

THE ROLE OF FORT HUMBOLDT DURING THE CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH: A
FOCUS ON LOCAL INDIGENOUS WOMEN'S STRUGGLE, RESISTANCE AND
RESILIENCE

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ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF FORT HUMBOLDT DURING THE CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH: A FOCUS ON LOCAL INDIGENOUS WOMEN'S STRUGGLE, RESISTANCE AND RESILIENCE

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The California Gold Rush was instrumental in the growth and creation of the American West. The sudden influx of settlers and the myriad of impacts of mining and settler community formation on the environment and Indigenous peoples drastically changed the Humboldt Bay region forever. The resulting clash of settler culture and existing Indigenous peoples enabled the United States government to rationalize establishing Fort Humboldt and militarizing the Humboldt Bay region. The realities of militarization, especially for Indigenous women, are rarely discussed in dominant history curricula in the United States, and throughout the world.

In my research, I utilize the framework of Intersectional Feminism and the tool of discourse analysis to critically examine archival and historical texts and the impacts of hegemonic narratives like Manifest Destiny and associated frontier ideologies. In addition, I use semi-structured interviews to critically analyze and make visible local Indigenous knowledge, traditions, and forms of resistance and resilience. I do so in order to help shed light on systematically invisibilized stories of Fort Humboldt and Humboldt Bay militarization that provide counter-hegemonic narratives about the role of the fort,

and its impacts on Indigenous women in particular. Finally, my research is guided by three main themes with respect to the consequences of militarizing the Humboldt Bay region: its impacts on the environment and on natural world, and on the physical body, and on spiritual health of Indigenous women.

Research findings indicate a strong presence of region-specific Indigenous oral histories and reveal information that directly challenges dominant U.S. educational models concerning the impacts of the Gold Rush on Indigenous peoples. Deconstructing this history and developing a more complex understanding of the impacts of militarization in the Humboldt Bay region is a crucial part of healing among Indigenous communities. The same holds true for elucidating stories of resilience and hope; recognizing ongoing struggles among Indigenous peoples; and both understanding forms of, and resistance to, the inter-generational trauma that continue to impact Indigenous communities today. I argue that all of the aforementioned play a crucial role in not only genuine, long-term healing, but is essential for true self-determination, and the ability for Indigenous communities in this region to flourish.

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INTRODUCTION

The California Gold Rush fueled westward expansion and provided opportunity for hope and the prospect of wealth for settlers in the American West facing unsure futures in new territories. Hegemonic ideologies in the post-Civil War period, such as *Manifest Destiny*, played a significant role in westward expansion. Using the ideology of Manifest Destiny, the U.S. State and other dominant U.S. social institutions taught white people (especially working class and working poor whites) that they had a god-given divine right and responsibility to move westward to the Pacific Ocean in order to develop and industrialize the region. Growth and profit were encouraged by the U.S. State with little regard for the natural environment or Indigenous peoples already living in the west.

In 1853 when the U.S. government recognized the clash between settlers and Indigenous peoples occurring in the Humboldt Bay region, Fort Humboldt was established in traditional Wiyot territory to militarize the region and protect settler populations from conflict with Indigenous peoples of the area. The fort was also established to maintain security on the bay as an important shipping port for timber and gold. Once again, little regard was paid to the natural environment or Indigenous peoples in the region. In fact, militarization brought incredible violence to Indigenous peoples. U.S. State policies and practices, as well as those of many settlers themselves, targeted Indigenous women in particular. The brutal violence that ensued – both genocidal and ecocidal in nature, what some also refer to as terracide, – continues to impact Indigenous peoples in the Humboldt Bay region to this day through what is often referred to as inter-

generational trauma. As Indigenous scholar Ward Churchill explains, ecocide is understood as the “deliberate extermination of a natural habitat as a matter of state policy” and therefore, those within that environment (Churchill, 1993: 10).

In U.S. history books and current contemporary educational curricula, Fort Humboldt and the California Gold Rush are presented as rugged, yet glorified, central pieces of nostalgic American history with little to no information taught about simultaneous hardships and exploitation of Indigenous peoples and the land (Hoopes, 1966). Unless individual educators take the initiative to expand beyond standard curricula, the realities and experiences of Indigenous peoples, particularly the violence experiences by Indigenous women as well as their resilience and resistance to it during this period are not taught in public school classrooms.

My research deconstructs dominant historical ideologies and master narratives about Fort Humboldt during the California Gold Rush. Likewise, my research uses the Intersectional Feminist tool of “shifting the center” (Anderson and Hill Collins, 2001). Rather than the master narratives just mentioned, I foreground some of the voices, stories, and experiences of those impacted by militarization of the Humboldt Bay region; accounts marginalized, if not invisibilized, within dominant U.S. curricula. Doing so provides a far more complex, accurate and complete account of the impacts of the fort on Indigenous women. In so doing, my research also demonstrates the importance of including diverse realities of Indigenous peoples, particularly women, during the time standard California educational curricula, as well as the impacts of intergenerational trauma continuing today. Finally, my research is guided by three main themes: the

symbiotic relationship between environmental destruction and resource exploitation through gold mining, with that of the physical, and the spiritual exploitation and violence perpetuated against Indigenous women during the California Gold Rush. My analysis of these experiences is combined with ongoing processes of proposed curricular shifts happening in California today that are drastically different than the current Gold Rush era curricula provided to students in public schools throughout California.

State-sanctioned and vigilante violence that began oppressing and exploiting our Indigenous ancestors during initial expansion and settlement of what is now California, can be traced into contemporary times. They are grounded in and continue to perpetuate racist, misogynistic, and exploitative ideologies and practices targeting Indigenous peoples and communities, particularly Indigenous women. My research and analysis shows that very little of the current standardized curriculum that is mandated by the state of California accurately represents the experiences and ongoing impacts of the aforementioned on Indigenous tribes, nor does it discuss the environmental destruction that occurred during the first few decades of settler colonialism. By bringing these facts to light, it is my hope that contemporary society will reconsider the hegemonic narratives surrounding early California. Importantly, I hope that tribal communities can continue to prosper in cultural revitalization and self-identities through the stories of resilience and survival of the ancestors. This research serves as an act of remembering and healing through memories of struggle and resilience.

My interest in this topic stems from a life of working within Indigenous struggles for environmental justice, reproductive justice, and spiritual health. I recognize that

women, especially Indigenous women as a result of imperialism and patriarchy, have been continuously left out of master narratives of history. This is particularly true in regards to the roles and experiences of Indigenous women and girls on the frontier of California. As an Indigenous woman, I grew up in a privileged situation of knowing that I was being raised in the *Baduwa't* / Mad River territory of the Wiyot people. Although I am not Wiyot, many of my own Indigenous ancestors experienced the same consequences of gold mining and resource extraction in the southwest Zuni Pueblo and Yoeme Yaqui communities. It is my responsibility to tell the stories of the place that I was raised availing myself with the opportunities, resources, and audiences, that I have as a graduate student.

Research Question and Three Points of Focus

How did the California Gold Rush and the establishment of Fort Humboldt in particular, impact:

1. Physical Indigenous female bodies?
2. Spiritual health of Indigenous women?
3. Local environment of the Humboldt Bay region?

BACKGROUND AND HISTORY

The Gold Rush not only established permanent settlement in rural California, but also instituted a series of events and structures of power and processes that would drastically impact Indigenous peoples of the region, as well as the environment, for centuries to come. This chapter serves to present information important to understanding the human, environmental, and the nexus of both dynamics, within northwestern California before and during the California Gold Rush era.

The Wiyot people consider their ancestral territories of the Humboldt Bay region to encompass a homeland of which they have existed for time immemorial. Wiyot territory stretches from *Plhut Gasamuli'* / Little River to the north, down to *Vusya* / Bear River in the south, and east to the first range of mountains, near *Koukuchw* / Kneeland (Appendix B). Neighboring tribes include the Yurok, Chilula (Redwood Creek), Hupa, Karuk, Tolowa, and others to the northeast. To the southeast lay the ancestral territories of the Whilkut, Nongatl, Mattole, Sinkyone, and others (see Appendix A for map of tribal territories in California). Prior to settler contact (and then indefinite settler colonialism) with the arrival of the Gregg Party, and the resulting rediscovery of Humboldt Bay in the winter of 1849-1850 (Rohde, 2014: 1), tribal groups lived in balance and relative harmony with the land for thousands of years. The Gregg Party consisted of a group of explorative settlers including eight wealthy business men, prospectors, and surveyors by the names of Gregg, Seabring, Buck, Truesdell, Van Duzen, Southard, Wilson, and L.K.

Wood (Hoopes, 1964: 20). Many of these names are now the titles of local buildings, streets, and rivers of the Humboldt Bay region.

While languages differ between the groups, similar cultural practices and cosmology is shared, as are much of the geographically-related food harvesting, living styles, and ceremonial cycles. Today, the Wiyot tribal office headquarters and many Wiyot people reside on the 88 acres of the Table Bluff Reservation that was “allocated” to them by the U.S. government and a fight following the impacts of the Termination Period. This was a miniscule fraction of what the Wiyot ancestral territory consisted of, before “divine right” of the U.S. State to colonize and settle the region.

The California Gold Rush era spanned 1848-1855, during the same time the U.S. State was recouping after the long, deadly, and expensive American Civil War. The U.S. sought to dramatically expand its land base and therefore, its access to natural resources in order to fund and support the growing population, but also unify and strengthen its military power. The State employed a hierarchal power structure, backed by specific policies and military might, with respect to American expansion and security. These policies were generally flexible for the American settlers of newly acquired territory and eventual state of California by 1850, but harsh on the environment, Indigenous peoples, and non-human life. The years preceding California statehood were full of conflict, extermination policies, and genocide of Indigenous peoples throughout California. These occurrences continued up until and after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in which the United States Government expanded its land base substantially following war with Mexico.

Between 1848 and 1868, Indigenous peoples of what is now called California experienced a genocide, which brought population numbers from approximately 150,000 people in 1848 to 30,000 in the 1860s (Trafzer and Hyer, 1999: xiii). For the purpose of this thesis, I utilize the definition of genocide from the 1997 *Proposed Convention on Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*; "...genocide is a denial of the right of existence of entire human groups" and the destruction of that group in ways consisting of physical destruction, biological destruction, or cultural destruction (Churchill, 1997: 431). Indigenous scholar Jack Norton describes the entire Indigenous population of what is now California as decreasing at an estimated one-million to 17,000 (Norton, 1979) following conquest. State supported massacres, disease, starvation, and a hopelessness that was reinforced by policy and action of settler communities drove the population of Indigenous people to near extinction. For many Indigenous groups and languages in California, extermination, as a result of genocide, became reality.

Several civilian-led militias were formed in the Humboldt Bay region to combat the "Indian problem" and partake in the era of Indian Wars during the second half of the nineteenth century. "Humboldt Home Guard," the "Hydesville Dragoons," and the "Eel River Minutemen" (Norton, 1979: 78) were a few of the groups that developed and were not secretive about the violence perpetuated upon Indigenous peoples of the area. The civilian militias would lead open human hunts for Indigenous peoples with the intent of land, resource, and slave acquisition, as well as planned ethnic cleansing of the new frontier. During this time, the United States was actively reimbursing the State of California hundreds of thousands of dollars for the "semipro Indian killing between 1850

and 1859, exclusive of the expenses of the United States Army activities in policing California Indian Country and suppressing uprisings.” (Norton, 1979: 76).

Resource accessibility and extraction profit brought glory to the white settler government and businesses and individuals with the capacity to finance components of the expansion such as mine development, railroad laying, and employment of hard and skilled laborers. Meanwhile, the immense disparities between the settler classes brought destitution and forced the relocation of the Indigenous people whose lands were encroached upon. Militarization, which I define as the way a community or society operates for military culture, violence, and/or conflicts, of the rural areas of California, like that of the establishment of Fort Humboldt, allowed the government to have a place in and secure the profit making of the gold fields and timber market.

Fort Humboldt was actively operated by the U.S. military for twenty years before being abandoned in 1873. During that time of militarized fort operation, the fort was not only a hub of trade, commerce, but also extreme and varied forms of violence, human trafficking, internment, and militarized prostitution (Norton, 1979: 48). The violence and exploitation of human beings associated with the fort operated in tandem with violence perpetuated against the natural world in the form of gold mining practice and associated industries in northwestern California. Before being sold to the State of California and designated as a state park in 1963, the fort was in very bad condition and numerous illegal archeological digs and waste dumping occurred on the premises. The Surgeon’s Quarters were reconstructed at Fort Humboldt in the 1980s, and the fort museum was

established in the old hospital building. Today the park also includes a Logging Museum and 19th and 20th century logging equipment that includes a locomotive.

Fort Humboldt sits within the traditional territories of the Wiyot people, overlooking *Wigi*, or Humboldt Bay, in the area of *Goutsuweljik*, also called Bucksport after a member of the Gregg Party, David A. Buck (Hoopes, 1964: 20). According to the Wiyot Tribe Language Program Manager, Lynnika Butler, the Wiyot word for Fort Humboldt is *Jouwuchguri' or Jouwuchguri'm*. This term comes from a 1926 recording of fluent speakers Amos Riley and Birdie James. On the recording, the two speakers told linguist John P. Harrington that this name "[m]eans you are lying down & you draw your legs (knees) up" or "to lie down to sleep with knees up toward chin." When explaining this term, Butler described her understanding of it as in reference to the cramped conditions in which Wiyot & other Indigenous people were kept locked within a cattle corral at Fort Humboldt. The internment, violence, and genocide committed against Wiyot peoples of the Humboldt Bay region was rationalized through the encroachment and seizures of settler owned land for farming and ranching, as well as retaliation for livestock losses done by Indigenous groups to feed their families after hunting opportunities diminished and species numbers were dramatically decreasing.

The treatment of Indigenous peoples in the region worked in tandem and as an echo of the violence against the natural world during this period. During the Gold Rush in northern California, it is estimated that gold miners dug up twelve-billion tons of earth (Chatergee, 1998). Some examples of destructive mining practices here in northern California include water cannon strip mining with massive and powerful cannons

(sometimes called monitors), dredging, sluice mining, explosive mining of hillsides and canyons, unreinforced tunneling, river and stream damming, and the manual digging out hillsides (Lowry, 1999b). In many of these situations, sediment gathered was treated with methylmercury, also called mercury or quicksilver, in order to gather the gold bits and separate the lucrative product from other minerals the miners did not have interest in. The mercury, a highly toxic metal, was washed away or discarded on the banks of rivers or outside the mines in large pits (Alpers et al., 2005). I identify this type of destruction as being aligned with the concept of ecocide, and I find ecocide to best define the environmental destruction and exploitation committed by settlers in northern California during the Gold Rush.

As a result of the mining and ore processing systems active during the California Gold Rush, mercury contamination was, and continues to be, a serious problem for human and nonhuman life not only within the proximity of mining operations but also downstream. The same holds true of active gold mining areas internationally. Mercury contamination has significant impacts:

“The most serious impacts [of exposure to mercury] are to the developing brain, kidneys and nervous systems of unborn and nursing babies and young children. Indigenous children from fishing communities are among the most affected. In 2000, the National Academy of Sciences estimated that 60,000 babies born each year in the US are at risk for learning disabilities and other kinds of neurological damage due to mercury contamination.” (IITC, 2005).

Based on my research, I argue that these health and reproductive injustices, in tandem with the diseases brought by settlers, are interwoven with the operation of intersectional systems of power, privilege and oppression including (but not limited to) settler colonialism, racism and patriarchy. Moreover, the brutal impacts of all the aforementioned continue today through inter-generational trauma, resulting for instance in unhealthy families and tribal groups of Indigenous peoples.

The connections between place and person within traditional Indigenous cultures extend far beyond living generations, and intertwines present day Indigenous peoples to the prayers and experiences of their ancestors in collaboration with the wellbeing of the natural world. Indigenous peoples are deeply and inextricably connected to the environment and non-human life through understandings of familial and cosmological relations. In northwestern California, ceremonies strengthen and reinforce the delicate relationship between realities of human and spirit. Through prayer, meditation, and movement, as well as daily life ways that uphold accountability, compassion, and respect, Indigenous tribes of northwestern California heal and renew the Earth and each other on a cycle of ceremonies connected to natural environmental systems and moon cycles. The sacred relationships that Indigenous peoples of northern California had with the natural world prior to Euro-American settler contact were greatly violated and disconnected through mining practices and the associated industries and development brought by the Gold Rush.

Historically, timber harvesting frequently operated next to or within mining

camp and sites for growing mining infrastructure, railroads, and establishment of towns and ranches. Redwood and Douglas-fir in northern California offered rich profit opportunities, and were useful as well as for building new towns and outposts along mining trails and in the quickly growing settlements around northwestern California. Clear-cutting practices were convenient in the eyes of settlers because they needed timber and the massive old growth forests that stretched throughout the region were readily available to settlers in the mid to late nineteenth century in northern California. The soil collapse that resulted from hastened timber harvesting combined with mining tailings held mercury and flowed into waterways and caused havoc in ecosystems throughout the region. The bioaccumulation of mercury in fish and other water species in local rivers such as the Klamath, Trinity, Salmon, Mad, Eel, Van Duzen, Eel, Elk, Mattole, and Smith occurred in tandem with the massive impacts of debris and sediment, called slickens, run-off from mountain and hillside destruction and also the soil erosion from clear cuts (Alpers et al., 2005).

The ecological impacts of the numerous mining techniques listed above began at the site of the mine or operation, where sediment is removed from the ground or water ways and sorted through. Culturally important species to Indigenous people of the area, such as beavers, otter, fishers, fox, bears, deer, elk, birds like condor, owls, flickers and woodpeckers, and other animals reliant upon the river flow began to decrease in population. Marine-based nonhuman life such as whales, mollusks, and marine mammals were also drastically affected by settler colonialism in the northwestern California region. Furthermore, the continued impacts by disproportionate fur trappings and the massive

pelt industry fueled by the settler fashion and necessity of the times, exacerbated the decrease in animal populations. Habitat loss, lack of foods and plant-based medicines, deforestation, diversion of waters without concern for downstream ecosystems, over fishing, fish-contamination, over-hunting, animal migration for food and habitat, and relocation, and an ongoing genocide of traditional forest stewards all drastically changed the landscape and ecosystems of northern California in a matter of a few years. Today, the damming of rivers such as the three huge dams along the Klamath River, contain large amounts of mercury and Reclamation Era sediments that date back to the early 20th century. The Reclamation era was a period at the beginning of the twentieth century that subsidized and encouraged settlement in rural western states for farming and ranching that included large amounts of river and stream diversion to irrigate newly allotted land plots.

Environmental destruction and degradation are key factors in militarism throughout the world. During the Gold Rush many sacred places of the local tribes were destroyed by settlers with axes and explosives looking for gold, and many places that held strong intrinsic value to Indigenous peoples of this area were destroyed lost forever. Spiritual and cosmologically important knowledge was disregarded when village leaders and English-speaking Indigenous peoples told settlers about the value of the places. Several areas in the foothills around Humboldt Bay and in traditional Wiyot homelands were never mentioned by Indigenous people as having spiritual significance in order to protect them and also protect the people who lived and practiced traditional life ways there. During the period of initial contact and into the 1880s, many ceremonies went

underground or were halted in practice for the protection and security of Indigenous families.

Simultaneous to the early struggles for land sovereignty and justice, Indigenous groups were being forcibly removed and marched from their homelands to temporary and permanent enclosed reservations and interment-style camps in Fort Baker (Van Duzen River), Fort Long (Smith River), Fort Gaston (Hoopa Valley), Covelo (Round Valley), and to Fort Humboldt and Fort Seward in what is now southern Humboldt County. Fort Humboldt hosted Indigenous peoples from throughout northwestern California and overlooked Eureka and Humboldt Bay during continuous movement of gold miners and settlers traveling up and down the numerous river systems of the region. The atrocious trafficking of human beings during the California Gold Rush by these settlers was well known to the military commanders and soldiers at the fort (Heizer and Almquist, 1971: 39). Many times, U.S. military troops from Fort Humboldt would be followed by civilian militias or individuals looking for the sport and profit opportunities associated with raids and massacres.

Hundreds of Indigenous women and children were bought, sold, and traded during the Gold Rush throughout northern California to towns and trading posts around the western frontier and throughout the country. Polly, a young girl estimated to be around the age of ten years by her descendant, Julian Lang (Wiyot/Karuk), who I interviewed, was one of the hundreds of young women trafficked through the county. Originally born and raised amongst her own Wiyot peoples on *Wiki* Humboldt Bay, Polly was a young child during the Indian Island Massacre on February 26, 1860. Polly was not

on the island at the time of the massacre. She was approximately in the current location of the Carson Mansion on the banks of the city of Eureka to gather fresh water. Polly and her sister (whose name is unknown) woke to see odd smoke and lack of activity across the water. They later found their family and community massacred. Following the massacre, Wiyot peoples who has escaped the island and from other village areas took refuge at Fort Humboldt, where nearly half of them died from disease, starvation, and exposure (Wiyot, 2016). The remaining Wiyot peoples who survived time at the fort would later be forcibly relocated to the Klamath reservation to the north, Hoopa (Fort Gaston), and Round Valley. As scholars and historians Ray Raphael and Freeman House note in their work, “For the indigenous peoples of Humboldt County, the February massacres led directly to apocalyptic horrors.” (Raphael and House, 2007).

Shortly after the massacre at Indian Island Polly and her sister were sold by an unknown party to a German gold miner, Karl Conrad on an unknown date, but approximated by Mr. Lang to have been within the year of the massacre. As a result of the separation of families, massacres of groups who refused to move to the local forts, and ambushes, the disconnection of families and tribes from their homelands was extensive, and continues to be the case today. These disconnections extended beyond physical distance and also included pressure to assimilate into American society through boarding schools and religious groups. Many Indigenous people lost connection to both their families, their lineage, and their relationships with the natural world, including, for some, ability and necessity to protect it from degradation and destruction during the California Gold Rush.

The impacts of resource extraction are far more extensive than the mercury contamination of Indigenous mothers' breast milk and babies' umbilical cord health. Spiritual, mental, and long-standing grief reside in the minds and bodies of Indigenous women today because of the experiences of their ancestors (Smith, 2005: 2). Sexualized violence resultant from human trafficking, forced concubinage, forced breeding, human hunts for sport and profit, infanticide, venereal disease, and displacement are examples of the commonplace traumas that remain in the ancestral memories of Indigenous women whose relatives endured the Gold Rush era and the following years of industrialization.

Infanticide, which I define as the intentional killing of babies, fetuses and young toddlers, was prevalent practice both during and after initial contact for Indigenous children by settlers. As a strategy of extreme desperation and hopelessness, Native women would end the lives of their fetuses, babies, and sometimes themselves, so as to save them from the brutality and violent life of Indigenous existence in Gold Rush era California. According to my interview with Lyn Risling (Karuk/Yurok/Hupa tribal member), the presence of settler-inflicted violence also affected the ceremonial cycle, and caused an end to the Flower Dance, a young woman's puberty ceremony after which she would be available for marriage. Out of fear for their youth, Indigenous families stopped hosting these puberty ceremonies to keep their young women safe and protected from the settler men who were known to steal women and children for their own amusement, to force them into labor, and for personal needs. Fear was an effective tool of genocide in northwestern California, as it is its militarism.

Just like young Polly and her sister, Indigenous women and children from tribes throughout northern California were stolen from their villages and families and shipped to towns and cities such as Sacramento, Weaverville, Eureka or San Francisco for slave trade systems under the 1850 *Act for the Government and Protection of Indians* (Appendix C), which essentially legalized the enslavement of Indigenous peoples through indentured servitude regulations. Some of the women and children were sold for as low as three dollars, while the scalps of their husbands, brothers and sons were valued at upwards of fifty dollars by the United States government, land speculators, and large mining companies (Heizer and Almquist 1971, Norton 1979). When it came to the trade of Indigenous women, many settler men preferred virgins or young women of child bearing age and would sometimes pay top dollar into the hundreds for a pure woman, leaving the human trafficking groups and individuals very wealthy.

Superintendent George Hanson reported the following situation to his superiors and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in December of 1861:

“In the month of October last I apprehended three kidnappers, about 12 miles from the city of Marysville, who had 9 Indian children, from 3 to 10 years of age, which they had taken from Eel river, in Humboldt County. One of the three was discharged on a writ of habeas corpus, upon the testimony of the other two, who stated that “he was not interested in the matter of taking the children”; after his discharge the two made an effort to get clear by introducing the third one as a witness, who testified that “it was an act of charity on the part of the two to hunt up the children and

then provide homes for them, because their parents had been killed, and the children would have perished with hunger.” My counsel inquired how he knew their parents had been killed? Because, he said, “I killed some of them myself.” (Norton, 1979: 46)

It is unknown how much Karl Conrad paid for Polly and her sister, or the details of how he came to buy the young girls, but shortly after leaving Eureka, Conrad sold Polly’s sister at Fort Gaston (Hoopa Valley), where she was sold to a man named Van Pelt, according to Lang. Van Pelt would go on to take Polly’s sister who was most likely in her early teenage years by this time, north towards Klamath and Crescent City. Polly’s sister would give birth to her owner/master (and probably husband) Van Pelt’s children, beginning a lineage of Van Pelt family here in northern California.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

There is a wide spectrum of literature published regarding settler colonialism and frontier ideology focusing on the Indigenous experience during the California Gold Rush. However, there is a very small selection of pieces with a specific focus on Fort Humboldt and the local northern California experiences during the Gold Rush era. Although books, a thesis, and articles have been written on historical accounts of Fort Humboldt, none of the literature thus far addresses the sole experiences of Indigenous women at Humboldt Bay, particularly in reference to the role of Fort Humboldt, which is my focus. This research fills a void that exists in current literature on the sole experiences of Indigenous women and their connections to the natural world amidst settler colonialism and natural resource extraction. This chapter serves as a review of literature and is presented through four over-arching relevant topics that pertain to my thesis research; a historical analysis of colonialism and Fort Humboldt on the Gold Rush Frontier literature, an analysis of contemporary historical educational curricula California State schools that covers the Gold Rush era, an analysis literature on trauma and grief as pertaining to Gold Rush era violence and destruction, and last, a look at the relevant literature that discusses the impacts of the era on Indigenous female bodies.

Historical Analysis of Colonialism and Fort Humboldt on the Gold Rush Frontier

Scholar Steven Newcomb (Lenape) has done extensive research on the 1493 Papal Bull that declared the Americas to be empty of Christian souls, which justified the perception of the “New World” as empty of human beings and available for conquest. His research and writing has articulated and brought to further light the subject of this Doctrine of Discovery and the concept of *terra nullus*, or “empty land,” to people all over the world, and thus provided the unlawful justification for the seizure of land, the exploitation of the natural world, and genocide of Indigenous people throughout the colonized world. Newcomb’s analysis of the United States’ attempt to assert colonial hegemony by way of territory expansion is the foundation of my understanding of the experiences of Indigenous women, as connected to the land, during the California Gold Rush.

“Colonization is a process of imperial expansion by means of colonists, colonies, and a host of colonial and empire-expanding activities. However, another root metaphor of colonization is *colo*, ‘to remove (solids) by filtering’ and ‘to wash (gold)’ From a Christian European colonizing perspective, the indigenous peoples are considered as being among those solids (objects) that must be filtered out of (or expunged and washed from) the land in order to acquire that which is most valuable, such as gold and other minerals, and anything else than can be transmuted into wealth to

fuel the economy and enrich the elite of the imperium.” (Newcomb, 2008: 14)

In her new book, *Indigenous' Peoples History of the United States*, Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz provides a concise overview of major events from initial contact in some regions through the 1960s fights of Indigenous rights, land claims, numerous governmental acts, and how racist colonial ideology is represented throughout history. According to Dunbar-Ortiz *Manifest Destiny* is the 19th century concept of American expansion in the United States and how it was destined to stretch from coast to coast by divine right from the Christian God; additionally, it conveyed an entitlement to the land and resources, as well as disregard for human and nonhuman life that already inhabited the land and waters (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014). As Dunbar-Ortiz, Newcomb, and many other Indigenous writers assert, the settlers came instructed by the translations of scripture as described by the leaders of colonial powers to “subdue” the land and to fuel human progress through the conquest of nature and non-Christian nations and peoples.

Contemporary mainstream educational literature on Fort Humboldt and the colonial militarization of Humboldt Bay is mostly produced by local government agencies and California State Parks. The literature consists of tour information of the fort and a brief synopsis of a clashing of cultures around Humboldt Bay that lead to the establishment of the fort and communities. There are a variety of letters, newspaper articles, and journal entries that pertain to era-specific accounts regarding to the fort from the active years of the fort's operation. Chad Hoopes, a graduate student at Brigham

Young University, wrote a thesis about the military actions at Fort Humboldt in 1964.

Hoopes' depiction of the Indigenous peoples of the area includes a rough explanation of the Indigenous peoples' defense of their lands and attempts to end encroachment and help their communities survive:

“Had the worthy white men, on the other hand, taken steps in sufficient time to weed from his ranks the unworthies, the agitations and hatred could have been held at bay...Eventually, not only were the guilty white settlers being punished by the red men, but also the innocent white men who had settled on a respectable basis and were building homes in the new wilderness...The Indians would bear down on the settlers in darkness, killing members of families, firing buildings, and at times chasing off their farm animals...Once Indian vengeance began its tidal-like sweep, it knew no limitations.” (Hoopes, 1964: 37)

Although Hoopes is quick to reference the prevalence of whiskey drinking within the fort and growing outside community, at no point in his work does Hoopes problematize militarism, or the actions of soldiers and officers at the fort as destructive and violent. The stories and language that Hoopes chose to use to describe the Indigenous peoples of the Humboldt Bay region reinforces the white settler domination ideology, as well as further perpetuating and reinforcing the lack of education on the experiences of Indigenous groups. The same violence described as being committed upon new settlers by Indigenous groups in Hoopes' writing was also inflicted upon Indigenous groups of the region, plus much more, as I have discussed and will further. Hoopes, however, did ample research on military activities, officers, soldiers, Indian agents under the U.S.

Department of War, and politics surrounding the fort that are extensive and provide an opportunity for reference when considering the daily lives of officers and civilians working in and around Fort Humboldt during the operational years between 1853 to 1870. One of the most notable documentations detailed in Hoopes' work is the discovery of the documentation in a Hunt Report on the first expedition from Fort Humboldt against the Indians" ordered by Colonel Buchanan in June of 1853. The Fort Humboldt soldiers, led by Buchanan, were searching for the possible suspects of a settler murder south of present-day Hydesville, close to the Eel River.

"The Indians stood their ground well, firing four arrows at a single rifle shot. An arrow scratched Lt. Underwood's ear. The result of the battle was the killing of several Indians and two or three squaws and taking one squaw prisoner. One old grayheaded Indian was wounded in the knee, and feigned death, but when examined by one of the officers was found to be alive. He asked for a handkerchief with which to bandage his knee. He was left where found and soon after one of the citizens rode back and put an end to his misery." (Hoopes, 1964: 91)

Chad Hoopes would later publish his thesis findings in a book, *Lure of Humboldt Bay Region*, that further glorifies the fort and larger Humboldt Bay region during early settlement. However, in his published book, Hoopes does little to tell stories about Indigenous peoples of the Humboldt Bay region, and mostly refers to them in reference with harassing settlers and traders (Hoopes, 1966). Hoopes also glorifies the well-known northern California trapper and mountain man Seth Kinman, who tells a story of

knocking down an Indian for sacrifice when a bear hunt goes array and other boastful atrocities concerning sexualized violence towards Indigenous women.

Other works (Green 2002, Crandell 2005, Lavalle 1998, Bush 2005), including another thesis and a senior history project, documented information about the Indian Island Massacre and give a glimpse into the dominant mentalities that produced the events of the period surrounding the massacre, and what life was like in early established Bucksport, Eureka, Union (Arcata), and the greater region.

Humboldt State University students Lowry and Haff (1999) compiled a digital presentation in DVD form, *Northwest Indigenous Gold Rush History: The Indian Survivors of California's Holocaust*, which chronicles oral histories and knowledge about genocidal experiences during the Gold Rush period. The presentation, however, is not focused on any particular group within the Indigenous community. The presentation goes through oral histories recorded by the students, all of which talked about the environmental impacts of gold mining, yet discussed little about any family histories or community stories about genocidal practices the interviewees had to share. Many of those interviewed have now passed away making this a very rich piece of resource material not only for my research but for the community as well. These oral histories, in conjunction with the semi-structured interviews I conducted, brought life and emotion to the stories of the past, reinforcing much of the history I read in books and articles about life as an Indigenous woman in Humboldt County during the Gold Rush.

Alfred L. Kroeber, a renowned anthropologist who lived in northern California and extensively studied tribes throughout California, provided a foundation of

anthropological information in regards to Humboldt Bay region tribal groups. Much of Kroeber's studies were used in a variety of Wiyot-specific information I utilized for this thesis, such as his estimations of Wiyot population of one-thousand peoples in 1770, and then a population of one-hundred in 1910 (Kroeber, 1932). However, Berkley-based Kroeber and his wife who also did extensive research, were products of the times, and also the first anthropologists and settlers to live amongst and study many of the tribal groups of California. Kroeber's analysis was much of the time biased in accordance with his patriarchal anthropological training and perspectives, which in turn, further perpetuated settler colonialism, sexism, and racism in northwestern California. As Jack Norton explains in his analysis of Kroeber's study of Yurok culture, Kroeber "...appeared to ridicule the lack of formalized and often dehumanizing laws characteristic of a strong centralized government; and he viewed the native societies through an artificial segmentation, instead of as an integrated whole." (Norton, 1979 : 7)

The work of Robert F. Heizer and Alan Almquist (1971) laid a strong foundation of historical information that scholar Jack Norton (Yurok/Hupa/Cherokee), as well as others, worked to unpack and further research in the realm of Indigenous history in California with a particular focus on the California Gold Rush. Heizer and Almquist were the first to locate and publish a documentation log of seventy Indigenous indentured servants (Heizer and Almquist, 1971: 53) from the depths of the Humboldt County Courthouse records in the 1970s, of which have since been lost, or possibly misplaced by the courthouse. Thankfully, the log was documented by Heizer and Almquist.

The log dates from August 5, 1860 to November of 1863 (Appendix D). This log of humans bought and sold is just an excerpt of a larger collection of ledgers that recorded 181 people, most of whom were the authors cited as children by the original ledger writers. The log now published includes the given English-Christian names and approximate ages of the indentured children, as well as names of those who acquired them and an estimation of how long they would be indentured for under the *Act for the Government and Protection of Indians*

Most of the children listed on the indentured logs from Heizer and Almquist's research, like three-year-old Perry, who was indentured to N. Singley in September of 1860, were never found in records again. Perry's indentured servitude was slated to last until he was 21 years old. Twelve-year-old Mary was documented as having been taken from her father at Big Bar in May 1854, under the April of 1850 *Act for the Government and Protection of Indians* (Appendix C), which essentially legalized the stealing of Indigenous children in California (Heizer and Almquist, 1971: 212). The Act for the Government and Protection of Indians, enacted April 22, 1850, followed years of capturing, enslavement, and trafficking of Indigenous men, women, and children that was unrestricted and rarely documented.

Mary's life was indentured to A. J. Jacoby, of the well-known local business family who owned much of developed Humboldt County. Today, the large blue Jacoby Storehouse on the Arcata plaza is named after him. Mary was set to be indentured for nine years of her life, until twenty-one years old, as the law mandated. It is important to note that these young people were only a fraction of those that were taken from their

families, people, and homelands, by settlers to work and live as enslaved laborers, for uses of reproduction to ensure ranching and mining production, and as wives for the influx of settler men. Human trafficking was a major source of profit in early California, and strategies for obtaining Indigenous human beings to be bought and sold varied, but generally consisted of the implementation of extermination practices and overall violence.

“Indian survivors were either taken as prisoners or sold on the open market. “While the troops are engaged in killing the men for alleged offenses,” wrote Indian Superintendent George Hanson in 1861, “the kidnappers follow in close pursuit, seize the younger Indians and bear them off to the white settlements in every part of the country filling orders for those who have applied for them at rates, varying from \$50 to \$200 a piece.”” (Raphael and House, 2007: 179)

Clifford E. Trafzer and Joel R. Hyer combined together a plethora of historic newspaper articles and letters (1999) tying together several accounts of forced removal, massacres, and period-specific rhetoric regarding Indigenous people, their homelands, and their treatment during the later 19th century. Many of the articles and letters gathered in this collection relate to the ongoing forced official assimilation, and extermination and genocidal practices, and policies of early California in the militarized Humboldt Bay.

Genocidal history is a vital piece of my research, founded in frontier policy and colonial ideology. Historical genocidal practices and associated policies and manifestations of violence are discussed substantially regarding Indigenous experiences

on the Gold Rush frontier. Within my research I utilize the following definition of genocide,

"acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; [and] forcibly transferring children of the group to another group." (Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, 1948)

Of the historical literature covering Gold Rush era genocide, Jack Norton's book *Genocide in Northwestern California: When Our Worlds Cried* (1979) focuses on regionally specific historical events affecting local tribes, including situations and information relating to Fort Humboldt. The book tells the stories of forced relocation throughout the region, massacres, and patterns of mining and settlement that affected Indigenous peoples of the Humboldt Bay area. "This relatively small geographical area is a microcosm of the brutal savagery of the white Anglo-Saxon transient, who came to rape a land and a people." (Norton, 1979). Norton challenges the "truths" published by anthropologists and historians, such as the primitive nature of pre-contact Indigenous communities, and presents historical facts in the raw and unattractive forms.

Jack Norton stresses the importance of correct and viable historical discourse analysis within researching history of frontier era California. In doing this, Albert

Hurtado's work (1999) informs my understanding of colonial dynamics and the historical events that occurred, events justified by frontier ideology and Manifest Destiny within Indigenous women's lives. Hurtado's work provides an untold and unembellished version of frontier history that frames my research. Many of these stories tell of traumatic events and are presented as oral histories from Indigenous elders and families in the literature by Jack Norton (1979).

More recently, Ray Raphael's work *Two People One Place* (2007), a textbook styled work of literature was produced to educate students of Humboldt County about local history. This text identifies a wide variety of local history pertaining to the clashing of settler and Indigenous cultures, but lacks much of the detailed brutality and violence because it is intended to be used in the elementary and high school classroom. Another text, *Both Sides of the Bluff: History of Humboldt County Places 1*, by Jerry Rohde (2014), serves as the first in a series of local historical texts focusing on regional history of both settler communities and Indigenous peoples of the area. Rohde's research delves into analyzes the local historical accounts by town and community members in the southern Humboldt region.

Today the museum at Fort Humboldt State Park is out of date due to funding and resource issues within the park system. Although the displays and information shared at the Fort Humboldt California State Park Surgeon Museum are accurate regarding some of the events that occurred there are throughout the region, there is a lack of specific information about Indigenous women and girls who experienced the atrocities of militarization during the Gold Rush. Information about the corral that was used to

imprison Indigenous people that was described as being created with intentions of protecting the Indigenous peoples at the fort from angry civilians excludes details of the extreme desperation and internment that the eighty-foot in diameter corral, or death-trap as Jack Norton refers to it as, sometimes operating with up to four-hundred people at a time (Norton, 1979: 92).

The California Gold Rush in Contemporary Curricula

“The portrayal of California Indians in school texts as “dirty, animal-like, something less than human beings” has led to “shame” and “tears.””
(Trafzer and Lorimer, 2014: 68).

While there is a large amount of accurate curricula on genocide committed during the Holocaust of World War II and the treatment of African slaves during the slave trade, little to no accurate information is presented about the acts committed by United States military, militias, and civilians during the California Gold Rush to Indigenous peoples of this land (Trafzer and Lorimer, 2014). Additionally, little to no accurate information is available about the “Indian Wars” overall, let alone the arrival of Christopher Columbus to current day Haiti and the Dominican Republic. In 2014 an article titled “Silencing California Indian Genocide in Social Studies Texts” was published in the *American Behavioral Scientist*. In this article authors Trafzer and Lorimer describe how the California State Department of Education denies the genocide that occurred in California to Indigenous peoples, and perpetuate the silence by textbook companies, despite

overwhelming evidence. The work of Trafzer and Lorimer outline the requirements set by the California State Board of Education regarding genocide and truthful teaching to elementary and high school students. The work also proves that few to none of these requirements are being met when it comes to the State's complete historical account, and many of those that are are done by teachers who are members of Indigenous communities, or live close to or within reservation and/or other marginalized communities.

Furthermore, this work highlights the impacts of such educational systems on Indigenous children today, and the reinforcement of trauma upon Indigenous communities through state sanctioned representations of Indigenous peoples in text books. The fourth grade level educational models in California present the Gold Rush and Mission system as the foundations of California, highlighting events and individuals important in the establishment of these eras. While individuals such as Padre Junipero Serra are glorified for their work in settling and civilizing California, such attributes of those individuals such as Serra's institution of Mission-run slave-trades and genocidal actions are ignored. As Trafzer and Lorimer describe,

“By writing in the passive voice, the authors of textbooks for children often conceal participants of the genocide of California Indians in all the gold fields or the kidnapping, raping, and sale of Indian women and children into slavery. Authors suggest to impressionable children that Indians had caused their own demise by attacking miners.” (Trafzer and Lorimer, 2014: 78)

The lack of curricula and classroom learning options do not mean that there are not numerous resources available for the State of California to employ. Nor is there a lack of educators, historians, and scholars who are willing to teach truthful accounts and accurate representations of California's past. A multitude of curricula models have been developed by Indigenous community organizers, Indigenous students, and Indigenous scholars on this very topic, including on the Humboldt State University campus by Indigenous and non-Indigenous student body. As of today, spring 2016, a proposed new version of history and social studies curricula for California is being reviewed and discussed by the State Board of Education. I will discuss this new proposed framework in the chapter on discussion and analysis of results.

Trauma and Grief

“Material poverty and social dysfunction are merely the visible surface of a deep pool of internal suffering. The underlying cause of that suffering is alienation – separation from our heritage and from ourselves.” (Alfred, 2009: xv)

Ward Churchill describes in his book *A Little Matter of Genocide* the ongoing nature of genocidal practice against Indigenous peoples in the United States by concluding that the above factors of genocide continue today. Furthermore, Churchill asserts that genocide always follows colonialism (Churchill, 1997), and with settler colonialism being so recent in the Humboldt Bay region, I identify many aspects of

marginalization, disproportionate health issues, and high rates of familial violence as extensions of that initial genocide. Two of the consequences in Indigenous communities that are highlighted within the literature are *historical grief* and *intergenerational trauma* (Churchill, 1997) (Haff and Lowry, 1999) (Norton, 1979) (Smith, 2005). Within this research, I define historical trauma by utilizing the work of Churchill, Smith, Norton, and Alfred, formulating the understanding as the cumulative and ever present emotional and psychological wounds which remain from the traumatic events one's ancestors experienced. This trauma is intertwined in every aspect of the lives of Indigenous peoples in this country, particularly in northwestern California, where settler contact occurred a mere one-hundred sixty-six years ago for some tribal groups.

The contemporary effects of intergenerational trauma can be identified as, but not limited to, extremely high and disproportionate rates of suicide, homicide, domestic violence, child abuse, alcoholism, drug use, depression, and internalized hatred compared to national averages (Smith, 2005). It is important to mention that these problems are not solely issues in Indigenous communities, but operate as extensions of the dynamics of all systems of power inflicted upon marginalized communities, such as racism, colonialism, imperialism, globalization, sexism, and classism.

As Kanawake Mohawk professor, scholar, and activist Taiiaki Alfred articulates intergenerational trauma, so does he describe the ongoing shock of grief in oppressed communities, and cycles of violence, poverty, and injustices. Grief, as a manifestation of trauma, presents itself in numerous ways within the individual and within community. Perpetuation of these negative aspects continues through the encouragement of racism

and misogyny by mainstream media and inaccurate representations of Indigenous women, such as the hypersexualization of Indigenous identity in costumes for Halloween, in stereotypes of rugged and drug-ridden reservations, in welfare-related Indigenous female stereotypes, and in child welfare politics such as teen pregnancy and neglect. By utilizing Indigenous authors and their theories in application of my understanding of the existence of trauma and grief in Indigenous women and girls today, I can better understand problems such as substance abuse, family violence, elder abuse, incest, and neglect that is actually occurring in tribal families.

The Impacts of Settler Colonialism on the Indigenous Female Body

“Alienation from one’s homeland provides a strong foundation upon which sexual victimization can take place. Indigenous scholar Jack D. Forbes explains the connection by asserting that colonial forces found it easy to shift “from the raping of a woman to the raping of a county to the raping of the world.”” (Deer, 2015: xv)

Attorney, activist, scholar, and professor Sarah Deer (Mvskoke Creek) presents a philosophy on teaching the history of rape being utilized as a tool of genocide to reinforce control over Indigenous nations emerges from an understanding that most Indigenous cultures see as true - that women are the hearts of their nation because of women’s ability to give birth, and the specific medicine-making and ceremonial duties women are responsible for. While it is inaccurate to call all North American Indigenous

nations matriarchal, many were and continue to be. Deer's book *The Beginning and End of Rape: Confronting Sexual Violence in Native America* (2015) explores how the profit of slavery and bondage funded colonial projects throughout the world, particularly focusing on the trafficking of women and girls with the creation of eroticized myths about Indigenous women and their inherent character traits and morals (Deer, 2015: 62). Deer's book identifies the ramifications of dispossession and relocation of Indigenous families as exacerbated by the violence perpetuated onto their mothers, grandmothers, wives, sisters, and daughters who were bought and sold for the purposes for sexual gratification of pioneer settler men, and for the control over Indigenous nations and homelands.

French philosopher Michel Foucault contends that Western societies have supported public discourses about sexuality that are meant to sustain structures of power within those societies. The state, church, and science, collaborated on the dehumanization of Indigenous bodies through phrenology, eugenics, and extermination policies. These ideas and practices supported the mentality of Manifest Destiny and entitlement of the settlers, reinforcing the connections between sexual conquest and exploitation of female bodies in conjunction with the conquest and exploitation of the Earth. Dehumanization of Indigenous peoples, particularly Indigenous women, through the enforcement of the Doctrine of Discovery and Manifest Destiny made sexual exploitation and slave trafficking of women and children an easy and encouraged practice by practice on the frontier.

In *Digger*, by Jerry Stanley, a December 1861 *Marysville Appeal* newspaper report addressed the activity of kidnapping Indigenous women and children in the area as widespread and not hidden, "...children were seized as servants while young women were captured for the purpose of labor and lust." (Stanley, 1997: 70). 'Digger' was a derogatory term used during the California Gold Rush and afterwards to refer to Indigenous men and boys, in conjunction with the derogatory terms squaw (generally reserved for women), brave, buck, prairie nigger, forest nigger, and redskin were, and are, broadly used.

While loving families and healthy relationships did exist between Indigenous people and white settlers on the northwestern California frontier, indentured servitude and enslavement were very prominent. In forced-marriage situations, the intellectual knowledge and sexual existence of women worked in tandem with cooking skills and abilities to reproduce to further populate the new settled region. In Ann Laura Stoler's book *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power* the systems of power and domination imposed upon the half-breed children of settler men and Indigenous women is described as a constant fine line between their tendencies of going back to their traditional roots (Stoler, 2002: 129). Mixed heritage children were most commonly the outcomes of forced-marriage enslavement or brutal rapes during the early Gold Rush era. Many of these children grew up to be denied by both sides of their heritage, existing in a social and political limbo that was sometimes exacerbated by whiskey and other vices. Some children were used for labor in the family's mining or ranching projects, while others ran away or were sent to Indian boarding schools funded by the federal government to be

“civilized” and schooled in domestic and vocational skills from the late nineteenth century into the present (Churchill, 1997: 246).

In what Stoler refers to as the *eugenics of empire* (Stoler, 2002), blood quantum as an identifier of Indigenous heritage and assumed intellectual abilities continues to plague modern generations of Indigenous peoples. Originally used in census listing of rolls of tribal members by the United States government to approximate populations, blood quantum measurement is still used as justification for violence against the psyche and spiritual minds of Indigenous peoples. The settler colonial project and the narratives of Manifest Destiny both implied a plan and implementation strategy of diluting Native blood. Longtime superintendent Richard Henry Pratt, of the notoriously brutal and deadly Carlisle Indian Boarding School at the turn of the twentieth century was quoted as saying, “kill the Indian, save the man.” In these instances, young Indigenous women were taught to cook settler foods, sew, clean, and work as nurses and nannies for settler households. Many young Indigenous women were sterilized during their time spent in boarding school. Additionally, both young women and young men were sexually, mentally, and physically abused. Without their families, forbidden to speak their languages, and usually very far from home, trauma manifested in profound depression and grief.

Simultaneous to these earliest Indigenous struggles for human rights and self-determination, Indigenous groups were being forcibly marched from their homelands to enclosed reservations in Smith River, Fort Gaston (Hoopa Valley), Bear River, Covelo, by way of temporary internment camps such as the cattle corral at Fort Humboldt which was recorded as active and full of nearly eight-hundred Indigenous peoples from

throughout the region in July of 1862 (Norton, 1979). “They are beginning to die off in consequence,” reported the *Humboldt Times* on July 26, 1862, in reference to the condition of the cattle corral. Later that year in August seven-hundred Indigenous peoples were forcible moved from that corral across Humboldt Bay to the peninsula for further internment. Then, in September, 834 Indigenous peoples were marched from the internment on the peninsula to the steamer Panama and taken to the Smith River Reservation (Raphael and House, 2007: 180). The example of the corral at Fort Humboldt represents the larger system of displacement and atrocities that it included, namely that Indigenous peoples were removed from their homelands where their ancestors were buried and where the foundations of their cosmology existed.

The trafficking of human beings during the California Gold Rush was commonplace, socially accepted by general society besides a few individuals who were ostracized for doubting it, and also barely combatted by U.S military officials in the region. It is estimated that about ten thousand Indigenous people may have been indentured or sold between 1850 and 1863 in California (Norton, 1979). Hundreds of women and children were bought, sold and traded throughout northern California. The separation of families, massacres of groups who refused to move to the local forts, and ambushes resulted in an extensive and profound disconnection of families and tribes from their homelands. The disconnection continues today. Mixed-heritage children were most commonly the outcomes of forced marriage enslavement or rapes. Many found themselves unable to connect with or not accepted by either side of their heritage and found themselves trafficked into servitude, battling alcoholism, or selling their bodies for

labor and lust. Some of the mixed-heritage children in northwestern California were used for labor in the family mining or ranching projects, while others ran away or were sent to Indian Boarding Schools funded by the federal government to civilize the Indians from the late nineteenth century into the present. Resilience exists through of these forms of violence through the stories and memories that were carried forward and documented or spoken later.

“The interwoven processes of sexism, racism, misogyny, and heterosexism are an integral part of our social fabric, where in the world we happen to be. We need to be aware that these ideologies, in conjunction with regressive politics of ethnic nationalism and capitalist consumerism, are differentially constitutive of all our lives in the early twenty-first century.” (Mohanty, 2004)

Ann Laura Stoler’s work *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power* (2002) presents a wide array of accounts of frontier mentality within colonial communities throughout the world, but all share the same cyclical nature of environmental destruction and exploitation, gendered violence, settlement and assimilation. Stoler connects the physical relationships between dominant settler men and subordinated, oppressed Indigenous women as representation in the flesh of the colonial dominance on the frontier and expanded into long-term settler colonial communities. Stoler’s theory and methodology regarding the systems of settler colonialism and the presence of Indigenous women in settler homes and as property for profit works in conjunction with the histories told in

Norton's and Hurtado's literature, as well as stories and family histories from my interviews.

Andrea Smith (Cherokee), professor, scholar, and attorney, has been instrumental in numerous campaigns and work around tribal sovereignty and research on colonial impacts on Indigenous female bodies writes "Because sexual violence has served as a tool of colonialism and white supremacy, the struggle for sovereignty and the struggle against sexual violence cannot be separated." (Smith, 2005). Smith contextualizes the very ability of reproduction by Indigenous women as a barrier to continued colonization and so therefore ongoing practices of violence and sexual abuse towards Indigenous women's bodies is justified through sterilization practice under federal medical care, demoralization of communities through the reservation system, and the blood-quantum power structure (Smith, 2005).

THEORY AND EPISTEMOLOGY

Indigenous theory informs my research in that it provides a foundation for the place of my research within academia and dominant discourse. My research does not fit into the general mold of data collection and statistical analysis because it embodies Indigenous knowledge in such a way that is reflected through personal transformation, consciousness shifting, and an unrelenting and powerful familial connection between human and non-human life. I utilize Indigenous knowledge and theory to strengthen my research and encourage critical and intersectional consideration of the master hegemonic discourse within literature regarding Gold Rush era experiences of Indigenous peoples, particularly in California. Through the examination and application of decolonial theory, post-colonial theory, and contemporary forms of mindful historical understandings, analysis is conducted in my thesis to further understanding the experiences of Indigenous women in the Humboldt Bay region during the Gold Rush era.

Indigenous Theory

I conducted my research through consideration and application of Norman K. Denzin's explanation of the necessity of pedagogies of resistance in his book, *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*. Denzin asserts that critical Indigenist pedagogy is vital to the challenging of contemporary academia and institutional systems of power and privilege (Denzin, 2008). In this understanding, I aim to contribute to a

decolonized academic system, which my thesis research fits into well in its interdisciplinary nature and critical analysis of multi-generational Intersectionality.

Two Indigenous women theorists, Mishuana Goeman (Tonawanda Seneca) and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Ngati Awa and Ngati Porou, Maori) greatly inform my research and writing framework in regards to female resilience within settler colonialism. Goeman and L. Smith both work to reframe and re-Indigenize theory from a usually subordinated perspective, challenging the colonial concept of subaltern, or lower social status, and asserting validity and value of Indigenous epistemology within academia.

Mishuana Goeman's work on (re)mapping landscape, reframing history (2013) and reconnection to the natural world operate as tools of decolonization and self-empowerment for Indigenous women and girls. Goeman tracks and theorizes settler colonialism as an enduring form of gendered spatial violence that can be traced to the intergenerational grief experienced by Indigenous communities today. Understanding that grief and trauma are never one dimensional or stagnant, feminism standpoint epistemology and intersectionality bring deeper complex connections of spatial occupation with that of the physical feminine body, reproduction and health of spirit. By (re)mapping the history of Fort Humboldt to tell the stories of struggle and resilience of Indigenous women who were interned and help captive there, Indigenous women can further reaffirm strength and empowerment for future generations. Understanding the determination and courage of ancestors through such difficult circumstances and similar obstacles faced today such as sexualized violence and dehumanization practices and policy, has the power to provide hope and reinstall lasting optimism for the future.

Taiakiake Alfred's (Kanawake Mohawk) work in *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto* (2009) defines the connections of spirit and history, encouraging social change through action on the ground and in one's mindful changes. Alfred's theories of Indigenous existence and survival in modern day North America as evidence of the power of earth-based spirituality frame my thesis research as I focus on Indigenous groups who perform and uphold world renewal as purpose of their existence (Norton, 1979).

Alfred also discusses consciousness, resilience and self-determination as the pathways to peace within Indigenous communities suffering intergenerational trauma and the effects of long-term grief. Alfred's ongoing work on colonialism and trauma is fundamental in my research of the necessity of cultural evolution to ensure the peoples' survival and direct challenge of *Manifest Destiny*.

Feminist Standpoint Epistemology and Intersectional Feminism inform my research by offering the tools to utilize a feminist lens in every aspect of my work and conversations. *Feminist standpoint epistemology* is rooted in intersectional ideology, which identifies all structures, and systems of power as interrelated and connected (Mohanty, 2003). Connecting imperialism with settler colonialism and exploitation of natural resources with abuse of Indigenous bodies illustrate the interdependent nature of all facets of my thesis. Many feminist philosophers discuss the connections between colonialism and continued patriarchal oppression. Andrea Smith's "Three Pillars of White Supremacy" describes the context to which gendered violence was and continues to be used for domination and disruption of Indigenous culture. "The project of colonial

sexual violence establishes the ideology that Native bodies are inherently violable – and by extension, that Native lands are also inherently violable.” (A. Smith, 2005: 11).

Indigenous women outside of academia such as Katsi Cook (Mohawk) also present strong literature and knowledge that describe the intricate and delicate balance of Earth and womanhood in Indigenous metaphysical understandings. Paradigmatic epistemological foundations of Indigenous traditional knowledge and culture are the basis of the pedagogy holds value in the process of decolonization and reframing history.

Resistance and Survival

“The strength and quality of indigenous peoples’ greatest accomplishment is almost buried under the weight of the problems they confront. That accomplishment consists in their survival. Indigenous peoples have every right to celebrate their continued existence and to draw strength from the fact that their nations live on despite the terrible losses of the past five hundred years...For all the chaos and pain brought by colonization, and for all the self-inflicted wounds, the first step in getting beyond the present crisis must be to celebrate the inherent strength that has allowed indigenous people to resist extinction.” (Alfred, 2009: 58)

Survivance, as Gerald Vizenor describes, is “an active sense of presence, the continuance of native stories, not a mere reaction, or a survivable name...survivance means the right of succession or reversion of an estate, and in that sense, the estate of

native survivance.” (Vizenor, 1994: 1). Vizenor’s multiple works infuse my understanding of ‘postindian’ conceptualization within history, and how contemporary stories and education by Indigenous peoples are retaking history.

Resilience, Recovery, Revitalization

“Metaphors of death and recovery through reconnection tend to resonate with indigenous people generally, sharing as they do a history of loss. That resonance attests to the need to make tradition more than an artifact – to bring traditional values and approaches to power back to life as guiding principals for contemporary governance. We need to realize that ways of thinking that perpetuate European values can do nothing to ease the pain of colonization and return us to the harmony, balance, and peaceful coexistence that were – and are – the ideals envisioned in all traditional indigenous philosophies.” (Alfred, 2009: 65)

Brian Walker and David Salt articulate resilience as “the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and still retain its basic function and structure.” (Walker and Salt, 2006: xiii). Walker and Salt’s definition pertains not only to consideration of ecological resilience, but also that of systems of human beings and their traditional life ways as connected to each other and the universe through ceremony and reverence for the land. Stories of resilience are threaded throughout local history and in the names carried by contemporary Indigenous families. Anne Brodsky refers to resilience as the seemingly

unlikely positive outcomes that can arise from situations that are associated with elevated negative results (Brodsky, 2004: 6). In Brodsky's articulation of revolutionary existence by women in Afghanistan, I find parallels with the writings by L. Smith, A. Smith, and Goeman in which they describe the physical existence of Indigenous women and girls today as revolutionary, and their empowerment as a powerful tool which challenges settler colonialism and patriarchy daily, and will continue to do so as history becomes better understood.

In some places the power of colonial mentality has cut off possibilities of resurgence of traditional culture and life ways because fear, religion, or overall genocide has wiped away memories and the ability to recall. In other places a cultural renaissance and paradigm shift is emerging, with roots stemming back to the civil rights era, and the Indian Religious Freedom Act of the 1970s, when it finally became legal to practice traditional spiritual ways and not be arrested or punished (with the exception of accessing sacred places).

METHODOLOGY

This research seeks to uncover stories and information about the lives of Indigenous women who lived during the California Gold Rush in the Humboldt Bay region, and who experienced the militarization of Humboldt Bay with the establishment and existence of Fort Humboldt. This study is an accumulation of participatory action research, participant observation, and interpretive content analysis. My research combines the analysis of documents and policies with a series of semi-structured interviews and examination of oral histories recorded over time. It is important to recognize that although the dominant customary methodology structure of graduate studies structures compel me to present each method as separate and individual, I contend that the human beings who spoke to me in the interviews for my research are no different than the human beings whose lives are discussed and were affected in the books, policies, and articles I examined. The intersections of space and time within my research are unremitting, not just because of very recent settler contact in northwestern California, but because of ongoing grief existing within the hearts and minds of Indigenous peoples whose ancestors experienced Gold Rush era policies and practice first-hand. Being critical of master narrative and challenging the dominant system of academia by utilizing Indigenous theorists and Indigenous methodologies “encourages and empowers Indigenous peoples to make colonizers confront and to be accountable for the traumas of colonization.” (Denzin, 2008:12).

This chapter will provide a detailed overview of the methodological process of participant observation on site, analyzing public archival documents, and obtaining access to specific collections through the Humboldt County Historical Society and Special Collections of the Humboldt Room at Humboldt State University. Additionally, I will explain the formation of the semi-structured interviews, conversations with local historians, and triangulation of the collected data and information in regards to participatory action research.

Quantitative data of indentured servitude logs and approximated statistical data on populations of Indigenous peoples prior and after settler contact in this region exists as mentioned prior. However, the frontier era dynamics and extermination policies that took place in the Humboldt Bay region greatly impacted the availability of any seriously reliable statistical data. Additionally, the majority of the personal stories of survivors is documented through oral histories within families, and few by local news peoples and citizens. Much of the population, including settlers and Indigenous peoples, were illiterate during the California Gold Rush, and the business of human trafficking was generally a black market trade, as discussed previously in this thesis. As a result of these factors, reliable data on Gold Rush era life experiences and regional community structures are difficult to utilize in gauging the realities of existence around the Humboldt Bay region in the 19th century.

I assert that the most reliable sources on the experiences of Indigenous peoples around the Humboldt Bay region during the California Gold Rush are the descendants of those peoples. For that reason, my interviews were conducted with local people who trace

their lineage back to the Humboldt Bay region, traditional Wiyot territory. Four of the interviews were conducted with community members who identify as Wiyot for this reason.

Participant Observation on Site at Fort Humboldt Historic State Park

In an effort to gain understanding of what the Humboldt Bay region was like during the California Gold Rush, I immersed myself in the applicable literature and public information regarding the era and the militarization of Humboldt Bay. I did this through State Park and fort documents, as well as through the journal entries, letters, and statements by fort-stationed soldiers and fort-associated official and workers.

Additionally, I spent time with the California State Park at Fort Humboldt, and learned and shared knowledge with local District Interpretive Specialist Susan Doniger, who works with numerous regional California State Parks and has immense historical knowledge of the area. This participant observation includes analysis and review of the displays at the fort museum and throughout the walking paths of the park (Appendix E). Much of the display content at the fort aligns with my analysis of policies and local activities of the time, such as the legalized indentured servitude act of 1850, photographs of the Indigenous boarding schools in the local area, information on the corral that held people there, as well as newspaper articles and letters about the Indian Island Massacre of 1860 and other events.

Literature and Document Analysis

In accordance with Linda Tuhiwai Smith's work *Indigenous Methodology: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, the documents and literature I analyzed consisted of both settler perspectives and the perspectives of Indigenous peoples in order to triangulate information regarding specific events and stories. With as many historical events and figures as possible, I attempted to utilize multiple perspectives in my research and understanding. Through applying decolonial theory, post-colonial theory, and contemporary forms of mindful historical understandings, I triangulated research through methods on many levels of participation and document analysis.

My analysis and interpretation of documents occurred through visits to the Humboldt County Library, Humboldt State University Library, Humboldt County Historical Society, and my own private collection of literature relevant to this topic. The documents I analyzed consisted of historic newspaper articles, journal and diary entries, letters, military orders, and transcriptions of historical conversations from the California Gold Rush period. Additionally, one distinct policy was analyzed, the *California State Act for the Government and Protection of Indians* (1850), as well as California State standardized curricula on the California Gold Rush, and alternative forms of curricula developed to provide a different perspective of the California Gold Rush experience. The alternative forms of curricula spanned from local Humboldt State University education student work, to that of well known scholar Jack Norton.

Data Collection of Oral Histories and the Interview Process

Previously recorded oral histories from local tribal peoples that I accessed through the Humboldt State University Library and Indian Tribal Education and Personnel Program collections presented perspectives on Gold Rush era experiences of women and children. I then compared them with, and critically examined them, with literature and numerous documents and policies of the Gold Rush era. Humboldt State University and Humboldt County Historical Society research librarians taught me how to access the digitized archives and also how to carefully handle old maps and documents housed by the library's special collections such as the Susie Baker Fountain Collection. Relevant literature in the university library is mostly housed in the Humboldt Room where local collections of history tell stories of people since before settler contact in the region. I conducted a large amount of data collection in regards to early settlers and initial relations and conflicts with Indigenous groups of the area through reading book entries and newspaper accounts in archives at the Humboldt Room.

I use eight of the 25 Indigenous projects offered by L. Smith to critically analyze available literature and testimonies associated with both settler colonialism and the militarization of the Humboldt Bay region with the establishment of Fort Humboldt. I focus especially on the impacts of the aforementioned for women and girls, as there is a significant gap in the literature. Smith's twenty-five projects highlight points of research and action that expand from the academy, as well as the physical spaces and places that Indigenous peoples operate within today, to traditional homelands, and into the good

mind (Appendix F). Several of Smith's points enable me to engage critically with the foci of my thesis. However, I chose the most relevant to my research: Testimonies, Celebrating Survival, Remembering, Reading, Reframing, Gendering, and Sharing.

Testimonies refers to an Indigenous way of thinking about extremely painful events or period that has affected the community and minds for generations. Testimonies are essentially what my semi structured interviews focus on, as well as my analysis of oral histories that have been recorded prior to this research. Celebrating Survival and Remembering work in tandem with Reading and Reframing, as practices for understanding, and the researcher's own paradigm shift within the research, and that of the community, and then articulation of that mindful change into action (L. Smith, 1999: 145).

The twenty-five aspects laid out by L. Smith are especially vital in work with history and historical mentalities of settler colonialism. Gendering refers to understanding identity, and cultural and community participation, where genders are identified on a spectrum, instead of a colonial-imposed value hierarchical dichotomy of masculine/feminine (and for that matter, colonial-imposed understanding of sex as male/female) that values masculinity and being male-identified, which is hurtful and constricting to Indigenous understandings of feminine and masculine (L. Smith, 1999: 151). Lastly, Sharing refers to the importance of communicating these paradigm shifts in understanding and teaching others. As the last of the twenty-five projects, Sharing consists of the cumulative collection of experiences, knowledge, questions, and strategies for change (L. Smith, 1999: 160).

My analysis will be presented by highlighting research results through eight specific points of Linda Tuhuwai Smith's "Twenty-Five Indigenous projects (L. Smith, 1999:142); Testimonies, Story Telling, Celebrating Survival, Remembering, Reading, Reframing, Gendering, and Sharing. By utilizing this Indigenous-minded methodological project framework, I aim to provide an understanding of the chaos that occurred during and after the California Gold Rush in the Humboldt Bay region, as well as uplift the knowledge and work within Indigenous families of the region towards rebalance and rebirth of positive cultural understandings, education of history, and reconnection to the natural world.

I use *Decolonizing Methodologies* to engage eight semi-structured interviews and follow-up interviews I conducted were formatted with questions that focused on traditional knowledge, familial histories, and tribal histories that were based around the respondents' own knowledge on the California Gold Rush (Appendix G). Through utilizing *Decolonizing Methodologies*, I examined the interconnections of all components of history and contemporary ties to culture and the way knowledge is passed through generations and seen as valuable.

The interviewees I worked with were contacted through email and phone calls with information and my inquiry for the interview. I already had a relationship with most of them from activities in the local Indigenous community. The interviews took place at kitchen tables, living room sofas, and office spaces. The interviewees; Barry Brenard, Ted Hernandez, Cheryl Seidner, Julian Lang, and Lyn Risling, were all provided with written consent forms, and all agreed to be directly quoted in this research. All of the

individuals that provided interviews and had conversations with me are active in both local community activities, as well as traditional ceremonial practice in the Humboldt Bay region. Each of the interviewees also shared with me the village and region areas they trace their lineages to, as well as some family trees and ancestry names along with the stories they told with Indigenous words and place names. Some of the stories consisted of local knowledge, and some were oral histories that were passed down within the generations of their families and communities that were presented with photographs or recordings. Several of the stories that were shared with me came to be known by them through listening to parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles, talking around kitchen tables, at family gatherings, or at the ends of their elders' lives.

My research has brought to light the experiences of Indigenous women and girls, as well as their communities, during the twenty years that Fort Humboldt operated as an active military post. Additionally, my research identifies some of the many long term impacts of the California Gold Rush in Indigenous communities around Humboldt Bay today.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter will present the findings and analyze the outcomes of my research, through components of the “Twenty-Five Indigenous Projects” framework by Linda Tuhuwai Smith. The findings described will span the results from pre-contact oral histories, to testimonies of genocidal practices, to relocation of families, and the associated struggles, resistance, and resilience. The sections will end with contemporary analysis of the impacts of genocide on Indigenous women of the Humboldt Bay region.

Of the numerous oral histories, news articles, family stories, and historical accounts of Fort Humboldt’s operation and impacts on Indigenous women of northern California, no two experiences are the same, however, several common themes do emerge. Many Indigenous women and girls were taken from their homes and families. According to interviewee Lyn Risling, many were denied a puberty ceremony because their communities did not want settlers to know they had sexually mature teenage girls. Many never grew old enough to have a puberty ceremony. According to interviewee Julian Lang, many made choices to end the lives of their own children, siblings, and elderly to save them from persecution, rape, abuse, and slavery. Many young girls and women witnessed brutality and violence towards their families, communities, and to the land that forever changed them and would affect their future generations. Barry Brenard’s interview included that many people endured marches to internment camps on the Klamath and Covelo reservations, and to Fort Humboldt and Fort Seward in southern Humboldt County. Many became distanced from their culture and their peoples both

physically and spiritually. Estimations by local historians approximate that thousands of people were corralled into the dangerous, sickness-ridden gates at Fort Humboldt, then legally bought and sold to settler men who did with them as they pleased. While many hoped to find refuge in the fort from conflict as the U.S. military promised, it is important to identify that forts are not always safe havens during militarization, especially for Indigenous people oppressed by interlocking systems of injustice. Moreover, the devastating impacts of settler colonialism, militarism, patriarchy, and racism traumatized not only those directly targeted at the time, but also gravely impacted Indigenous women, their families, and their communities for generations to come.

With both the diversity and these themes in mind, I am organizing the results of my research and analysis around eight of the twenty-five Indigenous Projects offered in Linda Tuhuwai Smith's (1999) work: *Testimonies, Story Telling, Celebrating Survival, Remembering, Reading, Reframing, Gendering, and Sharing*. I am utilizing this Indigenous-minded methodological framework to highlight the injustices that occurred during and after the California Gold Rush in the Humboldt Bay region as well as the ongoing resilience and modes of resistance undertaken by Indigenous women. This framework also enables me to highlight counter narratives of the militarization of this region and its ongoing consequences.

Before presenting my findings, I must first recognize my privilege and blessed ability to do so. It is very rare that the work of a traditionally-minded and culturally practicing Indigenous woman's theory is accepted as valid in the academic industrial complex. The First world academic industrial complex is a cornerstone institution in the

world that perpetuates systems of power, privilege, and oppression on not just Indigenous women like myself, but communities considered impoverished, subaltern, disadvantaged, and otherwise marginalized by patriarchal-imperialist-capitalism. Through L. Smith's work, I recognize that my positionality as an Indigenous woman in the First World academia also includes several points of oppression and exploitation, and that I constantly walk a fine line between two opposing realities. What I can be sure of is that I may face obstacles, but I am also endowed with privilege as a graduate student in that my voice is heard and is respected once I earn a few more letters behind my name. It is in the spirit of silenced Indigenous women, however, that I present these findings and discussion.

Testimonies and Story Telling

As L. Smith describes, "Indigenous testimonies are a way of talking about an extremely painful event or series of events...The structure of testimony – its formality, context and sense of immediacy – appeals to many indigenous participants, particularly elders." (L. Smith, 1999: 144). The numerous previously documented oral histories I examined and semi-structured interviews I conducted operate as testimonies through the accounts of first-hand, and second-hand knowledge of struggle and resilience. Testimony reinforces the importance of recalling events from past lives and past experiences that are vital to pass on and educate others about.

Story Telling, in conjunction with Testimonies, is a powerful place of reconnection between contemporary Indigenous peoples and the past. Memories represented in Story Telling work to uplift and instill lessons of humility, ethics, and moral code. “The story and the story teller both serve to connect the past with the future, one generation with the other, the land with the people and the people with the story.” (L. Smith, 1999: 145). Within Story Telling, a diversity of truths are represented. Their importance to my research cannot be overstated as these stories directly counter the hegemonic narratives of the Gold Rush era within dominant models of education as well as prevailing public opinions about this era in the U.S.

The resilience of Indigenous peoples cannot be overstated either. For instance, many Indigenous peoples survived through residential boarding schools and found their way through life, eventually returning to their Indigenous homelands, or urging their children and grandchildren to do so. On the other hand, many individuals did not make it home from these institutions, and their families never knew what became of them. These stories of the boarding school era are not rare in Indigenous histories throughout the world, as residential schools are utilized in colonial projects throughout the world in efforts to marginalize and weaken Indigenous communities by focusing on the breaking down of children into white American society. This aspect of the larger colonial project can also be traced into modern day incarceration rates of Indigenous peoples, and especially that of Indigenous women in the U.S..

One of my research participants, Barry Brenard (Bear River Band of the Rohnerville Rancheria), described how growing up away from his Humboldt Bay

homelands led him to learn more about his cultural heritage later in life through research of his historical occurrences of the area, and of his grandmother's recordings.

Mr. Brenard grew up next door to Stewart Indian Boarding School in Carson City, Nevada, but traces his lineage to the Mattole peoples of the Humboldt Bay region. His grandmother Mollie Brainard, had the last name of the landowner on whose land her family worked, (later changed to Brenard), was born approximately in 1844. Mollie was taken against her will to that boarding school from her homelands in California at the approximate age of nine. Without a way of returning home and not knowing how to get there, she stayed in Nevada and married a Washoe man from the area, having a family which included grandson Barry, who is now a Bear River Band of Rohnerville Rancheria councilmember and cultural practitioner who works in traditional healing and sobriety driven mindfulness for his people. Mollie's story was also told in an interview conducted by Warren Brainard, one of several interviews with local Indigenous peoples, from the early 20th century. Warren Brainard's transcriptions from the interviews he conducted would be taken care of by his sister Carrie Seidner after his death in 1924. Mr. Barry Brenard's family stories and knowledge brought light to the normalcy of the relocation of Indigenous children from their homelands during the boarding school era, and how the relocation of one little girl drastically impacted the entire family and their connection and reconnections to their traditional Mattole homelands.

“...I do believe in the concept of spirituality of the actions that the settlers had, their spirit of intent was passed on, down generations. That we as the target of those intentions, if we don't appease that spirit, we carry that

spirit around in us. Because I myself have had all those anguishes come out in ill form manner. To where I was not good to myself or others around me. And I often wondered why, because I was a grandson, a great grandson of spiritual healers, of medicine men and women. And I couldn't understand why I was like that until I had gotten back into my own spiritual walk. And through the elders that helped assist me in that walk, conveyed that I carry around that spirit of those people, and especially the leaders of that encampment they called Fort Humboldt." (Barry Brenard, research interview 2015)

Amidst all the hardship, destruction of hearts and homelands, and ongoing impacts of trauma, tribal groups and communities are honoring resilience and survival. Holistic healing of the body and mind is the main focus in many local tribal social services and traditional spiritual practices alike. One of the main methods being used in restorative justice models throughout Indigenous communities worldwide is that of returning our traditional spiritual connection to the land and sacred places as Indigenous peoples, through resilience theory and remembering accurate history. Returning to physical spaces considered sacred, reconnecting with ancestors through song and story in Indigenous languages, and teaching about ceremonial and life protocols are all examples of resilience and survivorship occurring to this day. Unfortunately, as a result of the Gold Rush, the Allotment Act that broke traditional territories into individual land holdings, private land politics, and timber harvesting, many sacred places, as well as traditional ecological knowledge, lay dormant.

Ted Hernandez, Wiyot Tribal Chairperson and cultural practitioner, described his family's understanding of relocation and how coming home to his traditional homelands at the mouth of the Eel River to help his children reconnect with their heritage and ancestors also brought new possibilities of spiritual growth. Mr. Hernandez asserts that although the Wiyot peoples of Humboldt Bay endured excruciatingly brutal treatment by the settler population, including soldiers from the military base at Fort Humboldt, the tribe has worked long and hard to rebuild and strengthen their hearts and minds. Bringing their people back from a point of desperation and disconnection was difficult work that continues every day. Mr. Hernandez described how the Wiyot world was sprung into chaos with the settler arrival to Humboldt Bay in 1848 through the utilization of gendered violence, raids on villages, and the stealing of women and children. The people, as Mr. Hernandez described, "became defeated spirits." That chaos persisted until relatively recently with the revitalization of culture and ceremonies, and an overall traditional uplifting of the Wiyot people of Humboldt Bay.

Prior to settler colonialism of the Humboldt Bay region, the Wiyot, like most of the regional tribal groups, practiced a world renewal ceremonial cycle that works to rebalance and reassert health to the natural world and earth systems. The Wiyot tribal population was almost completely decimated in the few years following settlement by a series of massacres, including the infamous Indian Island massacre that occurred while Humboldt Bay Wiyots were three days into the seven-day Jump Dance ceremony on *Tuluwat*, or Indian/Gunther Island. The Wiyot people were hosting a jump dance in February of 1860 to heal their world amongst the chaos of colonization when they were

dealt a blow by local settlers that put their struggle into overdrive. The “Indian Island Massacre” in which only a few survived, was delicately planned out by local militia men in Eureka, conducted in almost silence without guns, and aimed to hurt the Wiyot women, children, and elders who remained on the island while men were gone for supplies for the ceremony (Crandell, 2005). The resulting trauma of that massacre, as well as the other three that happened in other corners of the Wiyot realm in the same two-day time span, left the surviving Wiyot peoples close to extinction, and with broken hearts. This was the last time, until two years ago, that the Wiyot world renewal ceremony was done to rebalance the earth and the hearts and minds of the people. The memory of this era was not forgotten, although it may have been oppressed because of resulting trauma on the survivors and decedents of survivors. Several white settler men were known by both Indigenous and white community members to be perpetrators of the Indian Island Massacre and other massacres and crimes against local tribal peoples of the region. A list of some of the men was included in a letter from a Wiyot woman named Carrie Seidner, sister to the previously mentioned Warren Brainard, to a friend Lucy Allard (Seidner letters, 1939).

Gendering

In order to understand gender dynamics in contemporary Indigenous societies, I contend it is crucial to first examine (as much as is possible given the constraints of the thesis process) pre-contact Indigenous families, communities, and nations. Dominant United States society and institutions work according to patriarchal value hierarchical dualisms of sex and gender. Value hierarchal dualism or Cartesian dualisms (as they were developed by Decartes to categorize the world) operate by creating of opposites and by valuing the first term over the second. Importantly, the second term is not only devalued, but social groups associated with this second term are defined as “Other,” (devalued, inferior, sub-human, subaltern, or not human and even deserving of injustice and violence [Urban, 2007]). Speaking again of dominant U.S. social institutions and society, gender (masculine/feminine) and sex (male/female) contradict the ways in which many Indigenous cultures understand sex and gender. In other words, may operate outside of the restricted two-gender system, and instead operated on a spectrum of masculine and feminine attributes (the same holds true for the category of sex). While today’s dominant United States society works according to the gender binary of man and woman, most Indigenous cultures existed (and many continue to) outside of a restricted two-gender system, and instead operated on a spectrum of masculine and feminine attributes. The Indigenous project Gendering refers to eradicating the destructive colonial understanding of gender imposed upon Indigenous communities and regaining the health and vitality of traditional gender(s) understanding. While the movement to understand people who are

gender non-conforming, which is not normal in the larger mainstream scheme of gender and gender pronoun use is evolving in dominant United States society, the implications of settler colonialism within many Indigenous communities is working in opposition to traditional cultural understandings of gender representation and gender roles.

Several of the semi-structured interviews I conducted reminded me on this topic that the Indigenous cosmological belief system of world renewal practicing peoples here in northwestern California includes the Earth as incorporating both male and female energies and power, and that spirit people who gave way to the human life on Earth encompassed both masculine and feminine traits, as do many humans and non-humans.

Lyn Risling (Yurok/Karuk/Hupa tribal member) expressed in her interview the power of pre-contact natural law, and how gender roles occurred in traditional settings not out of inequality or hierarchies, but out of survival and necessity. Prior to settler contact in the Humboldt Bay region and amongst the northwestern tribes of California who practice the world renewal ceremony cycle, individual and nation-wide forms of sacrifice and dedication was conducted for spiritual revelation and maturation into expanded forms of spiritual connection.

As L. Smith describes, “Family organization, child rearing, political and spiritual life, work and social activities were all disordered by a colonial system which positioned its own women as the property of men with roles which were primarily domestic.” (L. Smith, 1999: 151). Womanhood in Indigenous cultures is representative of more than just child birth and growth of a nation, but also holds strength in spiritual and societal roles of leadership, rights, and wisdom in connection to the natural world and ceremonial cycles.

While there was gender separation in living quarters, ceremony times, and spiritual practice in northwestern California, at no time did, or do, those roles represent a hierarchy of power or knowledge. Specific responsibilities, understandings, and duties were assigned to people based on how they fell on the gender spectrum. Unfortunately, modern day identification with the oppressor has repressed some of that knowledge. The realities of colonial hegemonic formations of gender and gender roles and rights in historical and contemporary society directly oppose traditional gender roles and understanding in the tribal groups of northwestern California.

“In terms of connection to place, you are a part of the ecosystem. Codependence, responsibility. The social system that came out of that is because of responsibility for the environment. Religious manifestation emerged from connection to the place we find as centered. Culture is conducive to continuity of those people, and all the life that is there. Social balance is connected to environmental balance and the laws of nature. Respect for every living thing, and the people are just part of that. But they have responsibility because of being human beings, to take care of that. Which also benefited them, and allowed them to flourish...In terms of gender roles, there was a balance. When the white men came, the balance began shifting because of their attitudes towards women. When things started shifting, the Indian men’s roles starting changing. Alcohol, greed, boarding school, etc. They were out of balance. They started treating their

women unwell, and assumed some of those attitudes that the white men had.” (Lyn Risling, research interview 2015)

Once people were forcibly removed, funneled through Fort Humboldt, trafficked, and relocated, many were afraid of coming back to their homes, according to Mr. Hernandez. This included his great grandparents, especially after being disciplined severely for their cultural ways of living both out in the world and within institutions. This discipline within boarding schools and prejudicial policies also happened in the treatment of Indigenous women in public and in domestic labor jobs. Aspects of traditional womanhood have been repressed through the use of drugs and alcohol, depression, and the broad popular culture of the settler. Much of it began, as stated previously, from families and tribal groups attempting to protect their young women from harm. However, a large amount of it has been the internalization and reinforcement of hetero-patriarchy within Indigenous communities by way of settler policies, mainstream educational systems, popular media, and ongoing assimilation strategies by the forces controlling funding and opportunities for Indigenous youth and how popular culture defines valuable knowledge and life style. However, a tide is starting to change in respect to identification of feminine power and the honor that comes with uplifting women within ceremony and daily life. Ceremony is becoming life.

Work is being done throughout the Humboldt Bay region to restore puberty ceremonies, uphold birth practices, and tell stories of survival, like this project. As a practitioner of the female puberty ceremony, Ms. Risling described how the rebirth into adult womanhood personifies spirit of the dance that is conducted, and manifests luck and

wisdom for her marriage, reproduction, and protection of the young woman's people and homelands.

Additionally, work for the holistic wellbeing of men who have harmed women, as well as work to raise honorable boys and young men for the healthy future of tribal nations is also being done, much of it through ceremony, cultural classes, and community and family teachings. The identification of womanhood, and the transition into womanhood for girls, is vital for the continuance and vitality of healthy Indigenous nations. Local efforts to reestablish coming of age ceremony cycles reinforce the renewal, reciprocity and community capacity building that have the power to overthrow and break contemporary peoples free from colonial racism, heteropatriarchy, misogyny, and rampant gender violence that are ubiquitous within militarized regions and that of resource extractive industries.

Mr. Hernandez identified the spiritual and metaphysical connection that Indigenous peoples carry in their ancestry to the strength and resilience of the Wiyot people today, as well as the ability to persevere through generations of massacres and violence inflicted on their people. Mr. Hernandez also stressed the importance of womanhood in traditional culture of all Indigenous peoples, and peoples of color throughout the world. His explanation of balance includes the balance of masculine and feminine in the home, the community, and the nation.

“The Wiyots believed that women and men were equal. We always had our women by our side. They are our equal partner. They are our strength, our balance. They kept us who were are. The women had their role as a

tribal person as well. The men would go our hunt and gather, the women would take care of the meat and fish when they came back. So it was that balance. And even when we do our dances the women are beside us. It's our balance it keeps us balanced. If we didn't have our women the men would be lost and would be unbalanced. It's just like the connection with Mother Earth. We're connected to her. And the creation story was that when they had that great food, the Creator put a young boy and a young girl in a basket, and they landed at the mouth of the Elk River. So you always had that connection. Those two individuals that were together. Creator made sure that we had our partner. And without a partner you would be lost because you didn't have the direction. If you went in a different direction they would keep you going on the right direction. So women play an important role to the Wiyot tribe, especially to the men. We had mostly medicine people were mostly women. We did have some men, but mostly women played that role. Us men, we go through that 'we're man, we can do this,' but we're not. But without women we would probably destroy ourselves." (Ted Hernandez, research interview 2015)

Cheryl Seidner, Wiyot Tribal Councilperson, artist, and cultural practitioner echoed the information Mr. Hernandez shared, and elaborated on the importance and beauty of the young woman's coming of age ceremony coming back from over one-hundred years of dormancy to Wiyot homelands. Ms. Seidner is a Wiyot leader who has worked for decades on the reclaiming of Indian Island, as well as to educate the public of

Humboldt County and beyond about the atrocities perpetuated upon her people, but also about the existence and resilience of her people to bring them to this place of health and revitalization today. She advocates for education and for learning from the past, while walking through life in this settler society with dignity and importantly without animosity towards settler society.

Understanding pre-contact Wiyot womanhood sheds light on the implications of the extreme brutality that happened to Wiyot women due to the colonization and militarization of their homelands. The simultaneous resource extraction and violence against Indigenous Wiyot women systematically aimed to disempower all aspects of Wiyot existence; physical, spiritual, and emotional. As a period of extreme chaos, like it was for the Wiyot peoples of the Humboldt Bay region during the California Gold Rush, displacement, cultural disconnection, genocide, and assimilation policies and practice greatly affected the Wiyot peoples. Today, the work to rebalance the region and the Wiyot people is ongoing and uplifts the resilience and survival of Wiyot ancestors.

Celebrating Survival

Celebrating Survival happened throughout my research. Mr. Hernandez described the journey of bringing Wiyot ceremonies back from dormancy as celebrations of survival, and the importance of telling stories of history to non-Indigenous residents of the Humboldt Bay as a form of celebrating survival. As L. Smith states, “Events and accounts which focus on the positive are important not just because they speak to our

survival, but because they celebrate our resistances at an ordinary human level and they affirm our identities as indigenous women and men.” (L. Smith, 1999: 145). As core concepts within my research, survival, and *survivance*, are exemplified within the stories and conversations about resilience during the California Gold Rush. Although there were numerous stories and strategies of survival, the following I share here are the ones that stood-out as most representative of the data I gathered.

Ms. Seidner’s great grandmother was a Wiyot woman named Mary. Mary married a German immigrant gold miner named John Seidner when she was a very young woman after meeting him in Fernbridge. John Seidner had come to California in 1849 in search of gold fortune by way of San Francisco and then to Fortuna where he settled. The details of their marriage are unconfirmed, but Mary is known to have been a Wiyot speaker, and to have birthed four children of which only one survived.

Julian Lang is a Karuk/Wiyot teacher, activist, and cultural practitioner. He was raised in Eureka, California while the lumber mill industry still upheld the community and region economy. His grandmother was Elizabeth Conrad Hickox, a very well-known skilled basket weaver and traditional cultural person. Her grandmother was Polly, the young girl who was sold in Eureka with her sister to a gold miner shortly after the massacre at Indian Island that I reference earlier in this thesis. Likely alive at first contact, Polly was relocated as an indentured servant by her master/husband Karl Conrad to mine gold around Somes Bar, California along the Klamath and Salmon rivers. Along their travels, Conrad sold Polly’s sister to a man with the last name of Van Pelt at Fort Gaston (Hoopa Valley). After having two children with Polly, Mr. Conrad passed away

in a possible mining accident and Polly remarried a Karuk man from the village of Katamiin. Although Polly knew she was from Humboldt Bay, when Wiyots relatives came to find her years later, she told them that Katamiin was now her home. She spoke to her relatives in Wiyot, but asserted her identity as a Katamiin woman and turned down their offer to bring her home to the coast.

The late Sally Bell, an elderly *To-cho-be ke-ah* (Shelter Cove Sinkyone) woman provided Testimony through Story Telling to Jack Norton about an encounter with settlers in her village as a young child at Needle Rock in the early 1860s, and how she survived:

“My grandfather and all of my family- my mother, my father, and we- were around the house and not hurting anyone. Soon, about ten o’clock in the morning, some white men came. They killed my grandfather and my mother and my father. I saw them do it. I was a big girl at the time. Then they killed my baby sister and cut her heart out and threw it in the brush where I ran and hid. My little sister was a baby, just crawling around. I didn’t know what to do. I was so scared that I guess I just hid there a long time with my little sister’s heart in my hands. I felt so bad and I was so scared that I just couldn’t do anything else. Then I ran into the woods and hid there for a long time. I lived a long time with a few other people who had got away. We lived on berries and roots and we didn’t dare build a fire because the white men might come back after us. So we ate anything we could get. We didn’t have clothes a while, we had to sleep under logs and

in hollow trees because we didn't have anything else to cover ourselves with, and it was cold then- in the spring. After a long time, maybe two, three months, I don't know how long, but sometime in the summer, my brother found me and took me to some white folks who kept me until I was grown and married.'” (Norton 1998, Raphael and House 2007)

While Ms. Bell's story is difficult and painful for my heart to process, it is a perfect example of how strength and empowerment can be gained through understanding stories of resilience. Although she did not endure time at Fort Humboldt, Sally Bell was from Needle Rock south of the fort but still within range of the fort's actions and activities. She was a young child and very frightened, she survived and told her story to people so that her family and her people would not be forgotten. It is unknown who the men were that came to her village, but raids such as this one were far from rare and the brutality of Ms. Bell's story reinforces reasoning behind skewed or limited truth versions of local history in northwestern California. Today, I Celebrate Survival through reconnection of the experience of Ms. Bell, and by sharing her story here and with people I speak to about this research, connections are reforming between time and space.

Women from Wiyot, Mattole, Nongatl, Lassik, Sinkyone, Yurok, Chilula, Hupa, Whilkut and numerous other regional tribes were taken to Fort Humboldt for many reasons. They endured rape, exploitation, forced breeding, and terrible violence, all after having survived experiences like Sally Bell did, or like Polly did. One young woman, an ancestor of a contemporary Hupa family who are dance makers and spiritual people, narrowly escaped a brutal rape as a very young woman being held at Fort Humboldt

because she was already pregnant. It was violence like this that worked to systematically breakdown Indigenous women and cultures, but also this kind of violence that empowered them, and fed the spirits of survival and resilience.

Remembering and Reading

“Even though the dances and ceremonies today aren’t exactly like they were 200 years ago, they are still meaningful. That connection, that spirit, did not die. It is being reborn, maybe in a different kind of way, but it is still connected to the old, and the land, and all of that.” (Lyn Risling, research interview 2015)

Remembering “relates not so much to an idealized remembering of a golden past but more specifically to the remembering of a painful past and, importantly, people’s responses to that pain.” (L. Smith, 1999: 148). As connected to *Celebrating Survival*, the act and practices of Remembering allow Indigenous communities and individuals to rewind, remember, and move forward from conscious or unconscious pain that has been buried and now causes suffering and disconnection. Often this moving forward occurs through revitalization and self-determined forms of education, as these interviews attest to.

This form of recollection is difficult and painful, as it brings to light not just the violence of colonization, but also about the role of dehumanization in the dormancy of cultural practice and traditional knowledge loss. In many instances, Remembering came

to light in my research through information about drug, alcohol, and other substance abuse being a gateway to physical violence between lovers, family members, and in suicide epidemics. Remembering is also apparent in my research in talking about the “old days” and “old ways”.

As both Mr. Hernandez and Mr. Brenard described, the colonial mentality of greed, fueled by and reinforced through capitalist conceptions of individualism and Manifest Destiny engrained ideologies further that perpetuate the lack of community and nation-wide compassion and care for one another like our ancestors lived by. However, the greed, gluttony and capitalist hierarchies that settler colonial governments and communities instilled within Indigenous groups are not the only possible reality for Indigenous peoples to operate within. Many of the traditional ideas of wealth without settler factors of monetary value and more emphasis on practical wealth like skills and knowledge still reside within elders. As all of my interview respondents asserted, the possibilities are there, we just have to work towards remembering them.

Greed can also be measured by how the gold extraction was done through unrestricted and unrelenting destruction of the environment for generations to come. Remembering truths about balance and harmony that pre-contact Humboldt Bay Indigenous peoples lived within offer the opportunities for motivation and change within contemporary families and nations, but only once history is recognized and difficult memories are brought to light to be addressed with clear minds.

Reading relates to the ways that those difficult histories and (her)stories are told, and how Indigenous peoples have the power to critically read those stories and unearth

the roles and experiences of our ancestors to counter the dominant narratives of historical occurrences and ideologies. Reading, according to L. Smith, unveils the stories of the oppressed and marginalized. Whether through dominant education models and systems, or in counter-hegemonic ways, Reading works in reference to the complex stories of truth that previous single narrative and conqueror versions of history edited, inaccurately told, and ignored. This research aims to read in challenge of the glorification and nostalgia of the frontier west, but from the perspective of those who knew and know this land to be the center of life, and not west of anything. Reading works to deconstruct the civilized versus barbarian complex, and disrupt the degradation and value-less histories of Indigenous peoples (L. Smith, 1999: 149).

Throughout this research I have read some horrendous historical accounts of the history of colonization and militarization of the Humboldt Bay region. Legalized sexual exploitation was not rare in the frontier of the American West. Legalized slave trading economies, which included women and children's bodies at a premium, drastically affected the health of communities and individuals for countless generations to come. This legal predation further enhanced the commodification of Indigenous bodies and worked in conjunction with militaristic regimes of environmental devastation and destruction of religious life ways and spiritual centers of significance all contributed to contemporary rates of suicide, depression, substance abuse, and violence within families and in communities.

Reframing and Sharing

Reframing is about taking control over mainstream ideas of truth in regards to our own people, histories, and homelands. Reframing how we know history to be true is the first step in a lasting paradigm shift for the health of Indigenous women today, and the next generations. Struggles in Indigenous communities that numerous theorists, authors, and community folks can directly link to militarization, colonization, imperialism, settler-imposed patriarchy, and government hierarchical funding systems are very rarely identified by educational institutions, state-run and not state-run philanthropic institutions, or government social services institutions, as linked and interconnected. Reframing exists where Indigenous peoples are refusing to be categorized, boxed into labels, and listed as names on a listing of blood quantum to prove who they are and who their ancestors were. Reframing is a recognition of the interconnectedness of all aspects of Indigenous life way and spiritual existence, as well as connections to contemporary traumas, through writing, teaching, singing, speaking, and being.

“One of the reasons why so many of the social problems which beset indigenous communities are never solved is that the issues have been framed in a particular way...They have framed indigenous issues in the ‘indigenous problem’ basket, to be handled in the usual cynical and paternalistic manner.” (L. Smith, 1999: 153)

Sharing is about the intersections of knowledge production and trading amongst Indigenous peoples and communities, much of which is occurring within the current

resurgence of cultural understandings and teachings. Sharing also acts in relation to the failure of public educational systems to educate Indigenous peoples, especially children, adequately and accurately. Sharing is a responsibility of research, particularly for Indigenous researchers whose responsibility it is to demystify and translate the language of the academy and of institutions whose terminology and systems are seemingly designed to marginalize Indigenous peoples (L. Smith, 1999: 161).

Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars who critically analyze California standardized curricula of early state history point out that not only do the publishing companies who do the best business in California completely leave out genocidal truths, but many school boards of education refuse to accept genocide as truth in California. Much of the time, the exclusion of accurate information is cited as being too intense or realistic for school children.

This disturbing lack of inclusion works in contrast to California state education curricula on the World War II holocaust, and extermination policies of German Nazi forces on multiple groups of people, including Indigenous Roma folks (Trafzer and Lorimer, 2014: 67), as well as Jewish communities in horrifying ways that many people argue came from Hitler's studying of American extermination policies on the Native Americans of North America. In middle school and throughout high school history and social studies courses, students are taught about the experiences within concentration camps, families who were exiled, and read the *Diary of Anne Frank* for accurate understandings of holocaust era traumas. In contrast, the conditions of Fort Humboldt that I argue, in concurrence with the arguments of my interviewees, echo the conditions

of holocaust era struggles, and many stories of survival, resilience, and grief are identical. Teaching Gold Rush history to California youth, of all backgrounds not just to Indigenous children, is not accurate unless stories and information about genocide and applicable Indigenous history is included. Inaccurate portrayals that exclude Indigenous experiences further glorify Manifest Destiny and perpetuate racist stereotypes of Indigenous people, and reinforce the internalized oppression within Indigenous communities.

New Changes in California State History-Social Science Framework

A very surprising thing happened amidst the writing of my thesis. This section serves to introduce and present a new development in California State standard education curriculum that is happening presently in the spring of 2016. The *California State History-Social Science Framework* is a California Department of Education adopted document that serves as a guideline for implementation of content standards adopted by the California State Board of Education, as developed by the Instructional Quality Commission for California school curricula and text books. Not only is the *California State History-Social Science Framework* out dated, the content of the history and social studies curricula taught in California schools is inaccurate in regards to the experiences of Indigenous peoples during the frontier period (Trafzer and Lorimer 2014, Norton 1979 and 2013), especially experiences of Indigenous women who endured the Gold Rush and Mission eras in their homelands.

For the purposes of this thesis, I am focusing on Chapter 7 of the proposed framework for fourth grade students, “California: A Changing State” because this curricula framework includes the bulk of Gold Rush era related education. As of March of 2016 there is a new framework on the docket for consideration by May of 2016 by the State Board of Education. The new framework for fourth grade students, Chapter 7, (Appendix H) includes several new additions to the current curricula framework, some of which are accurate accounts of violent and difficult frontier history, and questions posed to students regarding why people moved into California and whether it was forcible or voluntary relocation.

Excerpt from the New Proposed Framework for Fourth Grade History and Social Studies

“With so few colonists, Spanish authorities believed they could transform Indian peoples into loyal Spanish subjects by converting them to Christianity, introducing them to Spanish culture and language, and intermarriage. The introduction of Christianity affected native peoples, many of whom combined Catholicism with their own belief systems. Vastly outnumbered by native peoples, missionaries relied on some Indian leaders to help manage the economic, religious, and social activities of the missions. Colonists introduced European plants, agriculture, and a pastoral economy based mainly on cattle. (This unit of study may allow for the teaching of the Environmental Principles and Concepts (see Appendix F)). Under the guidance of Fray Junipero Serra

54,000 Indians became baptized at the missions where they spent anywhere from two to fifty weeks each year laboring to sustain the missions.

The historical record of this era remains incomplete due to the limited documentation of Native testimony, but it is clear that while missionaries brought agriculture, the Spanish language and culture, and Christianity to the native population, American Indians suffered in many California missions. The death rate was extremely high; during the mission period the Indian population plummeted from 72,000 to 18,000. This high death rate was due primarily to the introduction of diseases for which the native population did not have immunity, as well as the hardships of forced labor and separation from traditional ways of life. Moreover, the imposition of forced labor and highly structured living arrangements degraded individuals, constrained families, circumscribed native culture, and negatively impacted scores of communities. Nonetheless, within mission communities, Indian peoples reconstituted their lives using Catholic forms of kinship—the *compadrazgo* (god parentage)—to reinforce their indigenous kinship relations. Owing to missionaries' dependence on Indian leaders (*alcaldes*) to manage mission affairs, elders who exerted political authority in their Indian villages often assumed positions of leadership in the missions. Mission orchestras and choirs provided yet one more avenue for Indian men to gain positions of importance in the missions. Some mission Indians sought to escape the system by fleeing from the padres, while a few Indians openly revolted and killed missionaries.

Sensitizing students to the various ways in which Indians exhibited agency within the mission system provides them with a more comprehensive view of the era. It also allows students to better understand change and continuity over time, as well as cause and effect. For example, students can frame their understandings of the mission system by considering, How did the lives of California Indians change during the Mission Period? How did they stay the same?

California's missions, presidios, haciendas, and pueblos should be taught as an investigation into the many groups of people that were affected by them. Sensitivity and careful planning are needed to bring the history of this period to life. A mission lesson should emphasize the daily lives of the native population, the Spanish military, the Spanish/Mexican settler population, and the missionaries. The teacher might begin the lesson by asking students: How were peoples' lives affected by missions? The teacher may wish to focus on a specific mission if it is nearby and can provide resources, or he/she can focus broadly on the impact of them throughout the region. Once students have learned that they will investigate the multiple perspectives of people who lived during the mission period, the teacher presents carefully-selected primary and secondary sources, as well informational texts written for children that provide information and context about each of the groups of people. Teachers can use literature, journals, letters, and additional primary sources that can be drawn from the local community to provide information

about the mission. These sources can be challenging for all reading levels, so it is important for teachers to excerpt and support students when reading dense primary-source texts by providing them with vocabulary support, and making the sources accessible to all learners with literacy strategies.

In selecting sources and directing students' investigations, attention should focus on the daily experience of missions rather than the building structures themselves. Building missions from sugar cubes or popsicle sticks does not help students understand the period and is offensive to many. Instead, students should have access to multiple sources that identify and help children understand the lives of different groups of people who lived in and around missions, so that students can place them in a comparative context. Missions were sites of conflict, conquest, and forced labor. Students should consider cultural differences, such as gender roles and religious beliefs, in order to better understand the dynamics of Native and Spanish interaction. Students should analyze the impact of European diseases upon the indigenous population. And as much as possible, students should be encouraged to view sources that represent how missionaries viewed missions and how natives lived there, and the role of the Spanish/Mexican settler population in facilitating the system. In addition to examining the missions' impact on individuals, students should consider its impact on the natural environment. The arrival of the Spanish, along with their imported flora and fauna, catalyzed a change in the region's ecosystem as well as its economy. What

had once been a landscape shaped by hunter-gatherer societies became an area devoted to agriculture and the distribution of goods throughout the Spanish empire. Students can analyze data about crop production and livestock in order to better understand how people used the land and intensified the use of its natural resources. (See EEI Curriculum Unit, Cultivating California 4.2.6.) Students consider how the Gold Rush changed California by bringing sudden wealth to the state; affecting its population, culture, and politics; and instantly transforming San Francisco from a small village in 1847 to a bustling city in 1849. The social upheaval that resulted from the lure of gold and massive immigration caused numerous conflicts between and among social groups. The mining camps were one site of conflict, as miners of different ethnicities and races fought for access to wealth. American miners fared best, as California introduced a foreign miners tax on non-Americans. Students can read some of the many stories about the California mining camps and explore the causes and effects of conflict in the camps by expressing their ideas in letters to the editor of an 1850s newspaper, or creating virtual museum exhibits about life in a California mining camp.

Another clear example of conflict during the Gold Rush era and early statehood was the loss of property and autonomy for many of the state's earlier Mexican and Indian residents. In addition, great violence was perpetrated against many Indian groups who occupied land or resources that

new settlers desired. Additional harm came by way of the Indian Indenture Act of 1850, which forced many Indians – mostly Indian youth – into servitude for landowners. The Gold Rush also caused irreparable environmental destruction through the introduction of hydraulic mining in the 1850s, which clogged and polluted rivers throughout the state, at great cost to the farmers affected downstream. Examining the development of new methods to extract, harvest, and transport gold during this period allows students to see direct interactions between natural systems and human social systems (California Environmental Principle II), See EEI Curriculum Unit Witnessing the Gold Rush 4.3.3.” (Chapter 7, Grade Four, *History–Social Science Framework* Second Field Review Draft)

Since the beginning of standardized education in California, the state been associated with discrepancies in, and the disregard of, the education of immigrant children and children of color in regards to the public education about the experiences of their ancestors. In this way, California has been further perpetuating the violence of settler colonialism through not portraying accurate versions of truth to students in California. This “conqueror” version and perspective of history has dangerous, traumatic, and lasting effects on the hearts and minds of young Indigenous people as they go through the public school system wondering about their own identities and the experiences of their ancestors.

Today, attorneys, educators, administrators, historians, activists, parents, grandparents, and community folks are seeing some possibilities of standardized changes

within the state after decades of lobbying and advocating towards a more just education system for young people in California. The new proposed framework offers a chance for educators and students alike to think beyond mandated pints of information and critically analyze the impacts of settler colonialism in early California. These proposed changes are decades in the making, however, I believe that they are taking hold and getting attention today because of an increase in young Indigenous academics, as well as a more informed general public of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples and groups who want their children to be taught accurate portrayals of history.

While much of the proposed framework includes similar factual information and some problematic terminology and phrasing as current curricula, there are aspects of the proposed framework that describe human, land, and water exploitation, and an identifying by the curricula developers of offensive current history and social studies curricula. This new proposal urges educators to bring more primary and secondary sources into their teaching of history and social studies by giving them more room to do so, and not mandating a cut-and-dry curricula model complete with sugar cube mission models and glorified Gold Rush stories.

The new proposal includes admirable changes that will knowingly gain the State Board of Education more respect from Indigenous communities, such as an emphasis on sensitivity and careful planning when teaching about California's violent past, and the place of gender roles and religious beliefs within history. In reference to my thesis research, the mention for the Indian Indenture Act of 1850 in the curriculum (1850 California Act for the Government of Protection of Indians) is a huge step in the accurate

representation of history and Indigenous experiences in frontier California and the Gold Rush era ideologies. Additionally, the proposed framework acts to call for further teacher accountability given the available information and education for California students. This includes not only history and social studies content, but vocabulary education and critical thinking skills that will be vital when learning about multiple perspectives of history. I am interested to see how, if passed, this curriculum will be presented in standardized testing.

There is room for improvement within the new proposed framework. Problematic terminology exists in the proposed curricula, such as the term “Indian” rather than “Native” or “Indigenous” that are both arguably more accepted and widely used by Indigenous peoples themselves in contemporary times. This terminology is problematic, yet reflective of the current legal terminology that is still being used in reference to all things tribally-related within the State of California, and by the federal government in regards to Federal Indian Law. The population statistics and the decline of Indigenous bodies in California after settler contact, although the death rates are cited as being “extremely high,” are also very conservative and are challenged by the estimations by Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars mentioned previously in this thesis. However, the curriculum does include that students should be aware of and analyze the impacts of European diseases on Indigenous populations. Overall, however, the curricula are still seriously lacking in concrete information as key points highlighted by the provided documents in reference to the Gold Rush era, and stresses more the importance of knowledge about the Mission system. This is not to diminish the Mission era atrocities in

Southern California, or importance in the founding of the contemporary State of California, but I recognize the vital importance of understanding what occurred in northern California as well. With that said, this new framework is a vast and much more accurate version of history than what is currently, and what has been previously, taught to elementary and high school students in California.

The members of the Curriculum Framework and Evaluation Committee for California include around sixty educators and administrators from throughout the state that were appointed in 2008. Although the districts and current positions are publicly available, the personal politics and beliefs of the committee members are unknown. Many of the individuals are teachers of social studies or history, however none are documented as working in areas north of the San Francisco Bay Area besides one, who is documented as a high school educator in the area of Roseville, close to Sacramento. This fact does not mean that nobody on this committee is from, or has lived or taught in northern California communities that were impacted by the California Gold Rush. However, the issue of representation on this committee remains questionable in regards to making curricula-based decisions for regions that they do not have experience in.

CONCLUSION

“We as humans are not isolated beings, superior or separate from others. We are joined in a vast multiplicity of beauty, which cannot be denied, regardless of our deadly efforts to do so. Pain and injustice suffered within the living matrix or our very existence, is pain and injustice suffered by all. How then, may perspectives on genocide help us to discover an alternative? The answer may lie within the human capacity to empower ourselves with the knowledge of collectivity, and the ability to acknowledge the pain of our existence. Such empowerment through encountering the suffering of others enables us to approach genocidal acts, to hear the stories of unbelievable sorrow and indignity from survivors. By acknowledging their pain, we as listeners engage in the lived realities of the victim, so much so, that we are allowed entry into their minds and spirits, and thus we are given insight into our own lives. In this manner, each perspective, as if a jewel case before us, validates the pain as a shared experience. As the voices speak of suffering a burden is somehow lifted, and in its place our own responsiveness to the world grows even after we think our hearts might shatter from the weight. Only then do we collectively realize that through experiencing the suffering, we gain access to a core of compassion and dedication to the preservation of all living things. This, of course, is not to suggest that the pain, as it flows through

us, does not devastate or make us terribly weak. It does. It is not easy to embody such horror. It drains us of vitality and humor as we linger on the brink of despair. And yet, somehow we persevere to discover a vital human capacity to connect, and in that connection, we envision the power to change.” (Norton et al., 1998: 97)

I have come to the realization that my thesis research has resulted in a much larger life’s work than what this Master of Arts in social science degree allows for. As Jack Norton articulates in this quote, the work of learning and (re)telling these types of history is a gruesome and heavy burden on the heart and soul. The stories and glimpses into the lives of women and girls during the California Gold Rush here in northern California are not something that can be forgotten, or even pushed into the back of my mind.

The history of militarized Fort Humboldt and the Humboldt Bay region is painted through mainstream narratives in education using American Dream nostalgia and glory of frontier life and second chances. Today, I identify the prison industrial complex as an extension of the boarding school system, and of the concentration camp style of forts and reservation enclosures that people were forcibly removed and interned to. Hearing stories, learning truths, and deconstructing the glorification is difficult but necessary when I consider the future, and how young Indigenous women will walk through life. By bringing these truths to light in this way, I hope to open up interest of people to learn their family histories, trace the journeys of their ancestors, and pray about the hardships and resilience that brought those of us living today into existence.

Accurate representation of the role of Fort Humboldt and other militarized regions of California during the Gold Rush is very rare. Although the fort itself hosts a museum with relatively accurate portrayals of history (much of which happened after consultation with the Wiyot Tribe in recent years), text book and curricula within local schools is still lacking. Publishing companies that market dominant hegemonic forms of history need Reframing. This does not mean there is a lack of scholars, historians, or community folks who have knowledge, but a huge gap in the conversations and acceptance of California Board of Education teachings on genocide and experiences of Indigenous peoples in early California (Trafzer and Lorimer, 2014: 67).

Beyond educating the public ignorant about the history of this region, it is my hope that this research provides a space for hope in a sometimes very dark time where Indigenous communities are dealing with intergenerational trauma and resulting grief in the forms of substance abuse, suicide, and anguish and much more. Today the Table Bluff Wiyot Tribe has a tribal membership of six-hundred persons, and other regional Rancherias and tribes such as Bear River, Big Lagoon, Blue Lake, Hoopa Valley and Resighini among others, also have Wiyot heritage lines. These numbers and the vitality of the Wiyot and other regional tribal peoples are a testament to the survival strategies and resilience of Indigenous peoples, particularly women and girls, here in the Humboldt Bay region.

I wish that learning about our grandmothers, great-grandmothers, and those before then, remind us of the beauty and fortune in our own existence here on Earth, and play a role in bringing those who are hurting and questioning themselves today out of their

depression and hopelessness in living. Let these stories empower us, and urge us to make mindful change in both the spiritual and physical realms. Furthermore, I hope this research reminds us that there is value in history, and value in remembering and retelling the past. I recognize the traumas that retelling history can remind us of, but I see no blessing in ignorance, nor do I see blessings in ignoring the resilience of our ancestors. Who are we to deny their stories, if they exist in good minds and hearts for us to share? Our ancestors watch over us with strength and dignity. They visit us in drops of rain and in the depths of our consciousness that sometimes we only recognize as dreams or déjà vu. We walk in their footsteps although our footwear may look a little different than theirs and our paths can be obstructed with the fog of capitalism and shame. The research I have compiled within this thesis reaffirm the messages many of us have heard; that the best way to honor our ancestors that sacrificed so much for us to be alive on Earth today, is to live in a healthy way and to tell their stories to teach people of all backgrounds about resilience, resistance, and love.

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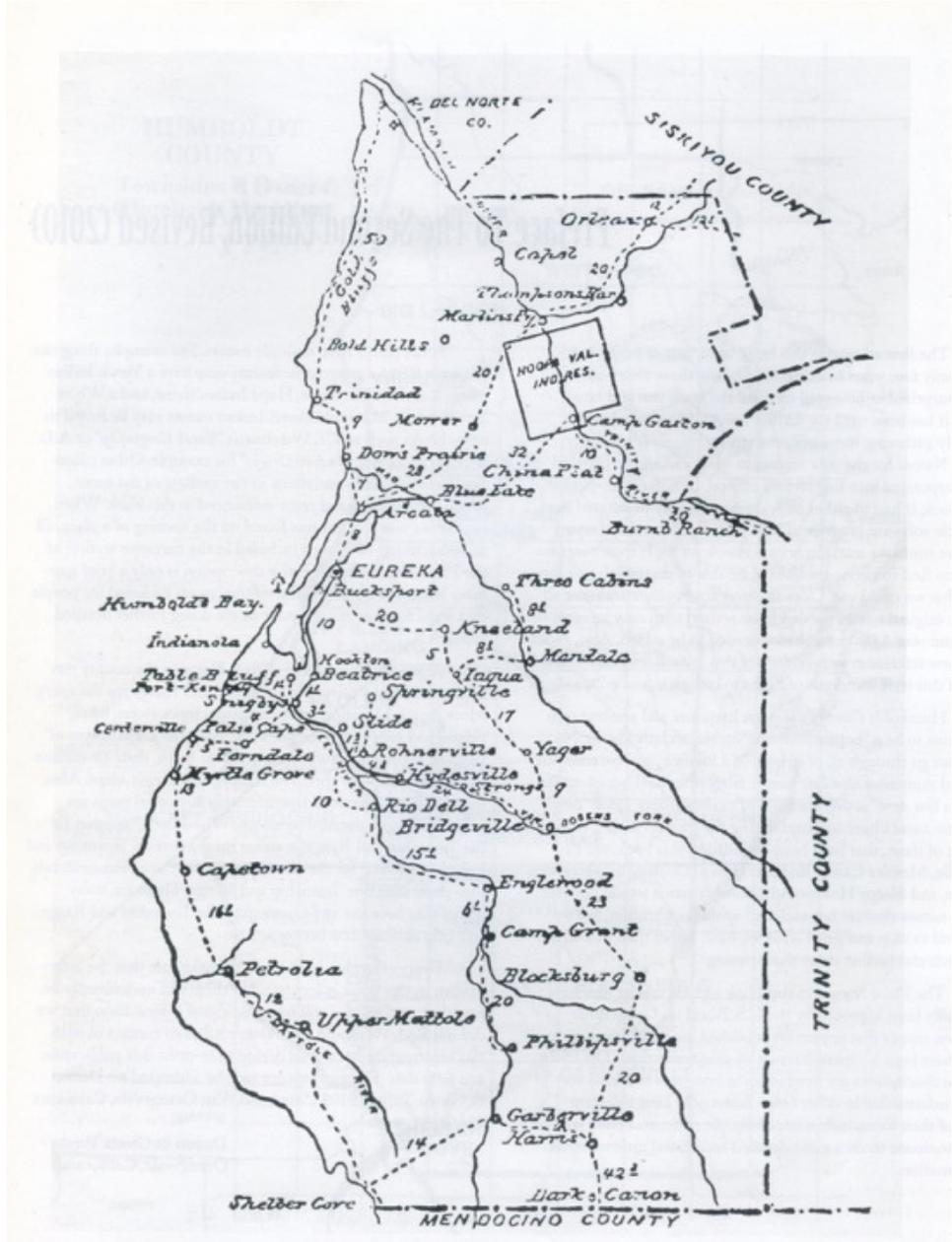
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Appendix A: MAP OF INDIGENOUS CALIFORNIA TRIBAL GROUPS PRE-SETTLER CONTACT

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Appendix B: MAPS OF THE HUMBOLDT BAY REGION: HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY



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Appendix C: AN ACT FOR THE GOVERNMENT AND PROTECTION OF INDIANS

April 22, 1850

(Chapter 133, Statutes of California, April 22, 1850)

The people of the State of California, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

1. Justices of the Peace shall have jurisdiction in all cases of complaints by, for or against Indians, in their respective townships in this State.
2. Persons and proprietors of land on which Indians are residing, shall permit such Indians peaceably to reside on such lands, unmolested in the pursuit of their usual avocations for the maintenance of themselves and their families: *Provided*; the white person or proprietor in possession of lands may apply to a Justice of the Peace in the Township where the Indians reside, to set off to such Indians a certain amount of land, and, on such application, the Justice shall set off a sufficient amount of land for the necessary wants of such Indians, including the site of their village or residence, if they so prefer it; and in no case shall such selection be made to the prejudice of such Indians, nor shall they be forced to abandon their homes or villages where they have resided for a number of years; and either party feeling themselves aggrieved, can appeal to the County Court from the decision of the Justice: and then divided, a record shall be made of the lands so set off in the Court so dividing them and the Indians shall be permitted to remain thereon until otherwise provided for.
3. Any person having or hereafter obtaining a minor Indian, male or female, from the parents or relations of such Indian Minor, and wishing to keep it, such person shall go before a Justice of the Peace in his Township, with the parents or friends of the child, and if the Justice of the Peace becomes satisfied that no compulsory means have been used to obtain the child from its parents or friends, shall enter on record, in a book kept for that purpose, the sex and probable age of the child, and shall give to such person a certificate, authorizing him or her to have the care, custody, control, and earnings of such minor, until he or she obtain the age of majority. Every male Indian shall be deemed to have attained his majority at eighteen, and the female at fifteen years.
4. Any person having a minor Indian in his care, as described in the foregoing Section of the Act, who shall neglect to clothe and suitably feed such minor Indian, or shall inhumanely treat him or her, on conviction thereof shall be subject to a fine not less than ten dollars, at the discretion of a Court or Jury; and the Justice of the Peace, in his own discretion, may place the minor Indian in the care of some other person, giving him the same rights and liabilities that the former master of said minor was entitled and subject to.
5. Any person wishing to hire an Indian, shall go before a Justice of the Peace with the Indian, and make such contract as the Justice may approve, and the Justice shall file such

contract in writing in his office, and all contracts so made shall be binding between the parties; but no contract between a white man and an Indian, for labor, shall otherwise be obligatory on the part of the Indian.

6. Complaints may be made before a Justice of the Peace, by white persons or Indians: but in no case shall a white man be convicted on any offence upon the testimony of an Indian.

7. If any person forcibly conveys an Indian from his home, or compels him to work, or perform against his will, in this State, except as provided in this Act, he or they shall, on conviction, be fined in any sum not less than fifty dollars, at the discretion of the Court or Jury.

8. It shall be the duty of the Justices of the Peace, once in six months in every year, to make a full and correct statement to the Court of Sessions of their County, of all monies received of fines imposed on Indians, and all fees allowed for services rendered under the provisions of the Act; and said Justices shall pay over to the County Treasures of their respective counties, all money they may have received for fines and not appropriated, or fees for services rendered under this Act; and the treasurer shall keep a correct statement of all money so received, which shall be termed the "Indian Fund" of the county. The Treasurer shall pay out any money of said funds in his hands, on a certificate of a Justice of the Peace of his county, for fees and expenditures incurred in carrying out the provisions of this law.

9. It shall be the duty of the Justices of the Peace, in their respective townships, as well as all other peace officers in this State, to instruct the Indians in their neighborhood in the laws which relate to them, giving them such advice as they may deem necessary and proper; and if any tribe or village of Indians refuse or neglect to obey the laws, the Justice of the Peace may punish the guilty chiefs or principal men by reprimand or fine, or otherwise reasonably chastise them.

10. If any person or persons shall set the prairie on fire, or refuse to use proper exertions to extinguish the fire when the prairies are burning, such persons shall be subject to fine or punishment, as Court may adjudge proper.

11. If any Indian shall commit an unlawful offence against a white person, such person shall not inflict punishment for such offence, but may, without process, take the Indian before a Justice of the Peace, and on conviction, the Indian shall be punished according to the provisions of this Act.

12. In all cases of trial between a white man and an Indian, either party may require a jury.

13. Justices may require the chiefs and influential men of any village to apprehend and bring before them or him any Indian charged or suspected of an offence.

14. When an Indian is convicted of an offence before a Justice of the Peace, punishable by fine, any white man may, by consent of the justice, give bond for said Indian, conditioned for the payment of said fine and costs, and in such case the Indian shall be compelled to work for the person so bailing, until he has discharged or cancelled the fine assessed against him: *Provided*; the person bailing shall treat the Indian humanely, and feed and clothe him properly; the allowance given for such labor shall be fixed by the

Court, when the bond is taken.

15. If any person in this State shall sell, give, or furnish to any Indian, male or female, any intoxicating liquors (except when administered for sickness), for good cause shown, he, she, or they so offending shall, on conviction thereof, be fined not less than twenty dollars for each offence, or be imprisoned not less than five days, or fined and imprisoned as the Court may determine.

16. An Indian convicted of stealing horses, mules, cattle, or any valuable thing, shall be subject to receive any number of lashes not exceeding twenty-five, or shall be subject to a fine not exceeding two hundred dollars, at the discretion of the Court or jury.

17. When an Indian is sentenced to be whipped, the Justice may appoint a white man, or an Indian at his discretion, to execute the sentence in his presence, and shall not permit unnecessary cruelty in the execution of the sentence.

18. All fines, forfeitures, penalties recovered under or by this Act, shall be paid into the treasury of the county, to the credit of the Indian Fund as provided in section 8.

19. All white persons making application to a Justice of the Peace, for confirmation of a contract with or in relation to an Indian, shall pay the fee, which shall not exceed two dollars for each contract determined and filed as provided in this Act, and for all other services, such fees are allowed for similar services under other laws of this State.

Provided, the application fee for hiring Indians, or keeping minors, and fees and expenses for setting off lands to Indians, shall be paid by the white person applying.

20. Any Indian able to work and support himself in some honest calling, not having wherewithal to maintain himself, who shall be found loitering and strolling about, or frequenting public places where liquors are sold, begging, or leading an immoral or profligate course of life, shall be liable to be arrested on the complaint of any reasonable citizen of the county, brought before the Justice of the Peace of the proper county, Mayor or Recorder of any incorporated town or city, who shall examine said accused Indian, and hear the testimony in relation thereto, and if said Justice, mayor or Recorder shall be satisfied that he is a vagrant, as above set forth, he shall make out a warrant under his hand and seal, authorizing and requiring the officer having him in charge or custody, to hire out such vagrant within twenty-four hours to the highest bidder, by public notice given as he shall direct, for the highest price that can be had, for any term not exceeding four months; and such vagrant shall be subject to and governed by the provisions of this Act, regulating guardians and minors, during the time which he has been so hired. The money received for his hire, shall, after deducting the costs, and the necessary expense for clothing the said Indian, which may have been purchased by his employer, be, if he be without a family, paid into the County Treasury, to the credit of the Indian Fund. But if he have a family, the same shall be appropriated for their use and benefit: *Provided*, that any such vagrant, when arrested, and before judgment, may relieve himself by giving to said Justice, mayor or Recorder, a bond, with good security, conditioned that he will, for the next twelve months, conduct himself with good behavior, and betake to some honest employment for support.

Amendments to Act of April 1850 (approved 1860)

Chapter CCXXXI-An Act amendatory of an Act entitled "An Act for the Government and Protection of Indians," passed April twenty-second, one thousand eight hundred and fifty. [Approved April 18, 1860.]

The people of the State of California, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

SECTION 1. Section third of said act, is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

Sec. 3. County and District Judges in the respective counties of this state, shall, by virtue of this act, have full power and authority, at the instance and request of any person having or hereafter obtaining an Indian child or children, male or female, under the age of fifteen years, from the parents or person or persons having the care or charge of such child or children, with the consent of such parents or person or persons having the care or charge of any such child or children, or at the instance and request of any person desirous of obtaining any Indian or Indians, whether children or grown persons, that may be held as prisoners of war, or at the instance and request of any person desirous of obtaining any vagrant Indian or Indians, as have no settled habitation or means of livelihood, and have not placed themselves under the protection of any white person, to bind and put out such Indians as apprentices, to trades, husbandry, or other employments, as to them shall appear proper, and for this purpose shall execute duplicate articles of indenture of apprenticeship on behalf of such Indians, which indentures shall also be executed by the person to whom such Indian or Indians are to be indentured; one copy of which shall be filed by the County Judge, in the Recorder's office of the county, and one copy retained by the person to whom such Indian or Indians may be indentured; such indentures shall authorize such person to have the care, custody, control, and earnings, of such Indian or Indians, as shall require such person to clothe and suitably provide the necessaries of life for such Indian or Indians, for and during the term for which such Indian or Indians shall be apprenticed, and shall contain the sex, name, and probable age, of such Indian or Indians; such indentures may be for the following terms of years: Such children as are under fourteen years of age, if males, until they attain the age of twenty-five years; if females, until they attain the age of twenty-one years; such as are over fourteen and under twenty years of age, if males, until they attain the age of thirty years; if females, until they attain the age of twenty-five years; and such Indians as may over the age of twenty years, then next following the date of such indentures, for and during the term of ten years, at the discretion of such Judge; such Indians as may be indentured under provision of this section, shall be deemed within such provisions of this act, as are applicable to minor Indians.

SECTION 2. Section seventh of said act is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

Sec. 7 If any person shall forcibly convey any Indian from any place without this State, to any place within this State, or compel him or her to work or perform any service, against his or her will, except as provided in this act, he or they shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined in any sum not less than one hundred dollars, nor more than five hundred dollars, before any court having jurisdiction, at the discretion of the court, and the collection of such fine shall be enforced as provided by law in other criminal cases, one-half to be paid to the prosecutor, and one-half to the county in which such conviction is had.

Appendix D: "DATA ON SEVENTY HUMBOLDT COUNTY INDENTURES"

| THE OTHER CALIFORNIANS | | | |
|------------------------|--|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| Date of indenture | Name, sex, age of person(s) indentured | Indentured to | Period of indenture (years) to age |
| 1860 | | | |
| August | Rolly, F, 12 | A. F. Guthrie | 21 |
| | Jane, F, 9 | L. Louis Shaw | 25 |
| | Biddy, F, 6 | " | 25 |
| | Sarah, F, 5 | John J. Roberts | 16 |
| | Snoky, M, 8 | Austin Willey | 17 |
| September | Mary, F, 7 | Mrs. Jane Sweasey | 14 |
| | Nelly, F, 7 | Henry Axton | 14 |
| | Dick, M, 12 | N. Singley | 25 |
| | Rolly, F, 12 | " | 21 |
| | Charley, M, 10 | " | 25 |
| | Sherlotte, F, 8 | " | 21 |
| | Mary, F, 6 | " | 21 |
| October | Perry, M, 3 | Albert Swain | 10 |
| | Indian Henry, M, 20 | " | 10 |
| | Squaw Nellie, F, 25 | " | 10 |
| | Oconay, F, 15 | Wm. Roberts | 10 |
| | Lewis, M, 18 | Leon Chevret | 10 |
| | George, M, 8 ^a | Mrs. Margaret Duff | 5 |
| | Mary, F, 20 | Wm. Roberts | 15 |
| | Jack, M, 17 | A. S. Rollins | 14 |
| November | Topsey, F, 7 | Barry Adams | 15 |
| December | Peter Adams, M, 10 | C. J. Ryan | 12 |
| | Nelly, F, 9 | " | 12 |
| 1861 | | | |
| January | Toney, F, 6 ^b | Charles Rider | 15 |
| | Charley, M, 14 | Peter Hauck | 11 |
| | Rose (wife), F, 15 | " | 6 |
| | Joe, M, 23 | Lyman Fish | 10 |
| | Ella (wife), F, 23 | " | 10 |
| | Dave, M, 6 | Wm. Eaton Phillips | 25 |
| | Lucy, F, 8 | Pierre H. Ryan | 21 |
| | Kate, F, 6 | Wm. McDonald | 15 |
| | Ginney, F, 27 | G. Danskin | 15 |
| | Jim (son), M, 11 | " | 15 |
| | Sarah (daughter), F, 9 | " | 15 |
| | Anna, F, — | " | 15 |
| | Bob, M, 21 | Leon Chevret | 10 |
| | Mary (wife), F, 22 | " | 10 |

^a "bought 18 months previously by L. C. from C. Clarke of Mattole for \$50.00."
^b "Given by wife of Coonkin."

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THE INDIAN AND THE WHITE CALIFORNIAN

| Date of indenture | Name, sex, age of person(s) indentured | Indentured to | Period of indenture (years) to age |
|-------------------|--|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| | Kitty (daughter), F, 4 | Leon Chevret | |
| | Mad River Billy, M, 18 | " | |
| | John, M, 25 | J. C. Preston | |
| | Jane (wife), F, 20 | " | |
| | George (cousin), M, 4 | C. Kinsey | 21 |
| | Julia, F, 7 | David Jenkins | |
| | Dick, M, 17 | " | |
| | Dan, M, 14 | T. J. Titlow | |
| | Jack, M, 26 | " | |
| | Malinda (wife), F, 27 | " | |
| | Frank (son), M, 3 | " | |
| | Jane (Jack's mother), F, 40 | " | |
| | Charley, M, 25 | " | |
| | Emma (wife), F, 23 | " | |
| | Blue Coat Mowwena, M, 50 | Henry F. James | 10 |
| | Bill (son), M, 24 | " | 10 |
| | Fanny (wife of Bill), F, 19 | " | 6 |
| | Bony (son), M, 19 | " | 11 |
| | Teeny (daughter), F, 11 | " | 11 |
| | Sorenoe Jack, M, 25 | Ruben Duncan | |
| | Mary Kitty, F, 15 | John Whaley | |
| | Sam, M, 13 | A. M. Preston | |
| | Jasper, M, 15 | " | |
| | Mary, F, 12 ^c | A. J. Jacoby | 9 |
| | Tom, M, 11 | Rufus Phillips | 14 |
| | Nelly, F, 15 | Wm. C. Martin | 6 |
| | Rachael, F, 9 ^d | Isaac Hobbs | |
| February | Dick, M, 18 | Wm. Eaton Phillips | |
| | Kitty (wife), F, 25 | " | |
| | Tom, M, 19 | Wm. Nixon | |
| | Mary (wife), F, 16 | " | |
| | Charley, M, 21 | John C. Bull | 15 |
| | William, M, 15 | John A. Biddings | |
| | Tom, M, 11 ^e | R. Blum | |
| | Charley, M, 11 | J. P. Davis | 25 |
| March | Sylvia, F, 14 | A. J. Huenstis | 25 |
| | Jasper, M, 15 | J. A. Kneeland | 15 |
| April | Little John, M, 24 | Rufus F. Herrick | 10 |
| May | Blanch (wife), F, 22 | " | 10 |

^c "Taken from father at Big Bar in May, 1854 and bound under law of 1850."
^d "bought from her parents."
^e "bought of his mother at Coaski several years since."

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THE OTHER CALIFORNIANS

| Date of indenture | Name, sex, age of person(s) indentured | Indentured to | Period of indenture (years) | Indentured to age |
|-------------------|--|------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| July | Peter (son), M, 2 | Rufus F. Herrick | 23 | |
| | Bob, M, 13 | H. S. Daniels | 12 | |
| | Jake, M, 7 | Daniel Ready | | 25 |
| | Sam Houston, M, 5 ^f | J. Clark | 20 | |
| August | Djalma, M, 7 | ? | | |
| | Moses, M, 14 | J. D. Tewkesbury | 18 | |
| | Belsabub, M, 12 | " | 13 | |
| | Sarah, F, 10 | " | 15 | |
| | Minne Ha Ha, F, 12 ^f | A. G. Turner | 9 | |
| September | Aaron, M, 8 | J. D. Tewkesbury | 17 | |
| | Phyllis, F, 7 | Lucian Wright | 14 | |
| | Molly, F, 9 ^f | ? | | |
| October | Nellie Lincoln, F, ca. 17 | James H. Fruit | 8 | |
| | George Washington Donally, M, 12 | Peter Donally | 13 | |
| November | Milly, F, 10 ^f | Norman Dupern | 11 | |
| | Oneta, F, 8 | Francis Connor | 12 | |
| | Malinda, F, 8 | Mrs. E. Abels | | |
| | Bob, M, 20 | Jacob Keiffer | 10 | |
| | Ellen (wife), F, 20 | " | | |
| | Charles, M, 7 ^f | Wm. B. Hagans | 18 | |
| | Kate, F, 10 [#] | " | 11 | |
| | Coeness, M, 13 | John Moore | | 25 |
| | Kitty, F, 14 | " | | 21 |
| | <u>1862</u> | | | |
| January | Franke, M, 25 | Wm. Ellery | 10 | |
| March | David, M, 23 | " | 10 | |
| | Hank Smith, M, 7 ^f | ? | | |
| April | Peter, M, 11 | A. A. Hadley | | 25 |
| | Patrick, M, 8 | " | | 25 |
| May | Charles, M, 8 | F. Cassans | | 17 |
| | Lincoln, M, 5 | " | | 20 |
| June | "Blackhawk," M, 9 ^f | W. I. Reed | 16 | |
| | Peter, M, 4 | Anthony Bowles | 21 | |
| July | Fred, M, 7 | Robert Gowanlock | 18 | |
| August | Peter, M, 5 | J. D. Myers | 20 | |
| September | Twilight, F, 7 ^f | S. F. Hopkins | 14 | |
| <u>1863</u> | | | | |
| November | Carrie, F, 7 | Sara H. Bowles | | 21 |

^f "Prisoner of war."

[#] "Purchase from parents."

Heizer, Robert F. and Almquist, Alan F. (1971). *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination Under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920*. Berkley, CA: University of California Press. Pp. 54-56

Appendix E: CURRENT FORT HUMBOLDT BROCHURE AND CONTEMPORARY
PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE BROCHURE AND EXHIBITS AT FORT HUMBOLDT
HISTORIC STATE PARK, EUREKA, CALIFORNIA

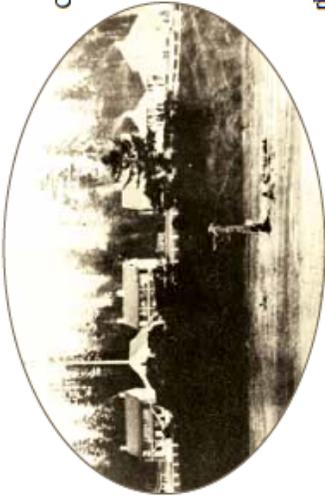


LEAGUE

SaveTheRedwoods.org/csp

Fort Humboldt

State Historic Park is built on the edge of Humboldt Bay near Eureka in scenic northwest California. The fort gives visitors a glimpse of pioneer-era military life in the mid-19th century.



Fort Humboldt taken from Humboldt Bay, 1860s

NATURAL HISTORY

The bluff where Fort Humboldt sits is composed of alluvial and marine deposits, sand, and sedimentary clay. Loamy topsoil covers these layers.

The deer and bear that once inhabited the redwoods surrounding Fort Humboldt are now gone—along with the redwoods. Spruce and alder trees grow on the west shoulder of the bluff; willows and berries have filled in the freshwater pond south of the bluff.

Typical of coastal redwood regions, Eureka is foggy year-round, with average temperatures in the 50s and 60s.

PARK HISTORY

Native People

California Indians have lived in the northwestern area for several thousand years. About 14 tribes lived in the redwood forest region later served by Fort Humboldt, including the Wiyot, Yurok, Whilkut, Nongati, Mattole, Sinkyone, Hupa, Karuk and Yurok people. The Wiyot occupied the area now known as Humboldt

County. Archaeological and historical evidence points to a flourishing Wiyot culture thousands of years old. Primarily hunters and gatherers, they dwelled in an area rich in edible resources. The village of Tuluwat, on nearby Indian Island in Arcata Bay, was the Wiyot physical and spiritual center. They held annual world-renewal ceremonies at Tuluwat to bring the world back into balance and heal its social discord.

Worlds in Conflict
After Major Pierson B. Reading discovered gold at the Trinity River in May 1849, the ensuing gold fever brought the traditional Wiyot way of life to an end. Fortune-seekers were lured to the state. Uniontown (later renamed Arcata, its original native name), Bucksport and Eureka sprang up around Humboldt Bay, and newcomers sought the native peoples' territory. Rather than clearing the redwoods from unoccupied land, settlers took over Indian villages and traditional hunting and fishing sites; many Wiyot died defending themselves and their homes. Violence escalated; bloody battles ensued as vigilantes attacked

the native people. Desperate settlers also appealed for help from the government.

Fort Humboldt Established

In January 1853, Fourth Infantry U.S. Army soldiers, led by Brevet Lt. Colonel Robert C. Buchanan, arrived at Humboldt Bay to broker peace. Buchanan selected a fort site on a high, barren bluff overlooking the bay above Bucksport. By 1857, 14 redwood and plaster structures had been built in a "U" shape around a parade ground. Due to its strategic location high on the bluff, no outer walls or palisades were built to protect the company of soldiers.

The Military Dilemma

The military troops found themselves acting as mediators between settlers and Indians to resolve conflicts and avoid violence. Many newcomers wanted the indigenous people moved to reservations out of the area.

In an effort to bring about a sustainable peace, seven agreements were signed with California Indians living between Clear Lake and the Klamath River. These treaties were



Surgeon's quarters



never ratified by the government, and the tribes never received the land that they had been promised.

When most federal troops departed for the Civil War, prominent local citizens formed a self-proclaimed militia. On February 26, 1860, the militia attacked five separate Wiyot villages over a 30-hour period, massacring several hundred unarmed Indians.

The village of Kutuswalik, within sight of Fort Humboldt, was burned completely. The Army built an 80-foot open corral near the fort to hold both captive Indian prisoners and those who sought refuge at the fort from vigilantes. Fed an unfamiliar diet of hardtack and beans, some native Californians died of dysentery; others were killed in continuing violent outbursts. More than 200 Wiyot people died before the remainder could be forcibly resettled on reservations.

Today, the surviving descendants of the Wiyot have established federal recognition. They have regained portions of Indian Island and are restoring its plundered sacred sites.

Life at the Fort

A bugle call or drum beat regulated the routine of fort life. Fort Humboldt's supplies, mail, and even soldiers' pay were often delayed for months. Away from family and friends, isolated and lonely, soldiers found that time passed slowly; many deserted.

One unhappy young captain, Ulysses S. Grant, was stationed at Fort Humboldt in 1854. He was a loner, preferring to spend his leisure time at a nearby tavern or riding in the countryside near the fort.

After five months, Captain Grant resigned his commission and went home to farm. He



Ulysses S. Grant

later rejoined the Army during the Civil War, soon promoted to colonel and rose to lead the Union troops as general. In 1869, Grant became the 18th president of the United States, serving two terms.

Seth Kinman was a hunter who supplied elk meat to troops at Fort Humboldt and entertained the soldiers with tales of his exploits with grizzly bears. Kinman played music for the soldiers on his fiddle, made from the skull of his favorite mule, "Dave."



Seth Kinman

Harriet St. John Simpson, her husband Assistant Surgeon Josiah Simpson, and their children enjoyed their post in the

surgeon's quarters from 1854

to 1857. Mrs. Simpson chronicled life at the fort in lively letters to her family back

East. Her letters and sketches provide a clear historical record of daily fort life. She often threw parties

for the fort's officers and their families,

detailed both her menus and her servants' cooking methods.



Harriet Simpson

Fort Humboldt Today

The fort was abandoned as a military post in 1870. The W. S. Cooper family bought the land with its remaining hospital in 1893. In the early 1920s, Mrs. Laura Cooper donated the property to the City of Eureka to commemorate U. S. Grant's service as the fort's Quartermaster. The City transferred title to the State; Fort Humboldt became a state historic park in 1963.

The period house museum in the reconstructed surgeon's quarters is open for viewing. The herb and flower garden is filled with authentic period plantings. Along the parade grounds, a gravel path connects Native American exhibits with three-dimensional fort-era exhibits and an open-air logging display.

ACCESSIBLE FEATURES

Parking, restrooms, trails and exhibits are generally accessible. The museum is accessible from mostly level paths.

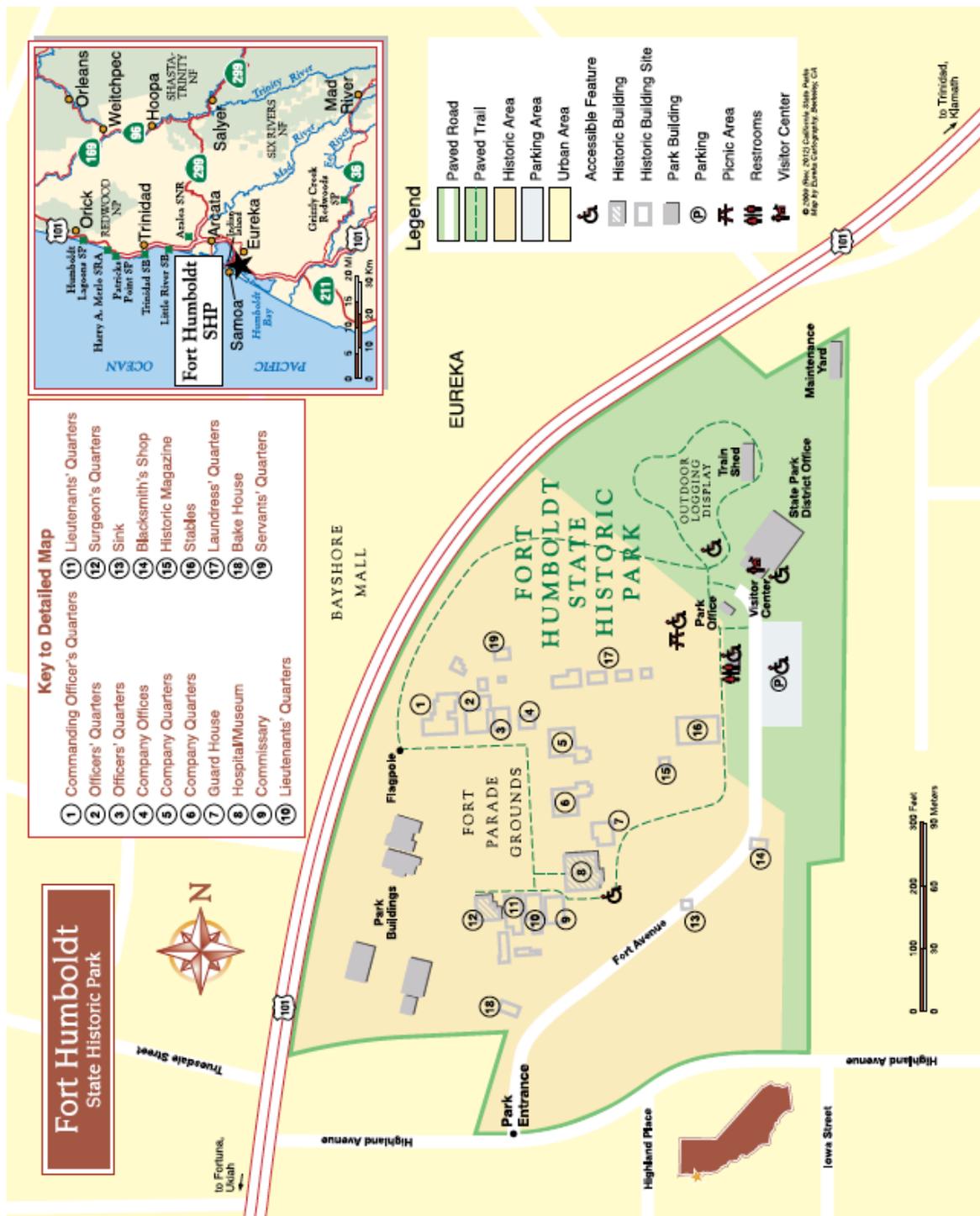
PLEASE REMEMBER

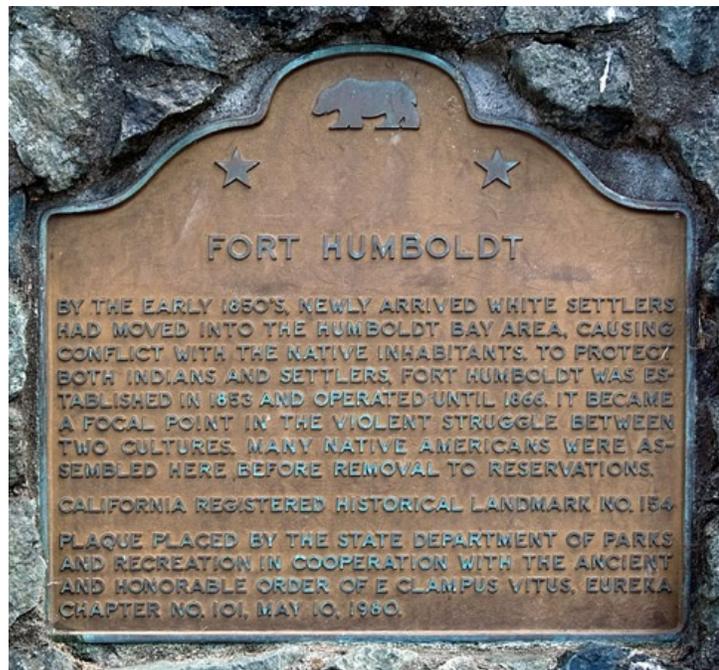
- The park is open for day use only.
- Except for leashed service animals, pets are not allowed in park buildings.

NEARBY STATE PARKS OFF HWY. 101

- Azalea State Natural Reserve, Hwy. 200, McKinleyville 95519 (707) 488-2041
- Little River State Beach, Crannell Rd. Trinidad 95570 (707) 488-2041

This park receives support in part from a nonprofit organization.
 Redwood Parks Association
 1111 Second St., Crescent City, CA 95531
 (707) 464-9150
www.redwoodparksassociation.org





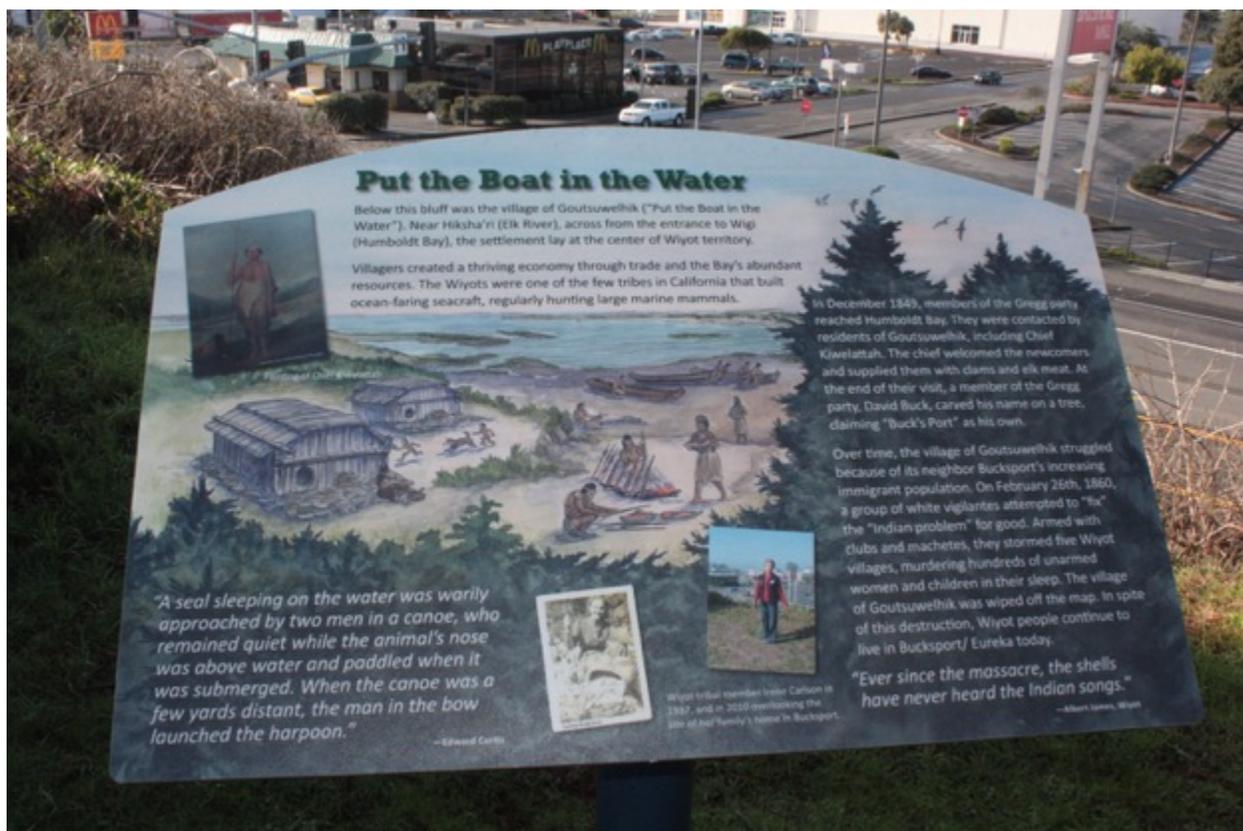


... feet in diameter and ten feet
in plank twelve feet in length, standing upright, and two feet

—Lt. Col. James M. Olney, California Volunteers, June 8, 1862

Built somewhere near the Fort, the corral confined several hundred people in conditions comparable to a slave ship. Two to three hundred people died. After three months, a surgeon's objections helped put an end to the corral. People were moved to a temporary reservation on the north spit of Humboldt Bay, where subjugation continued. Although we do not know the exact location of the corral, Fort Humboldt is still considered a genocidal site by many Native Americans.

Wiyot people called the site of old Fort Humboldt Jouwuchguri, "lying down and drawing up your knees."



Fenced Out

White settlers cleared fields, planted crops, grazed livestock, dammed streams, and built towns, but their work doomed the lives of others. As fences went up, Native American food sources were destroyed or cut off. Farm crops replaced native plants, fishing was disrupted, and game vanished. The Indians faced starvation.

Malnourished and weakened by disease, they struggled to survive. Some lived by scavenging, begging, stealing, or trying to fit into the white system. Others fought back.

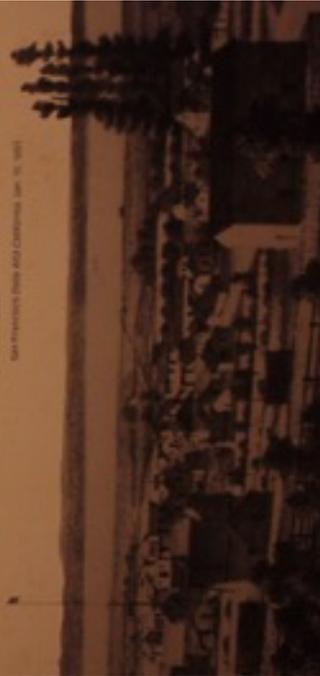
Some whites recognized the Indians' plight:

There are the original proprietors of the soil, and we are all the encroachers on their lands. We have no right to take their lands from them without their consent. The encroachment of their lands is a violation of the laws of God and man.

The white people who have taken their lands from the Indians have no right to their lands. The white people who have taken their lands from the Indians have no right to their lands.

It is not true to say that the Indians are the original proprietors of the soil.

San Francisco Daily Alta California, Jan. 15, 1851

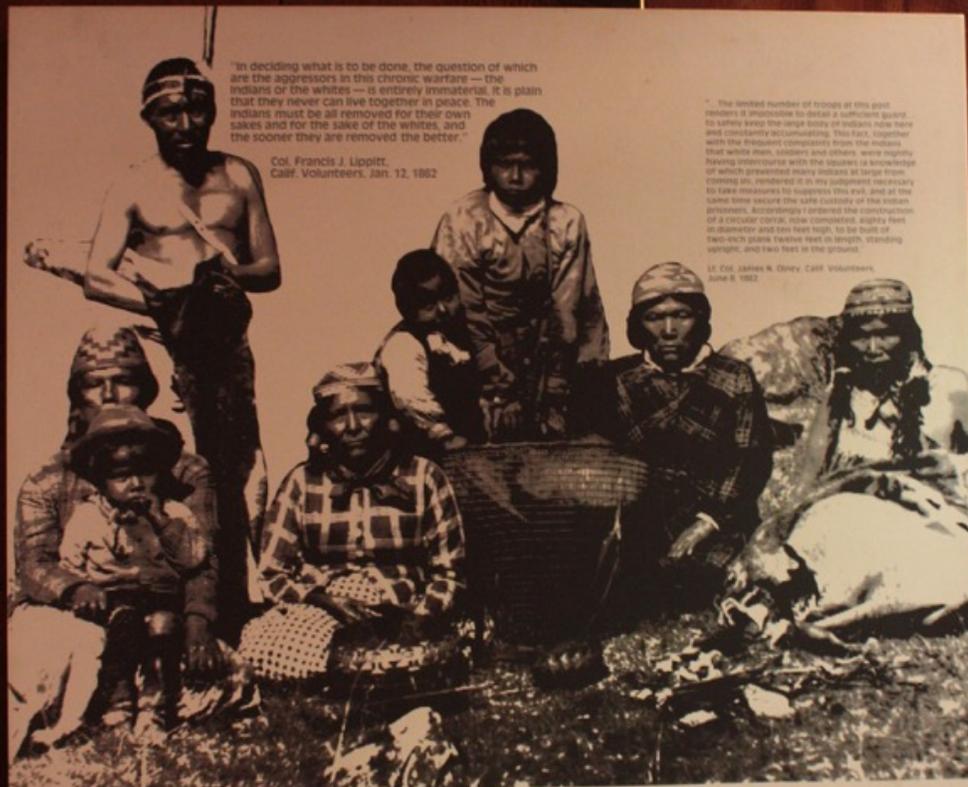


In Dwindling Numbers

When the first Spanish mission was founded in 1769, an estimated 310,000 Native Americans lived in California. By 1900, the population numbered only about 20,000, a decrease of over 90 percent. What happened?

Most died of disease. European ailments such as smallpox, tuberculosis, measles, typhoid, cholera, and syphilis decimated

a people never before exposed to them. They were killed, soldiers, settlers, and miners shot them. They starved; malnutrition left many more easy prey for enemies and sickness. They bore fewer children; physical weakness, disruption of families, and despair eroded their ability and their willingness to bring children into the world.



"In deciding what is to be done, the question of which are the aggressors in this chronic warfare — the Indians or the whites — is entirely immaterial, it is plain that they never can live together in peace. The Indians must be all removed for their own sakes and for the sake of the whites, and the sooner they are removed the better."

Col. Francis J. Lippitt,
Calif. Volunteers, Jan. 12, 1862

"The limited number of troops of this post renders it impossible to detail a sufficient guard to supply keep the large body of Indians now here and constantly accumulating. This fact, together with the frequent complaints from the Indians that white men, soldiers and others were nightly having intercourse with the squaws (a knowledge of which presented many obstacles to large force coming on), rendered it in my judgment necessary to take measures to suppress this evil, and at the same time secure the safe custody of the Indian prisoners. Accordingly I ordered the construction of a circular corral, now completed, eighty feet in diameter and ten feet high, to be built of two-inch plank twelve feet in length, standing upright, and two feet in the ground."

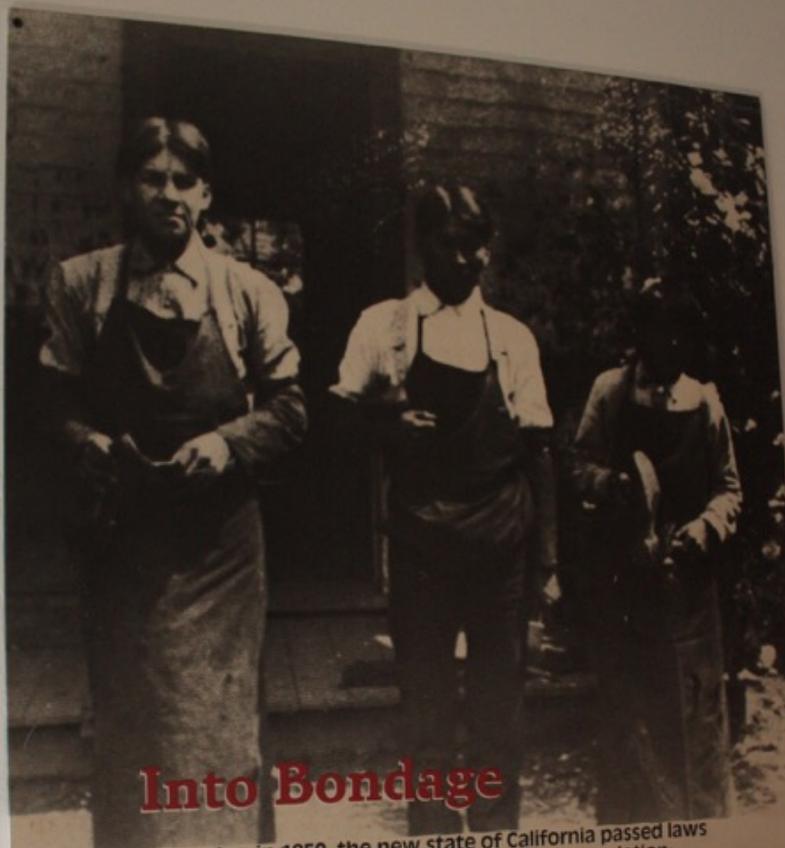
Lt. Col. James N. Olney, Calif. Volunteers,
June 6, 1862.

Removal

Native Americans resisted leaving their homeland for reservations where they would have to live on someone else's ancestral land, thrown together with people of differing languages and customs. By the 1860s, they had no choice. Large numbers of Indians were rounded up and held at Fort Humboldt before being sent away to reservations.

The Corral

Hundreds of Indians were held prisoner at Fort Humboldt, awaiting removal to reservations. Guarding them became a problem as more were brought in. Responding to Indian complaints about white brutality, and to prevent the prisoners from running away, the soldiers built a corral to confine the Native Americans.



Into Bondage

Beginning in 1850, the new state of California passed laws which regulated and restricted the Indian population:

- Indians were declared aliens and excluded from American citizenship.
- They were denied full access to the court system, and their testimony could not be used against whites.
- On a white citizen's word, Indians could be convicted of vagrancy and sent to work for whites without pay.
- Indian children could be bound over to work as servants in white households.

Ignoring clauses intended to protect the Indians, some whites used these laws to kidnap children and adults for farm labor and domestic service, and women for prostitution.



Appendix F: "TWENTY-FIVE INDIGENOUS PROJECTS"

Linda Tuhiwai Smith

1. Claiming
2. Testimonies
3. Storytelling
4. Celebrating Survival
5. Remembering
6. Indigenizing
7. Intervening
8. Revitalizing
9. Connectedness
10. Reading
11. Writing
12. Representing
13. Gendering
14. Envisioning
15. Reframing
16. Restoring
17. Retuning
18. Democratizing
19. Networking
20. Naming
21. Protecting
22. Creating
23. Negotiating
24. Discovery
25. Sharing

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. (1999). *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Zed Books. Pp.143-160

Appendix G: INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVED SEMI-STRUCTURED

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1) Can you share with me your thoughts on the connection of Indigenous people to the natural world, and to the Earth?
- 2) Can you share with me about the importance of women and womanhood in Indigenous culture and spiritual practice in your beliefs?
- 3) Do you trace your lineage to specific villages or area around the Humboldt Bay region? If so, can you share with me the names or places?
- 4) From your perspective how has the connection between the Earth and Indigenous people been affected by settlers and colonialism in the Humboldt Bay region?
- 5) Was the information about your family's lineage and village or tribal background taught to you as a young child?
- 6) Do you know why and under what circumstances your ancestors left their traditional village site or homeland?
- 7) Did you hear stories about the "old days" when you were growing up? If so, how do you define the "old days" and who told you?
- 8) While you were growing up what types of stories did you hear about non-Native settler populations arriving in this region?
- 9) While you were growing up did your parents, grandparents, or older relatives speak about mistreatment by settlers in the past?
- 10) While you were growing up did you ever hear stories about local massacres or forced relocations during the arrival and settlement of non-Native people here in this region?
- 11) Do you having anything to share about the sacred sites that have been desecrated and/or destructed for mining?
- 12) What do you know about the California Gold Rush? Where did you learn this information?
- 13) Do you know anything about the experiences of Native peoples during the California Gold Rush here in the Humboldt county region? How many

generations ago in your lineage did your ancestors experience the California Gold Rush? This would include the 1840s, 1850s and into the 1860s

- 14) If so, what kinds of stories?
- 15) Did any of these stories include Fort Humboldt in Eureka? If so, do you know anything about Native women at Fort Humboldt during the Gold Rush era?
- 16) Both academic research and community-based Indigenous knowledge suggest that grief remains in our contemporary Native cultures and communities as a result of oppression and racism in the past and continuing now. Do you find that to be true?
- 17) Do you see historical trauma in your community or family? (defined as: the devastation of genocide, loss of culture, and forcible removal from family, communities and homelands as unresolved and a sort of lingering grief that remains in colonized or oppressed communities and families)
- 18) Do you find connections in the treatment of Indigenous women during the California Gold Rush to the treatment of Indigenous women today?
- 19) What do you think is a productive way for me to engage with this subject in order to depict the struggles and triumphs of local Native people?
- 20) Do you have anything else you would like to share with me that you think would be important to this topic and research?

Appendix H: HISTORY-SOCIAL SCIENCE FRAMEOWRK SECOND FIELD

REVIEW DRAFT

Approved by the Instructional Quality Commission November 20, 2015

Chapter 7

Grade Four—California: A Changing State

Introduction

- Why did different groups of people decide to settle in California?
- What were their experiences like when they settled in California?
- How did the region become a state and how did the state grow?

The history of California is rich with ethnic, social, and cultural diversity, economic energy, geographic variety, and growing civic community. The study of California history in the fourth grade provides students with foundational opportunities to learn in depth about their state, including the people who live here, and how to become engaged and responsible citizens. California’s history also provides students with the opportunity to develop important language and literacy skills, and to learn that history is an exciting, investigative discipline. As students participate in investigations about the past, they will learn to identify primary sources, understand them as a product of their time and perspective, and put them in a comparative context. Students will also learn to make claims (through writing and speaking) about sources and how to use textual evidence to support a claim.

The story of California begins in pre-Columbian times, in the cultures of the American Indians who lived here before the first Europeans arrived. The history of California then becomes the story of successive waves of immigrants from the sixteenth century through modern times and the enduring marks each left on the character of the state. Throughout their study of California history, students grapple with questions that seek to understand the impact of (im)migration to California, such as, **Why did different groups of immigrants decide to move to California? What were their experiences like when they settled? How were they treated when they arrived in California?**

These immigrants include (1) the Spanish explorers, Indians from northern Mexico, Russians, and the Spanish-Mexican settlers of the Mission and Rancho period, known as “Californios,” who introduced European plants, agriculture, and a herding economy to the region; (2) the Americans who settled in California, established it as a state, and developed its mining, hide trade, industrial, and agricultural economy; (3) the Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, South Asians (predominantly Sikhs), and other immigrants of the second half of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth, who provided a new supply of labor for California’s railroads, agriculture, and industry and contributed as entrepreneurs and innovators, especially in agriculture; (4) the immigrants of the twentieth century, including new arrivals from Latin America and Europe; and (5) the many immigrants arriving today from Latin America, the nations of the Pacific Basin

and Europe, and the continued migration of people from other parts of the United States. Because of their early arrival in the New World, primarily because of the slave trade, people of African descent have been present throughout much of California's history, contributing to the Spanish exploration of California, the Spanish-Mexican settlement of the region, and California's subsequent development throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. To bring California's history, geography, diverse society, and economy to life for students and to promote respect and understanding, teachers emphasize its people in all their ethnic, racial, gender, and cultural diversity. Fourth-grade students learn about the daily lives, adventures, accomplishments, cultural traditions, and dynamic energy of the residents who formed the state and shaped its varied landscape. There can be multiple opportunities for students to learn what citizenship means by exploring the people and structures that define their state.

In grade four, emphasis is also placed on the regional geography of California. Students analyze how the different regions of the state have developed through the interaction of physical characteristics, cultural forces, and economic activity and how the landscape of California has provided different resources to different people at different times, from the earliest era to the present. Through an understanding of maps, geographic information, and quantitative analysis, students should come away from their California history course with an understanding of the important interactions between people and their environment.

Finally, students will be able to develop chronological thinking by creating and utilizing timelines that document events and developments that changed the course of California history such as pre-Columbian settlements, European settlement, the mission period, the Mexican-American War, the Bear Flag Republic, the Gold Rush, California's admission to statehood in 1850, and the state's rapid growth in the twentieth century. Most importantly, as students delve into various topics and inquiries throughout the year, they should be encouraged to see the big picture and understand a broader historical context rather than simply understanding discrete events and people as isolated features of the past. Teachers can facilitate a broader contextual explanation of California's history by asking investigative and interpretive questions over the course of the year. These questions can include: **When did California grow?** a question that can be explained in demographic, geographic, and economic terms, for example. Students can also consider fundamental questions that help define and understand their home, such as, **Who lived in California? Who led California? and How did the state change when it became a state?**

Physical and Human Geographic Features that Define California

- How do climate and geography vary throughout the state? How do these features affect how people live?

By the fourth grade, students' geographic skills have advanced to the point where they can use maps to identify latitude and longitude, the poles and hemispheres, and plot locations using coordinates. Students locate California on the map and analyze its location on the western edge of North America, separated from the more densely settled

parts of the American heartland by mountains and wide desert regions, and understand that California, like much of the West, is arid; fresh water is a scarce commodity. They learn to identify the mountain ranges, major coastal bays and natural harbors, and expansive river valleys and delta regions that are a part of the setting that has attracted settlement for tens of thousands of years. During their study of California history, students will use maps, charts, and pictures to describe how California communities use the land and adapt to it in different ways. As they examine California's physical landscape, students should be encouraged to ask and answer questions about the role of geographic features in shaping settlement patterns, agricultural development, urbanization, and lifestyle in the state. For example, students can investigate the relationship between climate and geography and day to day human activity with questions like this: **How does the natural environment affect the type of house you build and how many neighbors you have?** or, **How does the environment affect the type and quantity of food you eat?**

The study of geography is a natural place to integrate technology into the classroom. Students may use Google Earth to zoom in to view regions and landmarks or might annotate a map of California with their ongoing notes about geographic features with an app such as ThingLink.

Teachers who wish to design Interdisciplinary or problem-based learning units may connect the study of geography to the *Next Generation Science Standards* through an essential question like: **How does climate, natural resources, and landforms affect how plants, animals, and people live?** As students study the major regions of California, they might also explore how rainfall helps to shape the land and affects the types of living things found in a region as part of this larger question.

Pre-Columbian Settlements and People

- What was life like for native Californians before other settlers arrived?
- How did the diverse geography and climate affect native people?

California has long been home to American Indian peoples; there is archaeological evidence of indigenous populations extending back to at least 9,000 years BC. The area they inhabited was home to the widest range of environmental diversity in North America, from rainy Redwood forests in the north, arid deserts in the east, a cooler Mediterranean climate along the coast, prairie grassland in the Central Valley, and the "cold forest" climate of the Sierra mountain range.

In 1768, approximately 300,000 Indians lived in California. Like the natural environment, the native population was also remarkably diverse, in part because of the region's challenging topography, which made it difficult for people to travel great distances and thus kept many groups isolated. For example, at least 90 different languages were spoken by California Indians. Housing varied dramatically, and was usually reflective of the local environment, from sturdy redwood structures in the northwest, to homes constructed from bulrushes (tule) in the southern central valley or redwood bark and pine in the foothills. And while many tribes lived in small dispersed villages, there were examples of relatively high population density, such as settlements of

up to 1,000 people living along the Santa Barbara Coast. To develop students' understanding of how the geography and climate impacted the lives of the California Indians, a teacher might pose a question like: **Why did the houses of the California Indians vary so much?** The teacher might identify two regions such as the Northwest and the Southern California desert and ask students to examine a variety of maps including physical, rainfall, and natural resources and make inferences about the types of homes that might have been built in that area using the maps as evidence. The students can then continue their investigation by reading a variety of available sources to corroborate their interpretation.

Students learn about the social organization, beliefs, and economic activities of California Indians. Tribes were not unified politically; kinship was the most important form of social organization, with many communities organized through patrilineal lineage. Social life for many California Indians centered on the temescal, or sweathouse, where men gathered in the evenings for several hours often with ritual purposes before hunts or ceremonies. Shamanism, or the belief in spiritual healing, was nearly universal among California Indians, though their uses and specialties varied by region. In the north, for example, shamans were often women, whereas in other parts of the state they were usually men. Some shamans specialized as snake doctors who treated rattlesnake bites. Other shamans were known as Bear Doctors, who dressed themselves in bearskins and claimed to literally transform themselves into a much feared and admired grizzly who sniped at opposing groups. Studying California Native cultures through art can be engaging and helpful for students, but teachers should be cautioned against role-playing, simulations, and drama as these sorts of activities can easily be perceived as insensitive.

Most California Indians practiced hunting and gathering because the natural environment offered a rich abundance of food; few engaged in horticulture. However, the tribes did have an impact on the natural environment. Students study the extent to which early people of California depended on, adapted to, and modified the physical environment by controlled burning to remove underbrush, cultivation and replanting of gathered wild plants, the use of sea and river resources. In their study of indigenous peoples, students can consider man's complex relationship with the natural environment, by considering the questions that can be derived from California Environmental Principle I, such as **What natural resources are necessary to sustain human life?** Contemporary cities and densely settled areas frequently are located in the same areas as these early American Indian settlements, especially on the coasts where rivers meet the sea. In analyzing how geographic factors have influenced the location of settlements, then and now, students have an opportunity to observe how the past and the present may be linked by similar dynamics. (For additional resources, see EEI Curriculum Unit California Indian People and Management of Natural Resources 4.2.1).

European Exploration and Colonial History

- Why did Europeans come to California?
- How did European explorers change the region?
- How did the region's geography impact settlement?

In this unit students learn about the Spanish exploration of the New World and the colonization of New Spain. They review the motives for colonization, including rivalries with other imperial powers such as Britain and Russia, which brought Spanish soldiers and missionaries northward from Mexico City to Alta California. Timelines and maps that illustrate trends and turning points during these years can help students develop a sense of chronology and geography. Timelines can be especially helpful in highlighting significant gaps between the years of initial exploration and later permanent efforts at Spanish colonization. The stories of Junipero Serra, Juan Crespi, Juan Bautista de Anza, and Gaspar de Portolá are told as part of this narrative. Students learn about the presence of African and Filipino explorers and soldiers in the earliest Spanish expeditions by sea and land. The participation of Spaniards, Mexicans, Indians from northern Mexico, and Africans in the founding of the Alta California settlements are also noted. Students can use the stories of individual explorers and settlers to connect to broader historical questions and themes like, **Why did people come to California? What was the region like when they arrived?** and **How did they change it?** In mapping the routes and settlements of these diverse explorers, students observe that access to California was difficult because of the physical barriers of mountains, deserts, and ocean currents and also due to the closing of land routes by Indians defending their territories from foreigners.

Missions, Ranchos, and the Mexican War for Independence

- Why did Spain establish missions? And how did they gain control?
- How were people's lives affected by missions?
- How did the region change because of the mission system?

After studying both indigenous life in California and the motivations and practices of European explorers to the new world, students investigate what happens when two different cultures intersect: **What impact did this encounter have upon Native peoples, Spanish missionaries and military, the Spanish / Mexican settler population, and California's natural environment?**

To secure the northwestern frontier of New Spain, King Charles III began colonizing California in 1769. While soldiers arrived to defend the territory, Franciscan missionaries came to convert native peoples to Christianity. Initially, missions attracted many Indians who were impressed by the pageantry and material wealth of the Catholic Church. Over time, as Spanish livestock depleted traditional food sources and the presence of the Spanish disrupted Indian village life, many other Indians arrived at the missions seeking a reliable food supply. Once Indians converted to Catholicism, missionaries and presidio soldiers conspired to forcibly keep the Indians in residence at the missions. In addition to their agricultural labor at the missions, Indians contracted with Presidio commanders to build presidio fortresses. Cattle ranches and civilian pueblos developed around missions, often built by forced Indian labor. Spanish culture, religion, and economic endeavors, combined with indigenous peoples and practices, all converged to shape the developing society and environment during Spanish-era California.

With so few colonists, Spanish authorities believed they could transform Indian peoples into loyal Spanish subjects by converting them to Christianity, introducing them to Spanish culture and language, and intermarriage. The introduction of Christianity affected native peoples, many of whom combined Catholicism with their own belief systems. Vastly outnumbered by native peoples, missionaries relied on some Indian leaders to help manage the economic, religious, and social activities of the missions. Colonists introduced European plants, agriculture, and a pastoral economy based mainly on cattle. (This unit of study may allow for the teaching of the Environmental Principles and Concepts (see Appendix F)). Under the guidance of Fray Junipero Serra 54,000 Indians became baptized at the missions where they spent anywhere from two to fifty weeks each year laboring to sustain the missions.

The historical record of this era remains incomplete due to the limited documentation of Native testimony, but it is clear that while missionaries brought agriculture, the Spanish language and culture, and Christianity to the native population, American Indians suffered in many California missions. The death rate was extremely high; during the mission period the Indian population plummeted from 72,000 to 18,000. This high death rate was due primarily to the introduction of diseases for which the native population did not have immunity, as well as the hardships of forced labor and separation from traditional ways of life. Moreover, the imposition of forced labor and highly structured living arrangements degraded individuals, constrained families, circumscribed native culture, and negatively impacted scores of communities. Nonetheless, within mission communities, Indian peoples reconstituted their lives using Catholic forms of kinship—the *compadrazgo* (god parentage)—to reinforce their indigenous kinship relations. Owing to missionaries' dependence on Indian leaders (*alcaldes*) to manage mission affairs, elders who exerted political authority in their Indian villages often assumed positions of leadership in the missions. Mission orchestras and choirs provided yet one more avenue for Indian men to gain positions of importance in the missions. Some mission Indians sought to escape the system by fleeing from the padres, while a few Indians openly revolted and killed missionaries. Sensitizing students to the various ways in which Indians exhibited agency within the mission system provides them with a more comprehensive view of the era. It also allows students to better understand change and continuity over time, as well as cause and effect. For example, students can frame their understandings of the mission system by considering, **How did the lives of California Indians change during the Mission Period? How did they stay the same?**

California's missions, presidios, haciendas, and pueblos should be taught as an investigation into the many groups of people that were affected by them. Sensitivity and careful planning are needed to bring the history of this period to life. A mission lesson should emphasize the daily lives of the native population, the Spanish military, the Spanish/Mexican settler population, and the missionaries. The teacher might begin the lesson by asking students: **How were peoples' lives affected by missions?** The teacher may wish to focus on a specific mission if it is nearby and can provide resources, or he/she can focus broadly on the impact of them throughout the region. Once students have learned that they will investigate the multiple perspectives of people who lived

during the mission period, the teacher presents carefully-selected primary and secondary sources, as well informational texts written for children that provide information and context about each of the groups of people. Teachers can use literature, journals, letters, and additional primary sources that can be drawn from the local community to provide information about the mission. These sources can be challenging for all reading levels, so it is important for teachers to excerpt and support students when reading dense primary-source texts by providing them with vocabulary support, and making the sources accessible to all learners with literacy strategies.

In selecting sources and directing students' investigations, attention should focus on the daily experience of missions rather than the building structures themselves. Building missions from sugar cubes or popsicle sticks does not help students understand the period and is offensive to many. Instead, students should have access to multiple sources that identify and help children understand the lives of different groups of people who lived in and around missions, so that students can place them in a comparative context. Missions were sites of conflict, conquest, and forced labor. Students should consider cultural differences, such as gender roles and religious beliefs, in order to better understand the dynamics of Native and Spanish interaction. Students should analyze the impact of European diseases upon the indigenous population. And as much as possible, students should be encouraged to view sources that represent how missionaries viewed missions and how natives lived there, and the role of the Spanish/Mexican settler population in facilitating the system. In addition to examining the missions' impact on individuals, students should consider its impact on the natural environment. The arrival of the Spanish, along with their imported flora and fauna, catalyzed a change in the region's ecosystem as well as its economy. What had once been a landscape shaped by hunter-gatherer societies became an area devoted to agriculture and the distribution of goods throughout the Spanish empire. Students can analyze data about crop production and livestock in order to better understand how people used the land and intensified the use of its natural resources. (See EEI Curriculum Unit, Cultivating California 4.2.6.)

The Mexican War for Independence (1810-1821) ultimately resulted in the end of Spanish rule, and with it, the mission system in California. Criticism of the mission system led to a campaign to secularize the missions as early as the late 1700s, when the region was still under Spanish rule. Secularization was never formally instituted, however, until the new Mexican Republic, established in 1823, began to liquidate and redistribute mission lands through land grants to Californios in 1834. Native Californians were supposed to receive half of the mission land, but many did not receive the land they were promised.

After independence, Mexico opened California to international commerce. This development attracted merchants, traders, and sailors arrived from the United States and England. During this era, California's population grew in size and diversity. The Spanish government established only about 20 land grants. During the era of Mexican rule, however, the government distributed about 500 land grants to individuals. A number of European and American immigrants also acquired land grants from the Mexican government during, including John A. Sutter.

The Gold Rush and Statehood

- How did the discovery of gold change California?
- How did California become part of the United States?
- Why did people come to California?

With awareness of the physical barriers of the California landscape, students survey the travels of Jedediah Smith, James Beckwourth, John C. Fremont, Christopher “Kit” Carson, and early pioneer families such as the Bidwell and Donner parties. Students learn about the hardships of the overland journey. They might identify many of the push and pull factors that motivated people in the United States and in other parts of the world to endure the challenges of migrating and decide to move to California.

As more American immigrants began to arrive in California in the 1840s, Mexico was struggling with a brewing border dispute along the Rio Grande River in Texas. At the same time, United States President James K. Polk desired the rich fertile lands of California for the United States. Word of the Mexican–American War being declared in 1846 was slow in reaching California. By then, the troubles between American settlers and Mexicans had begun in earnest. A band of rowdy Americans revolted in June 1846 and took over the city of Sonoma. They raised the Bear Flag for the first time in California. Acting on information that the English and Russians were planning to move in, the American Commodore John Drake Sloat anchored in Monterey, the capital of Alta California, and raised the American flag. Sloat and his crew met no resistance from those living in Monterey. Approximately one-third of the northern half of Mexico, including California, became part of the United States after the United States defeated Mexico in the Mexican–American War of 1846-1848.

Unfortunately for Mexico, just as the war was ending, James Marshall discovered a little nugget of gold in California. Students study how the discovery of gold and the spread of its news throughout the world affected the multicultural aspects of California’s population. Students can compare the long overland route over dangerous terrain to the faster sea route, either via Panama or around Cape Horn. Teachers can read aloud excerpts from Richard Henry Dana, Jr.’s *Two Years Before the Mast*. The arrivals of Asians, Latin Americans, and Europeans are included as part of this narrative. Students can also explore how the gender imbalance between women and men in California during the gold rush era allowed women who wished to participate in the gold rush to pass as men and led to a number of men to take on women’s roles. To bring this period to life, students can sing the songs and read the literature of the day, including newspapers. They might dramatize a day in the goldfields and compare the life and fortunes of a gold miner with those of traders in the gold towns and merchants in San Francisco. Students might also read historical fiction, such as *By the Great Horn Spoon* by Sid Fleischman which will provide an opportunity to incorporate the CCSS Reading Literature standards and allow students to contrast historical fiction with primary sources, secondary sources, and other informational texts. Students may learn how historical fiction makes the story of history come alive but should learn about the problems of using historical fiction as the sole sources of information about a subject or time period.

Students may also read or listen to primary sources that both illustrate gender and relationship diversity and engage students' interest in the era, like Bret Harte's short story of "The Poet of Sierra Flat" (1873) or newspaper articles about the life of the stagecoach driver Charley Parkhurst, who was born as a female but who lived as a male, and who drove stagecoach routes in northern and central California for almost 30 years. Stagecoaches were the only way many people could travel long distances, and they served as a vital communication link between isolated communities. Parkhurst was one of the most famous California drivers, having survived multiple robberies while driving (and later killing a thief when he tried to rob Parkhurst a second time). Students also learn about women who helped to build California during these years, such as Bernarda Ruiz, María Angustias de la Guerra, Louise Clapp, Sarah Royce, and Bidy Mason, as well as the participation of different ethnic groups who came to the state during this period, such as those from Asia, Latin America, and Europe, as well the eastern part of the United States.

Students consider how the Gold Rush changed California by bringing sudden wealth to the state; affecting its population, culture, and politics; and instantly transforming San Francisco from a small village in 1847 to a bustling city in 1849. The social upheaval that resulted from the lure of gold and massive immigration caused numerous conflicts between and among social groups. The mining camps were one site of conflict, as miners of different ethnicities and races fought for access to wealth. American miners fared best, as California introduced a foreign miners tax on non-Americans. Students can read some of the many stories about the California mining camps and explore the causes and effects of conflict in the camps by expressing their ideas in letters to the editor of an 1850s newspaper, or creating virtual museum exhibits about life in a California mining camp.

Another clear example of conflict during the Gold Rush era and early statehood was the loss of property and autonomy for many of the state's earlier Mexican and Indian residents. In addition, great violence was perpetrated against many Indian groups who occupied land or resources that new settlers desired. Additional harm came by way of the Indian Indenture Act of 1850, which forced many Indians – mostly Indian youth – into servitude for landowners. The Gold Rush also caused irreparable environmental destruction through the introduction of hydraulic mining in the 1850s, which clogged and polluted rivers throughout the state, at great cost to the farmers affected downstream. Examining the development of new methods to extract, harvest, and transport gold during this period allows students to see direct interactions between natural systems and human social systems (California Environmental Principle II), See EEI Curriculum Unit Witnessing the Gold Rush 4.3.3).

Grade Four Classroom Example: The Gold Rush (Integrated ELD, ELA/Literacy, and California History–Social Science)

Mr. Duarte's fourth-grade students have engaged in a variety of experiences to learn about the California Gold Rush. As they investigated the question: **How did the discovery of Gold change California?** they read from their history text and other print materials, conducted research on the Internet and presented their findings, wrote scripts and dramatically enacted historic events for families and other students, participated in a

simulation in which they assumed the roles of the diverse individuals who populated the region in the mid-1800's, and engaged in numerous whole-group and small-group discussions about the times and the significance of the Gold Rush in California's history. In particular, students were encouraged to consider the Gold Rush's impact on the state's size and diversity of population, economic growth, and regional environments.

Today, Mr. Duarte engages the students in an activity in which they explain and summarize their learning through the use of a strategy called "Content Links." He provides each student with an 8.5 x 11" piece of paper on which a term they had studied, encountered in their reading, and used in their writing over the past several weeks is printed. The words include both general academic and domain-specific terms, such as **hardship, technique, hazard, profitable, settlement, forty-niner, prospector, squatter, pay dirt, claim jumping, bedrock, and boom town**, among others. He distributes the word cards to the students and asks them to think about the word they are holding. What does it mean? How does it relate to the impact of the Gold Rush on California's economy, population, and/or environment?

To support his English learner (EL) students, most of who are at the late Emerging and early Expanding level of English language proficiency, and other students, Mr. Duarte encourages the class to take a quick look at their notes and other textual resources for their terms in the context of unit of study. Then, Mr. Duarte asks the students to stand up, wander around the classroom, and explain their word and its relevance to the study of the Gold Rush to several classmates, one at a time. This requires the students to articulate their understandings repeatedly, which they likely refine with successive partners, and they hear explanations of several other related terms from the unit of study. In addition, Mr. Duarte anticipates that hearing the related terms will also help the students to expand their understanding about their own terms and that they will add the new terms to their explanations as they move from one partner to another.

The students are then directed to find a classmate whose word connects or links to theirs in some way. For example, the words might be synonyms or antonyms, one might be an example of the other, or both might be examples of some higher-order concept. The goal is for the students to identify some way to connect their word with a classmate's word. When all of the students find a link, they stand with their partner around the perimeter of the classroom. He then provides the students with a few moments to decide how they will articulate to the rest of the class how their terms relate. To support his EL students at the Emerging level of English language proficiency and any other student who may need this type of support, he provides an open sentence frame (Our terms are related because ____). He intentionally uses the words "connect," "link," and "related" to provide a model of multiple ways of expressing the same idea.

Mr. Duarte invites the students to share their words, the word meanings, and the reason for the link with the whole group. David and Susanna, who hold the terms **pay dirt** and **profitable**, volunteer to start. They explain the meanings of their words in the context of the subject matter and state that they formed a link because both terms convey a positive outcome for the miners and that when a miner hits pay dirt it means he will probably have a good profit. Finally, the students discuss how these terms relate to their

larger study on the impact of the Gold Rush on California.

As pairs of students share with the whole group their word meanings and the reasons for their connections, Mr. Duarte listens carefully, asks a few clarifying questions, and encourages elaborated explanations. He invites others to listen carefully and build on the comments of each pair. After all pairs have shared their explanations with the group, Mr. Duarte inquires whether any student saw another word among all the words that might be a good link for their word. Two students enthusiastically comment that they could have easily paired with two or three others in the room and they tell why. Mr. Duarte then invites the students to "break their current links" and find a new partner. Students again move around the classroom, talking about their words, and articulating connections to the concepts represented by the other words. Mr. Duarte happily observes that through this activity students not only review terms from the unit but also deepen their understandings of the overall significance of such a dramatic and far-reaching event.

CA HSS Standards: 4.3.3, 4.4.2

CA HSS Analysis Skills (K–5): Historical Interpretation 1

CA CCSS for ELA/Literacy: RI.4.4, SL.4.1, L.4.6

CA ELD Standards: ELD.PI.4.1, 11a, 12a; ELD.PII.4.5

In discussing California statehood, students should consider the link between California's bid to join the Union with the controversy over slavery expansion in the United States. California played an important role in the Compromise of 1850, which signaled Congress' desire to balance slave and non-slave representation in government, but also in many ways foreshadowed the impending crisis of the Civil War. Students may discuss a number of questions related to California's statehood and the nation's Civil War. For example, students might consider, whether gold from California helped the Union win the war, how individual Californians supported the war effort, and the role of the California Brigade in the Battle of Gettysburg. Comparisons can also be made between governments during the Spanish and Mexican periods and after California became a state. California's state constitution and the government it created are introduced here, and discussed in further detail in the last unit at the end of the course. The 1849 California Constitution established three branches for the state government: the executive, which includes the governor and related appointees; the legislative, which includes the state Assembly and Senate; and the judicial, which includes the state Supreme Court and lower courts.

California as an Agricultural and Industrial Power

- How did California grow after it became a state?
- Why did people choose to move to California in the last half of the nineteenth century? And why did some Californians oppose migrants?
- What role did immigrants play in California's economic growth and transportation expansion?
- Why was water important to the growth of California?

The years following 1850 brought a transportation revolution, increased diversity, and

agricultural and industrial growth to California. The Pony Express, the Overland Mail Service, and the telegraph service linked California with the East. The completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 linked California with the rest of the nation. With the help of topographic maps and Mary Anne Fraser’s *Ten Mile Day*, students can follow the Chinese workers who forged eastward from Sacramento through the towering Sierra Nevada Mountains, digging tunnels and building bridges with daring skill. They then meet the “sledge and shovel army” of Irish workers who laid the tracks westward across the Great Plains. Completion of the railroad and newly built seaports increased trade between Asia and eastern cities. They also brought thousands of new settlers to California, including the Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Colony from Japan. Students analyze contributions of Chinese and Japanese laborers in the building of early California’s mining, agricultural and industrial economy and consider the impact of various anti-Asian exclusion movements. Hostilities toward the large Chinese labor force in California grew during the 1870s leading to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and future laws to segregate Asian Americans and regulate and further restrict Asian immigration. The Gentlemen’s Agreement in 1907, singling out Japanese immigrants, further limited Asian admissions to the United States. Students examine the various ways that Asian Americans resisted segregation and exclusion while struggling to build a home and identity for themselves in California. In explaining a charged and sensitive topic like exclusion, teachers should emphasize the importance of perspective and historical context. Using multiple primary sources in which students investigate questions of historical significance can both engage students and deepen their understanding of a difficult and complex issue. Historical fiction such as Laurence Yep’s *Dragon Gate* might also be utilized. To help guide their investigation, students may consider: **Why did people migrate? Why did some of these migrants face opposition and prejudice?**

As the state’s population continued to expand at the turn of the century, students examine the special significance of water in a state in which agricultural wealth depends on cultivating dry regions that have longer growing seasons and warmer weather than much of the rest of the nation. Students study the geography of water, the reclamation of California’s marshlands west of the Sierra Nevada, and the great engineering projects that bring water to the Central Valley and the semiarid south. The invention of the refrigerated railroad car opened eastern markets to California fruit and produce. Students also examine the continuing conflicts over water rights.

As California became home to diverse groups of people, its culture reflected a mixture of influences from Mexico; Central America; South America; eastern, southern, and western Asia; and Europe. Students can compare the many cultural and economic contributions these diverse populations have brought to California and can make the same comparisons for California today. Students can conduct research using the resources of local historical societies and libraries to trace the history of their own communities.

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| Grade Four Classroom Example: Statehood and Immigration to California |
| During the first half of the school year, students in Gust Zagorites’ fourth grade classroom have participated in a number of shared inquiries initiated and guided by Mr. Z. The students are now ready to do more self-directed research. To initiate the project, |

students are asked to explore a variety of resources including timelines, primary sources, informational books, and websites about the contributions of various groups that came to California during and after the gold rush. Students are encouraged to take notes, write questions, and think about a topic that they are interested in exploring further.

Mr. Z's students are then tasked with picking a topic and asking a question of historical significance about that topic. Mr. Z helps them with this task, by providing sample questions, such as, "Why was this person or group important to California's growth?" "How did this person contribute to the state?" and "How did this person change California?", and providing feedback on those questions students develop independently.

After students have developed their questions, Mr. Z helps his students collect two or three sources related to the topic, including at least one primary source. He directs his students to collect and document bibliographic information about the sources as well and think about the number and quality of sources.

As his students read and analyze the sources, Mr. Z asks them to develop an explanation that answers their research question, utilizing information from the multiple sources as evidence. Students then write an informational article, synthesizing the information and creating a visual representation to go along with the article. The articles include both an explanation of the person or group under study (the who, what, when, where of the topic), and an explanation of why the person or group under study is important. In other words, how did this place or person connect to the larger history of the state?

As his students complete their individual articles, Mr. Z's whole class draws from their projects to create an opening "big picture" article, a timeline for the magazine, a table of contents, and a cover of the magazine that captures the theme or themes of the individual articles.

CA HSS Standards: 4.3, 4.4

CA HSS Analysis Skills (K-5): Research, Evidence, and Point of View 2, Historical Interpretation 1

CA CCSS for ELA/Literacy: RI.4.3, RI.4.9, W.4.2, W.4.6, W.4.7, W.4.9b

CA ELD Standards: ELD.PI.4.7, 10a, 10b

California In a Time of Expansion

- How did the state government form? Who held power in the state?
- What was life like for California's increasingly diverse population at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century?

California's population and industry expanded in the years after statehood, bringing new challenges and opportunities to the state. In 1879 the state produced a new constitution aimed at reforming some of the problems of corporations that dominated the state (such as arbitrary freight rates imposed by the railroads). This extremely long 1879 state constitution (which the state still has today) established a number of state agencies, provided for independent universities, restricted Chinese labor, eased the farmer's tax burden, and explicitly granted women property ownership rights, among many other things. Despite the intended reforms, corporations – namely the Southern Pacific

Railroad – continued to use their power and money to influence policy makers. Corruption was rampant in California politics; in response, Californians elected the Progressive Hiram Johnson in 1911, and supported such reforms as the initiative, referendum, and recall; bans on gambling, prostitution, and alcohol; as well as the woman suffrage amendment in 1911; and railroad regulation. This era in California history marks an important shift when citizens decided that they have a right and responsibility to directly fix political problems.

Through their studies, students understand the importance of people in supporting and driving this extensive growth, and how the state became a magnet for migrants of all types. Teachers may want to introduce the concept of contingency (the idea that events in the past were not inevitable or preordained) to students: **Did California’s growth have to happen the way it did? What conditions fostered the state’s rapid expansion?** Students learn about the role of immigrants, including Latino and Filipino Americans, in the farm labor movement. They also should study migrants, most famously portrayed as Great Depression-era Dust Bowl Migrants in the literary and journalistic works of John Steinbeck and the photography of Dorothea Lange. In addition, students learn about the role of labor in agriculture and industry through studying teamsters and other labor unions. The work projects of the Great Depression - the Central Valley Project and the Hoover Dam – also created the infrastructure for California industry and growth once the economy began to recover.

Students learn about other important developments in the push-and-pull of California’s civil rights history in this period. During the economic collapse of the Great Depression, government officials and some private groups launched massive efforts to get rid of Mexicans and Filipinos in California, citing federal immigration law, the need to save jobs for “real Americans,” and a desire to reduce welfare costs. The resulting repatriation drives were done in violation of individual civil rights. Scholars estimate at least one million Mexican Nationals and Mexican Americans were deported from the United States to Mexico; approximately 400,000 of these were from California. Many of those who were illegally “repatriated” returned home during World War II, joining the armed services and working in the defense industry. In 2005, the California State Legislature passed SB 670, the “Apology Act for the 1930s Mexican Repatriation Program,” issuing a public apology for the action and authorizing the creation of a public commemoration site in Los Angeles. In addition, in 1935, Congress passed the Filipino Repatriation Act which paid for transportation for Filipinos who agreed to return permanently to their home country. Students can compare these Depression-era events to the institution of the Bracero Program in 1942, which brought Mexicans back into California (and other parts of the US) to supply farm labor during WWII.

World War II was a watershed event in California. By the end of the war, California would be the nation’s fastest growing state, and the experience of war would transform the state demographically, economically, socially, and politically. California played a huge role in America’s successful war effort. The number of military bases in the state increased from 16 to 41, more than those of the next 5 states combined. The defense-related industries became critical to California’s economy, helping drive other sorts of

development such as the manufacturing sector and the science-technology establishment. These jobs drew enormous numbers of migrants from other parts of the country, provided good jobs to women and African-Americans, and spurred the creation of expansive suburbs, highways, and shopping complexes. The state's growing economy and population caused enormous stress on the environment, leading to serious issues of air and water pollution, loss of farmland, and loss of important wetlands and bay waters through in-fill. Meanwhile, the stresses of war led to acts of prejudice and racism, including the Zoot Suit Riots of 1943 when American servicemen attacked Hispanics in Los Angeles, and the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II.

California in the Postwar Era: Immigration, Technology, and Cities

- How did California grow in the second half of the twentieth century compared to how it had grown for the previous one hundred years?
- Who came to California? And what was life like for newly arrived migrants as opposed to people who had lived in the state for many years?

Students in grade four learn about the development of present-day California with its urbanized landscape, commerce, large-scale commercial agriculture, entertainment and communications industries, the aerospace industry in Southern California, and computer technology in the Silicon Valley. Students also consider the important trade links to nations of the Pacific Basin and other parts of the world. Since the beginning of World War II, California changed from an underdeveloped, resource-producing area to an industrial giant. Students analyze how California's industrial development was strengthened after World War II by the building of an extensive freeway system, which in turn led to the demise of the inter-urban railway system, and extensive suburbs to house the growing population in proximity to urban work centers. The extension of water projects, including canals, dams, reservoirs, and power plants, supported the growing population and its expanding need for electrical power and drinking and irrigation water. Students examine the impact of these engineering projects on California's wild rivers and watersheds and the long-term consequences of California's heavy overdraft on its ground water resources. To understand these large-scale shifts in historical context, students can return to broader framing questions from earlier in the year: **Why did people come to California? How did people shape their environments?** and **How and why did the state grow?**

A flood of new residents seeking work arrived during and after World War II, establishing an increasingly heterogeneous population and laying the groundwork for important civil rights activism in the state. For instance, in the arena of agricultural labor, students will learn how Cesar Chavez, Dolores Huerta, and the United Farm Workers, through nonviolent tactics, educated the general public about the working conditions in agriculture and led the movement to improve the lives of farmworkers. To extend students' learning and involve them in service connected to Chavez's values, students might plan a celebration for or participate in a local Cesar Chavez Day (March 31) observance or activities. Students can also study the famous court case *Mendez v. Westminster* (1947), predecessor to *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) that banned the

segregation of Mexican students; student activism at San Francisco State University and UC Berkeley in the 1960s that forced the recognition of Asian American identity and history; the occupation of Alcatraz by California Indians in 1969-1971; and the emergence of the nation's first gay rights organizations in the 1950s. In the 1970s, California gay rights groups fought for the right of gay men and women to teach, and, in the 2000s, for their right to get married, culminating in the 2013 and 2015 U.S. Supreme Court decisions *Hollingsworth v. Perry* and *Obergefell v. Hodges*.

California also developed a public education system, including universities and community colleges, which became a model for the nation. Students can learn about how education has historically opened new opportunities for immigrant youths as well as native-born residents. They analyze how California's leadership in computer technology, science, the aerospace industry, agricultural research, economic development, business, and industry depends on strong education for all.

Students explore the relationship between California's economic and population growth in the twentieth century and its geographic location and environmental factors. They determine the push and pull factors for California's dramatic population increase in recent times such as the state's location in the Pacific Basin, the 1965 Immigration Act, which brought a new wave of Asian immigrants from Korea, India, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, in addition to traditional Asian groups of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino, the 1980 Refugee Act, the reputation of social and cultural freedom in the cities of San Francisco and Los Angeles, and the state's historical ability to absorb new laborers in its diversified economy. They examine California's growing trade with nations of the Pacific Basin and analyze how California's port cities, economic development, and cultural life benefit from this trade. They learn about the contributions of immigrants to California from across the country and globe, such as Dalip Singh Saund, an Indian Sikh immigrant from the Punjab region of South Asia who in 1957 became the first Asian American to serve in the United States Congress, Civil Rights activists Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta, Tech titans Sergey Brin (Google), and Jerry Yang (Yahoo), and Harvey Milk, a New Yorker who was elected to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1977 as California's first openly gay public official. Students learn of California's continued and growing popularity for immigrants, outpacing even New York, as it incorporates growing numbers of immigrants from Asia, Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean, and every other region of the world. As the above examples of success indicate, some of these immigrants have found opportunity in their new home, but immigrants have also faced intense opposition. In 1986, almost three quarters of California voters approved Proposition 63, which established English as the state's "official language." In 1994, California voters passed Proposition 187 to deny all social services to undocumented residents. Neither proposition went into effect, but the sentiment behind them created, at times, an unwelcome environment for immigrants to California.

This unit will conclude with an examination of some of the unresolved problems facing California today and the efforts of concerned citizens who are seeking to address these issues.

Local, State, and Federal Governments

- How is the state government organized?
- What does the local government do?
- What power does the State of California have?
- How do ordinary Californians know about their rights and responsibilities in the state and their community?

Throughout the fourth grade social studies course there are opportunities to introduce and weave in civic learning so that this last unit serves as a culmination rather than simply a stand-alone “civics unit”. For example, as students study the major nations of California Indians, they can learn about tribal and village rules and laws, analyzing the purpose of a particular rule through the lens of culture, religion, to maintain order, or safety. As students study the Gold Rush era, they could do a simulation of a mining camp where the miners need some structure to govern their everyday lives. Students could think about ways to solve arguments between miners and set up a camp government with a camp council to make rules and laws, a sheriff to enforce them, and a judge to determine if a rule or law has been broken, as examples of legislative, executive, and judicial branches.

With that as a foundation, students finish their studies in the fourth grade with a review of the structures, functions, and powers of different levels of government. In the fifth grade, they will study the origins of the U.S. Constitution in depth, but they leave the fourth grade with a clear understanding of what the Constitution is and how it defines the shared powers of federal, state, and local governments. They also gain an understanding of how the California Constitution works, including its relationship to the U.S. Constitution, and the similarities and differences between state, federal, and local governments, including the roles and responsibilities of each. Students describe the different kinds of governments in California, including the state government structures in Sacramento, but also the governments of local cities and towns, Indian rancherias and reservations, counties, and school districts.

Students’ understanding of state and local government can be enhanced by visiting local courts, city halls, and the State Capitol. This knowledge is an important foundation for the development of the concepts of civic participation and public service that are explored further at later grade levels. To engage children with their local government representatives, students can conclude their study of California with an in-depth examination of one or more current issues that illustrate the role of state or local government in the daily lives of Californians and in particular, members of their own community.

| Grade Four Classroom Example: Local, State, and Federal Governments |
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| <p>Ms. Landeros’ fourth grade class is concluding its study of California history by investigating the local, state, and federal government. To engage her students in a difficult topic, Ms. Landeros asks her class to consider the following question: Who decides what you learn in school?</p> <p>The goal of this activity is to provide students with access to primary source documents; to grapple with different pieces of informational text; and to learn that the</p> |

state, not the federal government, oversees education. Students begin addressing this question by stating their opinions in small groups. Representatives from each group are asked to first write down and then share their answers with the rest of the class. Ms. Landeros writes down their responses, asks them to highlight any patterns or trends they see and posts the list on the wall.

Next, Ms. Landeros distributes an excerpt (Article 9, Section 1) from the California Constitution and asks them in groups to highlight any words and phrases that offer clues to answer the question (Section 1 highlights the important role of the state legislature in providing for education). Ms. Landeros uses a large chart with three headings: local government (school district, town, city), state (California) government, and federal government (United States). The students are asked to discuss with a partner if there is any information that would help them answer the investigative question. She then charts the students' answers and evidence from the text under the heading of state government.

The students then read a short excerpt from their local school district board rules, a teacher contract, or other local guiding document and again highlight any text that details any power the board might have over what is taught. Next, the students are prompted to discuss what they found and the information is added to the local section of the chart.

Finally, Ms. Landeros distributes or projects an excerpt from Section 8 of the US Constitution that reads "Section. 8. The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States," and Amendment 10 of the US Constitution.

Ms. Landeros asks her students once again to find places that could answer the question: "Who decides who you learn in school?" (Ms. Landeros is prepared to point out that the federal constitution does not specifically address education, if her students don't recognize this, and to guide their discovery of the fact that education is a state and local power, not federal, which also illustrates the concept of federalism. Before the end of class, students are asked to revisit their answer to the question, "Who decides what you learn in school?" and provide evidence from their reading and chart that the class has constructed.

The following day, students turn their attention to the state government and consider how it works by focusing on a current bill under consideration at the state legislature. Ms. Landeros supports this investigation by providing students with a variety of sources, as appropriate and relevant, such as copies of bills currently pending in the state legislature, and any newspaper articles, summaries, or opinion pieces about the bill. Ms. Landeros also invites representatives from local legislative office to her class. As students interact with the written material and visitors to their class, Ms. Landeros continues to pose questions and provide visuals that help students reflect on how the state works including the roles of state officials and representatives and how a bill becomes a law. She also provides differentiated literacy support for students so that all children can access the content and inform their thinking.

Ms. Landeros' students conclude their study of government in two ways:

1. Working in groups or individually, students write an essay, taking a position on a

particular bill or issue under consideration by explaining the issue to the class, detailing their position, and giving at least one reason for their position. Significant structure and support are provided for some students to complete this, such as sentence starters, graphic organizers for paragraph development, and suggested vocabulary.

2. The students have a reflective conversation. What did they learn about how the state government works? What questions do they have?

CA HSS Standards: 4.5

CA HSS Analysis Skills (K-5): Research, Evidence, and Point of View 2

CA CCSS for ELA/Literacy: RI.4.1, RI.4.9, RF.4.4, W.4.1, W.4.4, W.4.7, W.4.9b, SL.4.1, SL.4.2

CA ELD Standards: ELD.PI.4.1, 2, 6, 10a, 10b, 11; ELD.PII.4.1, 4.2a, 4.2b

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