Murder on Cottonwood." <i>Sacramento Daily Union</i> , May 15, 1855: p. 3, col. 2.	
05/19/1855	<a href="#">1855\05_19_1855.pdf</a>	"Farm in Hoopa." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , May 19, 1855: p. 2, col. 1.	
05/19/1855	<a href="#">1855\05_19_1855RedCap.pdf</a>	"Red Cap Indians." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , May 19, 1855: p. 2, col. 1.	
05/19/1855	<a href="#">1855\05_19_1855Reservation.pdf</a>	"Indian Reservation." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , May 19, 1855: p. 2, col. 1.	Indian Reservation [States that an area between Young's Ferry and the mouth of the Klamath has been selected for a reservation.]
05/26/1855	<a href="#">1855\05_26_1855.pdf</a>	"Indian Difficulties Again Threatened." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , May 26, 1855: p. 2, col. 1.	
05/26/1855	<a href="#">1855\05_26_1855reservation.pdf</a>	"The Indian Reservation." <i>Alta California</i> , May 26, 1855: p. 2, col. 2.	
05/28/1855	<a href="#">1855\05_28_1855.pdf</a>	"Indian Agency." <i>Sacramento Daily Union</i> , May 28, 1855: p. 2, col. 1.	
05/30/1855	<a href="#">1855\05_30_1855.pdf</a>	"Mendocino Indians." <i>Sacramento Daily Union</i> , May 30, 1855, p. 2, col. 2.	Settler complains that Indians stealing his crops
06/09/1855	<a href="#">1855\06_09_1855.pdf</a>	"The Indian Agent." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , June 9, 1855: p. 2, col. 1.	
06/09/1855	<a href="#">Militia Units\Yub_09Yuba Guard\08_22_09.pdf</a>	AG Dead Office File, Row 5, File 1 <i>The National Guard of California, 1849-1880</i> (Part 1), p. 76	<b>Yuba Guard</b> , Fifth Division, First Brigade, Yuba County
06/09/1855		Adjutant General Report 1850-1863, p. 50 Yuba Guard. Item No.: B3412-3, 1st Brigade, 5th Division	Yuba Guard, Fifth Division, First Brigade, Yuba County
06/16/1855	<a href="#">1855\06_16_1855.pdf</a>	"Indian Murder." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , June 16, 1855: p. 2, col. 1.	
06/16/1855	<a href="#">1855\06_16_1855Outrages.pdf</a>	"Indian Outrages." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , June 16, 1855: p. 2, col. 2.	Volunteers bring in scalps of Indians when killed
06/16/1855	<a href="#">1855\06_16_1855Henly.pdf</a>	"Col. Henly." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , June 16, 1855: p. 2, col. 2.	
06/16/1855	<a href="#">1855\06_16_1855Rumored Murder of Whites on the Klamath.pdf</a>	"Rumored Murder of Whites on the Klamath."	

Date	PDF Document Link	Citation – Primary Source	Event/Description
	<a href="#">mors.pdf</a>	<i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , June 16, 1855: p. 2, col. 2.	
06/16/1855		"Mr. Beale and the Indian Bureau." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , June 16, 1855: p. 2, cols. 3-4.	
06/16/1855		"In 1851, Dr. Wozencraft..." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , June 16, 1855: p. 2, col. 4.	
06/16/1855	<a href="#">1855\06 16 1855SonoraDem.pdf</a>	"Sixteen Whites Reported to be Killed by the Indians." <i>The Union Democrat-Sonora</i> , June 16, 1855: p. 3, col. 2.	
06/16/1855		"Indian Report of the Murder of Four White Men." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , June 23, 1855: p. 2, col. 1.	
06/19/1855		Whipple's Report of the "Klamath Reservation," June 19, 1855, Mf. RG 75, Series M 234, Roll 34:601-608.	Agent Whipple sent by Henley to examine country on both sides of the Klamath to find a location for a reservation. Whipple made his report that he found area a "most eligible site, with twelve or sixteen hundred Indians living within the bounds of the proposed reservation...on the whole distance of thirty miles there is not a single settlement of white men for mining or other purposes."
6/23/1855	<a href="#">1855\06 23 1855.pdf</a>	"Indians in Southern Oregon" <i>Union Democrat Sonora</i> , June 23, 1855, p.3, col. 2	49, fn 68. Nome Lackee
6/23/1855		"A Desperate Indian Killed." <i>Weekly Butte Record</i> , June 23, 1855: p. 1, col. 7.	
06/24/1855		Peters to Henley, June 24, 1855, Mf. RG 75, Series M 234, Roll 34:688.	Judge Peters complains about Indians who spoke different language than ones on the Klamath occupy all the country west and south of the South Fork of the Trinity River in the Eel River Valley and along the trails leading from Humboldt Bay to Sacramento Valley and to Weaverville; judge suggests

Date	PDF Document Link	Citation – Primary Source	Event/Description
			putting in a reservation in Round Valley. Carranco, Lynwood and Estle Beard. <i>Genocide and Vendetta: The Round Valley Wars of Northern California</i> . Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981, 51, fn 70.
06/30/1855	<a href="#">1855\06_30_1855.pdf</a>	"Our Indian Reservations" <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , June 30, 1855, p. 1, col. 5.	Nome Lackee
06/30/1855	<a href="#">1855\06_30_1855Klamath.pdf</a>	"From the Klamath." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , June 30, 1855: p. 2, col. 3.	
07/05/1855	<a href="#">Militia Units\PLA 04Mountain Blues_08_22_09.pdf</a>	AG Dead Office File, Row 3, File 5 <i>The National Guard of California, 1849-1880</i> (Part 1), p. 77	<b>Mountain Blues</b> , Fourth Division, Second Brigade, Iowa Hill, Placer County; wanted to suppress Indians in Klamath County too.
07/05/1855		Mountain Blues, Item No.: B3414-3, 2nd Brigade, 4th Division	
07/14/1855	<a href="#">1855\07_14_1855.pdf</a>	"Indians on Klamath." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , July 14, 1855: p. 2, col. 1.	
07/14/1855	<a href="#">1855\07_14_1855Difficulties.pdf</a>	"Indian Difficulties." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , July 14, 1855: p. 2, col. 2.	
07/14/1855	<a href="#">1855\07_14_1855Notice.pdf</a>	"Notice." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , July 14, 1855: p. 3, col. 4.	Klamath Reservation
07/21/1855	<a href="#">1855\07_21_1855.pdf</a>	"Klamath Reservation." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , July 21, 1855: p. 2, col. 1.	
08/11/1855	<a href="#">1855\08_11_1855.pdf</a>	"Indian Murders on Klamath." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , August 11, 1855: p. 2, col. 3.	
08/18/1855	<a href="#">1855\08_18_1855.pdf</a>	"Indian Troubles in the North." <i>Petaluma Weekly Journal and Sonoma County Advertiser</i> , August 18, 1855: p. 3, col. 1.	
08/25/1855	<a href="#">1855\08_25_1855.pdf</a>	"Indian Troubles in the North." <i>Petaluma Weekly Journal and Sonoma County Advertiser</i> , August 25, 1855: p. 2, col. 5.	
09/01/1855	<a href="#">1855\09_01_1855Atocity.pdf</a>	"Atrocities," <i>Petaluma Weekly Journal and Sonoma County Advocate</i> , p. 2, col. 6.	Slavery

Date	PDF Document Link	Citation – Primary Source	Event/Description
09/01/1855	<a href="#">1855\09_01_1855.pdf</a>	"Important from the North." <i>Petaluma Weekly Journal and Sonoma County Advertiser</i> , September 1, 1855, p. 2, col. 2.	
09/04/1855		John E. Wool to L. Thomas, <b>September 4, 1855</b> , in <i>Report of the Secretary of War</i> , Sen. Exec. Docs., 34 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 2, Doc. 1, pp. 78-80 (811).	
09/08/1855	<a href="#">1855\09_08_1855.pdf</a>	"Indian Troubles on Upper Klamath." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , September 8, 1855: p. 2, col. 4.	Illegible...
09/11/1855	<a href="#">Militia Units\KLA_07_Salmon Guard_08_22_09.pdf</a>	AG Dead Office File, Row 3, File 3 <i>The National Guard of California, 1849-1880</i> (Part 1), p. 99	<b>Salmon Guard</b> , Sixth Division, Second Brigade, Sawyers Bar, Klamath County
09/11/1855		Salmon Guard, Item No.: B3415-1, 2nd Brigade, 6th Division	Salmon Guard, Sixth Division, Second Brigade, Sawyers Bar, Klamath County
09/15/1855	<a href="#">1855\09_15_1855.pdf</a>	"The Indians at the North." <i>Weekly Butte Record</i> , September 15, 1855: p. 2, col. 6.	
09/15/1855	<a href="#">1855\09_15_1855Mass.pdf</a>	"Massacre of Americans by Indians." <i>Weekly Butte Record</i> , September 15, 1855: p. 3, col. 1.	
09/15/1855	<a href="#">1855\09_15_1855Interior.pdf</a>	"Indian Troubles in the Interior." <i>Los Angeles Star</i> , September 15, 1855: p. 3, col. 2.	
09/29/1855	<a href="#">1855\09_29_1855.pdf</a>	"Death of an Indian Chief." <i>Weekly Butte Record</i> , September 29, 1855: p. 2, col. 6.	
10/06/1855	<a href="#">1855\10_06_1855.pdf</a>	"Indians as Witnesses." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , October 6, 1855: p. 2, col. 3.	
10/06/1855	<a href="#">1855\10_06_1855Notice.pdf</a>	"Notice!" <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , October 6, 1855.	
10/06/1855	<a href="#">1855\10_06_1855Three White Men Murdered by Indians.pdf</a>	"Three White Men Murdered by Indians." <i>Petaluma Weekly Journal and Sonoma County Advertiser</i> , October 6, 1855: p. 3, col. 1.	
10/___1855		J. Ross Browne Letter on the Conditions of the Indian Reservations in California, 1857 MF. RG 75, Series M 234, Roll 35:952-65.	Mendocino Reservation established Carranco, Lynwood and Estle Beard. <i>Genocide and Vendetta: The Round Valley</i>

Date	PDF Document Link	Citation – Primary Source	Event/Description
			<i>Wars of Northern California</i> . Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981, 58, fn 7
10/13/1855	<a href="#">1855\10_13_1855.pdf</a>	"The Indian Reservations" <i>Alta California</i> : October 13, 1855, p. 2, col. 1.	Nome Lackee
10/15/1855	<a href="#">1855\10_15_1855.pdf</a>	"The Indian Reservations." <i>Alta California</i> , October 15, 1855: p. 2, col. 1.	
10/19/1855		John E. Wool to L. Thomas, <b>October 19, 1855</b> , in <i>Report of the Secretary of War</i> , Sen. Exec. Docs., 34 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 2, Doc. 1, pp. 80-81 (811).	
10/20/1855	<a href="#">1855\10_20_1855.pdf</a>	"Exciting News from the Interior!" <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , October 20, 1855: p. 2, cols. 1-2.	
10/24/1855	<a href="#">1855\10_24_1855.pdf</a>	"Indian Reservation." <i>Nevada Democrat</i> , October 24, 1855: p. 2, col. 3.	
10/26/1855		Item No.: B3410-2, 2nd Brigade, 3rd Infantry Battalion, Co. C	Forest Rifles
10/27/1855	<a href="#">1855\10_27_1855.pdf</a>	"Indian Fight Near Red Bluffs." <i>Petaluma Weekly Journal and Sonoma County Advertiser</i> , October 27, 1855: p. 2, col. 5.	
10/27/1855	<a href="#">1855\10_27_1855Sta r.pdf</a>	"The Reservation" <i>Los Angeles Star</i> , October 27, 1855, p. 2, col. 1.	Nome Lackee
10/27/1855	<a href="#">1855\10_27_1855Removal.pdf</a>	"Removal of Indians" <i>Marysville Daily Herald</i> , October 27, 1855, p. 2, col. 3.	Grass Valley Indians to Nome Lackee
10/27/1855	<a href="#">1855\10_27_1855Progressive.pdf</a>	"Progressive" <i>Petaluma Weekly Journal and Sonoma County Advocate</i> , October 27, 1855, p. 2, col. 5.	
10/30/1855	<a href="#">1855\10_30_1855.pdf</a>	"Indian Removals" <i>Grass Valley Telegraph</i> , October 30, 1855, p. 2, col. 1-2	Nome Lackee
10/31/1855	<a href="#">1855\10_31_1855.pdf</a>	"The Indians" <i>Nevada Democrat</i> , October 31, 1855, p. 2, col. 2	Nome Lackee
November 1855		"Statement showing the tribes of Indians within the limits of the United States territory, number of souls, and place of residence of each tribe, made up from the best data in the possession of the	

Date	PDF Document Link	Citation – Primary Source	Event/Description
		Indian office," <b>November 1855</b> , document No. 122 of <i>Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs</i> , Sen. Exec. Docs., 34 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 1, Doc. 1, pp. 575-576 (810).	
11/03/1855	<a href="#">Militia Units\KLA_06 MountedCoastRifle_08_22_09.pdf</a>	AG Dead Office File, Row 3, File 3 <i>The National Guard of California, 1849-1880</i> (Part 1), p. 104 Adjutant General Report April 1861	<b>Mounted Coast Riflemen or Mounted Coast Rifles</b> , Sixth Division, Second Brigade, Crescent City, Klamath County
11/03/1855		Mounted Coast Riflemen, Item No.: B3415-1, 2nd Brigade, 6th Division	Mounted Coast Riflemen or Mounted Coast Rifles, Sixth Division, Second Brigade, Crescent City, Klamath County
11/06/1855	<a href="#">1855\11_06_1855.pdf</a>	"The Indian War." <i>Grass Valley Telegraph</i> , November 6, 1855: p. 2, col. 2.	Col. Henly has 165 Indians, marching them to the reservation.
11/10/1855	<a href="#">1855\11_10_1855.pdf</a>	"Indians; From Yreka - The Yuba Indians." <i>Los Angeles Star</i> , November 10, 1855: p. 2, col. 4.	
11/10/1855	<a href="#">1855\11_10_1855Fig ht.pdf</a>	"Indian Fight Near Red Bluff." <i>Los Angeles Star</i> , November 10, 1855: p. 2, col. 4.	
11/14/1855	<a href="#">1855\11_14_1855.pdf</a>	"Nome Lackee Reservation." <i>Alta California</i> , November 14, 1855: p. 2, col. 6.	
11/15/1855	<a href="#">1855\11_15_1855.pdf</a>	"Exciting News from the Indian War; The War in Shasta Valley; The Very Latest." <i>Georgetown Weekly News</i> , November 15, 1855: p. 3, col. 1.	
11/17/1855	<a href="#">1855\11_17_1855.pdf</a>	"The Indian Troubles." <i>Petaluma Weekly Journal and Sonoma County Advertiser</i> , November 17, 1855: p. 3, col. 1.	
11/17/1855	<a href="#">1855\11_17_1855Shasta.pdf</a>	"Fight with the Indians in Shasta Valley." <i>Weekly Butte Record</i> , November 17, 1855: p. 2, col. 1.	Klamath River Ferry
11/17/1855	<a href="#">1855\11_17_1855War.pdf</a>	"The Indian War." <i>Weekly Butte Record</i> , November 17, 1855: p. 2, col. 1.	
11/17/1855	<a href="#">Militia Units\YUB_05MountedRifle_08_22_09.pdf</a>	AG Dead Office File, Row 6, File 2 <i>The National Guard of California, 1849-1880</i> (Part 1), p. 105	<b>Mountain Riflemen</b> (formerly New York Guard) Fifth Division, First Brigade, New York Flat, Yuba County May also have been called Independent New York Guard
11/17/1855		<b>Mountain Riflemen (Independent New York</b>	

<b>Date</b>	<b>PDF Document Link</b>	<b>Citation – Primary Source</b>	<b>Event/Description</b>
		<b>Guard</b> , Item No.: B3410-2, 1st Brigade, 1st Division	
11/20/1855	<a href="#">1855\11_20_1855.pdf</a>	"Indian Council." <i>Grass Valley Telegraph</i> , November 20, 1855: p. 2, col. 5.	
11/20/1855	<a href="#">1855\11_20_1855NomeLackee.pdf</a>	"Nome Lackee Reservation" <i>Grass Valley Telegraph</i> , November 20, 1855, p. 2, col. 5.	Nome Lackee
11/21/1855	<a href="#">1855\11_21_1855.pdf</a>	"Indian Reservation." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , November 21, 1855: p. 2, col. 1.	
11/24/1855	<a href="#">1855\11_24_1855.pdf</a>	"Lo, the Poor Indian." <i>Weekly Butte Record</i> , November 24, 1855: p. 2, col. 3.	
11/26/1855		Geo. W. Manypenny, <i>Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 26, 1855</i> , Sen. Exec. Docs., 34 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 1, Doc. 1, pp. 321-345 (810).	
11/30/1855	<a href="#">1855\11_30_1855.pdf</a>	"Found Dead." <i>Weekly Humboldt Times</i> , November 30, 1855: p. 2, col. 1.	
12/01/1855	<a href="#">Militia Units\PLU_02 Plumas Rangers-08_22_09.pdf</a>	AG Dead Office File, Row 3, File 8 <i>The National Guard of California, 1849-1880</i> (Part 1), pp. 107-110.	<b>Plumas Rangers</b> , Sixth Division, First Brigade, Quincy, Plumas County
12/01/1855		Plumas Rangers . Item No.: B3414-2, 1st Brigade, 6th Division	
12/06/1855	<a href="#">Militia Units\SIS-03\SisGuark 08_22_09C.pdf</a>	AG Dead Office File, Row 4, File 1 <i>Sacramento Union</i> , August 11, 1856, p. 1, col. 7 <i>The National Guard of California, 1849-1880</i> (Part 1), p. 113	<b>Siskiyou Guard</b> , Sixth Division, Second Brigade, Humbug City, Siskiyou County
12/06/1855		Siskiyou Guard, Item No.: B3414-1, 2nd Brigade, 6th Division	Siskiyou Guard, Sixth Division, Second Brigade, Humbug City, Siskiyou County
12/31/1855		[Folder F3753:740 ] Military Department. Adjutant General. Indian War Papers, F3753, California State Archives.	Report by Board of Examiners of War Claims to the California Legislature. Report states the total War Debt without interest at \$848,549.73 and Board says \$24,936.46 can't be audited because of informal nature of transfer of claims and conflicts of interest. Written in Sacramento, December



<b>Date</b>	<b>PDF Document Link</b>	<b>Citation – Primary Source</b>	<b>Event/Description</b>
09/00/1855 to 12/00/1855			31, 1855. 2 pages 2 sides V.E. Geiger Special Indian Agent and assistant to Thomas Henley, superintendent of Indian Affairs for California.  Potter, David M. (ed). <i>Trail to California: The Overland Journal of Vincent Geiger and Wakeman Bryarly</i> . New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945, 69.

## APPENDIX C

## Example Newspaper Article

FIGHT WITH THE INDIANS.—The Volunteer Company under command of I. G. Messick, surprised a camp of hostile Indians on Tuesday afternoon, in the vicinity of Pardee's ranch, near the new Trinity trail. The Indians took to the brush as soon as attacked, and made a running fight, observing the same tactics as when Miller and Stephens were killed.

The only particulars we have been able to gather of the engagement—are that the ranch was completely routed, and one of the volunteers, whose name we have not been able to learn, was severely wounded in the shoulder. We have heard two rumors as to the number of Indians killed and taken prisoners. One says eight killed and six made prisoners; another says four killed and eight prisoners.—

Dr. Guild, U. S. A., went out to attend the wounded man.

We shall be able to give further particulars next week.

P. S.—Since the above was in type we have met Dr. Guild, who was called out to see the wounded man. The Dr. informs us that his name is John Harp. He was shot by a small rifle ball in the left shoulder. He is not dangerous. Four Indian warriors were killed, and two children (accidentally), two squaws and two children made prisoners.

## APPENDIX D

## Example Federal Document

## DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

*Office Indian Affairs, January 31, 1855.*

SIR: I have the honor to remark, in regard to the reservations for the colonization of the Indians in California, that by an act of Congress, approved the 3d of March, 1853, it was provided that the President may make five military reservations from the public domain in the State of California, or the Territories of Utah and New Mexico, for Indian purposes, not to contain more than 25,000 acres each; that by an act approved the 31st July, 1854, it was provided that the reservations for the above purpose should be limited to three in number, each to contain not less than 5,000 nor more than 10,000 acres.

By the report of the superintendent of Indian affairs in that State, a copy of which is herewith transmitted, it will be seen that he is of opinion that the restrictions imposed by the last quoted act should be removed, from considerations of economy and philanthropy, and that the plan be enlarged and the provisions of the law of 1853 restored, thus increasing, as is demanded by the large numbers flocking to the reserves in operation, the means of improving, sustaining, and civilizing these people.

Should you approve of the plan suggested by the superintendent of thus increasing the number of reservations to five, as originally contemplated, I would respectfully recommend that it be laid before the President for his consideration, and, if approved, that an appropriation of \$150,000 for the additional two be asked of Congress for the year terminating the 30th of June, 1856, which is, in my opinion, sufficient.

It will be perceived that Mr. Henly recommends that one of these proposed reservations shall be located east of the Sierra Nevada mountains, beyond the limits of California, the justice of which I cannot admit. The people of New Mexico, in which Territory it is thus proposed to establish a portion of the California Indians, and finally all of them, are subjected to annoyances enough from those already among them, and I cannot see why California should be relieved at her expense.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEORGE W. MANYPENNY,

*Commissioner.*

Hon. R. McCLELLAND,

*Secretary of the Interior.*

Geo. W. Manypenny to R. McClelland, January 31, 1855, in "Message of the President Communicating a report from the Secretary of the Interior, relative to the colonization of the California Indians," *Sen. Exec. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 7, Doc. 41, pp. 2-4 (752).

## APPENDIX E

## Example Roster

**Klamath Rifles (Rifle Rangers)**

Location: Young's Ferry, Klamath County

Date of Organization: 01/11/1855

Date of Disbanding: 05/26/1855

Captain(s): William M. Young

Number of Entries on KJD Master Roster: 72

Compiled by Kimberly Johnston-Dodds from the following sources: ROOT CELLAR, Sacramento Genealogical Society, California State Militia: Index to the Muster Rolls of 1851 to 1866 (Sacramento: The Society, 1999), Vols. 1–4; National Guard of California, (Part.1), Compiled with the Assistance of the Work Projects Administration from Records in the Adjutant General's Office of California and the California State Library, (Sacramento, 1940), 68-70.

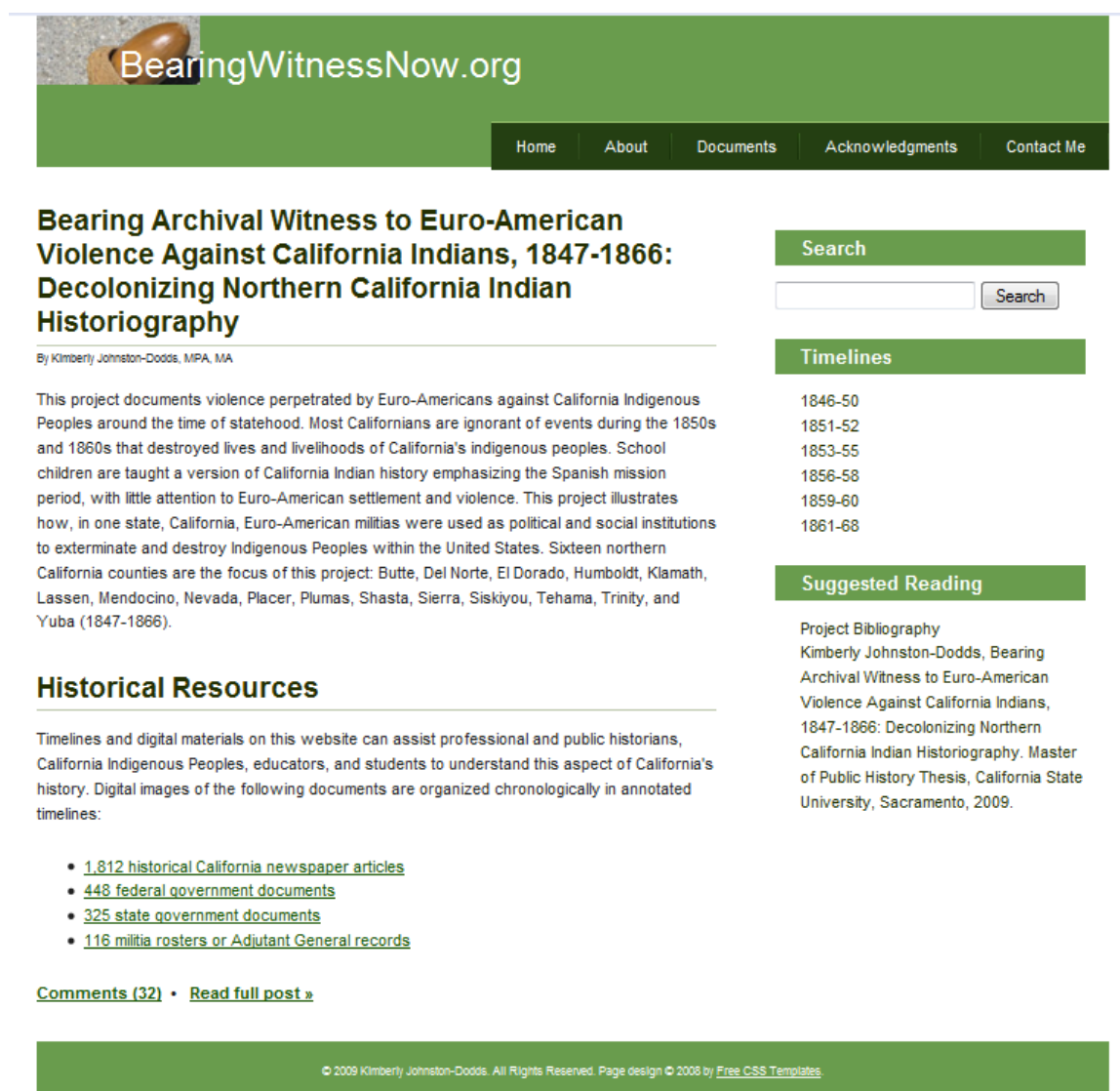
<b>Name</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Cert. Date</b>
Adam, Siles	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Alexander, Benj	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Baker, James H.	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Berry, Williams	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Bristol, Charles	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Butterfield, Chas P.	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Cameron, Duncan	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Carey, John L.	1 <sup>st</sup> Lt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Clark, M.S.	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Clark, Saml	4 <sup>th</sup> Sgt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Coffin, Fred J.	1 <sup>st</sup> Sgt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Cooley, Francis	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Cunliff, Williams	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Cushing, J.H.	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Drake, John	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Fems, William	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Folkes, Giles A.	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Forbes, Robt	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Francis, Jewitt	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Frantze, Edward	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Goodwin, Madison	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855

<b>Name</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Cert. Date</b>
Graham, James	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Hale, William	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Hayward, Edward W.	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Henry, Wm P.	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Hiersch, Geo A.	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Hunt, Henry	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Irving, Robt M.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Sgt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Johnson, Andrew H.	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Johnson, James	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Jones, John S.	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Keiffer, Jacob	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Kenton, Edmond	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
King, William	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Larson, Hans	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Latham, Thomas	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Lawson, Albert	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Lewecamp, John	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Lind, William	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Luddington, John C.	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Maher, Patrick	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Maxwell, Thomas	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Monroe, Thomas	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Murphy, Michael	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
McGarvey, Pat	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Noble, Stephen	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Noble, Wm	Cpl	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Phillips, Oscar	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Pool, Thomas	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Reequa, James	Cpl	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Reese, William	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Shelton, Wm F.	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Sims, James	2 <sup>nd</sup> Bot	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Sleight, John	Cpl	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Smith, Guy B.	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Smith, McDuffie	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Smith, Stephen	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Somes, George A.	Cpl	01/11/1855	05/26/1855

<b>Name</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Cert. Date</b>
Spencer, William	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Spinney, William	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Sutherland, David	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Sutherland, David	2 <sup>nd</sup> Sgt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Sutherland, John	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Sutherland, Roderick	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Thomson, Alexander	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Tuley, Saml P.	2 <sup>nd</sup> Lt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Turner, Hugh	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Vogan, James H.	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Ward, Michael	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
White, George	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
Wilson, Lewis	Pvt	01/11/1855	05/26/1855
<b>Young, Wm M.</b>	<b>Capt</b>	01/11/1855	05/26/1855

## APPENDIX F

### Website Template



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