THE INDIAN ISLAND MASSACRE: AN INVESTIGATION OF THE EVENTS THAT PRECIPITATED THE WIYOT MURDERS

by

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ABSTRACT

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In February 1860, a small group of anglo men virtually exterminated the Wiyot people of Humboldt Bay. While the act appeared to be unprovoked, and the victims were largely women and children, no one spoke out against the murders. When assistant editor for the *Northern Californian* Bret Harte editorialized the slayings, his life was threatened and he was forced to flee. In addition, no one was ever brought to trial, despite the evidence of a planned attack and references to specific individuals, including a rancher named Larabee and other members of the unofficial militia called the Humboldt Volunteers. During the same period of time other Native American "campaigns" and resettlement policies from in California can be documented. This paper will attempt to determine if similar cycles of abuse/slaughter/relocation occurred throughout Northern California, or if Humboldt Bay's massacre was a unique historical event.

What was the reason for the overwhelming suppression of dissent over the massacre? Research will be undertaken to determine the roles that cultural bias, prevailing Indian policies, and escalating Indian/settler conflicts played in shaping the climate that allowed the atrocities to go unpunished. Historical events and time lines of Indian/settler conflicts around the bay and throughout Humboldt County will be assessed as to their level of correlation with escalating tensions, to determine if the Indian Island event was a culmination of local tension. Editorial discourse from local publications of

the mid 1800's will be reviewed to examine the anti-Indian sentiments of local settlers. A close look will be taken at how the viewpoints expressed shaped the communities overall perspective on the Wiyot people. In addition, economic factors will be discussed in relation to how land use policies, pressure from large land holders, and city business interests might have contributed to the suppression of dissent in order to preserve the status quo of an area struggling to attract more settlers or promote economic interest. Finally, other Native American "campaigns" and resettlement policies from the 1850-1880s in California will be documented to determine if similar cycles of abuse/slaughter/relocation occurred, or if Humboldt Bay's horrific level of abuse could be attributed to its geographic isolation and lack of law enforcement.

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HISTORIOGRAPHICAL REVIEW

In the pre-dawn hours of February 26, 1860 a small group of white men, using axes and knives, massacred over 50 women and children of Tuluwat, the Wiyot village that had existed on Indian Island (Gunther Island) for over one thousand years. Concurrent attacks took place at other Wiyot settlements around the bay, resulting in the death of over 150 people, mainly women and children.[1] Bret Harte, serving as editor of the local paper in his employer's absence, wrote a scathing editorial decrying the massacre. His resulting expulsion from Humboldt County within the month was reported to be in response to threats from civilians who supported the murderers.[2] A number of editorials that followed denounced the crime and hinted at guilty men, but refused to name them outright, perhaps for fear of retribution.[3] A grand jury was called in April 1860 to investigate the matter but no one was named and the crime went unpunished.

The events that surround the massacre are shrouded in the historiography of the past one hundred forty-five years. This paper examines the role that cultural bias, federal and state policies, and resulting clashes over natural resources had in escalating the settler/Indian tensions which facilitated massacres like that of Indian Island.

Cultural bias can be investigated from a variety of positions. The historiography of Anglo perspectives before 1850 will be analyzed to show the steady dehumanization and marginalization of Indians throughout North America. Viewpoints of early observers of Indian cultures can be used to understand the sentiments that empowered settlers to rationalize further degradation and abuse. Finally, reviewing America's growing belief in Manifest Destiny further delineates how cultural biases led to widespread abuse of

Indian cultures and ultimately to massacres, including those of Tuluwat and the surrounding region of Northern California.

The evolution of federal and state policies that sanctioned Indian removal and extermination will be examined to determine how they contributed to the atmosphere that condoned the slaughter of the Wiyot people. The history of federal treaty-making policies can illuminate the erosion of federal responsibility for California's native populations and the ensuing difficulties encountered throughout the state, including Humboldt County.

Cultural Bias

European mindset in the 16th century helped to set the stage for cultural bias against the indigenous population of North America. Colonists saw the New World as empty, full of pagan wilderness that needed to be civilized and everything within it as being inherently evil. European preoccupation with a tightly constricted attitude toward sexual mores, an abhorrence of racial intermixture, and a belief in people's innate depravity had been for centuries cornerstones defining Western civilization. The English had set legal precedence in land-use issues during the conquest of Ireland in earlier centuries. Land ownership as a prerogative of Christian conquest traveled with English explorers and colonists to North America. This perspective negatively impacted the native peoples, and was often espoused by white settlers in positions of power.

Colonists rationalized conquest by interpreting epidemic illnesses as signs of divine intervention. Even in the earliest English explorations of Roanoke, leaders noticed that entire Indian villages were succumbing to illnesses after each European visit.

Thomas Hariot, a 16th century explorer, noted that only Indian communities "where we had any subtle device practiced against us" suffered, inferring that his Christian God destroyed only tribes who had evil intentions.[4] Cotton Mather also spoke of divine intervention when he wrote of the "prodigious pestilence" that killed 19 of every 20 Indians "so that the Woods were almost cleared of these pernicious Creatures, to make room for a better Growth".[5] Despite the fact that, without the aid of eastern shore tribes, the early settlers would undoubtedly have faced starvation, Europeans saw themselves as possessors of a superior religion with nothing to learn from the heathens. Thus Christian ideals of civilized progress encompassed the philosophy that people of differing skin color and religious practices were of an inferior "order" of man and so any exploitation was acceptable.

As Fergus Bordewich discusses in Killing the White Man's Indian, early Europeans blurred the lines between Indian communities, creating the mono-ethnic fantasy of a noble savage. A second darker image simultaneously presented itself in the aftermath of early confrontations that described Indians as "rooted in Evill, opposed in Good; errors of nature, of inhumane Birth, The very dregs, garbage and spanne of Earth".[6] These prejudiced opinions were well entrenched in many settlers' psyches. Pioneers bound for California then translated these existing biases into dehumanizing descriptions of California Indian bands. Overland traveler Alonzo Delano wrote in 1849:

> For Intelligence, they are far behind the Indians east of the Rocky Mountains, but although they are affectionate and kind to each other, as is the custom among all civilized tribes, their women are held to be inferior to males, and are reduced to unmitigated slavery. The men are idle vagabonds, and spend most of their time lounging, occasionally shooting birds and small game, or spearing fish, and, as it seemed to me, more for

> amusement than from any desire to be useful to their families…. The Indians of California are more swarthy in complexion and of smaller stature than those east of the Rocky Mountains; and although they may be placed in situations where they will fight bravely, they are less bold, and more cowardly in the main, than those on the Great Plains west of the Missouri; while they are more gentile in their natures, and become willing slaves to those who will feed and clothe them, if they are not overworked. They have more of the Asiatic cast of countenances than the eastern tribes, and are easily controlled if properly managed. Strict justice, and a uniform but firm and gentle behavior, will conciliate them, and gain their goodwill and respect.[7]

Diary entries like this as well as correspondence sent back home cemented existing biases and propagated new ones for pioneers heading west.

The idea of Manifest Destiny played a large role in defining how indigenous people were viewed and subsequently treated. Thomas Gast's 1872 painting entitled "American Progress" shows America as a woman floating over the plains and serves as an icon for moving "civilization" westward. To the West lay darkness, with wild animals and Indians fleeing her light. Behind followed settled farms with white pioneers and towns. This imagery of Manifest Destiny spreading light and civilization while destroying ignorance and barbarity reinforced the cultural bias of Anglos who viewed the Indian as a savage. Belief in Manifest Destiny strengthened California pioneer resolve to settle the land regardless of any obstacles.

By the time the settlers made it to the hinterlands of California, many had oversimplified views of Indians. As William Secrest in his book, <u>When the Great Spirit Died: The Destruction of the California Indians 1850-1860</u>, describes:

> Root Diggers" was the epithet used by the early pioneers to describe the California Indians, and they were, in truth, a simple people living close to the earth. They did not build spectacular dwellings as did the Hopi, nor did they have the elaborate traditions and ceremonies of the Plains and

> Eastern tribes. "Saw some Indians at a distance, wrote David Cosad in his 1849 diary, root diggers, a thieving, filthy race.[8]

While the bias evident in the passage above can be attributed to the '49er, one can also argue that a latent bigotry is evident in Secrest's own 21st century attitudes. His comment about California Indians being a "simple people living close to the earth" does not adequately recognize the intensive management of natural resources and proto-agricultural practices carried out by tribes all across California.[9] In addition, Secrest dismisses California Indian ceremonial tradition by comparing them to the Plains and Eastern tribes. This is interesting in that it mirrors early pioneer bias against California Indian bands as less advanced than Eastern tribes.

Policies of Removal

The role of the federal government in precipitating the Indian Island massacre can be linked to policies dating back to the earliest colonial days. Unlike the Spanish, the American colonial system never created a place for the Indian within the structure of the colonial empire.[10] The Proclamation of 1763, designed to create peace between the English colonists and the Indians, revealed that separating settlers from native peoples was already seen as a solution. In addition, this policy's failure in preventing westward movement showed the federal government's inability or unwillingness to regulate Indian affairs. While initial removal policies were voluntary and treaty-based, and seen by some as a humanitarian strategy to give tribes time to slowly acculturate, by 1830, during Andrew Jackson's second term as president, the U.S. federal Indian policy evolved into forced removal.[11] During his second Annual Message, Jackson shared:

> Humanity has often wept over the fate of the aborigines of this country, and Philanthropy has been long employed in devising means to avert it,

> but its progress has never for a moment been arrested, and one by one have many powerful tribes disappeared from the earth….What good man would prefer a country covered with forest and ranged by a few thousand savages to our extensive Republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms, embellished with all the improvements which art can devise or industry execute, occupied by more than 12,000,000 happy people, and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilization, and religion?[12]

The ensuing years and federal Indian policy of Indian Removal under Andrew Jackson resulted in the abrogation of treaty obligations by the federal government. The Black Hawk War and the removal of the Five Civilized Tribes to Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma), set the stage for policies that advocated forced removal of California Indian tribes from ancestral lands to specified reservation lands.[13]

Settler/Indian Conflicts

By 1850 Northern California Indian bands had been autonomous far longer than had the tribes in the southern mining districts. They had lived on the margins of the Spanish-American empire, and had little contact with white settlers prior to the Gold Rush era. However, the central and southern tribes, including the Miwok, had been forced to observe and interact with whites to varying degrees from 1770 onward.[14] They had already experienced cultural conflict before the population explosion of the Gold Rush.[15] When miners moved into Northwestern California, resident Indian bands attempted to enforce their historical standards of justice.[16] These highly developed laws used fines as compensation for everything from passing gas during meals to petty theft to murder.[17] In addition, many of the northwestern tribes lived along rivers with little tillable land. As a result, tribes had developed highly evolved land rights, with wealthy families holding title to choice oak groves, fishing holes, timberlands, and hunting areas.

Because most Argonauts made little distinction between individual Indian tribes or even differing cultures, north or south, most whites did not honor these laws. Mining practices and stock grazing exacerbated Indian/white conflicts as natural resources were reduced, leaving Indians impoverished. When federal agent Redick McKee arrived at the Klamath in 1851 to negotiate a treaty, tribal headmen complained that whites had burned rancherias and insisted that the United States pay fines for the damages.[18] When tribes were later forced into compromise or met with unequal white aggression, they were pushed into "brutal rounds of retaliation."[19]

The unique situation of the Gold Rush itself was as much to blame for escalating settler/Indian tension. When the torrent of miners descended on the gold fields, self-rule quickly arose to deal with the miners' disputes. The resulting "miners' codes", or laws were designed to protect miners' rights. When gold fever brought settlers to Northwestern California, miners set up similar laws there. However, in reviewing these codes, the inequities with regards to Indian relations can easily be seen. One set of codes set up on the Klamath in 1852 dictated:

> That in all cases of crime committed by Indians, unless the party should be taken in the act, no revenge should be allowed until an investigation by the neighborhood should take place; that the delivery of the aggressors should be demanded of the nearest ranches, and after a reasonable time given punishment should be inflicted as follows: for murder by the destruction of the ranch to which the criminal belonged and its inhabitants if known. If not known, by that of those nearest the spot. For theft, by destruction of the ranch or such lighter punishment as should be awarded, but life not to be taken except for stealing horses or in preventing robbery. The punishment of a thief when taken to be in other cases whipping, not to exceed 39 lashes; and cutting the hair. Offenses of whites against Indians, whether by killing without cause, burning ranches or otherwise, to be punished (at) ….the discretion of a jury, as also the sale of firearms and ammunition to the Indians.[20]

These biased laws in turn, helped to create the mentality that arose in 1860 when settlers looking to “chastise” the Indians for alleged cattle depredations, turned to the “nearest rancheria” for retaliation, the Indian bands of Humboldt Bay.

Property Rights

When the first Europeans landed on the east coast of North America, they brought with them long-entrenched values and ideas about land use, notions steeped in a half millennium of Christian influence. During the sixteenth century the concept of private property as a positive insignia of civilization flourished due to the success of the Protestant Reformation.[21] Sir Thomas More of England stated that land could be taken from “any people [who] holdeth a piece of ground void and vacant to no good profitable use.” [22] Martin Luther contended "that the possession of private property was an essential difference between men and beasts."[23] He revealed a similar mindset when he remonstrated St. Francis’ philosophy of ridding oneself of property and giving it to the poor. “ I do not maintain that St. Francis was simply wicked, but his works show that he was a weak-minded and freakish man, or to say the truth, a fool.”[24] In addition, Spanish invaders and then English held to the myth that Indians were uncivilized and perhaps not even fully human. They pointed to the proof that the natives roamed through the woods like wild beasts, with no understanding of private property holdings or the need to make improvements on the land.[25] The core Protestant belief in individual property ownership clashed with many Indian cultures’ ideas about community property and land stewardship.

Economics also played a part in the events that precipitated the Indian Island massacre. George Fredrickson, in White Supremacy, stated "when patriotism, religious conviction, and the pursuit of economic advantage all seemed to dictate aggression against peoples of alien cultural traditions, actions of extreme ruthlessness and inhumanity could readily result." In 1850, Senator John Fremont stated "Spanish law clearly and absolutely secured to Indians fixed rights of property in the lands that they occupy…some particular provision will be necessary to divest them of these rights."[26]

People in power at the highest levels of state and federal governments had a vested interest in California's landscape, one which did not include the welfare of the lands' original owners. Even those who were given the task of protecting the tribes moved onto reservations had economic interests at heart.

The Gold Rush started a huge land grab in California. People poured into every area of the state, which exacerbated conflicts between Indians and incomers. In 1851, Governor Peter H. Burnett said:

> That a war of extermination will continue to be waged between the two races until the Indian race becomes extinct, must be expected; while, we cannot anticipate this result with but painful regret, the inevitable destiny of this race is beyond the power and wisdom of man to avert.

In 1852, Governor John Bigler echoed support for Indian extermination when he wrote to General Hitchcock, commander of troops in California.

> . . . the acts of these Savages are sometimes signalized by a ferocity worthy of the cannibals of the South Sea. They seem to cherish an instinctive hatred toward the white race, and this is a principle of their nature which neither time nor vicissitude can impair. This principle of hatred is hereditary, and it is transmitted from the live to the Son by example and by injunction. Another infirmity of the Indian character of which we have incontestable evidence is that their respect for treaty

> stipulations ceases at the moment when the inciting causes self interest or apprehensions of punishment are removed …that Whites and Indians cannot live in close proximity in peace …that an ultimate evacuation of the Northern Counties by the Whites or the Indians will be unavoidable.[27]

The call by government leaders for the extermination of the California Indian tribes empowered the populace to remove Indians from their ancestral homelands by any means possible. In addition state leaders used the suppression of California's eighteen original treaties in conjunction with the Indian Protection Act to divest Indian tribes of the legal rights they had to their land. As the general population became accustomed to this law, and Indian depredations were characterized from an Anglo-dominated perspective, sympathy for the Indian was largely ignored. Miners and settlers took women and girls as concubines. Children were stolen from their families and sold as "indentured servants". Records of Indians being placed into "indentured servitude" in Humboldt County in the early 1860s some to prominent citizens like Huestis, also support the argument that leading citizens knew about, and supported this "Indian slavery" policy.[28]

Throughout the 1850s, massacres throughout Northern California occurred, with little more than remonstrations in the form of editorials, and more often, newspaper support for extermination, as was the case of the following editorial from the Yreka Herald in 1853:

> We hope that the Government will render such aid as will enable the citizens of the north to carry on a war of extermination until the last redskin of these tribes has been killed. Extermination is no longer a question of time - the time has arrived, the work has commenced, and let the first man that says treaty or peace be regarded as a traitor."

Given the history of previous attacks against Indians throughout northern California and the overall inaction by the general population, the lack of prosecution following Indian Island becomes less remarkable.

When the massacre happened, despite the letters despising the acts, there was undoubtedly some portion of the citizenry that silently applauded the solution to a "problem".[29] As white settlers came to Humboldt County, they looked to the economic advantages of farming, logging, and mining, but needed to first "remove" the Indians, whose land they were appropriating. Newspaper articles preceding the Indian Island massacre talked of Indians returning from reservations and stock theft increasing.[30] In the month preceding the Indian Island Massacre, Humboldt Times editor Austin Wiley complained of the depredations and suggested the following solution:

> It is a shame and a disgrace…that some of the best sections of our county must be placed beyond the reach of the hardy frontiersmen by a few bands of miserable diggers…There is only one way to domesticate the Indians in this county and that is to either send them so far away that they will never find their way back, or kill them.[31]

The ensuing Tuluwat massacre may well have been a retaliatory response from prominent ranchers and citizens hoping to "send a message" to any returning Indians that they should remain on reservations. This then would free up the land for unhindered development by the whites.

One only needs to look at Bret Harte's editorial after the Indian Island Massacre to infer the prevailing white opinion. He spent the first part of the editorial forgiving ranchers who "have been the greatest sufferers" and perhaps acting in the "blind fury of retaliation". These phrases reveal that even someone who was completely horrified by

the massacre was still sympathetic to prevailing public thought, or at least attempting to assuage that powerful portion of the community before getting to the point of his writing. In addition, in the book Unspeakable Acts, Ordinary People, author John Conroy discusses the role of the "bystander," or member of the local population who does nothing to stop a perceived "emergency." The results of psychological studies of responses of individuals to controlled emergencies showed that in large groups, individuals were less likely to respond, that the responsibility to help was "diffused". Researchers also noted that subjects did not attempt to intervene because they did not feel "personally responsible". Conroy, in reviewing the tests, pointed out that psychologists concluded that people:

> Tend to look to others to define events….The group defines the event, and most people follow the spoken and unspoken norms of the group and are unwilling to risk the embarrassment of overreacting in public. Furthermore, even if people recognize that they are witnessing an event in which help is called for, they remain unsure who is responsible for providing that help…Responsibility is therefore diffused, and so is the guilt felt by those who do nothing.

In the case of Indian Island, while editorial outcry denounced the act, no one stepped up publicly to push for true prosecution of the guilty parties. If city leaders were involved as some documents suggest, then perhaps the population felt less inclined to participate in bringing them to justice.

When the Gold Rush caused a literal flood of humanity to wash over California, the ensuing land grabs did not include any negotiation for property taken. This "squatting", in turn, provoked Indians. Federal troops had first been established at Fort Humboldt in 1853 for settler protection against Indian "depredations."[32] However, the

reverse quickly became true. William Strobridge, in Regulars in The Redwoods, explains the conundrum that led to an escalation of settler/Indian conflicts and ultimately to massacres like the one at Indian Island. He wrote, "It was a puzzling scenario. Officers and men quickly perceived injustices to California Indians from American citizens but never found a way to cope effectively with such civil-military relations."[33] Army regulars, while sympathizing with the plight of native people, were often pressured by white settlers into removing tribes to Fort Humboldt then isolating them on various far-removed reservations.[34] The regular army was thrown into roles as mediators of civil issues. The resulting morass of escalating tension placed the army "in the middle" of a huge dilemma. By late 1859, the seesawing role the army had in alternately protecting settlers from Indians and Indians from settlers had developed a rift in relations with many large landowners of Humboldt County. While Indian depredations were primarily retaliation for abuses by settlers, the army was constantly criticized for not responding to the settlers' desires to "chastise" the Indians.[35] These criticisms led to calls for volunteer militias who "had better knowledge of the region.[36] In other words, civilians formed militias to further their own interests when they felt the army regulars would not.

The Wiyot people of Humboldt Bay were consistently described in all histories as peaceful people.[37] Major Rains, commanding officer at Fort Humboldt during 1860, wrote:

> These Indians were the most inoffensive I ever saw, killed nobody, troubled nobody and troubled nobody's cattle, were useful furnishing fish and clams for the whites, often helping them in their domestic concerns, living apart by themselves, orderly, never drank liquor…[38]

Writer Albert Hurtado noted that the Wiyot might not have had much choice in remaining near the white settlements as "they had no place to go because the mountain Indians were their enemies. The Wiyots had to take their chances with the whites."[39] After the incursion of Americans and Europeans into Humboldt Bay, some of the Wiyot worked in Eureka as servants or laborers. Their proximity to white populations in 1860 placed them in danger from white settlers angry at what they perceived to be Indian trespass. Frustration by white ranchers in outlying areas over inaction by federal troops in protecting their private property rights led to calls for local militias throughout Northern California in the months directly preceding February 1860.[40]

Despite editorials condemning the atrocities of Indian Island, militia action was stepped up, and the ensuing "Indian Wars" of the early 1860s resulted. Indians were rounded up in huge numbers, corralled like animals at Fort Humboldt, and shipped off to reservations. In addition, existing documentation of the massacre purports the support of white city leaders, AJ Huestis among them.[41] In 1860, Huestis served as Humboldt County Judge and while his name was not listed among those mentioned as potential murderers, both his nephews were.[42] Austin Wiley, editor of the Humboldt Times, went on to become leader of a militia group during Humboldt County's "Indian Wars" of the early 1860s.[43] Huestis and Wiley were also supporters of "Indian indenture", and many of the children Huestis enslaved were listed as "taken in war."[44] A Wiyot girl orphaned after the massacre was placed into indentured servitude by Huestis and despite attempts to run away, was forced to return. She spent the remainder of her life a slave.[45] In an editorial dated three months after the massacre, an anonymous writer noted:

> Society is completely demoralized on Eel river and the Thugs are largely in the majority, led on by Wiley of the Humboldt Times, and by Van Nest the Sheriff. Young men talk and think of nothing else but hanging and killing young Diggers and their mothers. The pulpit is silent, and the preachers say not a word. In fact, they dare not. …Two or three men who were on the last Grand Jury which sat at Eureka, were Thugs[46]

The fact that the leaders of three crucial areas of civic power had ties to, or sympathies with, the group behind the massacre aids in understanding why no one was prosecuted.

Henry Larrabee

Henry Larrabee can be seen as a fusion of the three themes previously discussed, and used as a model to synthesize in one person, those reasons the California Indian, and the Wiyot in particular, suffered to the point of extermination. Larrabee came west from Ohio with one brother in 1849, along with other men of his hometown.[47] Gold fever had convinced the Larrabee brothers and their neighbors that they would make a large profit, then return home wealthy. They apparently did not strike it rich. Larrabee's brother returned home to fight for the Union army in the Civil War. Larrabee can be traced to the city of Shasta, and was a member of its Masonic Lodge in 1853.[48] He then surfaced in Healdsburg in the late 1850's, again on Masonic rosters. He settled in the Eel River Township, and was counted on Humboldt County's 1860 census as a dairyman. Perhaps Larrabee was still searching for the wealth that had eluded him thus far. He is known to have participated in Indian killing that can be defined as genocidal in nature. Captain Charles S. Lovell, of the Sixth U.S. Infantry spoke of Larrabee's brutality towards Indians while reporting on operations in the vicinity of Fort Humboldt during the period from January 16 through May 18, 1861:

> The latter part of February I heard that the Indians had attacked and burnt the house of Mr. Larrabee (in his absence), situated on Van Dusen's Fork of the Eel River, and killed the cook, a white woman. Accordingly I directed Lieutenant Lynn to proceed with his detachment to and endeavor to punish the Indians in that vicinity. …. This attack cannot be wondered at when it is known that about a year ago it was reported, and I believe never contradicted, that Mr. Hagan, living with and a partner of Mr. Larrabee, had an Indian called Yo-Keel-la-bah tied to a tree and shot in cold blood….[49]

The report further delved into a discussion of Larrabee's character when Lieutenant Lynn reported back to his superiors on March 28, 1861

> Here is this apparently lovely valley lived a man about whose qualities I feel myself impelled to speak. ……. I had no conversation with Mr. Larrabee. I do not know that I ever saw the man. I heard no man speak in his favor, or even intimate one redeeming trait in his character. The universal cry was against him. At the Thousand Acre Field and Iaqua Ranch even the woman who was shot and burned to death was condemned for living with such a man. ……. An accomplice and actor in the massacre at Indian Island and South Beach; the murderer of Yo-keel-la-bah; recently engaged in killing unoffending Indians, his party, according to their own story, having killed eighteen at one time (eight bucks and ten squaws and children), and now at work imbruing his hands in the blood of slaughtered innocence, I do not think Mr. Larrabee can be too emphatically condemned. He certainly richly merited his recent losses.

Larrabee also "boasted of killing sixty children with his own hatchet at different slaughtering grounds" [50] and was said to have murdered an Indian boy, one of his servants, as well as the boy's family. He then piled the bodies on a raft that he then sent downriver, addressed to his neighbors who'd disagreed with his attitude toward Indians.[51]

Henry Larrabee might well be described as a typical pioneer. He came west with an arsenal of pre-conceived and typically biased notions about Indians. He was the next in a line of whites who were using Manifest Destiny to rationalize taking Indian lands. When he arrived, his place in an isolated settlement allowed him to utilize the mentality

of "self-rule" and carry out depredations against Indians in the name of protecting his private property. Ten years of government-sponsored actions against Indians allowed him to act with little fear of prosecution. Like many ranchers in the Eel River area, he was a member of the Humboldt Volunteers, mustered in response to cattle depredations, and reported to have been involved in the Indian Island massacre by General Raines, leader of Fort Humboldt.[52] While many locals disliked him, the lack of public action against him was indicative of their unwillingness to act with real support for California Indians.

Herman Melville, in his novel, The Confidence Man, discussed the metaphysics of Indian hating. The "Indian-Hater par excellence" was a person for whom hatred had taken on a level of vengeance "the hate of which is a vortex from whose suction scarce the remotest chip of the guilty race may feel reasonably secure". He continued to emphasize that his actions tended to be isolated away from humanity where it was not easily seen by other whites. In all available document sources, Henry P. Larrabee fit this description to a tee. His actions prior to the Indian Island Massacre earned him the disapproval of his neighbors, the army regulars at Fort Humboldt, and other Humboldt County citizens.

People like Larrabee were not rare in Gold Rush California, and could be found in every county. Stephen Powers, an early ethnologist wrote:

> I have more than once listened to old Oregonians telling with laughter how when out hunting deer they had shot down a 'buck' or a 'squaw' at sight and merely for amusement, although the tribe to which they belonged were profoundly at peace with the Americans.[53]

Some of these men, veterans of the Cayuse Indian War in Oregon, ventured south into California. John Ross, whom historian Hubert Bancroft referred to as "that Indian butcher," along with the Greenwood brothers, were credited with the massacre of a Nisenan village near Coloma in 1849.[54] Joel Brooks, a corporal in B Company of the Mariposa Battalion, was described as a "worthless character who killed Indians at every opportunity."[55] He was credited with shooting an Indian hostage in the Yosemite (Ahwahnee) valley, calmly waiting for the captive to untie himself, then killing the escaping man. Andrew Kelsey and Charles Stone were reputed to have murdered, raped, and sold into slavery hundreds of Pomo Indians in the late 1840s. When Kelsey and Stone were finally killed near Clear Lake in 1849 in retaliation for their deeds, Andrew's brothers, Sam and Ben Kelsey, mustered a volunteer militia, attacking and killing innocent Indians throughout the Santa Rosa and Napa region for over a week. The Kelsey and Stone incident also led to the massacre at Bloody Island on Clear Lake in May 1850, where from sixty to one hundred men, women, and children were indiscriminately killed by infantry. Extreme violence by individuals against Indians was not isolated, and was very rarely punished.

Another argument for the Indian Island massacre was that the militias might have been reacting to the lack of monetary support from the government. The militias, in turn, attacked the nearest Indian settlement to destabilize relations in the area and force the government's hand. This theory only exacerbates the horrific nature of the murders. In addition, no one was ever brought to trial for the murders. While Larrabee was not well liked by any one according to Lt. Lynn, he must have held some sway with local power.

Larrabee was a freemason, as were many of Eureka's leading businessmen and local civic leaders. AJ Huestis, the county judge in 1860 was a member of Lodge 69.[56] The strong fraternal ties of the Masonic Lodges around the bay (already established in Arcata, Eureka, and Hydesville) may have kept Larrabee and the other guilty parties from facing any real penalties.

Conclusion

How did Humboldt's residents allow the Indian Island massacre to go unpunished? Average citizens knew murder was happening. Many newspaper accounts published throughout the latter half of the 1800s pointed to white aggression, as the following editorial discusses:

> Your correspondent also labors under a mistake in representing the late killing of some 40 Indians at the Upper Crossing as occurring in a 'fight.' It was a cold-blooded, unprovoked massacre. An Indian, sometime in the early part of March, had been shot by a white man at Happy Camp. The Indians on the rivers above were exasperated, and perhaps threatened retaliation. At all events, some miners were alarmed, raised a party, surrounded the Rancheria at the Ferry, and killed every man and some women; then proceeding up the river 2 miles, surrounded another village and killed every man but one, who escaped wounded, making a total of some 30 or 40 killed. All accounts agree in stating that the attack was wholly unlooked for by the Indians, who from the date of the treaty at Scott's Valley in November, had been perfectly quiet and inoffensive...No single case of murder or other outrage upon the whites can be traced to any of these tribes. Where difficulties have existed, the whites have been the aggressors. This statement may be denied, but it cannot be disproved. I wish for the credit of the whites that the facts were different." Very Respectfully, R. McKee. Alta California, May 21, 1852[57]

Those people who knew, understood, and voiced their concern about white aggression had their voices silenced by anti-Indian legislation and community pressure.

While some historians postulate that the main perpetrators were mere human rabble, roughnecks who would do anything, including commit murder, in their search for gold and wealth, this does not necessarily hold true for the population of Eureka at the time of the Indian Island massacre. Ranchers, farmers, and other landholders had a large stake in protecting their property and stock. City leaders like Huestis, Van Nest, and Wiley who held anti-Indian sentiments may have used coercion or threats of violence to keep the local populace from speaking out against the murderers, as the following editorial alluded to:

> Some time after the 18th March last, three desperate ruffians, armed with hatchets, entered the hotel at Hydesville, and demanded of the proprietor by what authority he had written a letter to Lieut. Hardcastle…at Fort Humboldt; and if he had not convinced said ruffians that the letter was strictly private, and had no allusion to Indian affairs, and no communication to the Bulletin, he would have been assassinated on the spot.[58]

Civic leaders and elected officials needed to keep a voter base content for reelection purposes. Their support for Indian removal could ensure future votes or support for political agendas. They in turn may have influenced others to place pressure on members of the community to remain quiet. The grand jury that was called in April 1860 to investigate the massacre convened on April 9th and returned its findings on April 13th. The short time period that was devoted to the investigation points to a lack of concern on the part of the county government. In addition, many of the members who sat on the jury were cattlemen from the Eel River area, the same region that had spawned the militia named by many as perpetrators of the massacre. Merchants in the community

relied on farmers and ranchers for continued business. Economic pressure might well have bought the silence of these men.

THE INDIAN ISLAND MASSACRE LESSON PLAN

Introduction

This unit of study is designed to teach students how to use primary sources to understand the "voice" and perspective of society during an historical period of time. This unit will be taught under the umbrella of the "Integrated Thematic Instruction" model[59]. Inherent to the idea of using a yearlong theme is the understanding that instruction must be designed using an overarching "pattern-shaper" woven throughout the entire year so that students develop deeper understanding by continually making connections back to the year's "big idea." In this particular classroom, students will have been working under the yearlong pattern shaper of "Rights and Responsibilities." The rationale for using this pattern-shaper is: The goals of democracy are to promote the common good, not the benefit of a few. Democracy cannot be sustained if people do not understand, support, and exercise the rights and responsibilities of democracy on a daily basis. The pattern-shaper will be reflected in this unit of study as students investigate different historical figures and their perceptions of democracy, i.e., who was excluded from participation in the democratic process.

Brain-based research has shown that the human brain is hard-wired to learn using scientific principles.[60] In order to most efficiently teach social studies concepts, subsuming them under scientific "themes" allow students to make stronger connections between these themes and social studies concepts. This unit of study will utilize the science themes of "systems" and "cause and effect". The social studies theme that will connect to the systems theme is "Natural Rights, defined by John Locke as life, liberty, and property, are the basic building blocks of our nation's system of government." The

scientific definition of systems is: A system is a collection of things and processes that interact to perform some function. All things, living and non-living, are made of smaller parts and/or processes that work together and influence each other to form a system. The ability to break down the whole into its parts AND understand how the parts relate to each other and the whole are essential components of higher-level thinking. Systems are everywhere. Investigating and examining systems enable us to better understand and appreciate their importance. Viewing things from a system's perspective empowers us to see the "big picture" when actively participating in the democratic process.

The primary cause and effect theme for this unit of study will be "The Gold Rush set off a chain of events that made survival increasingly difficult for tribes such as the Wiyot, Yurok, Karuk, Hupa, Wailaki, and other tribes of Northwestern California." The scientific definition of Cause and Effect is: Cause is an action that brings about a result, which could be a single consequence or a chain of events. Effect is a consequence or result of an action. Every cause has an effect. Understanding the relationship between cause and effect can help each of us learn more about WHY things happen in our lives, our community, and our world, and will support individuals in making more informed decisions about their lives and their communities. Cause and effect can be used when students explore and discuss the escalating settler/Indian conflicts and other issues, as viewed through primary documents, which brought about the Indian Island massacre.

The Integrated Thematic Instruction model emphasizes that the deepest levels of understanding occur when a "being there" location is used for instruction, one that is directly tied to the lesson.[61] Fort Humboldt and Indian Island will be used as study sites and field trip locations to reinforce student learning. The Humboldt County Historical Society will be a location used to teach students how historians and researchers access primary sources and documents. The John Hill house, 1 block from Lafayette school,

will be used as a walking destination when community member Dee Vallee is invited in to give the oral history of her great-great grandfather's interactions with the Wiyot people as he built his house in 1850-51. The Myrtle Grove cemetery, within walking distance of Lafayette school, may be used to visit the graves of Lucy Thompson, Yurok author of To The American Indian, as well as those of prominent Eureka pioneers, including those whose "voices" students have discovered through primary documents.

When "being there" activities cannot take place out in the field, classroom speakers will be invited in to enrich the lesson and provide another layer of understanding.[62] Cheryl Seidner, tribal elder for the Wiyot, will be invited to give the oral history of her tribe and the Indian Island massacre. Dee Vallee will be invited in to discuss her great-great grandfather John Hill's wife's relations with Wiyot as their house was built. Speakers, storytellers, and/or elders from the Yurok, Hupa, Karuk and Wailaki tribes will be invited to share oral histories. Jim Baker, historical researcher, will be invited in to discuss his life-long interest in the Indian Island massacre and how a researcher finds information. Jacob Showers great grand-niece will be invited to talk about how Showers Pass got its name.

Over a three to four week period, students will use diary entries, newspaper accounts and editorials, art, and oral histories that detail Indian/settler relationships throughout the 1850s and early 1860s to develop a deeper understanding of the difficulties that the various tribes of Northwestern California experienced due to the rapid influx of settlers after the Gold Rush. The concepts of "systems" and "cause and effect" will be emphasized.

The unit of study covers approximately 15 to 20 class periods lasting 45 minutes to 60 minutes, with two to four field trips, approximately two to three hours in length each, interspersed. This unit can easily be condensed into two weeks of study, or

extended to four weeks, depending on the number of community volunteers and field trips planned by the classroom teacher.

Prior Content Knowledge and Skills

In order to participate successfully in this unit of study, students must be proficient with the ability to read a compass rose and a map legend. They must have a basic understanding of how to format a formal letter although the teacher will model this as review. Students will have been writing editorial letters in earlier units of study, so review should be minimal. Students will be using guidewords in a dictionary to locate vocabulary words, especially as they arise in primary source documents. This is a skill introduced at the beginning of the year, but may require a mini-lesson or a review during language arts instruction. The students should have an understanding of the terms "natural rights" and "state of nature" as introduced in Lesson Two of the fifth grade text We The People.[63]

The theme of "systems" will primarily be a pre-knowledge requirement for this unit as students will need to have a basic understanding of American governmental system, including the levels of government and the Bill of Rights, in order to participate successfully. Students will revisit these concepts as they interpret editorials and letters, including those that discuss the perceptions of California's government officials on Indian policy and state versus federal rights. A quick assessment before beginning the unit of study will allow the teacher to decide whether or not a brief explanation is necessary.

The classroom teacher should set aside one rather large bulletin board for collecting evidence and posting students' summaries and findings. One suggestion for

labeling the board might be: “Cold Case Files: Who Caused The Indian Island Massacre?” The teacher may choose to organize the board in any way he/she finds best accessible to the students.

Lesson Content

Before introducing the hook, the class will take a short pretest (Appendix B). The teacher will explain to the kids that they are going to find out what he/she was like as a kid by examining some primary sources from the teacher’s life. Students will move around the room in four or five groups. Each group will focus on a different type of primary documentation. Each person will have clipboard and sheet of paper divided into five sections (Appendix C). As they rotate through the different stations students will write down important words or ideas that tell them something about the teacher based on the primary source information. When kids are done moving through the groups, they will share out their ideas within their groups and compile a master list to share out with the class. Some ideas for primary sources from the teacher’s life are childhood letters, fair ribbons or awards earned, report cards, an oral history as told by the teacher (this can be audio-taped to free up the teacher to monitor the class), a video event from the teacher’s childhood, etc. After moving through the groups, compiling lists, and sharing out, students will discuss whole group what they think the teacher was like. He/she will explain that the words they underlined, the ideas they came up with, and their conclusions can be called “inferences” and historians use similar strategies when researching an historical period to discover what people and groups thought, how they lived, and why certain events may have occurred. The teacher will then explain that over the following three to four weeks the class will be exploring and investigating primary documents from Eureka’s history to clarify the history behind the Indian Island massacre.

The students will make their investigations portfolios from manila folders and construction paper. The class will be reminded that all distributed material must be kept in their portfolios, as the evidence they collect over the next four weeks will be counted as part of their final grade. Students will be introduced to the "Investigation Board" on the wall and informed that they will be placing evidence there each day to help them determine what events and/or people caused the Indian Island Massacre.

The second day involves bringing in one or two historical researchers to introduce the students to the job that researchers do. For this lesson, it is recommended that the following two historical researchers be invited, as they are conducting investigations on the Indian Island Massacre. Mr. Jim Baker is a resident of Alderpoint, California. He is a life-long resident of Humboldt County and went to schools in Eureka and Arcata. He works as a surveyor, and serves on the local school board. Mr. Baker first became interested in the history of Indian Island as a child. He has been researching the massacre for many years and is very interested in who may have been involved. Suzie Van Kirk first became interested in historical research thirty years ago when Highway 101 was built through Arcata. Many houses were being torn down, and Mrs. Van Kirk was interested in their history. She began researching the background of the old Victorian homes and even though they were demolished, she was able to preserve their history. She now works professionally as a researcher, helping authors find important information.

Students listen to the background information about the speakers. Speakers have been asked ahead of time to share how they became interested in historical research, how

they choose their subjects, what steps they take in researching a topic, and where they find their information. Students then have time to ask questions. Speakers ask the class what they learned from the previous day's research about their teacher, and discuss similarities/differences with evidence gathering and inferring. To wrap up the lesson, students are prepped for the next day's field trip to the Madaket and Humboldt County Historical Society. This includes behavior expectations, etiquette with primary sources/documents, and writing student generated questions. Mr. Baker and Mrs. Van Kirk will be invited to following day's activities. Before leaving for the field trip on the third day, students will be reminded to treat the guest speakers on the trip with respect.

On day three students will bring daypacks and clipboards, pencils and investigation sheet (appendix D). Buses or private drivers will take students to the dock at the foot of C Street in Eureka. Students will be introduced to Cheryl Seidner, Wiyot elder and speaker for the morning. Students will board the Madaket and begin the usual bay tour. As the vessel nears Indian Island, Mrs. Seidner will share the oral history of Tuluwat and the massacre. Students will listen politely and when the time is appropriate, ask questions, and write down evidence from her oral history. If Mrs. Seidner cannot attend the Madaket cruise, the following information can be shared with the class on the cruise.

> Indian Island is the center of the Wiyot People's world. It is home to the ancient village of Tuluwat, and a traditional site of the World Renewal Ceremony. Once a year, the Wiyot people would get together for the World Renewal Ceremony. During this ceremony, all people were welcomed, no one was turned away. The leader of the Humboldt Bay Wiyot People was a man named Captain Jim. He was the man who would organize and lead the ceremony to start the new year. The ceremony would continue for at least seven to ten days. It was held at the village

> site of Tuluwat on the northern part of the island. Traditionally, the men would leave the island and return the next day with the day's supplies. The elders, women and children were left to rest on the island along with a few men. Early on the cool winter morning of February 26, 1860, a group of settlers armed with hatchets, clubs and knives (they left their guns behind so that their presence on the Island would not be know to the nearby neighbors in Eureka) paddled to what is now known as Indian Island. There, sleeping Wiyot men, women and children, exhausted from a week of ceremonial dance were caught unaware and brutally slain. This was not the only massacre that took place that night. Two other village sites were raided. One was on the Eel River and another on the South Spit. Eighty to one hundred people or more were slain that night. A baby, Jerry James (Captain Jim's son), was the only infant that survived from the massacre on the Island. The Wiyot people were decimated. For their protection, the Wiyot people were corralled at Fort Humboldt. This was another case of the Army protecting the Indigenous People of California from the violent and barbaric settlers. Later, some were herded to other Indian centers within California. However, they would keep returning to their homeland.[64]

Once the tour is over, the class will thank Mrs. Seidner and take a bus to a spot for lunch (possibly the area near the Adorni Center) and debriefing. Students will share information and review the trip. If Mr. Baker and/or Mrs. Van Kirk are able to join the group, they can enrich the discussion with their own perspective on important information gathering. If not, the teacher will prompt the class on points learned the previous day. Students will then leave for the Historical Society. Students will use side two of their investigation sheet (appendix E) to answer questions about the role of the historical society as they take a tour of the site. If Mr. Baker and/or Mrs. Van Kirk are able to join the group, they can demonstrate how they use the historical society as a resource in their research.

Students will return to class, share information, decide what information should be placed onto the Investigation Board, and pen thank you notes to Mrs. Seidner, Mr. Baker, Mrs. Van Kirk, and the Humboldt County Historical Society.

On day four, children will once again listen to information about the Wiyot people.

> Wiyot people have inhabited California's northern shores for thousands of years. This area has long been renowned for its majestic redwood forests and thick salmon runs. Before the coming of white settlers, Wiyot people around Humboldt Bay and on Indian Island hunted the area's wildlife, fished for salmon and gathered roots for medicine, food and basketry. Indian Island is the center of the Wiyot world and a sacred place. Each year, Tuluwat Village on the island hosted the World Renewal Ceremony to ask the creator's blessings for all people and the land for the coming year. The brutal 1860 massacre of Indian Island's inhabitants and visitors abruptly ended centuries of ceremonial dancing and celebration. Most of the men among the Wiyot celebrants had traveled to the mainland during the night in order to replenish supplies. As a result, mostly women, children, and elders were killed. Only one newborn child survived. Several other Wiyot village sites on the mainland were also attacked on that night. It is estimated that approximately 200 people were murdered. Following the massacres, the vitality of our people suffered greatly. U.S. troops collected the surviving Wiyot people from other villages ranging between the Mad and Eel Rivers, confining them to the Klamath River Reservation. After a disastrous flood on the Klamath, our people were taken to the Smith River Reservation, and later to the Hoopa and Round Valley Reservations. When we attempted to return to our homeland, we often found our homes destroyed and our land taken. But still we returned and found new places to live. We ceased to perform our ceremonies and speak our language, hoping to be spared from the anger and weapons of the settlers. Our culture was almost completely forgotten. Only in recent years have we begun to recover and rebuild our lost heritage. Some of our remaining Wiyot people reside on 88 acres of land called Table Bluff Reservation, 16 miles south of the City of Eureka. Currently we have over 300 enrolled members who continue to struggle for the survival of our culture. The Wiyot territory starts at Little River and continues down the coast to Bear River, then inland to the first set of mountains. Towns that are within the traditional Wiyot territory are McKinleyville, Blue Lake, Arcata, Eureka, Kneeland, Loleta, Fortuna, Ferndale, and Rohnerville. Rivers within this territory are Mad River (Batwat), Elk River, Eel River

> and the Van Duzen River. Pre 1850, there were approximately 1500 to 2000 Wiyot people living within this area. After 1860 there were an estimated population of 200 people left. By 1910 there was an estimate of less than 100 full blood Wiyot people living within Wiyot territory. This rapid decline in population was due to disease, slavery, target practice, "protection," and being herded from place to place, and of course, massacres.

Students will review previous day and oral history by Cheryl Seidner. The teacher introduces the terms *primary source* and *secondary source*, and adds the definitions to the investigation bulletin board. The class reads a secondary source about the Wiyot people (appendix F). Students are then given an historic map of the Humboldt Bay region (appendix E) and follow along with the teacher as he/she fills out a large wall map of the same region, including the location of the Table Bluff Rancheria. Geographical features including rivers, current town sites, valleys, and ridgelines are included. Students will then be asked to use the village location information (appendix F) to place Wiyot village sites in their appropriate place. Students will be questioned as to which village sites are easy to place, and which ones are more difficult (some have definitive placements, others are general locations). They will be asked if one can ascertain how many people lived in those villages from the information the class currently has, if it is known that those villages were occupied at the onset of the Gold Rush, or if those villages were temporary or permanent settlements. The class will discuss how researchers must sometimes not use information because it cannot be verified. Then students will discuss strategies for finding more definitive locations for some of the villages, i.e., asking the cultural director of the Wiyot tribe, looking in historic records for references to them, archeological records, etc. These ideas will be

charted on the investigation wall. Students will then shade in their personal maps, along with the class map, to show the historical land boundaries of the Wiyot people.

Students will then examine Wiyot village sites and historical territory in relation to current Wiyot land-holdings. They will also look at the population statistics included in the background piece, and postulate a theory as to what events caused the rapid population declines. Students will then be asked to write a hypothesis as to what caused the change from 1800s. Student hypotheses will be placed on the class investigation board.

The following background information will help the teacher with lesson content for day five. Epidemic is defined as: common to, or affecting at the same time, a large number in a community; applied to a disease which, spreading widely, attacks many persons at the same time; as, an epidemic disease; an epidemic catarrh, fever, etc. When Spanish missionaries first entered California in the 1700s, they introduced many diseases that the native people had no resistance to. In the first ten years of the mission system, over sixteen thousand Indians were baptized and over nine thousand of those died. By 1817, the mortality rate among the mission Indians had risen to nearly 90 percent. In only 100 years of contact with Europeans and Americans, California's entire native population had been reduced by ninety percent, a staggering decline. Many thousands of Indians died from small pox, malaria, and other introduced disease. In the spring of 1833, members of Hudson’s Bay Company trappers unknowingly brought malaria to the San Joaquin valley, which killed an estimated 20,000 Indians, depopulating entire parts of the central valleys.

Each student will be given a 3 by 5 card, three of which will have been marked inconspicuously with a black dot, and be asked to get out a pencil and write their name on it. They will be told that they will be playing a game in which the goal is to get as many first name signatures of people in class as possible in five minutes. The only rule is that students must shake hands politely with each student before getting a signature. Students will be reminded not to run or act in a rude manner. The overhead timer will be set, and students will start. When the timer rings, all students will be directed to return to their seats. Students will be asked to look carefully at their cards and stand if they have a black dot on theirs. The students will be told that they have been stricken with a new illness that they have no immunities to. They are then to take turns reading the names on their cards, having those students stand as their names are read. They will be told that they unknowingly contracted the illness by shaking the hand of the black-dot cardholder. Once the transmission of illness has been documented, the following vocabulary words will be introduced: pandemic, epidemic, infectious, vector, transmission, air-borne, blood-borne, viral, bacterial. Students will decode, discuss and copy their formal definitions on lined paper, and decide whether the class activity was an example of an epidemic or pandemic. The students will internalize that had the classroom been a model of the world, the simulation would have been a pandemic, but if the class had been a model of the country or a city, then it would have been an epidemic. Students will then complete an Anita Archer vocabulary activity, where, in groups, they develop student-friendly definitions, an example, and a non-example. Those who finish early will be asked to illustrate one vocabulary word.

At the end of the lesson, students will be asked how the lesson possibly ties in with the investigation board and hypothesis. Could disease have caused the sharp decline in Wiyot population? The class will read a secondary source about the malaria epidemic of the 1830s in the San Joaquin valley (Hurtado p. 46-47) and use their history book indices to look for evidence such as disease, epidemic, small pox, etc. Students will then be asked to share out the information they found, and have a volunteer write it down as possible evidence and post it on the investigation board. Finally, students will be asked how they might find evidence of epidemics or disease in Humboldt county history, i.e., county courthouse records, the historical society, etc. Their ideas will be charted on the investigations wall.

Background information on day six deals with the concept of Manifest Destiny. Many Americans in the early 1800s believed that it was the destiny of America to control all of the North American continent. This belief was called "Manifest Destiny." The term originated from a New York newspaper editorial of December 27, 1845, which declared that the nation's manifest destiny was "to over spread and to possess" the whole continent, to develop liberty and self-government to all. In the eyes of the Americans, it meant that it was God's will that Americans expand their territory from coast to coast. This idea of Manifest Destiny strongly influenced the attitudes of the people and the policies of the U.S. government. Americans believed that they were bringing God, technology and civilization to the lands in the west. What they brought, in fact, was death, disease and wars to the Native Americans and Mexicans who occupied these

lands. Americans used the idea of Manifest Destiny to justify their treatment of the Indians who already occupied these lands.[65]

Students will watch the "America Rock" video selection called Manifest Destiny. The musical video starts with the Thirteen Colonies and as the song progresses, shows the pioneers spreading out across a blank white map of the U.S. After listening through one time the students will be given the lyrics (appendix G) and will be asked to read them over together aloud. Then the teacher will inquire, "Is anyone left out in this song?" The students will notice that Native Americans are given no mention aside from Sacagawea, and the overall song is about how "good" Manifest Destiny was for Americans. The teacher will then share some of the background information about the idea of Manifest Destiny and its effect on many Native American groups. Students will then be told that they will be looking at evidence from the time period. They will be asked to evaluate two art pieces from the 1800s: "American Progress" painted in 1872 by John Gast, and "Manifest Destiny" painted in 1876 by W.M. Cary. Student groups of two or three will be given background information (appendix H) and be asked to write down what visual evidence they see in the artwork that supports the idea of Manifest Destiny. They will then share out with the class their findings, which will be added to a class chart.

Students will be shown a U.S. map that shows the demographic distribution of American Indians cultures. This will be placed on the wall for the remainder of the unit of study. The teacher then passes out U.S. maps that show the spread of American influence via land cessations, purchases, and annexations (Appendix I). Students will

then view the video again. They will discuss how newfound information can change one's perception of an event. The teacher will share that as the class discovers more evidence about the Wiyot people their hypotheses may change.

On day seven the teacher should review the following background information with the class. The California Gold Rush began on the morning of January 24, 1848, when James Marshall accidentally discovered gold at the sawmill he was building for John Sutter. Word of Marshall's discovery leaked out and immediately set off a "rush to the mines." By the spring of 1849, the largest gold rush in American history was under way. At the time of Marshall's discovery, the state's non-Indian population numbered about 14,000. By the end of 1849, it had risen to nearly 100,000, and it continued to swell to some 250,000 by 1852. This flood of humanity created many issues for California Indians. Miners diverted and muddied rivers and streams, upsetting fish habitats. Hungry settlers and miners hunted game into scarcity. Mules, cattle horses and pigs brought into California by miners and settlers ate grasses, seeds, and the precious acorn crops that many native groups relied on for food. These newcomers, often called Argonauts, didn't treat the California Indians well. They passed a law called the Indian Protection Act. It was actually a law that made it all right to treat the Indians badly. Indians were forced off their land. Many Indians were forced to work without pay for miners, farmers and ranchers. Indian children were kidnapped from their families. Indians could not testify against non-Indians. When bad things were done to Indians, usually no one was punished. However, if an Indian was accused of breaking the law, the

penalty was often very harsh and many of the Indian's family or band could be punished as well.[66]

During today's lesson, students will read part of a passage from a miner's letter (Appendix J) and evaluate it to get a snapshot idea of what life might have been like for him. The passage discusses the way the river has been altered by damming and mining, and also talks of disease, which ties back into the previous day's lesson. Students will list the words, phrases, or sentences that give them the best picture of his life. The class will then read two other primary sources, portions of The Indian Protection Act of 1850 and a miners' code from the Trinity River (Appendix K). Students will make a T-chart and list, which parts of the laws seem fair, and which seem to be unfair. The students will then discuss if these laws represent the idea being enacted for the "common good" of everyone, as discussed in the social studies text book, or do these laws benefit a few (link back to year-long theme). The class will share their T-charts and list them on a large class chart, which will be put up on the investigation board. At the end of this lesson, students will be given a map for their portfolios that show the two major gold mining areas in California, the Sierra Nevada and Northwestern California (Appendix L). The teacher will ask if the miner's letter from the Sierra Nevada might have similarities with the Humboldt region's own mining history? The class will be asked where they think they might find letters from the local region. Students might list the historical society, the county courthouse or the local library.

Background for day eight will aid students in understanding how history can lay right around the corner. Lafayette Elementary School is located one block from John Hill

Road. The original house that John Hill built there in the late 1850s still exists and is owned by the Mielke family. The descendents of the original house still live in the neighborhood and attended Lafayette Elementary as children. Dee Vallee, John Hill's great-great granddaughter lives next door to the school. One of the stories that she shares with school children is about Mrs. Hill's first encounters with the Wiyot people who lived in the vicinity.

A short summary of the story is as follows: When John Hill first came to Humboldt Bay he brought his new wife with him. They lived in Bucksport until he bought his land (Lafayette sits on what was once part of his property). His wife was terrified of traveling so far away from town as this area was considered remote. The land was covered with redwoods and Mr. Hill built his house among them, overlooking the slough. When Mrs. Hill was taken by wagon out to her new home, she was terrified of the Wiyot Indians. Every day she would bake sugar cookies and place them at the boundaries of the property, supposedly to keep the Wiyots from harming her. When she would go out to replace the cookies she would find small baskets that the Wiyot women had left in return for the cookies. In this way, she realized that she had nothing to fear.

Prior arrangements will have been made with the Mielke family to visit. There might be a possibility of an interior tour, but as that is not necessarily the focus of the lesson, the teacher can decide with Mrs. Vallee and Mrs. Mielke if it would enrich the lesson or detract from it. Students will gather clipboards, pencils, and investigation sheets (appendix M) to take with them to the John Hill house. Mrs. Vallee will meet the class at the location. Mrs. Vallee will talk about when the house was built, growing up

there, and give her family's oral history of contact with the Wiyots via the "sugar cookie" story. Students will be asked to listen politely and write any notes they think are relevant during the telling. Students will have the opportunity to ask questions of Mrs. Vallee at this point. Students will then be asked to sit quietly and sketch the house on the piece of art paper provided. They will then be asked to analyze the house as it currently appears. What might be historically accurate about the house? Would there have been electrical lights in the 1850s, double-paned windows, etc.? What might the color of the house, now lavender, have been? The class will discuss what the surrounding area might have looked like in the 1850s versus today, and list the changes. Students will then walk back to school where Mrs. Vallee will share the Wiyot basketry that her family has passed down through the generations. The teacher will explain to students that historical researchers might call baskets "artifacts". However, he/she will also ask students to understand that these are part of the Wiyot cultural heritage as well, and to simply label them as artifacts might be be seen as disrespectful, so it is important to treat them with respect.

At the end of the lesson students will share out their notes from Mrs. Vallee's oral history. Students will decide as a group what parts add to the investigation. These will be added to the bulletin board. They will pen thank you notes to Mrs. Vallee and the Mielke family. They will finish their illustrations of the John Hill house, using watercolors. Their artwork may be placed on the walls for display.

Day nine's background information will help the teacher impart to students the consequences of California's ungratified treaties. The 1850s brought many people to the new state of California. Following the gold miners came settlers. California Indian

bands continued to suffer from loss of food sources, diseases, and the taking of their land. In 1851, President Millard Filmore nominated three men who were confirmed by the United States Congress to make treaties with the California Indians. Redick Mckee, George Barbour, and O.M. Wozencraft negotiated 18 treaties with 139 different Indian groups or tribelets. However, wealthy California entrepreneurs and California Statehouse senators objected to the treaties and put pressure on the U.S. senate. The treaties were put into a secret file where they remained until 1905. Had the 18 treaties been ratified, California Indians would have retained title to 11,700 square miles of land.

Today each student will be given a map of California which shows the outline of the lands ceded by the Indians in return for proposed reservation sites as laid out in the treaties of 1851. With teacher help students will determine the percent of total land that the original 18 treaties would have taken up in California. California has a total of 163,696 square miles. The reservation lands, at 11,700 sqare miles would have reserved approximately 7.15 percent of the total. Students will then read from primary sources on both sides of the issue (appendix N). They will then be asked to voice their opinion in the guise of an editorial written to the governor of California in 1851. Students will share their editorial letters. The class will decide as a group if the information gathered during the lesson gave any more clues for the investigation. Class consensus will be used to decide what to add to the investigation board.

Teachers may choose to give the students some background information before taking the students on day ten's field trip. While this field trip is scheduled for the third week, it can easily be planned for any time during the unit of study. Fort Humboldt was

established in 1853 on a bluff above the town of Bucksport south of the town of Eureka. The fort was established to help maintain the peace between settlers and Indians. The army had a difficult job. The settlers wanted the army to punish the Indians for stealing or killing stock. However, the army began to see that the Indians usually acted in response to wrongdoings by miners and ranchers. After the Indian Island massacre, surviving Wiyot people were rounded up and taken to the fort. They were sent to the Klamath reservation. When other Indian groups were captured by later militia groups stationed at Fort Humboldt, they were kept in an open-air corral that was eighty-feet in diameter. Over 400 people were forced remain there for over a month. The weather was poor and many Indians died of disease and exposure.

Students will go on a field trip to Fort Humboldt. Each student will take a clipboard, pencil, and investigations page (appendix O). The class will split into groups for the tour and follow the usual procedure. When the class regroups, the teacher will take out a stake and a forty-foot length of rope. The class will reconstruct the actual size of the corral that was used to detain over 400 Indians and mark it with a chalk line. Students will use math skills to determine the area of the space and then decide how many square feet each person who was incarcerated had for living space. The students will use a chalk line to mark out the individual space. Students will then be asked to sit in their personal space and write a personal narrative as if they forced into this type of forced captivity and treatment. How would they stay warm? How are their family members faring? What would they dream of? Students would be asked to think about

the everyday things they take for granted. How would they maintain their dignity and survive? Students will be encouraged to share other ideas for enriching their narratives. Wrap-Up: Students will have the opportunity to share their narratives. When the class returns from the field trip, they will be asked to share out any additional evidence they found at Fort Humboldt. This will be placed up on the investigation board. They will be asked to store their narratives in their portfolios.

Day eleven's lesson immerses the students in a discussion about land-use. European Americans have been engaged in land disputes with Native Americans almost since first contact was made. Throughout the years, many treaties involving land rights were signed, but in many cases these treaties were misleading and often ignored. Court cases continue to this day that address Indian rights to land and lack of compensation.

The teacher will set up a land-use chart (appendix P-possible reasons), using the overhead. Students will be asked to volunteer possible answers, but don't need to know them all. As a class, and using the investigations board for evidence, the class will fill out the chart. Students will then be asked to take one perspective. They will either choose to write from the perspective of a Wiyot tribal elder or a settler. The teacher will attempt to divide the group as equally as possible into two equal groups. The students will write a persuasive paragraph explaining why their right to the land is important. Students will be encouraged to use primary sources or evidence gathered in previous days, information from the contents of their portfolios, and information from the other side's perspective on the chart to make a good argument. The teacher will circulate to assist students as they formulate their persuasive paragraphs and answering questions as

they arise. Students sharing one perspective may choose to work together to share information and ideas. Students will be asked to store their persuasive paragraphs in their portfolios for the following day's activity.

The following lesson is not designed to create a right or wrong side. It is purely designed to allow the class to experience the clashing values that precipitated some of the events that preceded Indian Island.

Students will be asked to get out their persuasive essays from the previous day's lesson. The teacher will ask each student to make a simple T-chart on a scrap piece of paper and label the top "settler/Indian." The teacher will then collect the students' persuasive essays, not bothering to sort them. The teacher will then explain to the class that in order to avoid any favoritism he/she will read the letters to the class. The students will then evaluate the persuasive essay with a plus, check, or minus, determining if their argument for the land is a strong reason for allowing them to stay. Students will also be encouraged to write short notes about each paragraph. After the teacher finishes reading all the persuasive paragraphs, each student will examine their T-charts. The teacher will lead the class in a discussion about perspective. It is hoped that the class will determine that there were strong arguments from both perspectives. The class will be cautioned against making judgment statements.

Students will be asked if there might have been strong feelings on both sides of the land-use issue. Students will be asked as a group to help summarize their findings. The teacher will lead the class in creating a consensus that can be placed on a piece of chart paper for the investigations board.

On day thirteen, students will engage in reviewing the events of the massacre. New background information about the month preceding the massacre will be added to aid in student understanding. The months leading up to the Indian Island massacre were filled with newspaper articles about Indian and settler conflicts. Indians were accused of stealing cattle from the ranches north and south of Humboldt Bay. The editor of the Humboldt Times, Austin Wiley complained that the army at Fort Humboldt was not properly chastising the Indians. The citizen militias often organized themselves and used money and provisions that the local townspeople gave them to attack the Indians they felt were guilty. Many times they killed any Indian they came upon. Then they would ask for the state government to pay them back. The new militia went to the south fork of the Eel River and killed thirty to forty Indians. Then they waited for the government in Sacramento to muster them into service. They were upset when the state refused to authorize their group or pay them.

The students will be asked to review, in groups of five, what they remember from the oral history that Cheryl Seidner shared. The events will be listed on the overhead. Then students will listen to the background information about militia action just prior to the massacre. They will reread the events of the massacre at Tuluwat and the surrounding area. They will be asked to retrieve their Humboldt County map and trace the route that the militia might have taken. The class will use a current county map to plot the miles. In groups they will come up with scenarios that would support or disprove the theory that the militia committed the atrocities. They will utilize math skills and research skills (how fast can a horse go/how long can it last?) Student groups will

share out their scenarios. The class will post the various scenarios on the investigation board.

During day fourteen's lesson, students will examine eyewitness reports from Bret Harte, Major Rains of Fort Humboldt and an editorial from Austin Wiley, Humboldt Times editor-in-chief. Immediately after the massacre, eyewitness accounts described the cruelty of the act. Robert Gunther, who later bought the island reported hearing screaming in the early morning darkness. After the massacre Major Rains reported that he "beheld a scene of atrocity and horror unparalleled …in history…" Bret Harte, a young editor, wrote an editorial condemning the massacre. His life was threatened and he was forced to leave town. Editor Austin Wiley then wrote an editorial that showed support for the murderers.

The students will split up into groups of four. Each student will take one of the editorials and read it. Each student will write a short summary to share with his or her group. They will then share out with their group. Students who finish early may read over one of the other editorials. The class will come together and analyze their evidence so far. The teacher will list the students' major suspects on a chart. The class will discuss each one and write pro and con evidence against them. The suspect list will be placed at the center of the investigation board.

Students will review the 1st Amendment and the concept of freedom of speech. The teacher will ask the students to think about what happened to Bret Harte. They will be asked to think for the night about who enforces the rights of each citizen to free

speech. The students will be told that they will be discussing it further during the next day's investigations.

Days fifteen and sixteen of the lesson plan focus on the grand jury convened following the massacre at Indian Island. Many people wrote editorials decrying the Indian Island massacre. However, aside from Major Rains and Bret Harte, no one put their names on the editorials. They were uniformly anonymous. While a grand jury was convened on April 9, 1860 to investigate the massacre, the jury only met for four days before handing down no findings on April 13, 1860. During this lesson, the teacher will read various editorials by numerous Humboldt County citizens regarding Indian Island. Each student will follow along with his or her own packet of letters (Appendix Q). As the teacher reads the letters, using transparencies, he/she will ask the students if they notice anything unusual about them. Important words, etc. will be underlined. It is hoped that the students will begin to note the anonymity with which all the letters are submitted. The students will be asked why they think this is. Students may respond with the information about Bret Harte's situation. The teacher will follow with the thought that the 1st Amendment should protect a person's right to free speech. Why then would someone choose to remain anonymous? Student responses will be written down. At this point, the group may need more time to deliberate. This activity can easily be extended to the following day. Students will then be informed that a grand jury did meet to investigate, from Monday, April 9, 1860 to Friday, April 13, 1860. They will be given the list of jurors and their listed occupations. They will also read that the jury met for five days and handed down a finding of nothing. Students will be asked to theorize why

local citizens who didn't agree with the massacre didn't speak up AND whether the occupations of the grand jurors mattered in the investigation. At the end of the lesson, students will be asked to place their packet of editorials and grand jury list to their portfolio.

The final day of the unit, before assessment, the students will learn of the legacy of some of the accused participants in the massacre. Henry Larrabee was a rancher whose name we still see in place names like Larrabee Creek and Larrabee Valley. Henry Larrabee originally came with his brother to California in 1849 from Ohio. Records show he lived in Shasta and Healdsburg before coming to Humboldt County in 1859. He registered in the 1860 census as a dairy rancher in the Eel River Township. Larrabee was seen by many as an Indian-hater. He was accused of killing an Indian boy who was his servant along with the boy's entire family. He did this simply because the boy wanted to visit his family. He was also accused of bragging about killing over 60 infants with his own hands. From written accounts it is known that Larrabee's neighbors did not like him nor did the army regulars at Fort Humboldt. They felt he caused more retaliation and unrest between the settlers and Indians. A number of people seem to think that Larrabee was involved in the Indian Island massacre. It is known that Larrabee was a member of the Humboldt Volunteers, the militia group that was also blamed for the massacre.

Sometimes places are named after people who are famous, like Washington. They can be named because of a situation like the Gregg party naming the Mad River or a person acting with bravery like Jacob Showers. Some places retain their native names like Requa or Pecwan or Iaqua Buttes. Some places may even hold the name of a person

who was not honorable. Hastings Law College in San Franscisco is named after a man who backed the infamous Jarboe militia, which killed many Indians around Mendocino County.

The teacher will ask the students to get out the maps of Humboldt County they used yesterday to determine the route the militia might have taken. Students will be asked to find Larrabee Creek. They will be informed that Blocksburg was also once named Laribee. They will shade in the region, following teacher instructions on the overhead. They will then be asked to find Showers Pass on the map. They will listen to the story of why Showers Pass was named after Jacob Showers. Students will then be told the story of Larrabee using primary source documents from editorials that followed the massacre, letters from Major Rains, and reports from Lieutentant Lynn. The students will be asked what they would do if they found out their local park was named after someone dishonorable. Would they try to change it? The teacher will then share the story of the new bridge that is being named in Garberville. Should it be named after a pioneer who reputedly kidnapped Indian children or after the Wailaki, the Indian band that had original claim to the area. Students will be asked to think about descendents of these people who might still live in the area. How would they approach such a topic with sensitivity? Students will be asked to write an opinion (appendix R). They may choose one of two topics: Would they choose to rename Larrabee Ridge, Larrabee Valley, and Larrabee Creek or leave it as it is? What would they recommend if they were on the panel for naming the new bridge in Garberville?

Students will have the opportunity to share their proposals. Any student who feels strongly enough about the subject will be encouraged to draft a letter to the editor of the Times-Standard (an on-going project throughout the year). Students will be asked to add their proposals to their portfolios.

Evaluation

On the final day, students will be asked to get out their portfolios. They will be instructed that they will be able to use the information they have gathered as well as the class information on the Investigations board to come up with a personal reflection on why the Indian Island Massacre might have happened, and who they think might have been involved in the murders. In addition, the teacher will re-administer the pretest (appendix B) and collect student portfolios for additional grading.

One possible extension activity might be to walk the class to the Myrtle Grove cemetery. Students will bring large crayons and butcher paper for making rubbings of Lucy Thompson's and A.J. Huestis' gravesites. While the students are gathered at Lucy Thompson's site, the teacher will read the portion of her book, To The American Indian that talks about the massacres of her own Yurok people. Then the students will walk to Huestis' site and listen to background information about his role as the county judge, enslaver of Wiyot children, and possible role in the massacre. Another possible extension might include having students read epitaphs on gravestones and discuss how the past is remembered. Yet one more extension activity might include the teacher reading the small memorial site at the end of Woodley Island. The students might be asked to rewrite or redesign the memorial, using their new knowledge.

Endnotes

[1] *Indian Island*; available from http://www.wiyot.com/history.htm; Internet: accessed 27 December 2004.
[2] *A backward glance at eighty, recollections & comments, by Charles A. Murdock; Massachusetts 1841, Humboldt Bay 1855, San Francisco 1864*, pp. 73-79, available from http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgibin/ptext?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2000.02.0137&query=spage%3D%2389&layout=&loc=79; Internet: accessed 3 February 2005.
[3] *San Francisco Bulletin*, 28 March 1860
[4] David Stannard, *American Holocaust*(Oxford University Press, 1992), 237.
[5] Stannard, 237
[6] Fergus Bordewich, *Killing The White Man's Indian*(New York: Random House), 35.
[7] Robt. F. Heizer, Alan J. Almquist, *The Other Californians, Prejudice and Discrimination under Spain, Mexico, and the U.S. to 1920*(Berkeley: University of California Press), 23.
[8] William B. Secrest, *When the Great Spirit Died: The Destruction of the California Indians 1850-1860*(Sanger: Quill Driver Books/Word Dancer Press, 2003).
[9] Thomas C. Blackburn and Kat Anderson, *Before the Wilderness: Environmental Management by Native Californians*(Menlo Park; Ballena Press, 1993)
[10] JamesJ. Rawls, *Indians of California: The Changing Image*(Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974), 138.
[11] Rawls, 140.
[12] James D. Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the President, 1789-1897*(Published by authority of Congress, 1899) 2:520-21.
[13] Bordewich, p. 47. Hidden behind the ideals of Manifest Destiny, when looking at Indian policy, lie some darker, perhaps more hypocritical truths. By the early 1800s, the Cherokee tribe was seen as a "civilized" tribe by the U.S. government. They boasted a higher rate of literacy than surrounding white communities, had created a modern government modeled on the Unites States, and were a model of assimilation. But pressure from Georgia, who wanted Cherokee lands for white settlers, coupled with gold discoveries at Dahlonega in 1828, caused prospectors to overrun Cherokee land and systematic legislation began to unravel Cherokee laws and rights. Eventually, they were forced, literally at bayonet points, off their land, into stockades, and onto the "trail of tears" where many perished of starvation, exposure and disease. The parallels with Indian Island and its legacy are striking
[14] George Harwood Phillips, *Indians and Intruders*(Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1993), chapter 7.
[15] Phillips, chapter 7.
[16] Lucy Thompson, *To The American Indian*(Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1991), 52.
[17] Albert Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*(New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 17.
[18] Hurtado, 118.
[19] Hurtado, 123.
[20] Hurtado, 119-120.

[21] Stannard, 231.
[22] Stannard, 231.
[23] Stannard, 231.
[24] Stannard, 231.
[25] Stannard, 237.
[26] Recognition (By Senator John C. Fremont) in Congressional Committee of legal Indian title to California and the necessity of it's "extinction" in the gold mining districts.
[27] Robert Heizer, *The Destruction of California Indians*(Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City:Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1974), 188-189.
[28] Robert Heizer and Alan Almquist, *The Other Californians, Prejudice and Discrimination under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920*(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 54, 55.
[29] Secrest, 332; the letter from Rains to the whites of Klamath as he sent the remaining Wiyot people to the reservation spoke of 84 citizens demanding their removal…it would be interesting to see who wrote the letter asking for their removal.
[30] Secrest, 325.
[31] Secrest, 325.
[32] Secrest, 268.
[33] William Strobridge, *Regulars in the Redwoods: The U.S. Army in Northern California, 1852-1861*(Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1994)
[34] Secrest, 332; Wiyot were sent to Klamath
[35] Lynwood Carranco and Estle Beard, *Genocide and Vendetta*(Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981), 87.
[36] Carranco and Beard, 85. Hasting, Henley petition governor to raise militia.
[37] Heizer, 211-213.
[38] Carranco and Beard, 129-130.
[39] Hurtado, 122.
[40] *Humboldt Times*, February 3, 1860.
[41] *The Price of Gold*, available from http://www.originalvoices.org/PriceOfGoldEight.htm; Internet: accessed 11 April 2005. The web site originalvoices.org is highly recommended for any teacher dealing with this historical time period in California.
[42] *The Price of Gold*, available from http://www.originalvoices.org/PriceOfGoldFive.htm; Internet: accessed 11-15 April 2005.
[43] list what actual militia group Wiley led
[44] Heizer and Almquist, 53-55.
[45] Susie Baker Fountain Papers Vol. 26, 50
[46] *San Francisco Bulletin* 1 June 1860
[47] www.geneology.org
[48] California Grand Lodge Archives
[49] Strobridge, 237.
[50] Carranco and Beard, 63.
[51] Carranco and Beard, 63.

[52] paraphrase letter by Raines about militia's involvement
[53] Secrest, 65.
[54] Secrest, 39.
[55] Secrest, 107.
[56] *Humboldt Times*, February 3, 1860. The advertising section of the paper advertised the meeting times of the Masons and included Huestis' name.
[57] *The Price of Gold*, available from http://www.originalvoices.org/PriceOfGoldFive.htm; Internet: accessed 11 April 2005. The web site originalvoices.org is highly recommended for any teacher dealing with this historical time period in California.
[58] San Francisco Bulletin, 1 June 1860
[59] Susan Kovalik and Karen D. Olsen, *Exceeding Expectations: A User's Guide to Implementing Brain Research In The Classroom*(Covington: Susan Kovalik and Associates, Inc.)
[60] Kovalik and Olsen, chapter 4.
[61] Kovalik and Olsen, 1.10.
[62] Kovalik and Olsen, 1.11.
[63] Charles Quigley and Ken Rodriguez, *We The People, The Citizen and the Constitution*(Calabasas: Center for Civic Education, 2003), 15-18.
[64] Indian Island; available from http://www.wiyot.com/history.htm; Internet: accessed 15 March 2005.
[65] *Manifest Destiny or Bust*, available from www.projects.edtech.sandi.net/balboa/destiny; Internet: accessed 18 March 2005. Used for background information. This would be a great site for student extension activity.
[66] *Minorities During the Gold Rush*, available from http://www.learncalifornia.org; Internet: accessed 2 April 2005. Used for part of background information on Indian treatment.

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Appendix A

STATE STANDARDS ALIGNMENT

Supporting California State Standards

Historical and Social Sciences Analysis Skills

Chronological and Spatial Thinking

3. Students explain how the present is connected to the past, identifying both similarities and differences between the two, and how some things change over time and some things stay the same.
4. Students use map and globe skills to determine the absolute locations of place and interpret information available through the map's legend, scale, and symbolic representations.
5. Students judge the significance of the relative location of a place (e.g., close to a harbor, trade routes) and analyze how those relative advantages or disadvantages can change over time.

Research, Evidence and Point of View

1. Students differentiate between primary and secondary sources.
2. Students pose relevant questions about events encountered in historical documents, eyewitness accounts, oral histories, letters, diaries, artifacts, photos, maps, art and architecture.

Historical Interpretation

3. Students identify and interpret the multiple causes and effects of historical events

United States History and Geography

.1 Students describe the major pre-Columbian settlements, including the cliff dwellers and pueblo people of the desert Southwest, The American Indians of the Pacific Northwest, the nomadic nations of the Great Plains, and the woodland peoples of the Mississippi River.

5.1.2 Describe their varied customs and folklore traditions.

.1.1 Explain their varied economics and systems of government.

5.3 Students describe the cooperation and conflict that existed among the American Indian and between the Indian nations and the new settlers.

5.3.4 Discuss the role of broken treaties and massacres and the factors that led to the Indians' defeat, including the resistance of Indian nations to encroachments and assimilation (e.g., the story of the Trail of Tears)

.1.1 Demonstrate knowledge of the significance of land policies developed under the Continental Congress (e.g., sale of western lands, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787) and those policies' impact on American Indians' lands.

.1.2 Discuss the experiences of settlers on the overland trails to the West (e.g., location of the routes; purpose of the journeys; the influences of the terrain, rivers, vegetation, and climate; life in the territories at the end of these trails).

.1.3 Relate how and when California, Texas, Oregon, and other western lands became part of the United States, including the significance of the Texas War for Independence and the Mexican-American War.

Reading

1.0 Reading Comprehension (focus on informational materials)

2.2 Analyze text that is organized in sequential or chronological order

2.5 Distinguish facts, supported inferences, and opinions in texts

Writing

1.0 Writing Strategies

1.3 Use organizational features of printed text (e.g., citations, end notes, bibliographic references) to locate relevant information.

Listening and Speaking

1.0 Listening and Speaking Strategies

1.2 Interpret a speaker's verbal and nonverbal messages, purposes, and perspectives.

1.3 Make inferences or draw conclusions based on an oral report.

Math

Measurement and Geometry

1.0 Students understand and compute the volumes and areas of simple objects.

1.4 Differentiate between, and use appropriate units of measures for two-and three-dimensional objects (i.e., find the perimeter, area, volume).

Mathematical Reasoning

1.0 Students make decisions about how to approach problems:

.1 Analyze problems by identifying relationships, distinguishing relevant from irrelevant information, sequencing and prioritizing information, and observing patterns. Determine when and how to break a problem into simpler parts.

Appendix B

PRETEST

On a separate, lined sheet of paper copy the following questions and answer in complete sentences.

Pretest:

1. What is “Manifest Destiny?
2. What is a primary source or primary document?
3. What was Manifest Destiny’s effect on California Indians?
4. Name four Indian bands whose ancestral lands lie in/around Humboldt county.
5. Why did European and American settlers come to the Humboldt area?
6. List the reasons Fort Humboldt was established:
7. Tell me everything you know about the Indian Island massacre; where it happened, who it happened to, when it occurred, why it happened, who was prosecuted.
8. The Declaration of Independence states “all men are created equal…” Do you agree? Explain.
9. How do geographic places (rivers, mountains, ridges, etc.) get their names?

Appendix C

PRIMARY SOURCE INFORMATION

Name:_____ Date:_____

What was Mrs. Crandell like as a kid? Was she funny, did she study? What were her interests? How do we find out?

Today you are going to be working in groups of three or four to unravel a mystery…the mystery of Mrs. Crandell's childhood. You will be investigating a number of items that will give you an idea of what she was like as a child. As you move through each center, write down what you think each piece of evidence reveals about Mrs. Crandell. Include key words or evidence that you find.

On the back of this sheet, write a short paragraph that summarizes your findings.

Letter to second grade teacher Newspaper clippings

Oral history about the Bay Bay

Pictures

Artifacts: Fair ribbons, report cards, artwork

Appendix D

THE MADAKET AND THE EUREKA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

As you listen to the skipper and Mrs. Seidner, remember to write down any information that you think is important to your research. List it below. Some things to think about and perhaps ask questions…what do you think Indian Island looked like in 1860? Does it have another name? What does the name Tuluwat mean? Sit and look at Indian Island today. What evidence tells you about its uses since 1860. What evidence tells you about its use today?

It is o.k. to use "caveman talk" when writing but make sure you can remember what your thoughts mean so that you can translate into complete sentences back in class.

Appendix E

THE EUREKA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

On your tour today, look for answers to the following questions.

1. Where is the historical society located? What kind of house is this? How old is this house? Who used to live here?

2. What is the job of the historical society? Do the people who work here get paid?

3. Where does all their information come from? Where do they get all this stuff?

4. What kinds of things can you find at the historical society? What kinds of primary sources does the historical society keep?

5. Who belongs to the society? Who can come use the historical society?

6. List four different types of primary sources you saw while at the historical society:

Appendix F

WIYOT BACKGROUND
(taken from www.wiyot.com)

Wiyot people have inhabited California's northern shores for thousands of years. This area has long been renowned for its majestic redwood forests and thick salmon runs. Before the coming of white settlers, Wiyot people around Humboldt Bay and on Indian Island hunted the area's wildlife, fished for salmon and gathered roots for medicine, food and basketry. Indian Island is the center of the Wiyot world and a sacred place. Each year, Tuluwat Village on the island hosted the World Renewal Ceremony to ask the creator's blessings for all people and the land for the coming year. The brutal 1860 massacre of Indian Island's inhabitants and visitors abruptly ended centuries of ceremonial dancing and celebration. Most of the men among the Wiyot celebrants had traveled to the mainland during the night in order to replenish supplies. As a result, mostly women, children, and elders were killed. Only one newborn child survived. Several other Wiyot village sites on the mainland were also attacked on that night. It is estimated that approximately 200 people were murdered. Following the massacres, the vitality of our people suffered greatly. U.S. troops collected the surviving Wiyot people from other villages ranging between the Mad and Eel Rivers, confining them to the Klamath River Reservation. After a disastrous flood on the Klamath, our people were taking to the Smith River Reservation, and later to the Hoopa and Round Valley Reservations. When we attempted to return to our homeland, we often found our homes destroyed and our land taken. But still we returned and found new places to live. We ceased to perform our ceremonies and speak our language, hoping to be spared from the anger and weapons of the settlers. Our culture was almost completely forgotten. Only in recent years have we begun to recover and rebuild our lost heritage. Some of our remaining Wiyot people reside on 88 acres of land called Table Bluff Reservation, 16 miles south of the City of Eureka. Currently we have over 300 enrolled members who continue to struggle for the survival of our culture. The Wiyot territory starts at Little River and continues down the coast to Bear River, then inland to the first set of mountains. Towns that are within the traditional Wiyot territory are McKinleyville, Blue Lake, Arcata, Eureka, Kneeland, Loleta, Fortuna, Ferndale, and Rohnerville. Rivers within this territory are Mad River (Batwat), Elk River, Eel River and the Van Duzen River. Pre 1850, there were approximately 1500 to 2000 Wiyot people living within this area. After 1860 there were an estimated population of 200 people left. By 1910 there was an estimate of less than 100 full blood Wiyot people living within Wiyot territory. This rapid decline in population was due to disease, slavery, target practice, "protection," and being herded from place to place, and of course, massacres.

Wiyot. (taken from www.accessgenealogy.com/native/california/index.htm)
Properly the name of one of the three Wiyot districts but extended by most of their neighbors over the whole people. Also called:

Dilwishne, Sinkyone name.

Humboldt Bay Indians, popular term.

Sulatelik, used by the Wiyot to designate their language, and approaching a tribal designation in its usage.

Wishosk, probably a misapplication of the Wiyot name for their Athapascan neighbors

Location. On lower Mad River, Humboldt Bay, and lower Eel River.

Subdivisions

Batawat, on lower Mad River.
Wiki, on Humboldt Bay.
Wiyot, on lower Eel River.

Villages

Bimire, on the lower part of Humboldt Bay.
Dakduwaka, or Hiluwitl(?), on the southern point at the entrance to Humboldt Bay.
Dakwagerawakw, on Eel River.
Dulawat, on an island in Humboldt Bay.
Hakitege (?), at the junction of Eel and Van Duzen Rivers.
Ho'ket CO, near the mouth of Eel River.
Kachewinach (7), on Mad River.
Kotsir (7), at the northern end of Humboldt Bay.
Kumaidada, on Freshwater Creek.
Legetku (?), at the southern end of Humboldt Bay.
Ma'awor, Yurok name; at the mouth of Mad River.
Osok, Yurok name; on Mad River,
Potitlik, Cherokigechk, of Pletswak (?), opposite the entrance of Humboldt Bay.
Tabagaukwa (?), at the mouth of Mad River.
Tabayat or Witki (7), on Humboldt Bay.
Tokelomigimitl (7), north of Humboldt Bay.
Watsayeriditl (?), on Eel River.
We'tso (?), on the south side of Mad River.
Wuktlakw (?), on the north side of Eel River.
Yachwanawach, at the end of Humboldt Bay.

Population. Kroeber (1932) estimates 1,000 Wiyot in 1770 and 100 in 1910. The census of 1930 gives 236 but probably includes Indians of other connections.

Appendix G

SCHOOLHOUSE ROCK - HISTORY ROCK

Elbow Room

Music & Lyrics: Lynn Ahrens
Sung by: Sue Manchester

One thing you will discover
When you get next to one another
Is everybody needs some elbow room, elbow room.
It's nice when you're kinda cozy
But not when you're tangled nose to nosy
Oh, everybody needs some elbow...
Needs a little elbow room.

That's how it was
In the early days of the U.S.A.
The people kept coming to settle though
The east was the only place there was to go.

The president was Thomas Jefferson,
He made a deal with Napoleon,
How'd you like to sell a mile or two?
{Or three or a hundred or a thousand?}
And so in 1803 the Louisiana Territory
Was sold to us without a fuss
And gave us lots of elbow room.

Oh, elbow room, elbow room
Got to, got to get us
Some elbow room.
It's the west or bust,
In God we trust,
There's a new land out there.

Lewis and Clark volunteered to go.
Goodbye, good luck, wear your overcoat.
They prepared for good times and for bad. (And for bad)
They hired Sacajawea to be their guide,

She led them all across the countryside.
Reached the coast, and found the most
Elbow room we've ever had.
The way was opened up
For folks with bravery.
There were plenty of fights
To win land rights,
But the West was meant to be.
It was Manifest Destiny!

The trappers, traders and the peddlers,
The politicians and the settlers,
They got there by any way they could.
Any way they could!
The gold rush trampled down the wilderness,
The railroads spread across from east to west,
And soon the West was opened up for...
Opened up for good!

Now we jet from east to west,
Goodbye New York, Hello L.A.
But it took those early folks
To open up the way.

Now we've got a lot of room to be
Growing from sea to shining sea.
Guess that we have got our elbowroom, elbowroom.
But if there should ever come a time
When we're crowded up together I'm
Sure we'll find some elbowroom up on the moon.

Oh, elbow room, elbowroom
Got to, got to get us
Some elbow room.
It's the moon or bust,
In God we trust,
There's a new land up there!

Appendix H

EVALUATING MANIFEST DESTINY

Read this to your group:

> Many Americans in the early 1800s believed that it was the destiny of America to control the North American continent. This belief was called "Manifest Destiny." The term originated from a New York newspaper editorial of December 27, 1845, which declared that the nation's manifest destiny was "to over spread and to possess" the whole continent, to develop liberty and self-government to all. In the eyes of the Americans, it meant that it was God's will that Americans expand their territory from coast to coast. This idea of Manifest Destiny strongly influenced the attitudes of the people and the policies of the U.S. government. Americans believed that they were bringing God, technology and civilization to the lands in the west. What they brought, in fact, was death, disease and wars to the Native Americans and Mexicans who occupied these lands. Americans used the idea of Manifest Destiny to justify their treatment of the Indians who already occupied these lands. Americans look upon Native Americans as inferior people who were lazy and ignorant.[i]

With your group, take some time to look at each painting. Look for evidence in each piece of art that shows the ideas of Manifest Destiny. What is happening in each painting? Who is represented in each painting? What are they doing? How does the action show Manifest Destiny in action? Write down your thoughts below. If you need more room, you can write on the back. Be ready to share your information with the whole class.

"American Progress"
1872 John Gast

"Manifest Destiny"
1876 W.M. Cary

[i] *Debating for Land*, available from http://catlinclassroom.si.edu/lessonplans/al-aplan.html; Internet: accessed 18 April 2005. Used information from chart on land-use reasons for teacher information when discussing cultural differences with students. This is a great extension lesson site a teacher could use for gifted students.

U.S. MAP CEDED LANDS

Appendix J

Read the following excerpt from a miner to his wife in 1851:

> Big Bar Middlefor Amer July 8 1851 Eldorado Co
>
> Dear Susan, as I promised in my letter of june that I would rite to you on the first of July, I will try to fulfill my promice. I am still here on Big Bar, but I think that I shall not stay here but a few days longer, for it is getting to be quite sickley here, we think on account of bad water. the water is getting very low and there is so many dams going on that the water is very muddy and warm. and weather is so very warm, not warm but boiling.
>
> There is five of us in Company now and Mr Bliss and myself are the only ones that can doe any thing. I have not done any thing for the last two wealks, but are able to work some now. there no feavers or diareah but faintness, disiness of the head and trembling, and you will see by my riting that my hand is far from being steady, altho I am in pretty good health and I prey God the giver of all good blessings that these will find you and all of you the same.(learncalifornia.org)

What does this short excerpt tell you about the miner's life? How educated do you think he might be? How has the natural environment been affected by the miners coming into California? Write your thoughts below. Include the phrase, words, or sentence that gives you clues to the miner's observations.

Appendix K

MINER'S CODE OF THE KLAMATH RIVER
May 1852

That in all cases of crime committed by Indians, unless the party should be taken in the act, no revenge should be allowed until an investigation by the neighborhood should take place; that the delivery of the aggressors should be demanded of the nearest ranches, and after a reasonable time given punishment should be inflicted as follows: for murder by the destruction of the ranch to which the criminal belonged and its inhabitants if known. If not known, by that of those nearest the spot. For theft, by destruction of the ranch or such lighter punishment as should be awarded, but life not to be taken except for stealing horses or in preventing robbery. The punishment of a thief when taken to be in other cases whipping, not to exceed 39 lashes; and cutting the hair. Offenses of whites against Indians, whether by killing without cause, burning ranches or otherwise, to be punished (at) ….the discretion of a jury, as also the sale of firearms and ammunition to the Indians.

Albert Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*(New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988) 119-120

Appendix L

MINING AREA MAP

Appendix M

JOHN HILL HOUSE INVESTIGATION

Sit and listen politely as Mrs. Vallee gives her family's oral history. Write down any dates and information that you think is important as you listen. Try and think of any questions you might want to ask at the end of her talk. Remember to ask appropriate questions only.

Look closely at the John Hill house. What parts of the house look as if they might be from the 1800s? What parts look modern? What color is the house now? Imagine what this neighborhood might have looked like in 1860. Look in a 360 degree circle. What do you see around you now? Try and imagine how Mrs. Hill might have felt. Write your observations and thoughts below.

Take out your art paper. Silently sketch the house. Try to include as many details as possible. When we get back to class you will use watercolors to finish your project. Use your scientific skills of observation to get as much down on paper as possible before we go.

Appendix N

MAP OF UNRATIFIED TREATIES

Appendix O

TRIP TO FORT HUMBOLDT

Part One:As you take the tour today, be sure to look for evidence of Indian-settler or Indian-army conflicts. Be sure to ask questions appropriately and politely. If you cannot think of any evidence, just write down six things that you learned today. It might help us to make connections to our hypotheses later.

Part Two- What is the actual diameter of the corral that was used to detain Indian captives? _____feet. Find the area of the corral: a=3.14 x radius squared
The area of the corral is:_____ square feet. Now divide: area divided by 400.
How many square feet did each person have? _____ square feet. Mark out enough personal space for each member of your group.

Part Three- Sit quietly in your personal space. Pretend that you are one of the people who has been forced into the army's corral. How do you feel? Where is your family? Put yourselves into their place as you create a personal narrative from their perspective. There is no shelter. What will you do? How will you survive? What are your dreams? Be creative!

You can use the other side of this sheet of paper to write your narrative. You will be invited to share your writing after the class is done, but it is voluntary. Remember that you will be saving this sheet to place into your portfolio when we return to class.

Appendix P

LAND USE REASONS
(Teacher background)[ii]

Concept of Land (monetary value, religious value)
European Americans Viewed in terms of monetary value—farms, gold and coal mining; no religious significance; strong belief in individual land ownership
Native Americans Viewed in terms of religious value; no monetary significance; didn't believe the land could be owned

Reasons for Wanting Land
European Americans Space for farms, to find gold, promise of free land
Native Americans Religious reasons, had lived there for centuries, place to hunt

Reasons for Territory Disputes between European and Native Americans
European Americans Even though many settlers purchased land from US, many Native Americans didn't recognize purchase, Indian attacks, misunderstanding of Native American lifestyle
Native Americans Depletion of food supply, destruction of sacred grounds, massacres, confusing treaties with US government concerning land ownership, spread of disease, misuse of land

[ii] *Debating for Land*, available from http://catlinclassroom.si.edu/lessonplans/al-aplan.html; Internet: accessed 18 April 2005. Used information from chart on land-use reasons for teacher information when discussing cultural differences with students. This is a great extension lesson site a teacher could use for gifted students.

Appendix Q

EDITORIALS FOLLOWING THE MASSACRE

Appendix R

What's in a name? Choose one of the scenarios below to respond to.

1. We have discussed the person behind Larrabee Ridge and Larrabee Valley. Now its your turn to decide. The city council is deciding whether or not to change the name. No one from Mr. Larrabee's family still resides in Humboldt County. If the name were changed, people who live in those areas would be affected. They would have to change all their information and signs and maps would have to be rewritten. It might cost a lot of taxpayer money. Is it worth doing?

What do you recommend? Explain carefully and think about all the stakeholders.

2. The town of Garberville is getting ready to name its new bridge. Some people want to name it after the first settler who came to the area. However, there is information that he might have been involved in kidnapping and selling Indian children back in the 1850s. This man has relatives who still live in the area and are good upstanding citizens. Other people want to name the bridge after the Wailaki Indians who were the original inhabitants of the area. They also have descendents who live in the area. What would you recommend? Write a proposal to the town council giving your advice.