Mastoe, Nongali, Sinkoyne, Lasik, Wallaki, and Calif. To. However, this is a minimum number. The true number of Athapaskans alive in 1972 is probably much greater than is indicated by the 1922 roll. Also of interest are the Yukon. Although Kroeber and Heizer do not list them, the 1925 roll contains the names of approximately 200 Yukon, whose affiliation is attested by mention of some 15 tribes, all from the southern San Joaquin valley and adjacent foothills.

The larger tribal units, such as the Yurok, Hupa, Pomo, Achumawi (Pit River Indians), Paiute, and many others are well represented in the roll. There can be no doubt concerning the identity of the reported Indian entities, many with tribal councils and other forms of local government. It is Kroeber and Heizer's achievement that they demonstrated similar continuity in the existence of the most invisible ethnic elements.

Redistribution of Population
Aberoriginally in California the Indians were hunter-gatherers who lived uniformly distributed through the food-producing regions and who formed no larger aggregates than the village of at most several hundred inhabitants. After the invasion of the whites they tended to adhere as far as possible to the old pattern and gravitated to small settlements located in relatively isolated rural areas. They were the most urbanized 20th century. It has been favored by the demand for labor during two world wars and has been notably facilitated by the ready availability of the automobile as a source of transportation.

The migration toward the cities can be evaluated quantitatively in several ways. One approach is to follow the distribution of residence according to county. The rural portions of northern California were well covered by Kroeber (1971) for his census of the nonreservation Indians in 1905-1906. A block of 14 counties in the northeastern part of the state, which contains no reservations, and which extends from Siskiyou to Calaveras, showed a count of 3,787 persons. The 1970 census (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1971) gives for these same counties 5,682 Indians, and it is estimated that the census of 1970, when Kelsey, the seven counties bordering San Francisco Bay held only 83 Indians. For Marin and San Mateo counties he used the figures from the 1900 census; there were 43 in Alameda County and none whatever in the others. The 1970 census gives a total of 17,107 for the seven counties, most of whom were born in California. Even if some immigrants from other states are included, the number is still underreported. It is unfortunate that Kelsey could give no estimate for Los Angeles County. Another device is to examine the addresses given by the applicants whose names are on the 1928 and the 1950 rolls at the office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs at Sacramento. In many instances only the post office is mentioned, but even so a judgment can be made concerning the size of the locality. In other instances a street address is given, a sure indication of removal to an urban environment. This method, applied to the 1928 roll, formed the basis of a study (Cook 1940:34-41) in which it was concluded that "whenever the native race..." in California, has entered upon a period of intensified contact with the whites, there has been a response in the form of emigration..." and that "the direction of migration has been uniformly toward the urbanization of the Indian population with the result that an urban Indian class has come into existence." In this study it was found that in the 1928 roll 11 percent of the names recorded had street addresses. Furthermore, of the migrants within the state, 40 percent were living in cities, whereas this condition was true for only 7.4% of the nonmigrants. An random sample consisting of 20,023 names was taken from the 1950 roll. Of these, 18.1% were living in homes with street addresses. It was also observed that 9.3% lived outside the state of California, mainly in Oregon and Nevada. 6.1% were in the San Francisco Bay area; 6.0% inhabited Los Angeles County. These percentages were significantly increased by 1970. It is highly probable, therefore, that the trend continued unabated between the dates of the three enumerations, from 1928 to 1970.

A third method is offered by the United States census, in particular the volumes on California of the 1970 census. The number of Indians counted in the state was 91,018. Concerning this figure it must be emphasized that all, not merely descendants of California Indians of 1848, are included. The migration from elsewhere accounts for most of the discrepancy between the census report and the 1970 roll compiled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which shows only about 70,000 names.

With the census reporting 17,107 Indians in the San Francisco Bay area and 24,509 in Los Angeles County (of whom half are probably immigrants), it is clear that close to 45 percent of all Indians in the state are concentrated in these two metropolitan areas. The 1970 volume on California (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1971:66, table 17) designates 69,802 persons, or 76.7%, as "urban" and 21,216, or 23.3%, as "rural." Of the rural component 1,671 live in places of 1,000 to 2,500 inhabitants, and the remaining 19,545, or approximately 21.5%, still adhere to the type of settlement that was common to their ancestors.

The broad conclusion drawn from all these pieces of evidence must be that the California Indian in the 1970s is moving as rapidly into the urban, industrial environment as are the Californians of other ethnic origins and that the redistribution of the aboriginal native population is substantially complete.

Impact of Euro-American Exploration and Settlement
EDWARD D. CASTILLO

Traditionally California Indians have been portrayed in history as a docile primitive people who openly embraced the invading Spaniards and were rapidly subdued. This simplistic contention adds little to a realistic understanding of native history in California and undoubtedly is derived from crude feelings of racial superiority on the part of its advocates. As a part of a larger reevaluation of Indian-White relations in history, the story of California Indians must be reasserted incorporating as much native documentation as possible. The extent of primary resource data written or dictated by Indians in the past is surprisingly broad and will be used here to complement more traditional sources of information.

The cultural legacy of the Spanish-speaking persons who invaded California in 1769 was far different from that of the nearly 300,000 unaccustomed natives living there. In contrast to the Indians, these Hispanics (of African, American Indian, and Spanish descent) were more or less integrated into a society whose culture was cosmopolitan, complex, and widespread. Further, they were steeped in a legacy of racial intolerance and conformism featuring a messianic fanaticism accentuating both Spanish culture in general and Catholicism in particular. Hispanics invading Alta California also possessed a political philosophy that conditioned large-scale duplicity in order to gain power not revealed to the peoples being dealt with. Perhaps most important, these Iberians were heirs to a culture with a history of almost constant warfare stressing conquest.

The tribal Americans in California lived in societies whose major concepts and institutions present striking differences. For instance, California Indians lived in relatively small political units usually made up of 50 to 500 persons (Kroeber 1962). Anthropologists have confirmed that over 300 different dialects were spoken in aboriginal California. Organization for war was difficult since tribes were generally democratic and the majority decided most issues facing the tribe. Concepts of conquest by invasion and exploitation were foreign to them. Closely related to their lack of conquering and exploiting other peoples is the almost total lack of experience in organizing and directing our urban life. This fact becomes even more amazing considering California had a higher precocious population density per square mile than any other region in North America (Kroeber 1939a:153). The significance of this high population, multiplicity of tribes, and lack of warfare seems to have gone unrecognized by sociologists who generally agree that linguistic and cultural differences together with high population density afford many opportunities for friction and war among different groups. Yet this does not seem to have been the case in precontact California. This aspect of California Indian society deserves more than the passing reference given here but unfortunately is outside the scope of this article.

The major factors that contributed to the changing social environment to which native peoples were forced to accommodate themselves were: hostile military campaigns, introduced labor systems, disease and epidemics, changing nutrition patterns, and colonial government relations. All these factors in one form or another contributed to the destruction of native life, property, culture, and society. Finally by considering the philosophy and laws and practices of colonial societies as background to the Indian history, a deeper and more sophisticated understanding of the tragedy that befell California's native peoples may be elicited.

The Spanish Period

Early sixteenth-century Spanish exploration north of New Spain was prompted by persistent rumors of a rich northern Indian civilization. These rumors consisted of a number of tales, the most famous of which became known as the "Seven Cities of Cibola". These stories along with others became the core of a collection of legends known as the "Northern Mystery." In a series of northern explorations the Spanish Crown unsuccessfully attempted to discover "another Mexico." In conjunction with Francisco Coronado's expedition, both Hernando de Alarcon and Melchor Diaz commanded explorations that made the set foot in Alta California during 1540. However, most historians agree that Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo in 1542 was the first European to visit California. It maintains the bay of San Diego, Catalina Island, San Pedro, and the Channel Islands area (Wagner 1929:73-93).
The next European visitor to the California coast was the English adventurer Francis Drake in 1579, who landed along the coast of Miwok territory, probably the Bodega Bay or Drake's Bay area, staying among the friendly Miwok for five weeks. Drake mistook their ceremonies and hospitality as conferring some kind of religious veneration upon himself and his crew (Heizer 1947:264-269). The Englishmen then, like Cabrillo, declared this whole territory for the Imperial Crown by "right of discovery" and promptly departed.

Thereafter, California was looked upon by the Spanish authorities in Mexico primarily as a possible port of call for the annual Manila galleons on their way to Mexico. To establish ports, the Crown sponsored various expeditions to explore the coast of California. Sebastian Rodriguez Cerneno made a disastrous exploration in 1595, which ended in the destruction of his ship by storms at Drake's Bay (Wagner 1929:154-168). The merchant- adventurer Sebastian Vizcaino made another exploration of the coast in 1602 in which he exaggeratedly reported a splendid harbor at Monterey (Wagner 1929:180-273). This myth of a harbor of Monterey played a central part in later plans for colonization of Alta California.

A lapse of 167 years intervened between Vizcaino's expedition and the first permanent European colony established in California. This long period of isolation after first contacts with the Spanish emphasized the low value placed on this territory. Unfortunately these were the last years of peace and contentment that California natives were to enjoy. For the next two centuries the Indians were locked in a violent struggle, first with the Spanish, then with the Mexicans, and finally with the Anglo invaders, in order to preserve their homes and way of life.

The consolidation of New Spain's northern frontier and its extension to Alta California seems to have been the result of the personal ambitions of the mentally unstable Visitador-General Jose de Gálvez. As a part of Spanish imperial reform under Charles III, Gálvez proposed the consolidation and development of Chihuahua, Sinaloa, Sonora, and California into a governmental unit called commandancy-general. Gálvez's justification for this reform was the perennial Spanish fear that the British or Russians might establish themselves on the Pacific Coast and menace Mexico from the north. He also believed that Alta California might ultimately provide a lucrative source of royal revenue (W. Bean 1973:31).

The visitador-general's plans for the colonization of Alta California were realized with the organization of the "sacred expedition" in 1769. This group of adventurers was divided between soldiers under the command of Capt. Gaspar de Portolá and missionary personnel under the leadership of Father President Junipero Serra (Cristóbal 1927:20-50). There was a third contingent bringing by sea some supplies and church furniture. The objective of the expedition was the founding of a presidio (military fort) and a mission at San Diego as a way station for the journey to establish a colony at Monterey. These contingents arrived in San Diego between April and July 1769. On July 16, 1769, they founded the first of 21 California missions (fig. 1), and the occupation of Alta California by imperial forces of Spain became a reality.

Spain's Indian policies at the time of the invasion of California were a mixture of economic, military, political, and religious motives. Indians were regarded by the Spanish government as subjects of the Crown and human beings capable of receiving the sacraments of Christianity (Hanke 1959:74). Other motives of the colonial system set up to regulate Spain's interests in the natives could be realized by the encomienda system, which called for the "giving of Indians" to—that is, requiring Indians to labor for—various Spanish citizens for the public good. In reality this institution was a variation of the feudal-manorial labor system. This encomienda system along with Christianization would ultimately absorb the Indian into the Spanish colonial society—at its lowest levels—and consolidate Spanish control over more territory.

When early explorers had encountered California natives they universally characterized Indians as shy and friendly people providing travelers with water, food, and hospitality whenever asked. However, permanent colonization almost from the beginning raised native suspicions and ultimately led to violence. The Iipay-Tipai among whom the San Diego mission and presidio were established proved to be reluctant hosts. Within a month they attacked the Spanish camp attempting to drive the invaders from their territory, but the Spanish soldiers using their guns defended their settlement and an uneasy peace ensued. Yet it would be another two years before Mission San Diego could record its first baptism (Bauscroft 1886-1880:138-139).

Over the ensuing half-century the Spanish soldiers, padres, and colonists established authority along the narrow coastal region stretching from San Diego north to Sonoma. In this territory the Spanish invaders established their institutions of conquest and colonization: the mission, the presidio, and later the civil pueblo.

The mission was the most important institution used by the Spanish in the Americas to establish control of Indian territory and peoples. The type established in California was the reduction. This type of mission was established to gather natives living their free way of life in small scattered villages into one central mission site. Despite romantic interpretations found in literature and history, the California missions were coercive authoritarian institutions. It is impossible to understand the effect missionization had upon native Californians without realizing that once inside the mission system the neo-pagan converts were called, were not free to leave. Constantly under the absolute control of the Franciscans and soldiers, the Indians were forced to observe a rigid discipline (fig. 2). In order to enforce Catholic moral codes, at night unmarried men and women were separately incarcerated in unhealthy and crowded mission barracks. Whipping with a barbed lash, solitary confinement, mutilation, use of stocks and hobbles, branding, and even execution for both men and women characterized the "gentle yoke of Catholicism" introduced to the

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**Fig. 1. Missions established in Alta California:** a, San Diego de Alcalá, 1769; b, San Carlos Borromeo (Carmel), 1770; c, San Antonio de Padua, d, San Gabriel, 1771; e, San Luis Obispo de Tolosa, 1772; f, San Francisco de Asís (Deoloa), g, San Juan Capistrano, 1776; h, Santa Cruz, 1777; i, San Buenaventura (Ventura), 1782; j, Santa Bárbara, 1786; k, de la Purisima Concepción, 1787; l, Santa Cruz, m, de la Salle, 1791; n, San Miguel, 1796; o, San Juan Batista, p, San José, q, San Fernando Rey de España, 1797; r, San Luis Rey de Francia, 1798; s, Santa Inés (Yerba), 1804; t, San Rafael, 1817; u, San Francisco Solano (Sonoma), 1823 (Bowman 1969).

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The Impact of Euro-American Exploration and Settlement
neophytes (Cook, 1943:91-135). An encomienda from Mission San Luis Rey commented about cruelty in the missions: “When I was a boy the treatment of the Indi- ans was not any good—they did not pay us anything—they only gave us food, a loincloth and a blanket every year, and many beatings for any mistake even if it [the mistake] was slight, it was more or less at the mercy of the administrator who ordered the beatings whenever and how he felt like” (Cesar 1878:4). Lorenzo Asis- sara, a neophyte born at Santa Cruz Mission in 1819, reported that “the Spanish padres were very cruel to the Indians; they treated them very badly… and they made them work very hard” (Asisara 1877:90-113). Father President Fermin Francisco de Lasuen rationalized such cruelties this way: “It is evident that a nation which is barbarous requires more frequent punishment than a nation which is cultured, edu- cated and of gentle and moderate customs” (Cook 1943:128). However, not all of Lasuen’s friars were in agreement with such practices. In 1799 Padre Antonio de la Concepción Horra of Mission San Miguel enraged his contemporaries by reporting to the vicerey in Mexico that the Franciscans’ order in California was guilty of cruelty and mistreatment of Indians in their jurisdiction. Horra charged: “The treatment shown to the Indians is the most cruel I have ever read in history. For the slightest thing the Indians are flogged, they are shack- led, and put in the stocks, and treated with such most cruelty that they are kept whole days without a drink of water” (Bancroft 1886-1890, I:593). The unfortunate padre was quickly isolated, declared insane, and taken under armed guard out of California. Tales of this cler- ical “reign of terror” within the missions rapidly spread to unconverted peoples. It is not surprising that as early as 1787 the missionaries began to use the mili- tary to “recruit” reluctant tribes for conversion (Cook 1943:73-80).

The ultimate purpose of the mission institution can be described best as Indian control. Lesser motives in- cluded economic support for military establishments, forced assimilation of the Indian into Hispanic society (see “Becoming Indians,” fig. 7d, this vol.), and conversion to Spanish Catholicism (fig. 3). Finally, let there be no doubt that the mission was much more than a merely religious institution. On the contrary, it served as a pri- mary instrument of conquest for the sole benefit of the Spanish Crown (Ricard 1966:15-38).

The other major institution of Spanish colonization was the presidio. These military posts had been established at San Diego, Santa Barbara, Monterey, and San Francisco by 1800. In addition there were lesser num- bers of soldiers and military personnel. However, military control was not the sole purpose of the presidio. These places also served as areas where native labor was exploited and Indian women were forced to entertain Spanish soldiers. The presidio, like the missions and

in some missions it was reported that children under 10 years of age were almost completely wiped out. In all, modern estimates put the number of Indians between 1870 and 1880 at 45 percent of the population decline during Spanish occupation was the direct result of introduced diseases and sickness (Cook 1943:13-22).

In addition to disease the rapid decline of Indian population under mission influence can be attributed to changes in diet and inadequate nutrition. It is doubtful that the diet was adequate. Accounts sum- marized to a rich and varied original diet of acorn, wild seeds, small game, and fish, the neophytes’ diet was con- fined to a daily ration of a highly starched cereal soup called tamales which were made from the maize. The monaste- rious diet had the overall effect of lowering resistance to other diseases, causing deficiency conditions such as avi- taminosis, and finally causing partial or complete starva- tion.

In response to the invasion of the territory, California Indians almost at once began to offer all forms of resist- ance to the new order. Due to their various tribal social orders and political independence native resistance usu- ally occurred in a haphazard and piecemeal fashion. Nevertheless, two types of native resistance resulted from this situation: the first was active or violent resist- ance and the second was passive.

One of the earliest and most successful demonstra- tions of opposition came about the destruction of Mis- sion San Diego on November 4, 1775. Under the leadership of the neophyte Francisco de la Cueva de Ramírez, the Ipai-Tipai organized nine villages into a force of about 800 men who not only completely de- stroyed the mission but also killed three Hispanics in- cluding Padre Jaume. That these normally independent villages could unite in common rebellion bears testi- mony to the recognition of the threat the intruders pre- sented. Questioned after the rebellion, one Indian leader declared that he wanted to kill the priests and soldiers “in order to live as they did before” (Cook 1943:66). These Indians were not pacified until late 1776.

Other less spectacular resistance occurred in the San Francisco Bay area beginning about 1793. In February of 1794 the Indian named Chaquin began a struggle against the Spanish. The Saklan and Chichul-iones (Costanoan tributes) of the northerly area bay area soon began to resist parties recruiting converts and look- ing for soldiers. For three years of sporadic warfare, they were finally subdued by the Span- ish military (Bancroft 1886-1890, I:547-549). Some resis- tance was also noted among the Costanoan Indians against Mission San Jose in 1800.

There were many unsuccessful revolts. The Gabrieleno under the leadership of a medicine woman named Tuy- puruch and the Camulos Indians of San Juan Mission attempted to destroy Mission San Gabriel in 1875-1876. The Indians from Missions La Purisima and San Luis Obispo together plotted a re- volt that was discovered by the missionaries and resulted in several arrests. Sporadic resistance also occurred be- tween 1814 and 1846, when the Indians of Mission Santa Clara and San Juan Bautista (Bancroft 1886-1890, I:547).

In addition to violent group resistance, individual neophytes occasionally attacked the Franci- scan priests. In 1801 a number of priests were report- edly poisoned at Missions San Miguel and San Antonio. Eleven years later neophytes from Santa Cruz killed Fa- ther Quiriaco so cleverly that he was not dis- covered for two years (Asisara 1877:1-15).

Perhaps the most spectacular Indian rebellion in Cali- fornia during this era was the 1824 revolt at Missions La Purisima and Santa Barbara (Bancroft 1886-1890, I:527-537). The reason for the revolt was ill treatment and forced labor imposed by the soldiers and priests upon neophytes in the missions. The revolt was a fight that broke out at the flogging of a La Puris- ima neophyte at Nuestra in February. Apparently no one was killed but a large part of the mission build- ings was destroyed by fire. That same afternoon as many as 2,000 Indians attacked and captured Mission La Puris- ima. Soon they were bolstered by reinforcements from Santa Ynez and St. Juan Capistrano. They immediately began preparations for defense by erecting palisades, mounting cannons and swivel guns, and cutting gun ports in the walls of the church and other buildings. Meanwhile the news of the uprising at La Purisima reached Santa Barbara. Upon its receipt the neophytes armed themselves and began to remind themselves of the ill treatment they had received from the soldiers. After some futile negotiations with the priests, the neo- phytes were attacked by the soldiers. A battle of several hours ensued throughout the mission; finally the soldiers withdrew to the presidio. Then the mission and retreated to the back country. Indian losses were reported at two killed and three wounded, while the soldiers suffered four wounded. A month passed dur- ing which the Spanish authorities were able neither to persuade the Santa Barbara Indians to return nor to re- capture La Purisima Mission. It was not until March 16 that the Spanish soldiers attacked the 400 defenders at La Purisima with hundreds of armed and mounted men and four-pounder guns. The neophytes answered with a volley of musket and cannon fire and a shower of ar- rows. The battle raged all morning until a ceasefire was negotiated with the aid of the padres. The Spanish suf- fered five killed and numerous wounded, while the Indi- ans reported 16 killed and a large number wounded. During the early part of 1824 other soldiers pursued the Santa Barbara neophytes to the plain of the Tulares where after two skirmishes the soldiers retreated to Santa Barbara. Reports then had it that the Santa Bar- bara neophytes from San Fernando had run away to join the Indians from Santa Barbara and that neophytes at San Buenaventura and San Gabriel were re-
showing alarming signs of revolt. At the end of May Spanish soldiers marched to the Tutules, negotiated a truce with the rebel neophytes, and allowed them to return to the mission with their arms. Despite these concessions as many as 2000 of the inhabitants refused to return. In the latter part of July a criminal prosecution was carried out against the La Purísima rebels that resulted in the execution of seven neophytes. Four leaders of the revolt—Mariano, Vincenzo, Benito, and Bernardo—were sentenced to 10 years of chain-gang labor; Benito and Bernardo eventually escaped (Stichel and Cooper 1969).

Although violent opposition occurred sporadically throughout this period, the passive or resistive resistance was by far the most significant and widespread form of native resistance. The most obvious form of nonviolent resistance was escape from the missions into the interior. Many fugitives from the missions occurred in each mission for every year until secularization. Usually Indians ran away from the missions in small groups or individually; however, in 1795 over 200 Cotaxpan Indians abandoned Mission Dolores in a mass escape to freedom. In most cases the escaped neophytes later returned to active resistance to assure their freedom. One observer noted:

Indians of course deserted. Who would not have deserted? Still, those who did had little choice if it. They proceeded to other missions, they were picked up immediately, flogged and put in irons until an opportunity presented itself, of returning to the mission. It was his privilege to escape, so long as was the case of wild animals, that is about to take to the mountains, where they lived as they could, making occasional inroads on the Mission property to maintain themselves (Heizer 1968:60).

The runaway neophytes also introduced Spanish horses, weapons, and military tactics to the unconverted interior tribes and convinced them to stiffen their own efforts at resistance to missionization (Hilgeman 1970:43–45).

Another devastating result of missionization was the state of psychological depression that inevitably seized long-term neophytes. It is indeed depressing to find repeated reports of this phenomenon throughout the mission system. One sympathetic observer noted, “At first, surprise and astonishment filled their minds; a strange lethargy and inaction predominated afterwards” (Heizer 1968:76).

Another widespread form of nonviolent resistance was the practice of abortion to prevent births in the missions. In addition, infanticide was practiced upon children born out of the forced concubinage of Indian women by priests and soldiers. A contemporary at mission San Gabriel wrote that they were essentially accustomed to these things, but that the disgrace and abhorrence never left them till many years after. In fact every white child born among them for a long period was secretly strangled and buried” (Heizer 1968:70).

Although the padres had attempted to eliminate all persons having any native spiritual authority, nearly all neophytes continued to practice some form of their traditional native religion within the missions (Cook 1943:145–153). This practice occurred on a large scale in the Santa Barbara area around 1800 (Heizer 1941a). After a very destructive epidemic in the area a neophyte father named Juan Capistrano told to his family that all the converts must recommit themselves to their own god if they hoped to survive. It appears that all the Chumash of the area were involved without the knowledge of the local Hierarchy and still reported as active 10 years later. During the latter years of the mission era a priest who compared California tribesmen to a species of monkeys corroborated the persistence of native religion in San Juan. According to Father Capistrano “Superstitions of a ridiculous and most extravagant nature were found associated with these Indians, and even now in almost every town or hamlet the child is first taught to believe in their authenticity” (Bosca 1933:61).

The Mexican Period

The years 1821 through 1823 marked the transition of California from a distant outpost of a dying empire to a marginal province of a much-rejuvenated empire (Hitchcock 1965). Mexico inherited from Spain a vast and overextended colonial empire embracing much of the southwestern portion of the North American continent. Alta California at this time was as prosperous as the Mexican period, remained at the fringes of the empire, isolated and sparsely populated by Hispanics. As in the Spanish period, Mexican control over only a narrow coastal strip of territory, occupied by its inherited institutions of colonization—the missions, the military presidio, and the civil pueblos. Although nearly all the Indian inhabitants are gone to the mountains, I do not complain, the antelope falls with the arrow, I have a son, I loved him. When the palaques came he was not in the mountains. I am a Christian Indian. I am that that is left of my people. I am alone (Johnston 1958).

Those who remained at or near the White settlements could find subsistence only as domestics and were ruthlessly exploited by their employers. In fact many who employed Indians would pay them only with alcohol, thus further contributing to their destruction. Life in the settlements led to an almost immediate breakdown of tribal organization and loss of cultural identity for the individuals.

Indians who came under the influence of wealthy Mexican land barons found little improvement in their lot over earlier mission labor systems. The hacienda system of California sprang from Mission Dolores in California. This peonage system was rapidly developed by the rancheros and maintained by methods ranging from economic persuasion to outright slavery. By 1840 there were some 10,000 of these peons in California, each with 20 to several hundred Indians, in all perhaps as many as 4,000. In northern California many Pomo, Wappo, Maidu, and Madoc Indians were under the system. The Yokuts came up against this type of economic exploitation. In the southern part of the state the Luiseño, Cipeño, and Serrano experienced dislocations and exterminations from Mexican colonists while theGabrielino and Chumash began to experience the last stages of extermination.

In the interior of California, the situation was characterized by widespread intermittent warfare between non-Christianized tribes and Mexican colonists. During the years 1830 to 1846 the interior native population suffered more extensively from brutality and violence than might perhaps be anticipated. Violence was a critical factor among tribes that resisted more stubbornly, especially the Sierra Miwok and Wappo. The Mexican military was of little help in the discouraging ranch economy for new laborers by initiating a new style of warfare. There was a change from the Spanish tactic of large, organized campaigns to frequent small private actions for the purpose of weakening or seizing slaves (Cook 1943a:5). One such filibustering expedition led by Jose Maria Amador in 1837 was characteristic of the barbarity and inhuman treatment accorded central valley Indians by Mexican colonists during this period. According to Amador his party alerted the wild Indians and their Christian companions to come and have a feast of pork and dried meat. They all came over to our side of the river. As soon as they reached our shore the troops, the civilians and the Indians surrounding them and tied them all up . . . we separated 100 Christians. At every half mile or mile we put six of them on their knees to say their prayers, making them do other work. Each one was shot with four arrows, two in front and two in the back. Those who refused to die immediately were killed with spears . . . On the road we killed in this manner the 100 Christians. . . . The Ensign told me what to do and I thought best with the others. I answered that I thought all the prisoners should be shot, having 500 of us. They should be told they were going to die and they should be asked if they wanted to be made Christians. I ordered Nazario to take a bottle of water to communicate to one of the patriarchs. He sat down and the water was given to the 30 who remained and they all fell (Cook 1962:197–198).
Moreover, native resistors could no longer look to the church for pardons such as the earlier resistance leaders Francisco y Tayporina had received. In response to the expansion of settlement into the Sacramento Valley and other new military excursions, native resistance began to stiffen. Adopting guerrilla warfare tactics perfected earlier by native resistance leaders like Estanislao, tribesmen underwent considerable physical and military adaptation. With the acquisition of horses from the colonists, these Indians changed from peaceful, sedentary, localized groups to seminomadic, seminomadic groups. They began to take on the offensive, making widespread cattle raids to supplement their diminishing native food supply. Typical of this new resistance were the exploits of Yanculo, a former Lasuapiama (Plains Miwok) neophyte at Mission Santa Clara. Credited with many stock raids throughout the 1830s he and his followers eluded Mexican officials for many years. Then, after a raid on the Rancho del Embarcadero in 1839, which resulted in the death of two Hispanos, he and about 100 of his followers were captured near Los Gatos after an all-day battle. Wounded, Yanculo was forced to fight a hand-to-hand battle with a soldier who killed him, cut off his head and rode triumphantly back to Santa Clara (Holtermann 1970).

Well-known colonists like Gen. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo became wealthy and powerful after military campaigns against native people. In 1834 Vallejo attacked and killed over 200 Satuyomi (Wappo) tribesmen and captured 41 young women, including 21. In 1835, instead of defending the violence and brutality increased. In fact, as the later years of the Mexican occupation progressed, the colonial government's ability to control with stock raids and deteriorating economic conditions reflected in the Mexican assembly's resolutions of 1846 to devote surplus revenues to "active efforts" against Indians. If the surplus did not suffice, civil employees were to be part of their salaries. In addition, it was resolved that a military border police be established and a fortification be built at Pacifica Pass to prevent further raids (Bancroft 1886-1890, 5:66-67). In the central valley the Indian offensive reached a peak in 1845 and then rapidly decreased due to rear attacks suffered from American colonists fighting to the south (Bancroft 1886-1890, 5:556-567). Due to internal power struggles after 1841, the situation became so confused and the power of the Mexican administration so weak that even nominal control over the military activity of its citizens was lost. Although no estimates are available for the southern part of the state, it has been estimated that military casualties accounted for about 15 percent of the population decline, a critical demographic element in the cases of specific tribes. Even more devastating than military incursions were the White man's diseases. General distemper continued to be reported widespread, as the general health conditions among natives continued to deteriorate. Other maladies followed: measles, pneumonia, diphtheria, and other respiratory diseases ravaged missioned tribes in a series of major epidemics until 1832. In 1833 smallpox first appeared to an alarming extent, along with scarlet fever, cholera, and tuberculosis. In the same year the Wintun, Maidu, Miwok, and Yokuts suffered an unknown disease called the "Pandemic of 1833" in which as many as 4,500 Indians died—a total loss of about 10 percent for all tribes involved. A smallpox epidemic struck the Pomo, Wappo, and Winnemem 12 years later, killing more than 2,000 before it was spent. In 1844 smallpox attacked the Miwok. A new epidemic of "fever" ravaged the Winnemem two years later. Finally a more virulent strain of smallpox devastated the Pomo of Clear Lake in 1850. Overall losses for northern California are estimated at 11,500 between 1830 and 1848. Disease accounted for a net population loss of 60 percent—five times greater than homicide. By the end of the Mexican occupation the total native population had been reduced to about 100,000 persons (Cook 1943a:16-20).

When the Mexican War came to California, some well-known Indians were recruited by the Mexicans for defense purposes. Bancroft (1886-1890, 5) reports the organization of a company of California Indians (probably Gabrielino) in Los Angeles and another to serve New Helvetia, under John A. Sutter. In John C. Frémont's battalion, Company H consisted of 40 Tulare Indians whose duty it was to raid Mexican rancheros of cattle and horses for the Americans. Generally known as the "40 thieves," these Indians proved to be very accomplished at their task; for years after the war they continued their raids on horses and cattle for their own people. There seems to be no evidence that any of these Indian groups participated in any battles of the war to a significant degree.

There was one incident during the Mexican War that illustrated the tragic consequences of the loss of racial identity. On January 18, 1847, General Vallejo was killed by a group of Indian warriors. The Mexicans regarded the incident as an Indian rebellion, since the Luiseno at Mission San Luis Rey had abandoned the mission on the same day. The Indians killed him in a few moments. Gen. Jose Maria Flores ordered Jose del Carmen Lugo to punish the Indians. Lugo recruited the aid of the Cañada Chief Juan Antonio and his followers, and joined them in the attack by forces from Mission San Luis Rey he marched on the Luiseno rancheria at Temescal in February 1847. Drawn into an ambush, the poorly armed Luiseno were slaughtered in a crossfire. Escape was impossible, and around 300 were reported to have died. This tragic episode had the dubious distinction of being the bloodiest battle of the Mexican War in California (Parker 1971:7).

Indeed, more lives were lost in this one engagement than the total of all casualties of the Mexican War in the entire state. Indians in California committed the tragic error of all Indians, in allaying themselves against their own people.

The American Period

In February 1844 the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ceded California, as well as what is now New Mexico, and Texas to the United States. A new colonial order soon seized power in California, with disastrous results for the state's Indian population. The Anglo-American system was a poor substitute for the Indian except to the extent that he performed as a White man (Cook 1943b). Thus Indian life, which was more valuable to the Mexicans because they institutionalized Indian labor for wealth, was seen as worthless to the Americans. Further, Mexican custom sanctioned miscegenation for lower classes, while Anglos were appalled by it. Given the attitude of the new invaders, it is not surprising that war between native people and the Anglos commenced almost at once. Anglo invaders began to settle land in the interior valley and along the northern coast. Yuki, Calisto, Yurok, and Tolowa tribesmen suffered greatly from these incursions. The number of Whites soon increased rapidly with the arrival of hordes of fortune hunters. The Indian population in 1849. During these early years action against the native consisted of widespread and personal combat between individuals and little groups. In a letter to the commissioner of Indian affairs, Agent Adam Johnson reported on the character of "Indian wars" in California:

The majority of tribes are kept in constant fear on account of the indiscriminate and inhuman massacre of their people for real or supposed injuries. Many have become alarmed of the increased exactions, which they have reason to believe must spread over their territory... it was just incomprehensible to them.... I have seldom heard of a single difficulty between the whites and the Indians in which the original cause could not be readily traced to some rash or reckless act of the former. In some instances it has happened that innocent Indians have been shot down for imaginary offenses which did not in fact exist. Moreover, when cattle were missing it was quickly supposed that they had been stolen by the Indians. A few cases... in which a man was absent a few days longer than expected his death was imagined and the lives of several paid the penalty for the supposed murder (Johnson 1858b).

The Clear Lake Massacre illustrates the character of some larger military operations against natives at this time. The trouble began over the killing of two White men by the Pomo in 1849. These men had brutally exploited the Indians at Clear Lake by enslaving and abusing them, and many died as a result. The military answered the killing of the White men with a campaign in 1850 under Capt. Nathaniel Lyon. Equipped with boats, the soldiers went across [the lake] in their long dugouts, the Indians said they would meet them in peace. So when the whites landed the Indians went to welcom them but the white man was detemined to kill them. Ge-Wi-lih said he threw up his hands and said no harm me good man but the white man fired and shoot him in the arm... many women and children were killed around this island. One old lady... saw two white men coming... with their guns up in the air and on their guns hung little girl; they brought it to the creek and threw it in the water... two more men came... this time they had a little boy on the end of their guns and also threw it in the water; all the women... white men stabed the woman and the baby... on the island they were all killed by being stabed, and many of the women and children were killed. One of the women hung aman on Emerson's Island... The Indian was hung and alarge fire built under [him]... was tied to a tree and burned to death (Benson 1972:271-272).
The army reported 60 out of 400 Indians were killed on the island, while another 75 were murdered on the Rus- sian River nearby. That this was without a doubt a massa- cre is substantiated by the reports of only 2 wounded Whites and over 135 natives killed.

Many expeditions against the Indians were the result of local conspiracies to gain Indian property and politi- cal gain. Captain Goverment Investigator J. Ross Browne provides this description of a typical military expedition against Humboldt Indians:

During the winter of last year a number of them [Indians] were gathered at Humboldt. The whites thought it was a favorable opportunity to get rid of them altogether. So they went in a body to the Indian camp, during the night when the poor wretches were asleep, shot all the men, women, and children, and at the first sight of the remnants. Very few escaped. Next morning 60 bodies lay weltering in their blood—the old and the young, male and female—with every wound gaping a tale of horror to the civilized world. Children climbed upon their mothers' breasts and sought nourishment from the fountains that death had drained; girls and boys lay here and there with their throats cut from ear to ear; men and women, clinging to each other in their terror, were found per- forated with bullets or cut to pieces with knives—all were cruel- ly murdered (Browne 1944:62).

The state and federal government subsidized these con- spiracies to encourage private military forces"—to raise the money—"and to pay for expenses incurred. Almost any White man could raise a volunteer company, outfit it with guns, ammuni- tion, horses, and supplies, and be reasonably sure that the state government would honor its vouchers. The state legislature passed acts in 1851 and 1852 authoriz- ing payment of over $1,100,000 for suppression of Indi- an hostilities. Again in 1857 the legislature issued bonds amounting to $410,000, for the same purpose. Congress eventually reimbursed the state for nearly all the bonds issued, indeed a dryery story of subsidized murder (12 Stat 133).

Up to 1860 overall loss of life due to military homicide accounted for at least 4,267 deaths, or about a 12 per cent reduction of population (Cook 1849:348). Military casualties due to disease and accidents amounted to 854 to 1857. None of these so-called Indian wars in the California valley was more than an attempt at wholesale slaughter of native people (Barnett 1966:284).

After 1848 Indians in California began to experience the threatened destruction of their native economy for the first time. The Indians had a precisely balanced relation- ship with their food supply. Soon after the arrival of the Americans serious depletions of that supply began to occur: mining operations adversely affected salmon fishing—"the staple food of the Creeks" (Barnett 1934:214). The Anglos' total disregard for the destruction of the natural environment in their frenzy to exploit the land struck a mortal blow to the Indians' sacred relationship with na- ture. Extensive agriculture prevented communal hunts for rabbit and deer. The Whites' fences prevented access from the Indians for gathering foods. At the same time, cattle and hogs ate huge supplies of graces and acorns, seriously depleting the seed supply. Another factor that helped destroy native food supply was the destruction of staple foods during the "Indian wars." The overall impact of this destruction of the food supply can be characterized by a lowering of resistance to disease, and increased suffering and death of older people. Prolonged undernutrition contributed to mental lassitude and infant mortality because of moth- ers' inability to withstand childbirth and decreases in milk. Thus depletion of the aboriginal food supply in part also explains the increase in stock raising among California tribes.

Shortly after the Mexican War, Anglos introduced new labor conditions upon the Indians that proved even more disastrous than during the Mexican era. As the native economy began to break down, more and more Indians were forced to attempt to accommodate them- selves to new modes of living. However, Indi- ans had a difficult time understanding the work ethic of the new order. They were at a disadvantage because of their unfamiliarity with the economy and its value of dif- ferent cultural values, which, for example, stressed con- flicting time concepts. There was also a general decline in the demoralization of the Indian due to the break up, ending forever the pastoral peonage society and its economy. The end of the gold rush soon flooded the labor market with Whites, leaving only domestic work and subsistence labor available to the Indian.

In 1850 the legislature passed a law that seriously af- fected the Indians' labor policy. This law declared that every Indian, on the verge of becoming a native worker, would be deemed a vagrant, thrown in jail, and have his labor sold at auction for up to four months with no pay. This in- denture law further said any Indian adult or child with the consent of his parents could be legally bound over to a White citizen for a period of years, laboring for subsis- tence only. These laws marked the transition of the In- dian from peonage to virtual slavery; they gave free vent to the exploitation of the Indians in the new world. The advantage to the situation (Heizer and Alquist 1971:39-58). Nearby Indians were rounded up, made to labor, and turned out to starve away when the work season was over. Correspondence to the superintendent of Indian affairs in January 1853 described one incident:

I went over to the San Pablo ranchos, in Contra Costa county, to investigate the matter of alleged maltreatment. There I found seventy-eight on this rancho, and twelve back of Martinez, and they were there most of them sick, all without clothes, or any food but the fruit of the buckeye. Up to the time of my coming, eighteen had died of starvation at one camp: how many at the other I could not learn. These present Indians are the survivors of a band who were worked all last summer and fall. The winter set in, when broken down by hunger and labor, without food or clothes, they were turned adrift to shift for themselves (U.S. Congress, Senate 1853:9).

The labor laws in California also fostered the institu- tionization of kidnapping of Indian children. Evidence indi- cates that this practice was widespread throughout California. An entry in the Marysville Appeal of De- cember 6, 1861, revealed:

But it is from these mountain tribes that white settlers draw their supplies of kidnapped children, educated as servants, and women for purposes of labor and lust. . . . It is notorious that there are parties in the northern counties of this state, whose sole occupation has been to steal young children and squaws from the poor Diggers . . . and dispose of them at handsome prices, for the greatest crimes being in the majority of cases, married but . . . willingly pay 50 or 60 dollars for a young digger to cook and wait upon them, or 100 dollars for a likely young girl (Cook 1940:36).

These crimes against humanity so enraged the Indians in that area that they began to retaliate by killing the Whites' livestock. At one omce from the army head- quarters was issued to chastise the "guilty." Under this infinite order a company of U.S. troops, accompanied by a large volunteer force, pursued the Indians persis- tently. The Indians fell in their force and met the soldi- ers to seize the children after their parents had been murdered.

The practice of legalized kidnapping and seizure of Indian children and young girls lasted for 15 years until 1867, when in compliance with the Fourteenth Amend- ment of the U.S. Constitution, it was stricken from state laws. This law had been victims of this most cruel form of slavery.

During the American period, diseases and epidemics did not occur in large outbreaks among the Indians; however, diseases such as smallpox and yellow fever were common in the isolated regions of the state. Smallpox and yellow fever were imported into the state in the late 19th century, and the disease became epidemic in the early 20th century. The disease was spread by contact with infected persons. The disease caused fever, rash, and other symptoms, and can be fatal. In the late 19th century, the state government took measures to control the spread of the disease, including quarantines and isolation of infected persons. The disease was spread by contact with infected persons. The disease caused fever, rash, and other symptoms, and can be fatal. In the late 19th century, the state government took measures to control the spread of the disease, including quarantines and isolation of infected persons.

Administration by Agents

Official relations between the Indians of California and the United States government were initiated by the mili- tary governor, Gen. Stephen Kearny. He appointed three Indian agents for northern, southern, and central California. Their duties were to deal chiefly in "good advice," explain changes in colonial govern- ment, and make promises or threats to Indian tribes. During these early years the agents did little and no official policy was established. Between 1851 and 1852 three treaty commissions negotiated 18 treaties with random groups of California Indians, promising over 7 million acres of reservation land in exchange for the entire state (Heizer 1972). These treaties enraged Whites, who bombarded Congress with an abusive cam- paign that resulted in their rejection.

The creation of the state government at this time in- troduced yet another unfavorable factor into the situ- ation that confronted the Indians. His government in- evitably reflected the frontiersman's contempt for and impatience with any policy that looked toward the solu- tion of the Indian problem on a basis of fairness toward the Indian or any idea that the Indian could have any rights that a White man was bound to respect. In his messages to the legislature Gov. John McDougal outlined state's genocidal aim with "Jacksonian sim- ile:" "That war of extermination which all continue to be waged between the races while the Indian race becomes extinct, must be expected. . . . the inevitable destiny of the race is beyond the power or wisdom of man." (California. Legislature. Senate and Assembly 1851:31). Further, the rejection of the 18 treaties and the adoption of the state's labor laws seem to have put the status of the Indian outside of federal and quickly led to conflicts between state and federal authorities. This con- flict allowed the development of state and tribal govern- ments, which proved to be so devastating to native people. In fact throughout this period many times U.S. troops were not even contacted for aid. The militia helped to make financial and political capital by hand- ling the situation themselves. The so-called Mariposa War of 1851 is a good example of this situation led to conflicts between state and federal authorities. This con- flict allowed the development of state and tribal govern- ments, which proved to be so devastating to native people. In fact throughout this period many times U.S. troops were not even contacted for aid. The militia helped to make financial and political capital by hand- ling the situation themselves. The so-called Mariposa War of 1851 is a good example of this.
bound to profit heavily by a state campaign since he
was the only one to do so.

Indeed one unnecessary and tragic consequence of the
confusion of authority among federal, state, and local
governments in regard to Indian policy resulted in the

Garra uprising of 1852. The Garra uprising occurred among the
Calahua, Quechua, and Coquita tribes and centered in the
Cupeno village of Agua Caliente in a mountainous area of the
province. The immediate cause of the outbreak was a state tax imposed upon the
property of these Indians in 1850. The next year Antoi-
no Garra, Sr., an ex-monopoly from Mission San Luis
Rey, organized several Indian villages near Thermal
Springs to refuse to pay the tax after the head of the state
militia advised Garra that Indians could not be taxed.

In response to the continued insistence on the part of the local authorities for the tax, Garra attempted to
bring together a broad confederacy of southern Cali-

fornia Indians to expel the Whites from their territory.
The Coquita and Quechua Indians first resisted by
attacking and killing two Anglos and two Mexicans and
confiscating their stock. Shortly thereafter the Cupeno
village at Agua Caliente rose up and attacked nearby
Warner’s ranch, destroying the house and store and kil-
ning four White men at Thermal Springs. The state mil-

itary with the regular army organized several attacks on
Garra’s camp, and the latter was defeated and the
\nresulted in the destruction of the Agua Caliente rancheria.

Several prisoners were taken, and during the course of the
outbreak five Indians and one White man were tried
by militia courts and executed. Garra was eventu-
ally captured by a rival Cupeno chief and turned over
to the Whites. He was tried by a paramilitary court, found
guilty of murder, and hanged on December 1, 1852. Once
Garra and his closest followers were captured and ex-
ecuted, the confederacy dissolved leaving the tax issue unresolved for some years (Locsin 1973:12-20).

In order to see that the Indian Trade Act was carried
with in California, Congress ap-

pointed Edward F. Beale as new superintendent of
Indian affairs. Beale arrived in California in the fall of
1852. One of his first acts as superintendent was to dis-

miss Treaty Commissioners Redick McKee and O. M.
Wozencraft, who had not visited the Indians for over six
months. He then established reservations at the

Klamath River near the Oregon

border, Nome Lecoe on Stony Creek in Colusa,

Noma Cote, Mendocino, Fresno Indian Farm, and

Kings River Indian Farm. Despite Beale’s establish-

ment of these reservations it quickly became apparent
that his administration of the Indian Service was even
more corrupt than that of Beale. The large reservations established by

Beale were too large for the

Codaco tribe to occupy, and

Mendocino—suffered a lack of water and a scarcity of

game. Many problems resulted from the fact that only

Noma Lecoe had been surveyed. In consequence the

life of White squatters began. Their cattle were

destroyed in the Indian fields and seriously depleted the

acorn harvest. Most of these squatters were business

men or relatives of Beale’s who were simply looking to

move to Mendocino. Two comings of White men owning a

logging operation and a steam sawmill on the reservation, which

were seriously effected by the increasing numbers of

White men. I was authorized

White-owned store there as well (ARCA 1961:104).

Further evidence of Beale’s incompetence and cor-

ruption derived from his employment of more persons

than his instructions allowed and retention of employees

who were confessed accomplices in various crimes. Hen-

ley and his agents kept few books or accounts of various

purchases, and what books that were incomplete or incom-

prehensible. He was also unable to account for the

values of their cattle provided to the Indian Service

for starving Indians. Henley’s correspondence for

Indian life can be illustrated by his failure to provide aid to belea-
gusted Yokuts tribesmen who were victims of the "Tu-

land War" of 1850. This was also by federal investi-

gations that Indians on the reservations had been

slaughtered in consequence of alleged depredations

upon private property belonging to officers of the Indian

Service (Documents 1853). In 1854 the Finance Depart-

ment of the government moved by the Indians to turn

over to the government. Beale offered

the reservation.


In April 1858 Special Treasury Agent J. Ross Brow-

\n forwarded charges of fraud and malfeasance against

Henley. Yet he continued to act in his capacity as super-

intendent up to June 3, 1859, 14 months after the origi-

nal charges were preferred and nearly a year after they

were proved. In his reports Browne observed: "In the

history of Indian races I have seen none so try to ex-

ert themselves as these unhappy people by the

authorities constituted by law for their protection.

Instead of receiving aid and succor, they have been

starved and driven away from the reservations, and then

followed into their remote hiding places, where they

sought to die in peace, and cruelly slaughtered, till but

few are left, and that few without hope" (U.S. Congress

Senate 1858).

In response to the blatant corruption and manage-

ment of Henley’s administration, Congress passed the

General Appropriation Act of March 2, 1859, which

part called for a reorganization of Indian administration in California and a reduction of the Indian Services bud-

get for California from $162,000 a year to $50,000. Obvi-
ously the money was not spent on the Indians. It was

not to be used to pay the tax. However, the government’s

little was that the tax to several Indians in this first 10 years of

management was entirely corrupt. Subsequent gentry-
ders of a reservation. An example is the Rancho de

Developed land, beef was seldom delivered to the Indians for whom it

was intended, private businesses were allowed to operate on the

reservation, books were incomplete and whatever records were

irregular. It is little wonder that few Indians ever stayed

on the reservations. Native people found themselves

again used as forced labor to enrich their oversers.

Another soon witnessed the gradual

the Indians of California, the worst situation was the result of several factors. On

the national level the Civil War created severe fiscal problems for the administration of the Indian Service in California. Within the state, disease continued to take a toll, and conditions were worsened by the influx of new White settlers and by the encroachments of White society. This brought about a conflict between the Indians and the Whites, leading to a series of conflicts that resulted in the displacement of many Indians. The resulting conflict led to a major reorganization of the Indian Service, with the establishment of the California Reservation System.
was used by nearby Whites to get the most able-bodied Indians from the reservations emigrated to them for terms of 10 or 15 years. The problem of employees and former employees of the Indian Service contributing to the failure of the reservations continued, as can be traced by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. It was not uncommon to find a superintendent of Indian affairs leaving his post with debts up to $25,000, and an Indian superintendent Charles Malby did in 1867. The most serious problem was the ability of former high-placed officials of the Indian Service to gain control of lands surrounding and including portions of the reservations and Indian farms. By 1863 Beale had managed to acquire a 12,000-acre ranch adjacent to the Tejon Reserve. Now as a private rancher Beale openly expressed his desire to abolish the reservations. It was difficult to imagine the demoralizing effect this had upon the Indians. The man who claimed to be their friend a few years earlier was now demanding the dispossession of his former wards. At the Tule River Indian Farm established in 1861 near Visalia, the former agent, John P.H. Wentworth, managed to lease the entire farm to his enormous profit in 1863. Colonel Henley, the former superintendent, was the ruling spirit among the squatters encroaching upon the Round Valley Reservation (ARCA 1864:129). In 1867 Special Government Agent Robert J. Swanton confirmed that Henley was originally responsible for inviting squatters into Round Valley Reservation and at the same time notifying Washington that the entire valley should be reserved for the Indians. Thus Henley set up the government by backing squatters’ claims that the government should pay for their improvements and urge the government to buy out these interlopers. Henley also stood to gain by taking advantage of federal claims held extensive claims in the valley himself (ARCA 1867:120). A further obstacle to the success of the early reservation system in California was the rapid and widespread turnover in the Indian Service personnel.

Perhaps the most persistent and decisive element contributing to the failure of the reservation system was the far more serious problem of the government reserves. At Nome Lickee squatters held portions of the reservation including a mill and seized upon teams and farm animals belonging to the government. They were evicted from the government reserves. At Nome Lickee squatters held portions of the reservation including a mill and seized upon teams and farm animals belonging to the government. They were evicted from the government reserves. Claiming they acted under the sanction of Colonel Henley, they refused to surrender the government property. A sawmill at the mouth of the Noyo River reportedly destroyed salmon fishing upon which the Indians at the Mendocino Reserve relied as their staple food. Round Valley Reservation was literally overrun with White squatters who occupied about four-fifths of the reservation.

In addition to problems caused by the seizure of reservation land and property, the mere presence of Whites on the reservation disrupted the Indian community. At Round Valley the agent reported that “a large majority of the Whites were unmarried men who constantly excite the Indians to jealousy and revenge by taking their squaws from them” (ARCA 1861:145). Here also a government investigation revealed that corners of the Indian fences had been raised by chunks of wood to allow the squatters’ hogs to feed on Indian fields. Cattle from the squatters’ herds destroyed considerable portions of unirrigated Indian fields, such as the Tejon. In 1867 the government reported on the character and impact of White influence on the Indians.

[Squatters] evidently think an Indian has no rights that a white man is bound to respect; that all should be killed off except as the settlers covet as men servants or male servants. This class of settlers are continually erecting disturbances amongst the Indians by selling or giving away liquor among them; by exciting women and children away from the reservation, and not unfrequently by hoisting by the number of “back” [Indians] they have killed, as if it was an achievement to be proud of. . . . No man, however, guilty, can be convicted of a misdemeanor for selling liquor to Indians . . . (ARCA 1866:104).

Although the government apparently was aware of the many problems caused by the presence of Whites on the reservation no action was taken. Given the adverse environment the Indians and reservations were forced to cope with, it is not surprising that the Indian Service bowed to the state’s citizen pressures and began to abandon the reservations. As early as 1861 the government President Grant took the Tule River Indian Farms, transferring the few remaining families to the new Tule River Indian Farm. In December of that year the Klamath River Reservation was again destroyed by a destructive flood. In early 1863 the new superintendent in California found that at Nome Lickee the former agent had not paid the man in charge there who consequently sold all the movable property for back wages. The few remaining Indians scattered and the reservation was abandoned. Yielding to private interests Tejon Reservation was abandoned in 1864. Finally after eight years as a promising potential reservation Smith River Indian Farm north of Mendocino was abandoned in 1869 (Dale 1949).

Despite the expenditure of money and energy by the government to remove Indians to reservations the majority of California natives struggled to survive without any government aid whatsoever. This was the case of the Hupe tribe who persistently resisted White encroachment and efforts by the government to remove them. So successful was their resistance that in 1864, after five years of constant warfare the tribe was guaranteed a reservation in the Hoopa Valley. In southern California the Indians were almost totally neglected. In May 1865 the Indian Service convened a meeting with southern tribal delegates at Temecula. Here the government doled out a few agricultural implements and seed while hearing complaints from the Cahuilla who had been displaced of San Timoteo Canyon after flight from a smallpox epidemic there. Southern California tribesmen resisted in difficult lesson about co-optation of the ruling leadership when in 1865 the Indian Service reappointed Manuelito Cota over Chief Francisco to govern the Temecula Rancheria. The demoralizing effect of this official neglect of the northern California Indians was outlined by a federal report of 1866.

The Indians other than those before mentioned reside in various reservations and outlying communities; in some localities their presence is obnoxious to the citizens; in others they are tolerated on account of the labor they perform for the whites; their condition is deplorable and pitiful in the extreme; they are demoralized both physically and morally. This condition, inamenable as it is, is the result of their intercourse and contact with the lowest class of the white population. . . . The Indians in this superintendency are placed, by circumstances over which they had no control, under peculiar hardships . . . with no lands, no treaties, no annuities, no power or means of extricating themselves from the influences with which they are surrounded . . . (ARCA 1866:94).

This situation was particularly true in southern California where no reservations or regular government aid were to be established for some years.

The “Quaker Policy”

A significant change in the administration of Indian affairs in California began in 1863.

In an attempt to correct the national scandal of dishonest and incompetent Indian agents, the President initiated a new policy whose major aspect was the use of army officers to officiate in religious denominations to govern Indian affairs throughout the country. Known as the “Quaker policy” for the denomination to which most of the agents belonged, it resulted in the use of army officers and thereafter relied on the churches (Tatum 1970). Under this system various territories and state superintendencies were distributed among different denominations. In California by far the majority of Indians who considered themselves Chris-
tions were Roman Catholic. Therefore with the typical forced labor many of the bureaucracy the California superintendency was “given” to the Episcopalians. Apparently the scandal civil-service employees had brought to the Indian Service was so embarrassing that no one bothered to realize this new system constituted a union of church and state functions, which federal law prohibited. Ironically this policy enraged Catholic Church officials who had made no consistent effort to assist Christianize. The finding of repeated hostile incursions into their territory, almost always featuring the destruction of their stored foods and property. These incursions usually led to the abandonment of their villages and the collapse of the local economy, and excessive hardships for the sick and starving. Captivity and removal of over 10,000 natives for labor and slavery through the California indenture act of 1850 also took a frightful toll. First among the victims was the one-fifth of the native population was bound to result in serious social upheaval—the disintegration of both family and community life (Cook 1943a:28).
The Indian population in the state continued to decline. Because of the establishment of the new southern California reservations, reservation Indian populations as a whole increased. However, at older reservations such as Hopa, Round Valley, and Tule River, populations decreased from 30 to 50 percent due primarily to disenchanted with reservation management and continued sicknesses. Despite these disadvantages and hardships, the majority of the state's population continued to live in isolated small subsistence gardens in addition to laboring off-reservation. Unfortunately, due to their unfamiliarity with the White economy and the controversy surrounding their legal status most Indians were not able to make subsistence farming and outside labor a steady economic base. Although outside labor was generally available set-tlers traditionally took advantage of Indians in every way possible. Heavy manual farm labor constituted employment opportunities for both men and women. Cross-fraud in the payment of wages was the most common form of labor exploitation. In many instances, only one kind or another, generally of no account to them, were given in lieu of money so as to make the price of a day's labor to the employers not to exceed 10c. It was not uncommon to dock laborers for imaginary neglect or fail to pay them altogether. Still other employers insisted on deducting Indian wages in cheap liquor, which further contributed to the already work habits that developed due to this rampant labor exploitation (Cook 1943:56-75).

Outside labor, despite its disadvantages, became imperative as foreigners rapidly overran former native landholdings. While Indian agents and tribes on government reserves struggled to turn back encroaching squatters, they realized that their villages preoccupied by homesteaders or part of newly acquired Spanish and Mexican land grants. Government agents in southern California reported in 1877 that Indians had already been driven from the best land and that their villages were threatened by White settlers who set up claims of a more or less valid character on almost every village site. Although most Indian tribes and individuals claimed land holdings, surrounding territory by right of "immemorial possession," a few Indians even attempted to confirm their various claims through the courts. The Hopa and Tule Indians and the Apis, attempted to have the District Court of California confirm their claim to a two-league grant to the La Jolla Rancheria. Because this grant had another antecedent court decided the Apis brothers could not prove they had continued possession and the confirmation was denied (Gates 1971:416). Even where Indians were relatively secure in their landholdings, neighboring Whites frequently interfered with their water supplies and imposed exorbitant fines for damages done by Indian livestock, sometimes confiscating their stock altogether.

Although President Grant's "Quaker policy" was supposed to have introduced a program of Bureau of Indian Affairs, few innovations were inaugurated. Controversy and mismanagement continued to characterize the government's efforts for California Indians. Native people in the southern California, Mojave, and Mohave reservation under an executive order in January 1873 that established the San Pasqual Valley Reservation. Immediately, local citizens enraged at the giving land to the Indians began to -- Diego newspapers against the establishment of the reservation. Indians were afraid to locate on the proposed reservation after hostile settlers threatened to kill any Indians who might do so. A deluge of protest regarding the reservation from local squatters persuaded the government to reserve the reservation returned to the public domain (ARCA 1873:202). In 1877, the new Tule River reservation was set aside by executive order in 1873, but removal to the proposed reserve of Indians and government property was prevented when government inspectors condemned it as unsuitable for reservation purposes. In 1877 another reservation was established on the waters of the Tule River embracing 91,837 acres. This site was avoided in order to protect the new home. Southern Indians gained relief between 1875 and 1877 when a series of executive orders created 13 separate reservations for the so-called Mission Indians (Ipai and Tipai, Luiseno, Serrano, Cahuilla, and Cahuilla although some of these peoples were really missionized). These reservations, which together reserved over 200 square miles or 130,000 acres of land to southern California Indians, were usually located on or near native villages. Over the next 30 years they sometimes had various parts returned to the public domain or enlarged by acts of Congress. Unlike larger reservations to the north, the Mission Indian reservations were administered from one central agency located in San Bernardino. This made contact with the agencies difficult since some are as many as 100 miles away. These reservations served as the first of many moderately-sized reservations to be established for the so-called "Mission Indians" (Dale 1961:93-94).

Church influences in the Indian Service prompted the inauguration of the first government efforts at providing elementary education for California Indians. In 1871 government day schools were established on the reservations at Hoopa Valley and Round Valley. About 100 students were enrolled at Round Valley with an average attendance of 45, while at Hoopa attendance was considerably lower. Many traditionalists among the Indians opposed education and missionary work on the reservations, believing that these institutions were contributing to the undermining of their beliefs and traditional values. At Hoopa the traditionalist influence prevailed and ultimately the school was closed in 1876 due to lack of attendance (ARCA 1876:12-14).

Despite the progress made in establishing new reservations and schools for native people, the Indian Service continued to suffer from mismanagement and incompetence. The Indian agent at Hoopa Valley without government authorization allowed White sharecroppers to harvest grain on the reservation in 1876 in return for a promise that they would cultivate the land. Apparently this situation proved so scandalous that the agent was removed, and the administration of the reservations was turned over to the army. The military authorities were shocked to discover that the agent had allowed the gristmills, houses, barns, and sawmills to fall into a dilapidated and useless condition. Even more shocking was the realization that the former agent had sold wagons, threshing machines, ropes, harnesses, and other farm tools to neighboring Whites at mere nominal cost. This considered considerable discontent among the Indians who wanted to farm their land but were unable to because their tools had been sold. It was also discovered that the agent had sold Indian Service hay to the army for $4.00 a ton while offering it to local Whites for $1.50 per ton. Unfortunately and misconduct were not confined to Hoopa. The Tule River agent reported in 1879 that a large grove of valuable timber on the reservation could not be used by the Indians:

I would therefore recommend the restoration to the public domain a strip four miles wide along the entire eastern boundary of the reservation. The people living in the plain country to open up roads to this timber and supply themselves with lumber. . . . The government would also realize a profit, if not directly, at least indirectly in the improvement of large tracts of lands contiguous to it. Justice would then be meted out to all parties, and every pretext for contention would be removed and the acts of government would have their just rights and the timber be taken where Providence evidently designed it (ARCA 1879:12).

By the end of the decade, it was painfully apparent that President Grant's "Quaker policy" had failed to bring about the reform of the Indian Service and had in fact merely institutionalized the church as yet another hostile factor in the situation confronting California natives. Final admission by the government of its failure to bring about change since 1875 that the Indian Service was serviceable when the government stopped assigning agents from the Episcopalian orders after 1881.

Land Status and Legal Status

Over the next two decades the federal government became increasingly concerned with providing education to Indian people throughout the country. At this time sentiment within the federal government strongly favored the delibration of Indian people and their gradual integration into the economy of the nation. Since tribes could no longer support themselves due to the destruction of their traditional economy, the government proposed that they be assimilated in the ways of Whites so that they might survive. In support of this, the government set out upon a course of self-righteous suppression and destruction of all vestiges of tribalism and Indian culture and values and objected to Indian education were cultivated at Carlisle, the first federal boarding school. With acculturation as a stated and mandated means of enforcement of coercion. Indian youth were supposed to be taught English and educational. Native languages were forbidden and all aspects of Indian culture and values were suppressed. The government also hoped to benefit from this policy because they reasoned that a delibration policy would result in assimilated Indians who would sell the millions of acres of valuable land still held by the federal government and in this framework of national policy that the educational programs for California Indians were established.

In California, three different educational programs were established for native peoples. The first was the federal government reservation school day school. The second was the boarding school, society and finally, the nearby public school that allowed Indians to attend a school slow though steady growth in popularity among the population.

Although the Indian Service reservation day school was introduced in California earlier, the federal government's effort to establish widespread elementary education for native peoples began in 1881. This action was primarily taken to establish day schools for the thousands of Indians under the newly established Mission Agency realizations in southern California. The number of day schools throughout the state increased until 1888, when the Indian Service ruled that schools with fewer than 20 students be closed. After this a steady decrease in the number of day schools occurred as it became more difficult to fill the classroom from a steadily decreasing Indian population. The day schools also had many obstacles to success. In drought years large decreases in school attendance were noted as parents took their children from school and continued to work in the fields. Another serious problem resulted from the gathering of Indian children in small ill-ventilated school rooms, which inevitably spread communicable diseases. Sickliness resulting in absences, and school was very significant during this period. Perhaps the greatest obstacle to the success of the day school was opposition from parents who "objected to the school because they wish their children to grow up as Indians" (ARCA 1891:220).

Older Indians quickly recognized the threat the schools offered to Indian culture and values. As a result, countless tribes have developed their own attempts to educate their children. Perhaps The most famous of the people destroyed the day school at Potrero in 1888 and burned the school at Tule River in 1890. At Pachanga a
Luiseño named Ventura Molindo burned the school and assassinated the school teacher in 1895 (ARCA 1895:131). Despite widespread opposition to the day school, native people were to learn they were far less destructive of Indian communities than boarding schools. According to the Carlisle government school philosophy, the best way to make an Indian assimilate into the white world was to remove him from the "corrupting and backward" influences of his parents. To carry out this philosophy, when the Indian Service made mandates, the government introduced the boarding school to California in 1881 at Tule River Reservation. Boarding schools were established at Round Valley in 1883, Middletown in Lake County in 1885, Hoopa Valley Reservation and Perris in 1893, and Fort Bidwell in 1898. The Indian Service made school attendance compulsory in 1891. Typical recruitment methods practiced by Indian agents succeeded in this agency report from Hoopa: 
"to compel the children to attend school he [the agent] has decided that no issue of clothing will be made to the children unless they go to the agency school" (ARCA 1883:15). Boarding school attendance had an even greater effect upon the lives of Indians than the day school. For instance, severe malnutrition resulted from the forced separation of children from their families. Similar to earlier indenture laws and slavery, boarding schools practiced what they called an "outing system" (Pratt 1864). This was a system in which Indian children were used as domestics in nearby White homes, which served the dual purpose of preventing children from visiting their families during vacations while exploiting their labor with only token remuneration.

Like the day schools, boarding schools were plagued with infectious diseases and encountered stiff opposition from students and parents alike. When the Mission Agency boarding school at Perris, California, first opened, an epidemic of influenza attacked 80 percent of the children and nearly caused the school to close. Student opposition to conditions within these institutions was forcibly expressed when five boys at the Round Valley School burned it to the ground in 1883. Yet despite their unpopularity among California natives, the boarding school enjoyed the enthusiastic support of the Indian Service and continued to replace and supplant the day school system.

Together with the education program the Indian Service's "Civilization Division" helped create a mechanism for the extension of health services to California Indians. This was prompted by the realization that the Indian population was continuing to decrease due primarily to sickness, poor living conditions, and extreme poverty. There is no evidence that a system of health care was established in the state before 1890. That year it was reported that a few doctors were contracted to periodically administer health care to Indians within the various agencies of the state. Another feature of this program was the introduction of field matrons who acted as practical nurses and provided dietary advice to native households. Yet little good resulted from these early efforts at health care. Because of long distances between reservations and agency headquarters, doctors could not effectively reach those in most need. Further illnesses were universally complicated by the undernutrition and lack of adequate shelter. Finally this program intensified the persecution of native medicine by the whites who denounced and shunned what few Indian medical traditions the white authorities acknowledged.

Between 1880 and 1900 two diametrically opposed forces within the government shaped the land situation in California. The first was the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887. This law was aimed primarily at large eastern tribes and called for the breaking up of communal tribal landholdings and the allotment of 160 acres of reservation land to family heads. The idea behind this law was forced assimilation of the Indian into the White landholding system of private property. On the other hand, the acquisition of numerous reservations was authorized by an Act of Congress dated January 12, 1891 (26 Stat. 712-714) and amended in 1898. These acts were responsible for the purchase of nearly all the 17 reservations established during this period. These opposing tendencies—breaking up tribal landholdings while establishing tribal landholdings—confused the Indians, created suspicion and distrust, and finally added to problems already facing various reservations throughout the state.

Fourteen of the 17 reservations established were in the Mission Agency of southern California. Although the amount of land granted the "Mission Indians" under this and earlier acts was large, nine-tenths of it was practically worthless. Most southern California reservations were barren and unable to support their populations. Lack of adequate water supply was the major reason for this situation, which was "brought about by the White settlers diverting the waters of streams . . . from which the Indians obtain their supply of water" (ARCA 1897:117).

Other complications occurred when the railroads were granted alternate sections of land along their right of way. Many reservations became chopped up in checkerboard fashion, some times Indians found their villages or fields belonging to the railroads. A lack of clearly identifiable boundary markers for many reservations created problems as settlers began to encroach upon Indian lands. In 1888 the government got tough with these intruders and successfully removed them from Morongo and Capitan Grande reservations. However, when it attempted to do the same in the Round Valley Reservation, the squatters got an injunction against the army and succeeded in preventing the government from consolidating the reservation.

While the government was attempting to establish reservations for the state's native peoples it was at the same time trying to comply with the Dawes Act. Native people understood full well the implications of allotment and offered considerable resistance. Nevertheless the Bureau of Indian Affairs began ordering allotments of various sizes at Rincon, Morongo, and Pala reservations in 1893. The next year allotments were begun at Round Valley Reservation. By the turn of the century, 1,615 individual allotments were made among eight reservations in the state. Although most tribes were coerced into agreeing to the dividing up of their reservation landholdings the Ipai-Tipai at Mesa Grande refused to be intimidated and threatened to kill any allotment agents on the reservation.

Surprisingly, the government, prompted by concerned liberals in the East, began to fight legal battles to assist Indians threatened by ejection from confirmed Mexican land grants. In 1885 the Bureau of Indian Affairs employed an attorney to defend tribes in such cases. The Indian Rights Association paid all legal costs and received a favorable decision in the State Supreme Court case Byrne v. Alas et al. in 1888. The court ruled that Indians could not be legally ejected from Mexican land grants. At this time the Capellos from Warner's Ranch began a suit to stop their eviction (fig. 5) that ultimately reached the Supreme Court.

The two decades before the turn of the century might be characterized as an era of acculturation under duress; however, the deliberate undermining of native culture by government education, health programs, and allotment did not go unanswered. Although resistance was haphazard it was continuous. In 1886 the Indians at Tule River burned the agency headquarters. The steady destruction of schools might also be characterized as a form of resistance. Native people successfully harassed and destroyed private property of Indians who collaborated too readily with the Indian Service. Field matrons were evicted from reservations when they attempted to lay claim to reservation property. Finally, the outright refusal by some natives to comply with allotment policies points out native determination to resist total submission.

While widespread attention by the government was called to instances of resistance, little recognition was given native-initiated adaptation to their rapidly changing world. When the Luiseño at Temecula were evicted by White squatters in 1882 they relocated from the valley to the foothills where they dug wells with great labor to develop domestic waters. Even more significant was the adaptation and initiative shown by the small band of Yokoyo Pomos who successfully purchased their own home site in 1891. At this time no reservation or government assistance was provided for these people. Recognizing that their entire tribe and culture might disintegrate if they could not stay together, their headmen decided to purchase a traditional site for their people. After collecting nearly $1,000 from their people the
headsmen selected a 120-acre site near the Russian River and made the down payment. The Yurok group prospected; they paid the entire balance owed on their land and even saved enough to purchase farm machinery shortly thereafter (Kasch 1947).

By 1900, after 13 years of foreign colonization and domination, there were approximately 16,000 to 17,000 native Californians (Kroeber 1957a). Yet the Indian Service reported in 1900 that only 5,497 had received government aid of any kind and of that number, 1,317 received only education and medical services (ARCA 1900:638). The Indian Service through administrative fiat alone denied welfare aid and homes to non-reservation Indians, which through a confusion of authority resulted in state and county aid being withheld to these unfortunate bands and individuals as well. There can be little doubt that this rapid demographic change and hardships had reduced these once proud owners of this land to a severely demoralized and hopeless condition. Government reports and Indian testimony commonly called attention to the widespread hunger and destitution Indians suffered during the years after the turn of the century. This testimony by an Ipai-Tipai woman serves to illustrate not only the hunger that basted her people but also the cultural breakdown that accompanied it: "Some Indians made necklaces of shells, but we didn't. We always needed more food; we were poor and never had necklaces. I don't know how to make those things now, only how to find food" (Coeo 1968: 57).

Indeed conditions did seem to be worse than ever; however, the humanitarianism in which White Americans take such an inordinate pride did manage to stir a few reformers to take an active interest in the welfare of Californian Indians. Although Indian Service response to Indian welfare organizations varied from cooperation to federal indictments for conspiracy against the government, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was indeed impressed into action. In 1906 Congress authorized an investigation into the conditions among homeless Indians in California and the development of social services. This resulted in the appropriation of $100,000 for purchase of land and water development for the state's native people (34 Stat. 333).

Indian interest groups brought pressure on the government to provide better health services as well as more land. State health authorities argued that since Indians lived on nonpaying reservations, they must look to federal authorities for health care. In response to this and some progressive public concern the Indian Service gradually began to expand its services. In 1912 Congress initiated a survey of Indian health conditions that reported that Indian people suffered a 15 percent overall infection of tuberculosis as well as trachoma, an infectious eye disease that eventually causes blindness. At federal boarding schools these rates were considerably higher due to inadequate sanitary conditions.

The first permanent Indian hospital established in California was located at the new reservations being established by the board of school superintendents in 1901. By 1906 six others were in operation throughout the state. In 1924 public health nurses were allowed to assist in the Indian Service health work.

As the Department of the Interior's establishment of a separate administrative division for health in 1924, the effectiveness of its program must be regarded with severe doubt. Serious problems for the state's native people developed when by administrative fiat alone the Bureau of Indian Affairs decided to limit health care to reservation residents, thus leaving perhaps as many as one-third of the state's Indians in a legal limbo. These unfortunate bands and individuals were denied state health care because they were Indians and unable to get help from the federal government. Incompetent and or incompetent care in tuberculosis institutions probably accounted for the fact that these early hospitals had a reputation for being places where people came to suffer and die. Charges of criminal neglect and incompetence were often levied against the health service personnel. A severe smallpox epidemic among Pit River tribes in the winter of 1921-1922, resulted from lack of medical care, prompted the government to launch an investigation into charges of willful neglect against the health service in 1929 (U.S. Congress, Senate, Subcommittee on Indian Affairs 1929-1995:71). People sensing the severe shortcomings of the health program the government later admitted, that "even if [government doctors] provided minimally satisfactory medical care that skimped slightly on the margin of medical necessity, it was too little interest in related aspects of Indian community life" (Rausp 1959:12). By ignoring the impact of poverty and starvation and its relation to general health conditions, the government shifted attention from its failings by stepping up attacks on shamans and blaming their influences for poor sanitary conditions.

Land problems continued to be a paramount issue to the survival of Indians as a people. Responding to pressure from groups and Indian demands Congress initiated a series of acts beginning in 1911 to grant land for homeless Indians in individual parcels of various size. By 1930, approximately 2,300 allotments had been made throughout the state. Yet a considerable number of these were surrendered or canceled because Congress failed to appropriate the required monetary amounts. Nevertheless, a general opposition by more traditional native people continued against the distributive spirit of the allotment acts. For the most part these federal acts. Indian Service policy toward the Indian Service suffered as Congress failed to provide support. Failure of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to confirm tentative allotments created an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust, especially among Indians who cooperated with the government. At Palm Springs a team of surveyors entered the reservation in 1924 despite protests that the tribe had not been consulted as to their feelings about allotment. In response the headmen twisted twice to the secretary of the interior.

We protest and ask that action be stopped at once and the Indians consulted. We were not notified and don't want allotments, we have patent to our lands and want to hold them always together. Please stop surveyors . . .

Pedro Chino, Capt. Francisco Patricio, Lee Arenas (Anonymous 1923)

There can be no doubt that the Bureau of Indian Affairs used allotment in an attempt to divide Indian communities and keep them politically impotent. The allotment restructured a series of court suits and covenants among native communities over the distribution of allotments. These actions had the general effect of planting the seeds of family feuds among various tribes, the destructive and divisive influences of which still plague native communities today. At the head of organized opposition to allotment was the Mission Indian Federation. In a newspaper interview, Federation President Adam Castillo outlined the Indian Service's methods of securing allotments at the cost of disrupting native community life.

Non-Federation Indians, some from out of the county, were prevailed upon by H. E. Wadsworth, Special Indian Agent, sent to the file for the lands already cultivated. None of the allottees could point out as to where their land was located nor prove the lands were selected by them. Only those that were in good graces of the Indian agent and the government bought his water project. In another case, 17 Indians from the Camp Reservation were convicted of tearing up a irrigation pipeline belonging to White ranchers. Apparently these Whites had diverted water upstream and laid a water pipe across a section of the reservation. The Bureau of Indian Affairs offered no legal advice or assistance to these people.

Widespread opposition to the Dawes Act along with the realization by the government that allotted Indians were unable to compete economically in the American capitalist-corporate society. In the mid-1920s, President Coolidge and his successor, President Hoover, pushed the Indian Service to begin to extend trusteeship over allotted lands for periods upward of 10 years. The result of this step was the total disruption of goals of the Dawes Severalty Act.

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homes at Warner's Hot Springs in Barker v. Harvey (181 U.S. 481). The Indians argued that Mexican law and Article 8 of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo recognized Indian right to villages on land grants, but the Court did not have to rule on this point.

Missouri Indians had failed to present their case to the Land Commission in the allotted time, the BIA had failed to bring about legislation to reaffirm title to these Indians, and the land actually belonged to the Mission Committee which reported the land abandoned. This decision affected over 200,000 Indians scattered throughout several villages on confirmed land grants. At several villages native families locked themselves in their homes as sheriff's deputies broke down their doors with axes to evict them. With considerable pressure Indian interest groups forced Congress to appoint a commission to provide new homes to displaced natives. Soon a ranch in the Palm Valley was purchased and the dispossessed Cupélos removed to it in 1902 (ARCA 1903:79).

Other bizarre land problems developed. In 1904 the Tulare Indian agent reported that several White men were making large claims on portions of timberland within the eastern border of the reservation. These White men claimed to have had patent to this land and had begun to cut timber. A survey indicated that extensive fraud had been perpetrated to gain possession of this most valuable asset of the reservation. Twenty-nine years later the Bureau of Indian Affairs reported that the city of San Diego demanded that the El Capitan Reservation to establish a municipal water system. The Indian Service did not fight the condemnation proceedings, and the Indians were displaced from their lands and others like them made responsible Indian leaders extremely cynical about the government's role as protector of Indian interests.

Like the Allotment Act, the government education system was aimed primarily at desirabilizing California Indians. After 1900 the Indian Service began to realize that the best method of reaching this goal would be the widespread enrollment of native children in public schools. After 1917 the Bureau of Indian Affairs began making contractual agreements with the State Department of Education for paying cost in lieu of the admission of Indian students to public schools where available (a few native children were admitted to public schools under similar circumstances as early as 1881). However, racial and cultural intolerance against native children was widespread and prevalent. Segregated public schools for Indian children were established in some areas. It was also common for Indian children to be refused admittance to public schools because they lacked shoes or clothing. After 1917 a relative decline in federal Indian school construction and attendance occurred and the public school Indian enrollments soared.

Despite the increased enrollment in public schools, as many as one-third of all Indian students continued to attend federal Indian schools until 1948. Unlike the public schools, the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools always included vocational training. This training was built upon the concept of the Indian house servant and the Indian boy as a farm hand. These schools were habitually plagued by institutional problems. For example, before the Depression a special investigation committee held会议 outside of the BIA to address Indian school problems. In 1929 Congressional hearings revealed that at some schools Indian children were continually harassed from this type of work. In 1930 the Indian Service reported that the commissioner of Indian affairs reported that several cases of brutality to Indian children resulted in the dismissal of several employees from the service. At Hoopa, the government school made Christian church services and Sunday school mandatory. By far the greatest institutional obstacle to successful federal schooling was the enormous annual turnover in teachers, sometimes as high as 48 percent. These problems were obvious to students who in response reacted negatively to the oppressive atmosphere surrounding them. At Round Valley Boarding School students burned down the dormitory building. Hoopa students rioted and others like them made responsible Indian leaders extremely cynical about the government's role as protector of Indian interests

You are therefore directed to induce your male Indians to cut their hair, and to have them stop painting. Noncompliance with this order may be made a reason for discharge or for withholding rations and supplies ... Indian dances and so-called ‘white’ feasts should be prohibited. Feasts are simply subterfuges to cover degrading acts and to disguise immoral purposes ... The government has a right to expect a proper observance of the law. The government's law ... There seems to be no idea of interfering with the Indian's personal liberty ... (ARCA 1903:14-15).

To resist these laws and the great psychological pressure to conform to White society's standards required a great tenacity of spirit that seemed to sustain native resistance throughout their history. Through the Indian Service's failure to adequately protect native water rights and a lack of a consistent policy trended towards non- self-supporting, forcing the Indians to seek employment in the White community.

At the control and manipulation of Indians undoubtedly contributed to the mutual distrust and contempt between natives and Indian Service personnel. Reacting to the stifling paternalism of the Indian Bureau, a number of Indians in 1920's the Cabahua Reservation killed the resident agent in 1913. As earlier periods, reservation agents continued to bring scandal to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Indian agent at Morongo Reservation stole $12,000 from the government in 1929. The Indian Agent George J. Robinson and two sheriff's deputies were charged with murdering two Indians on the Campo Reservation.

By 1917 the legal status of the California Indian became a puzzling and confused issue. Without a doubt some Indians had for many years been regarded by the state and federal governments as citizens, paying taxes and voting. This became apparent when the federal government began to draft some Indians for the First World War. Although many were drafted many more noncitizen Indians enlisted and served with distinction in Europe. Partially in gratitude for their service in the First World War and partially to further assimilation goals of the government, in 1924 Congress conferred citizenship upon all Indians born in the United States. However, the BIA interpreted the granting of citizenship as not affecting its authority over the tribal and individual property of Indians. As a result it became more difficult to control over Indian lives, property, and resources by extraconstitutional means.

In 1930 the native population in the state numbered about 25,000. Of these one-half to three-fourths lived on reservations, while the remainder generally lived in nearby rural communities. The conditions of native communities for the years during and after the Depression were difficult to describe and often contradictory. Bureau of Indian Affairs policies, which continued to hamper native community and economic adaptation. Under the New Deal, Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier commented upon effects of its earlier policies:

As this [native] leadership was destroyed, it became more and more necessary for the government to deal with Indians as individuals. It was far easier to act like this and feel safer, for it further to destroy the leadership, and thus set up a vicious circle of bureaucratic paternalism and resulted in disorganization among the Indians. This kind of Indian leadership and employers of tribal organization, further aided by the separation of the Indian from his land and the destruction of his land by forced conversions, did not lead to the development of Indian culture, Indian energy, Indian group capacity, and Indian citizenship, but they were not effective in totally destroying the local democracy of the Indians (ARCA 1941:13).

Government Indian policy after 1930 largely revolved around two opposing philosophies. The first of these called for a reestablishment of Indian tribes while the other simply demanded the withdrawal of all governmental services to Indians.

The earliest of these philosophies crystallized under Indian Commissioner Collier. Briefly Indian policy took a different direction as a result of the Wheeler-Howard Act (Indian Reorganization Act of 1934). This legislation did three important things: it offered tribes an opportunity to revert to tribal self-government, it established certain regulation (previously outlawed by the Dawes Act of 1887 and the Curtis Act of 1898), it repealed the Dawes Act and stopped allotment, and finally it provided a revolving fund to stimulate tribal economic development. In support of the Indian Reorganization Act, Collier explained what had been obvious to native people all along, that the allotment law was a disaster. It was "primarily a desirabilizing law of their lands ... of the lands owned by Indians in 1887 the year of the allotment law two-thirds have been lost by various processes of dissipation" (U.S. Department of the Interior 1933:108). It is significant that this legislation came in the middle of the nation's worst depression; perhaps the government found it absurd to preach rigid individualism to a society on the brink of economic collapse. The economic order of America was collapsing. Ten California reservations and rancherias reconstituted themselves under Reorganization Act laws, while many others adopted other forms of governing councils to avoid the paternalistic overtones of Reorganization Act governments. Unfortunately, due to bureaucratic inertia, especially in the middle and upper echelons of the Indian Service, neither the tribes nor Collier could bring about overall reform in Indian policy. Reform depended upon the goodwill of Congress while power ultimately rested at the national and regional level. Therefore, it was difficult to control a tribal level. When the war came, budget cuts occurred as the nation turned to other concerns.
During the Second World War thousands of California Indians served in the armed forces. While many men were away, reservation economy underwent something of a boom. The Interior reported that aloofness in the war year of 1944 individual income was approximately two and one-half times that of the 1938 level, one-third of the Indian families resident on the reservation received incomes of less than $500 and nearly two-thirds received less than $1,000 (U.S. Department of the Interior 1946:351). Even Indian groups with potentially multimillion-dollar land assets, like the Pala or Cahuilla, were unable to gain control of their land. These Indians were forced by the courts to grant security liens on their lands for questionably allowable attorneys' fees and lived in abject poverty for many years.

The endowment hall a bolt to the division of Indian trust lands and inaugurated attempts by the government to return to the Indians property and live with grants of additional lands. Between 1933 and 1941 the Congress purchased approximately 6,492 acres of land adjacent to four southern California reservations.

While the native population slowly increased, health problems continued to plague Indian communities. Poor living conditions and poverty remained the root causes behind the high rates of tuberculosis, trachoma, pneumonia, and other respiratory diseases. In response the governments built and staffed six Indian hospitals in the state before the war, with a total capacity of only 164 beds. In 1938 the discovery of sulfanilamide made possible the treatment and cure of the painful and blinding trachoma eye disease.

Yet, despite this hopeful improvement in health services, the government at the same time expressed its intention to transfer its health responsibility local, county, and state facilities as recommended in both the Merriam Survey of 1928 (Brookings Institution, Washington, Institute for Government Research) and the Hoover Commission survey of 1948. As a result of the 1948 recommendations, which included the government's termination policy, all BIA health services to California Indians were ended in 1955. As usual this policy was adopted without legislative authorization and despite moral and political protests. There can be no doubt that the ending of health care and the closing of the Indian hospitals created unnecessary suffering and a confusion over county, state, and federal responsibility for Indian health needs. In April 1956 hundreds of Southern California Indians protested government policy: "We Indians urgently request Congress to re-open the Soboba Indian Hospital located at the Soboba Indian Reservation, Riverside, California, for the Indians that need medical care. At present, many Indians report that they have been turned down, when they try to enter the county hospital, being accepted only when it is too late, in many cases death being the result."


In the late 1920s and early 1930s the Indian Service continued to abandon the federal day schools throughout the state and began to limit and entirely close California Indian students at Sherman Institute. As a result, native children were admitted to public schools in ever-increasing numbers.

Termination

After the war, as the United States spent millions of dollars rebuilding Germany and Japan, the government hoped to rid itself of its embarrassing failure to "rebuild" Indian nations by simply withdrawing government aid to Indian people. This was clearly expressed in the Hoover Commission survey of 1948. Indeed that year the Bureau of Indian Affairs declared its intention to "terminate" all government services to all Indians and divide their tribal assets (land and resources) among individuals. This so-called new policy was little more than a warmed-over version of the Allotment Act. Its implementation would deoptimize native groups and put their property on tax rolls as well as repudiate the federal government's moral commitment and responsibility to aid the people whose poverty and powerlessness it had created.

California Indian tribes were to be among the first targets for termination. The commissioner of Indian affairs who inaugurated this policy, Dillon Meyer, was principally known as the man responsible for administering Japanese-American concentration camps during World War II. In 1952 the Bureau of Indian Affairs began to energetically push termination: the Indian Service introduced to Congress several termination bills specifically for California, and in anticipation of that policy the government ended all Indian Service welfare payments to poor Indians in the state. In addition, the Indian Service began an accounting and inventory survey of all government property buildings and equipment, while the BIA sold 129 allotments and closed the accounts of hundreds of Indians in trust. In 1953 Congress passed Public Law 280, which brought California Indian reservations under the criminal and civil jurisdiction of the state. This was significant because before this time state courts did not include police powers in their own community. In 1953 also the California State Senate created the Senate Interim Committee on Indian Affairs, composed entirely of non-Indians, to aid the federal government in making the transition of Indian Services and property to state jurisdiction. This committee made inquiries and wrote recommendations, most of which were ignored.

It soon became apparent to the government that the Indians did not want termination. In fact, all the government's preliminary inquiries for termination convinced of the strong feeling and confusion among Indians whose many services had already been abruptly cut off, while county and state agencies were expected to fill the void. In 1953 the county of San Diego refused to provide welfare for reservation Indians on grounds that reservations were not entitled to ineligibility. In Acosta v. County of San Diego the court ruled that residence on an Indian reservation rendered otherwise eligible Indians eligible for general assistance. Other problems with the termination policy arose. In 1956 Indians complained to the governor that Section 28 of Public Law 280 was being violated by the county welfare and aged person's assistance which were cut off because Indians refused to sell their land. At a large and representative meeting of southern California Indians during that year, a petition was sent to the state:

We Indians request the repeal of Public Law 280. This has not worked. The provisions do not come into effect; cases have been known to arrive three or four days later, when emergencies were reported. Indians are afraid to sign complaints since the sheriffs do not come when called and they are afraid they will be beaten, for without the law to turn to what can they do? One evening the sheriff was called and did not come out. That same evening a murder took place. No sheriff came out until they were called again the following day (California Legislature. Senate Interim Committee on California Indian Affairs 1957:55).

Overall the undemocratic policymakers who literally attempted to claim state and federal power over Indian communities were generally opposed by a majority of tribes and ranchers who knew better than anyone that it would destroy their culture and rob them of their lands.

The longer the controversy over termination raged the more arbitrary and scandalous the BIA's coercion of organized and powerless rancherias became. Hoping to gain quick legislative authorization for its questionable policies ending nearly all federal services for the state's native people Congress acted in 1958 by passing the Rancheria Act (27 Stat. 619 as amended by 78 Stat. 390). This act allowed the state to dual effecting voting groups could vote to terminate themselves. Considerable pressure and persuasion were used to encourage Indians, especially small and powerless rancherias, to agree to termination. Some people who came under these pressures knew or understood their rights on trust property or the consequences of losing the trust status of their communities. However, they agreed to terminate in order to gain compensation for financial reasons, which resulted in the loss of 5,000 acres of trust property.

The decade of the 1960s witnessed the long and direct struggle to regain the communal and tribal landholding and to prevent the government to gain compensation for nineteenth-century land losses through the Land Claims cases (see Litigation and Effects, this vol.). Government policy throughout this period continued to attempt the gradual withdrawal of Indian government services to the state's Indians. Although the state legislature opposed termination in 1954, the state government created the successor to the Senate Interim Committee on Indian Affairs in 1961, the State Interim Commission on Indian Affairs. This commission was to investigate and make recommendations regarding termination and other Indian problems. All Commission members were non-Indian. This paternalistic approach toward Indian problems caused native people to react when a bill that would have made the commission powerless to act was introduced. Indians were afraid that the state legislature in 1968. Indians managed to amend the bill so it would establish an all-Indian commission. However, the state's utilitarian posture was obvious when the commission chairman, Sen. William Coombs, killed the bill in committee. The commission ran into further problems the next year when the California Indian Education Act was defeated dealing with the "open meetings and public record laws" and immunity of legislators from civil process.

Yet another Bureau of Indian Affairs program that seriously affected the California Indians' political position in the state was the government's relocation program (employment assistance). This program was part of the government's scheme to drain the area to desolate reservations by bringing Indians into urban areas for vocational training and job assistance. The Bureau of Indian Affairs hoped that the Indians would remain in the city and gradually disappear into the melting pot of the urban proletariat. The government estimates that since the beginning of the relocation program as many as 60,000 to 70,000 out-of-state Indians have settled in the Los Angeles or San Francisco bay area. This accounts for more than one-half the relocated Indians in the United States. Unfortunately many of these relocated Indians, who had permanently abandoned their tribes and economically and politically socialized into the dominant society, were able to gain considerable political power by getting leadership positions in California Indian Affairs. This situation had the dual effect of stifling the growth of a native California leadership in state-wide affairs, while placing urban Indians in positions of power in some cases over the affairs of rural and reservation native communities.

With the withdrawal of health services for California Indians the already poor health conditions of native people deteriorated further. Leading causes of death were reported to be tuberculosis, cirrhosis of the liver, accidents, influenza, pneumonia, congenital malformation, and diseases of early infancy. Death from these conditions occurred at the rate of 116 per 1000 (births and fetal) to 6 times (for tuberculosis) rates of death from the same causes among non-Indians. These problems are aggravated by conditions of poor housing andSAN

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tion, lack of employment, and poor nutrition. A lack of medical facilities near the reservation, transportation problems, and some reluctance by local health officials all prevented prompt care and contributed to the decline in the general health of California Indians. This history of inadequate health care was responsible for a lowering of the life expectancy to 42 years, compared to the average of 62 years for the general population. This tragedy is not confined to the adult alone. The infant death rate was 1 in 100 or 0.63 live births, which is 70 percent higher than the rate for infants in the population as a whole (California State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs 1960:40).

Perhaps one of the most significant events in recent Indian history has been the establishment of the California Indian Demonstration Health Project. This program originated in the state Department of Public Health Bureau of Maternal and Child Health in 1967. Nine projects were set up among reservation communities throughout the state. Funded by state and federal health departments these pilot projects stressed Indian participation and control and have acted as a catalyst for community cooperation in bringing medical and dental health services to rural and reservation Indians. These projects were at first staffed by volunteer doctors and dentists, but eventually funding increased to allow payment for their services. By 1973, 16 projects had been established in 14 counties throughout the state. Each project is governed by a local all-Indian committee and is almost completely autonomous. Statewide coordination is supplied by the California Rural Indian Health Board, made up of project representatives. Although hard data are lacking, the impact of this new approach to Indian health has been extremely encouraging. Not only has this program provided desperately needed medical care, but it has allowed policies of self-determination to grow out under its structure. After decades of stifling paternalism by various government projects this is indeed a healthy change.

While termination battles occupied Indian leadership, attention was diverted from critical issues of education, which became shockingly apparent to the state in 1965. It was at this time that the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Research published a report analyzing reservation education in the state. The report revealed that 10 percent of all rural or reservation Indians had received no schooling at all, while 43 percent had not gone beyond the eighth grade, and as many as 57 percent had completed less than one year of high school. The dropout rate for reservation Indians was three times higher than among non-Indians; some schools reported a 30 percent to 75 percent rate of Indian student withdrawals. The recommendation was that no special Indian programs be undertaken, that local White landowners be given a tax break at the expense of Indian students. In addition, Title I funds are difficult to license and account for. Virtually all Indian students qualify to receive compensatory education services that this act is supposed to support. Yet only a few projects for Indians were undertaken throughout the entire state. The abuse of Title I monies has been reported. A much closer accountability of these federal funds is necessary in order to truly benefit the Indian students for which they were intended. The past years of federal and state Indian education programs in California have indeed been dismal failures. The problems began when the government attempted to change the Indian into the shadow of the White. This coercive assimilation policy by both the state and federal school systems has resulted in the school's becoming a kind of battleground where the Indian child attempts to protect his integrity and identity as an individual by defeating the purposes of the school. As a result a record of absenteeism, dropout, negative self-image, low achievement, and ultimately academic failure has followed the great social engineering policies of the White race. Ultimate failure in education has insured the desperately necessary self-perpetuating cycle of poverty for the rural and reservation Indians.

California Indians can be justly proud that they have risen to the occasion and organized groups like the American Indian Historical Society and California Indian Education Association to insure a representative and scholarly Indian involvement at all levels of education. One example of this is the recent successful effort of the state's Indians resulted in the reestablishment of Johnson-O'Malley funds in 1969-1970. However, obstacles continue to exist. Racist attitudes of the White community continue to be a threat. The burden of yet another job loss, those Indians who have become outspoken in demanding Indian rights. Long distances of many reservations and Indian communities from school board meetings and the lack of easily obtainable information on the use of Title I and Impact Aid funds both contribute to the lack of their effective involve-
Health programs at Berkeley also offer advanced study programs for Indian students. These programs offer good opportunities for Indian students to train themselves in various professions that could be important to the future of Indian tribes and communities.

The 1970s

Despite advances made by these and other programs, the condition of the California Indian today remains a monument of disgrace to both the federal and state government. A state report summarized the most outstanding problems of the reservation communities:

Housing is grossly inadequate; living conditions are crowded, existing houses are structurally poor, foundations are lacking, electrical wiring is faulty, houses generally do not furnish the minimum necessary protection from extreme climatic conditions, from 30 to 50 percent of the homes need replacement, and 40 to 60 percent need improvements or repairs. Sewage disposal facilities are unsatisfactory in 60 to 70 percent of the cases; two county health departments report highs of 71 percent and 97 percent unsatisfactory conditions. Water from contaminated sources is used in 38 to 42 percent of the homes on California reservations; and water must be hauled, presumably under unsanitary conditions, in 40 to 50 percent of all reservation homes (California State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs 1966:32).

Of course all these problems have their origin in the poverty suffered by almost the entire Indian race. Besides the government’s bureaucratic bungling, the major reason for the vicious cycle of poverty among rural and reservation Indians remains lack of jobs. Indians have the highest rate of unemployment of any group in the state. The California State Advisory Commission (1966) reported that the median annual income for the reservation population was $2,268 for each family. Income among California Indians in rural and urban areas are comparable. Lack of job opportunities can be traced to various sources. In rural California most work is seasonal and when jobs are found, commuting is expensive and inconvenient because of a lack of transportation or poor roads. Working away from the reservation usually consumes all earnings because of low wages and high cost of living. Indian education has done little to prepare Indians for jobs since most lack employment skills. Local prejudices also made it difficult for Indians to compete against Whites for jobs. Finally, poor quality land and a scandalous lack of water made economic development on the reservations all but impossible.

Even more disturbing than these accounts is the aftermath of the government’s termination policy. Since 1958 several terminated rancheria populations have brought court action against the Bureau of Indian Affairs over responsibility of the Indian Service in carrying out provisions of the Rancheria Act. Specifically, they have charged the government with allowing both substantial domestic water systems and housing to exist at the time of termination knowing full well that neither could meet county or state standards. They have also charged the Bureau of Indian Affairs with failure to provide access roads to Indian land, prevent Whites from encroaching on rancheria lands, and make known opportunities for education and training under Section 9 of the Rancheria Act. The BIA task force reported that the loss of some rancheria land was due to sale to meet tax payments (Anonymous 1972:5).

By 1974, many of the original terminated rancherias have passed completely out of Indian ownership because of taxes and other forms of dissipation. As a result of these court actions the BIA surveyed terminated rancherias and concluded in 1972 that it would cost the government $3,876,000 to correct deficiencies in the water systems and provide new housing. Unfortunately, the BIA did not make recommendations on the steady loss of land to taxes. Nearly four million dollars of improvements will simply hasten the loss of land because of higher tax-assessed land values. Therefore, whether the government provides the money for improvements or not, these communities will continue to lose their land either slowly or quickly unless the termination process is reversed.

The cultural survival of the Indians of California depends largely on two factors. First is the ability of Indian groups to maintain a tax-free land base on which to build a viable economy. The second is an awareness by Indian groups of not only their rights but also the value of their own cultural and social patterns. There have been encouraging signs in both of these areas. The most significant issue facing California tribes in the 1970s is self-determination. “ONLY the Indians can solve their solution; only the INDIAN, with his own leadership and in his own way, can make headway” (Costo 1968:8). Driven to the depths of poverty from which they have yet to recover, the sovereignty of Indian communities has been steadily eroded by the government in its constant bungling attempts to force Indians into the melting pot. The Bureau of Indian Affairs keeps a stranglehold on native sovereignty by virtue of its administrative control over Indian land, resources, water, tribal funds, and a host of social services. With the BIA under the Department of Interior, conflicts continually arise from other agencies whose interests often adversely affect Indians, for example, the Department of Reclamation or the National Parks.

Closely related to the issues of sovereignty and self-determination is the powerless position Indians hold in the body politic of the state and nation. Because of their small and scattered numbers, there is no direct representation for Indians in the state legislature. Here Indians are dependent on goodwill rather than any reliable source of influence to affect legislation.