From Land Allotment to Land Reclamation:
Susanville Indian Rancheria Preserving Land for the Future

By

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

Systematic dispossession and economic exploitation of land removed Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people from their homelands and sites of cultural importance. Their homelands have been divided, speculated, clear cut and sold since the entrance of the settler population. Settler expansion instituted processes of psychological, physical, and cosmological violence to the Susanville Indian population. Rapid accumulation of land by settlers introduced private property and land exploitation in northeastern California. Privatization of land was further solidified by the General Allotment Act of 1887. Allotment facilitated the physical reorientation of land as an object of possession, rather than a relation. Reorganization of Native homelands and communities transformed the relationships between communities, families and territory. I analyze involuntary and voluntary dispossession as a mechanism for assimilation, solidified by law and policy. Today, the Susanville Indian Rancheria is at work to remedy the effects of land dispossession by taking collective action to preserve and expand their land base in northeastern California for the future of Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal members. Connection to land is important to all Native people. My research will offer an understanding of respect and validation of Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal members' experiences with colonialism and land dispossession. My research is the first comprehensive history of the Susanville Indian Rancheria.

DEDICATION

To my Nephews and Niece,
Chenoa, Marcus, Kayden, and Layla Morrow,
may you always remember who you are.

ACKOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to send a heartfelt thank you to my family, Jamie, Mom (Myra Newman-Langley), Dad (Raymond Langley), brothers (Stephen and James Morrow), my nephews, niece, aunties, uncles, and cousins. Also, my friends: Kelani Johnson, Vanessa Andrade, Alex Guzman, Maria Augello, Vanessa Esquivido, Jessa Rae Growing Thunder and many other people who supported me – you all are amazing! A huge thank you to the community members who offered their stories and supported my dissertation Minnow Calvin, Erma Hart, Teresa Dixon, Arian Hart, and the SIR community. I appreciate the guidance and mentorship from committee members Dr. Beth Rose Middleton-Manning, Dr. William Bauer, and Dr. Inés Hernández-Ávila. I would also like to extend a big thank you to others who have offered their mentorship and support throughout my higher education experience, particularly Annette Reed, Steven Crum, Hulleah Tsinhnahjinnie, Ricardo Torres and Michelle Villegas-Frazier. I appreciate the numerous scholarships and communities who supported my educational process, including the Susanville Indian Rancheria, United Auburn Indian Community, Morongo Band of Mission Indians, and Jack Montoya. I deeply appreciate what each of you have contributed to my higher education success. Jamie, I am thankful for you. You always believed in me when I felt like giving up, thank you for all that you have done. We did it!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

INTRODUCTION

In Fall 2014, I started graduate school at UC Davis in the Native American Studies Master's Program. When I started school at UC Davis, I did not want to write about my community, the Susanville Indian Rancheria. I wanted to stay away from politics. During my first year, my mom started pulling out old documents and information she saved over the years that was relevant to the Susanville Indian Rancheria. My mom was an archive. She handed me document after document. As a child, I remember visiting Forest Office Supply in Susanville, where she spent hours copying information she was interested in. It was like she knew that one day I would need this information. At the end of my first year in the MA program at UCD, I applied to the PhD. program. In my second year, I decided that my research would focus on my community. With the help of my mother and my growth as a scholar, I began building my own archive. My mother never finished high school, but she knew that she could support me in other ways. She believed in me andhad already foreseen my growth as a scholar. When she does something, she does it wholeheartedly. As my research grew, so did her support. She often told me "Baby, I am so proud of you." Her endless support and encouragement helped me identify the focus of my research with my Tribe, because if I don't do it, who will?

Land in northeastern California has formed my identity. I was born and raised in Northeastern California, in a small valley surrounded by the steep slopes of the Sierra Nevada mountain range. My home is Susanville, California, a rural northeastern community, near the Nevada border. I am Paiute and Shoshone and an enrolled member of the Susanville Indian Rancheria. I am not part of the Wadatudka band[1] of Paiute Indians; however, I am part of the larger Paiute community from Nevada by adoption. My great grandmother, Lucy [Wasson] Lowry, moved to Susanville from Northern Nevada; she was an enrolled member of the Winnemucca Indian Colony. My great grandmother moved to Susanville with her son, Eugene Numan, my grandfather. My grandma Lucy had a relationship with a Mountain Maidu man from Greenville, and my Aunt, Lorraine Mullen [Allen] was a child of this relationship. My grandma Lucy later married Jess Lowry and moved to Weatherlow street where my mother and her siblings were partly raised. My maternal grandparents, Eugene Newman (Numan) and Rose Bell

[1] Wadatudka band of Paiute Indians is a community incorporated under the Susanville Indian Rancheria

were married later when they met after boarding school. My grandfather Eugene Numan was an enrolled member of the Pyramid Lake Paiute tribe where his father Bert Numan was an enrolled member. My grandmother, Rose Bell was an enrolled member of the Walker River Paiute Tribe. My grandmother passed away when my mother, Myra Newman-Langley, was in the fourth grade. Her father later passed away when she had her first-born son, Harlan James Morrow, in 1973. My mother's childhood home was on the edge of the townsite on Chestnut Street in Susanville.

At the beginning of my doctoral studies, I did not want to write about the Susanville Indian Rancheria. I felt that my adoptive status would make me a target for criticism. However, I came to realize that this feeling of criticism would never go away. Someone would always be happy or unhappy with whatever I was doing. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Maori Scholar, explicitly acknowledges the ethical responsibility Indigenous scholars often face when conducting research in their own communities. "[i]nsider research has to be as ethical and respectful, as reflexive and critical, as outsider research. …insiders have to live with the consequences of their processes on a day-to-day basis for ever more, and so do their families and communities."[2] While my family may be adoptive members, our relationship with the people, land, and culture has never changed. Growing up in Susanville, I feel that I have a responsibility to the people, land and culture. It is important to me that I conduct responsible and ethical research that can be utilized by the community.

As a tribal member of the Susanville Indian Rancheria and as a Paiute and Shoshone scholar in the field of Native American Studies, the purpose of my dissertation

[2] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 2nd ed.. (New York : Zed Books, 2012), 138–40.

research is to create a comprehensive discussion of land and history as it relates to the Susanville Indian Rancheria. The Susanville Indian Rancheria is a tribal government comprised of Northern Paiute, Mountain Maidu, Achomawi, Atsugewi,[3] and Washo people. I utilize archival documents, primary and secondary sources to recount intertribal, private, county, state, and federal relations of the Susanville Rancheria Indian community from the early 1900s to the present. I focus on Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo creation, California and Nevada historical analysis, land allotments in the twentieth century, the establishment of the Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal government and land reclamation. I recognize that historical narratives are continuous and include overlapping occurrences and conditions. There is a large gap in my research, in that I do not dedicate a large amount of research to the pre-colonial history of Paiute, Maidu, Pit River, or Washo people. I apologize for this in advance, I hope that future leaders and scholars use my scholarly limitations as an opportunity to explore Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people histories before colonization more thoroughly.

My research focuses on the following questions: How do Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo creation stories center epistemological foundations for relationships in northeastern California? How do histories of California and Nevada affect Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people? How has allotment policy transformed Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo traditional homelands? How and why did Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal members became homeless in their homeland? In what ways have Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people reclaimed traditional space and place? How is land reclamation by the Susanville Indian Rancheria facilitating economic development and cultural revitalization in the region?

[3] I use the term Pit River to acknowledge Achomawi and Atsugewi people.

The goal of my dissertation research is to understand the connection between Susanville Indians and the land of northeastern California changed over time.[4] Settler expansion instituted processes of psychological, physical, and cosmological violence to the Susanville Indian population. Rapid accumulation of land by the settler population-initiated processes of land dispossession. Land accumulation by settlers introduced private property and land exploitation in northeastern California. Privatization of land was further solidified by the General Allotment Act of 1887. Allotment facilitated the physical reorientation of land as an object of possession, rather than a relation. Reorganization of Native homelands and communities transformed the relationships between communities, families and territory. I analyze involuntary and voluntary dispossession as a mechanism for assimilation, solidified by law and policy. Today, the Susanville Indian Rancheria is at work to remedy the effects of land dispossession by taking collective action to preserve and expand their land base in northeastern California for the future of Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal members. Connection to land is important to all Native people. My research will offer an understanding of respect and validation of Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal members' experiences with colonialism and land dispossession.

Our histories have been deeply affected by colonialism; we live in a world that has been deliberately based on our erasure and assimilation.[5] Colonization abruptly and forcibly removed Native people from the land and community, which has created lasting effects. One example of the lasting effect in Native communities and families is the adoption of thoughts and ideas based

[4] Susanville Indians relationships with land in northeastern California have experienced a rapid transformation with the entrance of the settler. Settler intrusion and manipulations facilitated pressured psychological and physical dispossession of Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people from their homelands.

[5] Deborah A. Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir* (Berkeley, Calif. : Heyday, 2013); Walter R Echo-Hawk, *In the Courts of the Conqueror: The 10 Worst Indian Law Cases Ever Decided* (JSTOR, 2010); Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); James J. Rawls, *Indians of California: The Changing Image*, 1st ed.. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984); Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

on distrust and animosity when it comes to belonging. The ideas of resentment and animosity have infiltrated my community. The infiltration of distrust and animosity was facilitated and heightened by the entrance of the settler population, who instituted practices of land division, speculation, clear cutting and sale, fundamentally challenging Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo land use ethics. The original people were pushed off of their land, and forced to accept western conceptions of family, government structures and ways of living.[6] Fundamentally, Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people adopted distrust and animosity through the ongoing dispossession and acculturation by settler economies and communities, which inherently caused ongoing trauma in the community. Thus, the adoption of the ideas of animosity and distrust is a trauma response to their experience with settlement. Lawrence Gross, Anishinaabe, argues that Indigenous peoples have endured an apocalypse. His apocalyptic argument is based on an understanding that, "although the traditional world of the Anishinaabe may have come to an end, the worldview that informed that life still survives."[7] Given that ongoing trauma is associated with apocalyptic experiences, Gross notes, "a post-apocalyptic period will see an abandonment of productive employment; an increase in substance abuse; an increase in violence, especially domestic violence; an abandonment of established religious practices; the adoption of fanatical forms of religion; a loss of hope; and a sense of despair on the part of the survivors."[8] Gross

[6] Cathleen Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869-1933* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 387–409; Joanne Barker, *Native Acts : Law, Recognition, and Cultural Authenticity* (Durham N.C. : Duke University Press, 2011); Robert J. Miller, "The Doctrine of Discovery in American Indian Law," SSRN Scholarly Paper (Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network, May 17, 2005), https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=721631; Jeffrey Ostler, "Genocide and American Indian History," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History*, March 2, 2015, https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.013.3; Ned Blackhawk, *Violence over the Land : Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 2006).
[7] Lawrence Gross, "Cultural Sovereignty and Native American Hermeneutics in the Interpretation of the Sacred Stories of the Anishinaabe," *Wicazo Sa Review* 18, no. 2 (2003): 129.
[8] Ibid. 130.

identifies trauma indicators as the Post-Apocalypse Stress Syndrome (PASS). He calls for a process of recovery that " principally entails rebuilding the cultural world."[9] The process of rebuilding is an idea that contributes to a decolonial future. [10] Successfully, Susanville Indian Rancheria is reclaiming land and initiating the process of rebuilding a future that enables cultural revitalization and community development. However, the transformative impact of rebuilding is a difficult process.

Similarly, Deborah Miranda, Ohlone-Costanoan Esselan, engages with the fragmentation of Indigenous people's world: "I've been thinking about the shattering and fragmentation of California Indian communities since Contact…Sometimes something is so badly broken you cannot recreate its original shape at all. If you try, you create a deformed, imperfect image of what you've lost[.]"[11] Miranda explains that the shattering of Native worlds and communities causes a transformation, as individuals and the collective experience distinct traumas. Thus, rebuilding never results in the original:

> I am beginning to realize that when something is that broke, more useful and beautiful results can come from using the pieces to construct a mosaic. You use the same pieces, but you create a new design from it. Matter cannot be created or destroyed, only transformed. If we allow the pieces of our culture to lie scattered in the dust of history, trampled on by racism and grief, then yes, we are irreparably damaged. But if we pick up the pieces and use them in new ways that honor their integrity, their colors, textures, stories – then we do those pieces justice, no matter how sharp they are, no matter how much handling them slices our fingers and makes us bleed.[12]

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[9] Ibid. 130.

[10] Angayuqaq Oscar Kawagley makes similar connections of convergence of Yupiaq worldviews and colonialism. His work addresses these intersections and how Yupiaq peoples have adapted to colonial exposures while still holding onto their Indigenous worldview. See: Oscar A. Kawagley, *A Yupiaq Worldview: A Pathway to Ecology and Spirit* (Long Grove: Waveland Press, Inc, 2006).Cutcha Risling Baldy, *We Are Dancing for You: Native Feminisms and the Revitalization of Women's Coming-of-Age Ceremonies*, Indigenous Confluences (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2018); Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance* (U of Minnesota Press, 2017); Winona LaDuke, *Recovering the Sacred: The Power of Naming and Claiming*, 1st ed. (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005).

[11] Deborah Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2013), 135.

[12] Ibid. 135.

Fundamentally, our worlds have been shattered by colonialism. California Indian communities have experienced a complete undoing of the world as they knew it. Today, individuals, families and tribal communities are working to repair their relationships with each other and the land. Our transformations are based on the hard work of talented community members and leaders. Our communities will not look as they once did. Together, we must work to imagine a future that directly engages with the apocalyptic period and rebuilds our communities to ensure our survival.

For my community, it is my hope that this research will provide usable documentation for tribal members to understand how colonialism has facilitated the adoption of distrust and manipulated our ways of knowing and doing. If we can identify the root cause of our dispossession and dissonance, we can begin to remember our responsibilities to each other and to the Honey Lake Valley. I hope that my research will provide the community with a sense of repair and satisfaction that this work was done. I come to the research with humility and respect; I understand that my words may not satisfy everyone. This document is only one piece of the rebuilding process. I hope that my research will encourage future tribal members to research and engage directly with our histories and our future.

Meet the People

The Susanville Indian Rancheria recognizes four different tribal groups as part of their political community. Historically, Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people were separate and distinct communities; each community had its own language, oral traditions, government systems, territory, and culture. The integration of Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people was facilitated by settler intrusion in the Honey Lake Valley. During settlement, Native people were inherently dispossessed, ultimately becoming homeless in their homelands. Allotments

provided Susanville Indians a mechanism to preserve rights to land. However, dispossession and sale of allotted land resulted from the condition of land allocated in northeastern California. Sale and dispossession encouraged Indian people to gather in the town of Susanville, which was noted by L.A. Dorrington, Indian agent in charge of the Reno Indian Agency, to have the largest Indian population in Lassen County.[13]

Paiute people have lived in the Great Basin region since time immemorial. Their creation stories tie them to the land of the Great Basin. Historically and into the present, Paiute communities inhabit a large region of the Great Basin extending into the southeastern slopes of the Sierra Nevada mountain range in Southern California. Paiute homelands extend north to Jon Day River in Oregon and Southern Idaho. The Honey Lake Valley is a stretch of the larger Great Basin area that expands into California. Many Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal members are from the Wadatudka band of Paiutes. Paiute communities are identified primarily by their main food sources and by geographical location.[14] Interchangeably, tribal members use terms such as Wadatudka, Numu meaning Paiute, or Paiute to describe their cultural affiliation.

Mountain Maidu people inhabit the region around Susanville. Many tribal members also refer to themselves as Yomani Maidu, which can be translated to Mountain Maidu in the Maidu language. Maidu people have lived in northern California since time immemorial, many of their communities are near the central Sierra Nevada mountain range in the Feather and American river watersheds. Mountain Maidu people also reside in northeastern valley areas such as Big Meadows, Humbug Valley, and Honey Lake Valley. In addition to Mountain Maidu, there are two other groups of Maidu people whose homelands extend to the west and south: Nisenan or

[13] RG 75, Reno Indian Agency, Annual Report 1923, pg 1-31.
[14] Paiute and Shoshone people use signifiers like Agai Dicutta or wada tuduka to note the location and food resource of the tribe.

Southern Maidu are from the American, Bear, and Yuba Rivers, and Konkow Maidu homelands include the north and middle forks of the Feather River and its tributaries.

Pit River people primarily inhabit regions along the Pit River in northeastern California. There are 11 bands of Pit River people which include, Achumawi, Aporige, Astariwawi, Atsugewi, Atwamsini, Hammawi, Hewisedawi, Ilmawi, Itsatawi, Kosalekwai, Madhesi.[15] The Pit River is a tributary of the Sacramento River. Pit River people inhabit northern California regions to the Oregon/California Border. The identifier of Pit River is derived from the river in the area. Each band corresponds to a geographical location of the village or community along the river, including the Achomawi of the Fall River Basin, the Hammawi on the south Fork of the Pit River, the Estakewach in Hot Spring Valley, the Hantewa below the Hot springs, the Chumawa in Round Valley, the Atuamih in Big Valley, and the Ilmawi in Fort Crook.[16]

Washoe people inhabit regions of the eastern Sierras on the high mountain lakes and valleys, situated on the edge of the Great Basin. Other terms used to describe Washo people include Washiw or Wa She Shu. Washoe people have lived around the Lake Tahoe Basin and surrounding areas since time immemorial.[17] The culture of the Washoe people have commonalities with both the Great Basin and California people. Washoe communities are recognized based on what part of the territory from which they came. The communities stretched as far as Honey Lake in the north and Woodfords in the south[18] and from Carson City in the east to Truckee in the West.

The Honey Lake Valley hosted four different language groups. Given that there is varying use of language, anthropologist Victor Golla notes that language use was in some area

[15] Victor Golla, *California Indian Languages - 01UCD* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2011).
[16] Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (Berkeley: Berkeley : University of California Press, 1976), 267.
[17] Jo Ann Nevers, *Wa She Shu: A Washo Tribal History* (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, 1976), 8.
[18] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 138–40.

mutually intelligible. This can also highlight other relationships that connected tribal groups in the region such as trade, gathering, intermarriage, and ceremonial relationships.[19] Language is an important tool for understanding Native American worldviews, identity, and nationhood.[20] Twenty different language families exist in California.[21] Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people each speak a different language, which stems from a specific language family. The tribes in the area come from three distinct language families Uto-Aztecan (Paiute), Penutian (Maidu) and Hokan (Washo and Pit River). Language families are often characterized as groups of languages that are "genetically related" based upon techniques developed in comparative linguistics.[22] The characteristics of each tribal group and language family vary across region and community.

The Paiute Language is a part of the Uto-Aztecan language family, codified as a version of the Numic Branch. The Numic chain is broken up into western, central and southern. Uto-Aztecan is one of the largest and most diverse American languages extending from the Great Basin and the Great Plains to Central America. [23] The Northern Paiute language has been well documented by linguists and anthropologists.[24] However, Northern Paiute is in the process of intergenerational transmission being broken or lost. The Northern Paiute language is still utilized by the child-rearing generations, however this does not mean speakers are passing down the

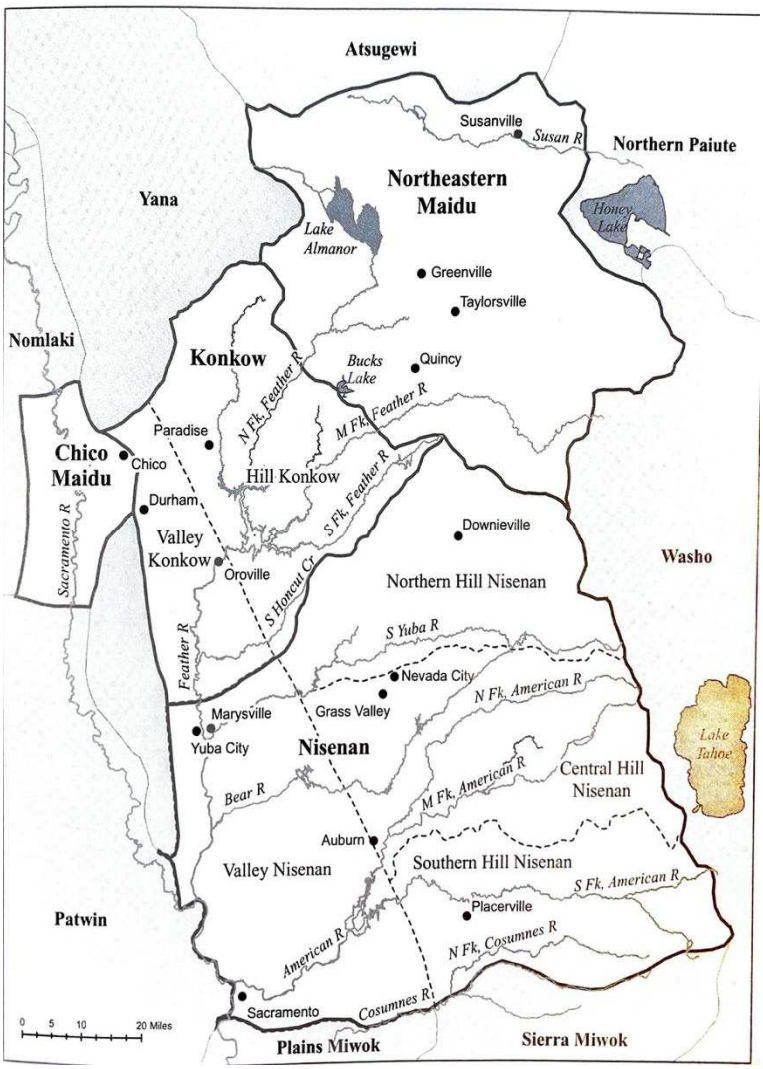
[19] Golla, Victor, *California Indian Languages - 01UCD*.
[20] See Leanne Hinton, *Flutes of Fire: Essays on California Indian Languages* (Heyday Books, 1994); Gerald R Alfred, *Wasa'se : Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom*, Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom (Peterborough, Ont.: Peterborough, Ont., 2005); Golla, Victor, *California Indian Languages - 01UCD*., etc.
[21]Golla, Victor. *California Indian Languages*. Berkeley: U of California, 2011.
[22] Laurence C Thompasen and Dale Kinkage chapter on language in the Handbook of North American Indian s
[23] Golla, Victor..
[24] Sven S. (Sven Samuel) Liljeblad, *The Northern Paiute-Bannock Dictionary: With an English-Northern Paiute-Bannock Finder List and a Northern Paiute-Bannock-English Finder List* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2012); Willard Z. (Willard Zerbe) Park, *Willard Z. Park's Ethnographic Notes on the Northern Paiute of Western Nevada, 1933-1940*, Anthropological Papers (Salt Lake City, Utah) ; No. 114 (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1989); Tim Thornes and Maziar Toosarvandani, "Northern Paiute Texts: Introduction 1," *International Journal of American Linguistics* 86, no. S1 (2020): S1–11, https://doi.org/10.1086/707224.

language to their children. There are multiple efforts to restore language transmission in various communities across Northern Nevada.[25]

The Maidu language is a part of the Penutian language family. Anthropologists Alfred Kroeber and Ronald B. Dixon coined the term "Penutian" in 1913 to show interrelation between several groups Wintu, Ohlone, Miwok, Maidu, and Yokuts[26] languages.[27] The language was

[25] "Paiute, Northern," Ethnologue, accessed January 7, 2021, https://www.ethnologue.com/language/pao.
[26] Golla, Victor. *California Indian Languages*. Berkeley: U of California, 2011. 128.
[27] Ibid.

documented by R.B. Dixon and from 1899-1903 and by William Shippley's work in 1955. [28] The



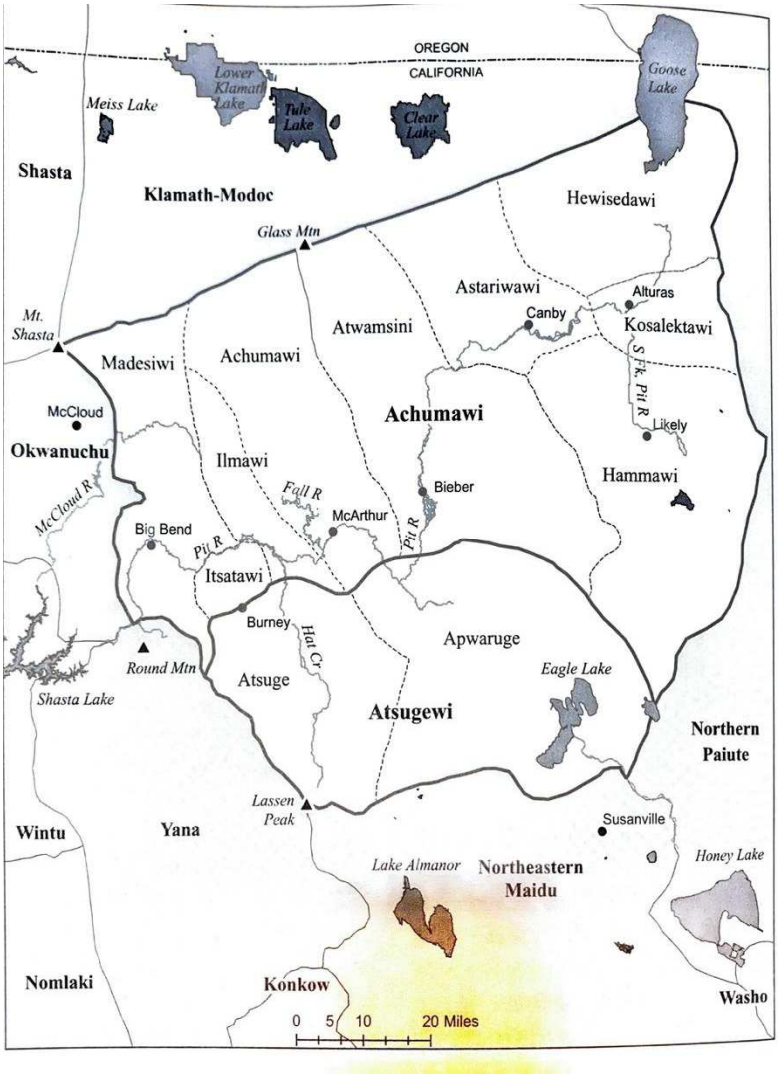
Maidu language is considered critically endangered.[29] Intergenerational transmission for the Maidu language is low, however communities are continuing to work toward revitalization. Specifically, the Susanville Indian Rancheria has worked to host Maidu language workshops to encourage language use within the community.

Atsugewi and Achomawi are a part of the Palaihnihan family, a branch of the Hokan language family. Achumawi has a cluster of nine dialects, which are spoken along the Pit River from Big Bend to Goose Lake.[30] Much of the research on the Achumawi language is unpublished.[31] The Achomawi language is considered critically

[28] Roland Burrage Dixon, *Maidu Texts*, Publications of the American Ethnological Society ; v. 4 (Leyden: Late EJBrill, 1912); William Shipley, "Maidu and Nisenan: A Binary Survey," *International Journal of American Linguistics* 27, no. 1 (1961): 46–51, https://doi.org/10.1086/464602.
[29] "Maidu, Northeast," Ethnologue, accessed January 7, 2021, https://www.ethnologue.com/language/nmu/map.

[30] Golla, Victor, *California Indian Languages*, 95.
[31] See Golla, Victor, *California Indian Languages - 01UCD*, 323–68.Gibbs George 1861-1862. Comparative Vocabulary of Lutuami and Pit River recorded by Gibbs 1861-1862. NAA MS 549, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution. 4. Pp. Horatio Hale, 1846. Ethnography and Philology, Vol. 6 of United State Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839 ,1840, 1841, 1842, Under the Commadander of Charles Wilks, USN. Philadelphia. Powers, *Tribes of California.Horatio* Hale 1846 , George Gibbs 1861-1862.
Atsegewi has been well documented but only a small portion has been published. David Olmstead 1958 1961 Diane walters walter 1977 , Talmy 1972 1985,

endangered with fewer than 20 speakers.[32] The Atsugewi language is spoken in the southern Half

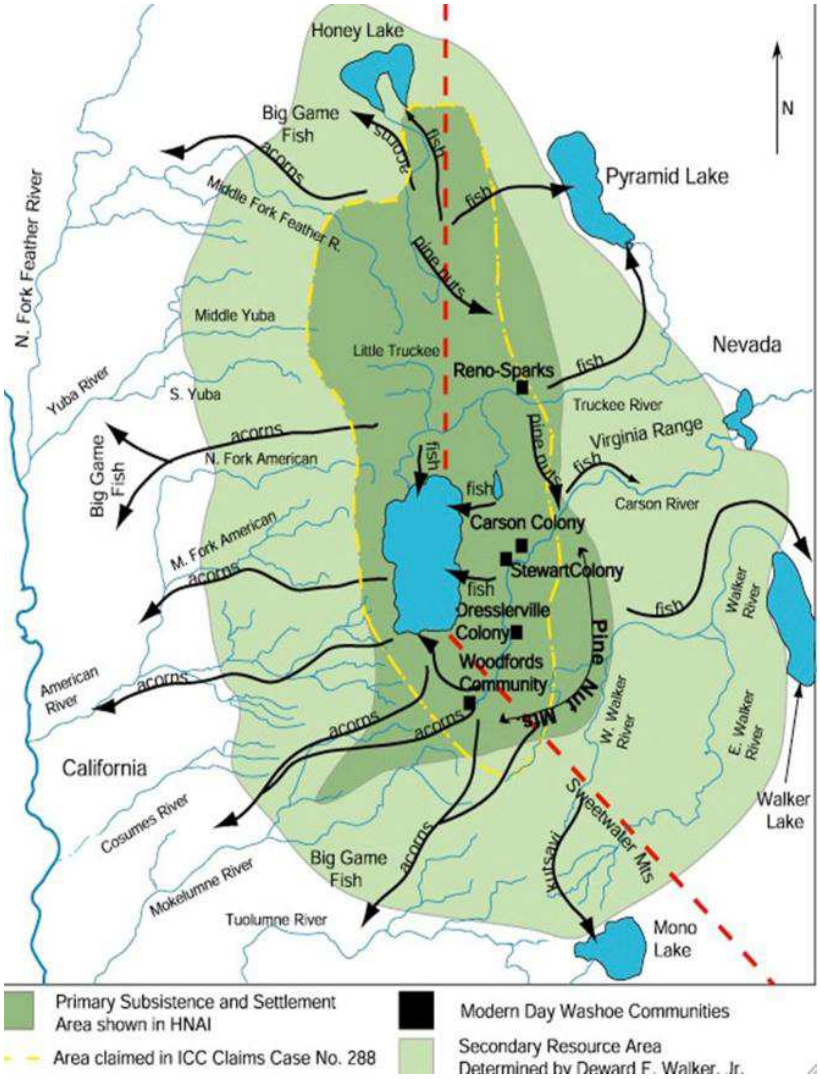


of the Pit River homeland, along the Hat Creek and Dixie Valley in two dialects.[33] Atsegewi has been well documented, but only a small portion of this work has been published.[34]

Washoe language is classified as a distinct branch of the Hokan language family known as Washoan. The language is considered to be an isolate. Currently the Washo language is severely endangered. It is believed that there are 20 or fewer speakers, and most are elderly.[35] The Washo language is a part of the Hokan language family, which is related to other California Indian

[32] D. L. Olmsted, *A History of Palaihnihan Phonology.*, University of California Publications in Linguistics; v. 35 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964).
[33] Golla, Victor, *California Indian Languages*, 95.
[34] See Golla, Victor, *California Indian Languages,* 323–68. Bruce E Nevin, "ASPECTS OF PIT RIVER PHONOLOGY," n.d., 182; James J. Bauman, *Pit River Teaching Dictionary* (Anchorage, Alaska: National Bilingual Materials Development Center, Rural Education, University of Alaska, 1979).Olmsted, *A History of Palaihnihan Phonology.*
[35] Caitlin Keliiaa, "Washiw Wagayay Maŋal: Reweaving the Washoe Language" (UCLA, 2012), ii, https://escholarship.org/uc/item/4zd060kz.

languages such as Karuk, Shasta, and Esselen.[36] Washoe is the only tribe located in the great basin that is not part of the Uto-Aztecan language family.[37]



I will use the terms Paiute, Maidu, Washo and Pit River as identifiers for members of the Susanville Indian Rancheria. Traditionally, tribal groups in the area did not refer to themselves as Paiute, Maidu, Pit River or Washo. Their communities utilized words in their own languages that specifically recognized them as "the people." The use and adoption of Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo employ a colonial idealization of who Native people are. The restrictive names of colonial terminology can be associated with a western ideology and principles that ensure the dissolution of political and cultural identities. Tribal groups lived as neighbors, friends, enemies, acquaintances, lovers, and trading partners.

[36] Ibid.
[37] William H. Jacobsen Jr., "A Grammar of the Washo Language." Diss. University of California, Berkeley, 1964, 1.

The relationships between members of the Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people are complex. Tribal groups have long participated in interpersonal relationships with one another, and some tribal members argue that, traditionally, the tribes were enemies or unfriendly to each other. Interaction between the four groups is centered on the Honey Lake Valley. I will not discuss who belongs and does not belong, because I do not feel that it is my right to dismiss belonging. Instead, I hope that my work is respectful to the Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo communities who call the Honey Lake Valley home.

Susanville Indian Rancheria

California is home to 109 federally recognized Indian tribes, with a number tribal entities petitioning for recognition, and a handful of tribes who choose not to petition the federal government to receive recognition.[38] Since time immemorial, Indigenous people in California have resided on this land. Currently, California has the highest population of Native Americans in the country, making up 12 percent of the overall population. In the state, there are nearly 100 rancherias or reservations, as well as a number of individual Indian allotment lands held in trust by the Federal Government.

The Susanville Indian Rancheria is one of those 109 federally recognized tribes that has a land base. Susanville is located near the California and Nevada state-imposed border. However, more importantly, it is situated at the convergence of two different geographical regions and anthropological cultural areas, California and the Great Basin, in what is known as the high-desert region. The convergence of two different environments led California-Nevada Indians to live a unique lifestyle; tribal groups negotiated subsistence activities that depended on both the desert region and the coniferous forest. Susanville is on the west side of the Honey Lake Valley.

[38] "California Tribal Communities," California Courts The Judicial Branch of California, 2021, https://www.courts.ca.gov/3066.htm.

The Honey Lake Valley stretches from Susanville and overlaps the California-Nevada border. It is considered to be a part of the larger Great Basin Desert. The High Desert is dominated by sagebrush and the terrain is flat or gently rolling; it meets the Sierra Nevada and Cascade mountain ranges, where coniferous forests line the valley.

Indians living in Susanville organized and were granted 30 acres from a government appropriations act in 1923.[39] This land base became the original 30 acres to provide collective land use for Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people. The land is designated as non-tribally specific, because of the diverse Native population that lives in the region. Considering where the rancheria lies today, historically it was on the edge of the Susanville townsite. My mother recalls her childhood playing along the rocks that lined the property line. Her childhood home is the #2 land assignment on the rancheria. Today, some of the rocks still remain behind the tribal housing on the lower Rancheria. The original 30-acres lot now serves as a primary source to the governing functions of the Susanville Indian Rancheria.

The Susanville Indian Rancheria is not a historical existing tribal entity. Rather, it is a tribal entity created out of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (IRA). In 1973, "Susanville Indians" voted to accept the Indian Reorganization Act, thus creating the Susanville Indian Rancheria. Tribal leaders recognized the necessity of collective recognition for all community members living on the original 30 acres. With approval of the IRA, members of Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo communities were amalgamated under the Susanville Indian Rancheria. The United States government recognizes Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people of Lassen County as one political entity, the Susanville Indian Rancheria.[40]

[39] Susanville Indian Rancheria, "History: Our Land," accessed March 1, 2016. http://sir-nsn.gov/history.html

[40] It is important to note that not all Susanville Indians are enrolled under the Susanville Indian Rancheria. There are two tribes in the area that are federally unrecognized: Honey Lake Maidu and Wadatudka Band of Paiute Indians.

Currently, the Susanville Indian Rancheria has around 1,900 members, lineal descendants of Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people who lived in Lassen County. Relationality through community has created a pan-Indian identity for Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal members. Children and adults hold identities that connect, sometimes, with all four tribal entities. Relationality through marriage and community creates continuous interactions between tribal groups. Continuous interactions and bonds create an intergenerational relationality between tribal groups who make up the Susanville Indian Rancheria. I identified the term intergenerational relationality is a concept that highlights the distinction and long-lasting connections between communities from time immemorial. Fundamentally, intergenerational relationality creates a network of responsibility to uphold cultural practices of each tribal group. As a practice the Susanville Indian Rancheria is maintaining the responsibility of intergenerational relationality by restoring traditional homelands, through this action the tribal nation is prioritizing access to and stewardship of Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo homelands and cultures. Land restoration serves as an action to preserve the diverse worldviews of the cultural identities of the Tribes that compose the Rancheria.

Methodology and Process

My methodological praxis is centered in a Native American Studies framework. Native American Studies is an interdisciplinary academic field. By foregrounding a critical Native American Studies lens, scholars in Native American Studies escape the totalizing systems of academia. The interdisciplinary structure of Native American Studies allows scholars to integrate and connect ideas from various disciplines, making research that is unique to the researcher or scholar. As NAS Professor Jace Weaver explains in his analysis of Native American Studies, the discipline simultaneously uses various approaches and methods to achieve culturally responsive

scholarship for the benefit of Native communities and people.[41] As such, my research is centered in NAS because I believe in developing scholarship that serves my community. As Clara Sue Kidwell, White Earth Chippewa and Choctaw, and Alan Velie write:

> ...the academic disciplines which have used Indians as subjects of study – history, anthropology, religion, for instance – do not conform to the contours of Indian life. Oral histories that constitute part of the shared knowledge of a community...do not necessarily agree in precise detail with written historical records.[42]

Scholarship created within a Native American Studies context can include multiple subjects, ideas, terms, and topics that speak to different perspectives, applications, and disciplines. The integration of ideas encourages scholars to develop skills that benefit their work or community.

As a scholar in Native American studies, I borrow methodological and theoretical foundations from different academic disciplines such as ethno-history and racial capitalism. Utilization of an ethno-historical lens centers my research focus on the Susanville Indian Rancheria. Steven Crum, Western Shoshone, defines ethno-history as "…a type of cultural history which combines anthropological methods with history. It relies on a wide variety of sources, including geography, history, language studies, and oral history...[rejecting] indigenous peoples as 'frozen in time and space.'"[43] William Bauer's, Wailacki and Concow, study of migrant farmworkers in northern California employed ethno-history to focus on California Indians as "the central actor in historical narratives" as a theoretical framework.[44] As a framework, ethno-history provides a critical lens to center on Susanville Indian history. I use ethnohistory to provide the Susanville Indian community with a tangible resource to understand

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[41] Jace Weaver, "More Light Than Heat: The Current State of Native American Studies," *American Indian Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (2007).
[42] Clara Sue Kidwell, *Native American Studies* (Lincoln [Neb.]: Lincoln Neb. : University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 8.
[43] Steven Crum , "Ethnohistory," Ethnohistorical Theory and Method, Lecture for 130 C, given in 2015.
[44] William J. Bauer, *We Were All like Migrant Workers Here : Work, Community, and Memory on California's Round Valley Reservation, 1850-1941* (Chapel Hill: Chapel Hill : University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 24.

how our stories of creation, dispossession and development can create a decolonized future. Tactfully I utilized primary and secondary sources to encourage my growth as a scholar and community member to learn about the past, utilization of sources is rooted in a Native American Studies methodological praxis.

I also incorporate the field of racial capitalism as a didactic of removal. Cedric Robinson, a professor of Black Studies and Political Science, argues that "the term 'racial capitalism' requires its users to recognize that capitalism *is* racial capitalism. Capital can only be capital when it is accumulating, and it can only accumulate by producing and moving through relations of severe inequality among human groups […] procedures of racialization and capitalism are ultimately never separable from each other."[45] As a framework, racial capitalism provides insight on Susanville Indian land dispossession for economic development in northeastern California. Primarily, I focus on the plausibility of the United States government to utilize law and policy to deconstruct Native American claims to land. As Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Maori, explains, "History is also about power. In fact, history is mostly about power. It is the story of the powerful and how they became powerful, and then how they use their power to keep them in positions in which they can continue to dominate others."[46] As a Native American Studies scholar, the integration of various theoretical and methodological praxis enables me to write a dissertation that counters the settler history of Honey Lake Valley. I seek to center Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people as the primary focus of this work. My work is not primarily an academic feat; rather, it is focused on community growth.

[45] Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*, Third World Studies (London : Totowa, N.J.: Zed ; Biblio Distribution Center, 1983).
[46] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 17.

Relationality to research is a primary foundation to my research process and progress. To benefit the community, researchers must understand the necessity of culturally responsible research carried out in Native communities. This means that research conducted for Native American communities by Native researchers is interwoven with aspects of identity, relationality, self-determination, Indigenous rights, and sovereignty.[3] Shawn Wilson, Opaskwayak Cree, explores the relationship between Indigenous communities and Indigenous research. Indigenous researchers are in a constant process to maintain accountability to the community and to the research itself, similar to a ceremony. Wilson argues that the "the purpose of any ceremony is to build stronger relationships or bridge the distance between aspects of our cosmos and ourselves. The research that we do as Indigenous people is a ceremony that allows us a raised level of consciousness and insight into our world."[4] Inherently, my research has encouraged my growth as a community member and scholar. Research by and for Native American communities is based on relationships. Thus, the research process, when informed by Indigenous ways of knowledge, inherently becomes decolonial. Linda Tuhiwai Smith explains: "Decolonization […] does not mean and has not meant a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge. Rather it is about centering our concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes"[5] Research conducted in Native American communities is simultaneously an academic and a community project because the basis of research must be respectful, responsible, and reciprocal.[6] My work fosters respectful relationships between myself and the community.

During my research process, I actively reached out to the community to learn and understand the ways in which we connect to each other through intergenerational relationality. Intergenerational relationality was often discussed in oral interviews with community

members.[47] Waziyatawin states "'Oral tradition' refers to the way in which information has been passed on rather than to the length of time something has been told. Events, experience, incidents can be a part of oral tradition as long as that person adopting the memories is a part of oral traditions."[48] Native consciousness and epistemological practice recognizes the importance of oral tradition within historical narratives.[49] Oral stories allow for Native American nations to transform in the contemporary world, providing Native American communities with a foundation in who they are and where they are going.[50] The utilization of community member knowledge and archival resources preserve information that is valuable for the future of the Susanville Indian Rancheria. Maintenance and use of diverse knowledge systems enhances the ability for communities to connect with the past. Waziyatawin writes from a Dakota perspective, documenting the stories of her *Unkanna* Eli Taylor for the future generations of Dakota people. She offers readers a different perspective, condemning the way western history is written, calling for Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars and researchers to value Indigenous histories from the perspective of the Indigenous voice and worldview. The incorporation of Indigenous perspectives in historical research is necessary to create a decolonial future.[51] Valuing Indigenous knowledge systems and relationships is imperative to my methodological practice.

Northeastern California serves as my epicenter for Indigenous thought. I was born and raised in Susanville. Relationality with the Susanville Indian Rancheria community and land is based on respect. Anthropologist Keith Basso discusses the ways in which oral narratives

[47] I do feel the need to state that my oral interview aspect of my dissertation is not as strong as I would like. Because of the Covid-19 pandemic, I have had trouble connecting with community members to schedule interviews or follow up questions. In the future, I would like to expand on the oral interview portion of my research.
[48] Waziyatawin Angela Wilson, *Remember This!: The Eli Taylor Narratives and Dakota Decolonization* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 27.
[49] As seen in Kovach's *Indigenous Methodologies* and Wilson's *Research is Ceremony.*
[50] Wilson, 17.
[51] Wilson, 23.

establish and maintain the lasting bonds between Native American people and the landscape. Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal members have a deep bond to each other and the Honey Lake Valley. These bonds endure across time through the use of storytelling. Oral traditions educate Native American communities on how to interact, act, survive and act responsibly; "they hold us together through time and beyond the boundaries of the state."[52] Active participation in community is a practice I utilize to interact with community members. Interacting with and listening to the community and the land are important tools to gain insightful knowledge of the past.

As a community member of the Susanville Indian Rancheria, the idea of conducting research on my community was an something that I did not want to commit. I did not want to engage in the politics of belonging or enter into arguments about territorial boundaries. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith states, "research is not an innocent or distant academic exercise but an activity that has something at stake and that occurs in a set of political and social conditions."[53] Taking the idea of community stakeholders into consideration, research is both political and social; connection to the community becomes an integral part of the research process. I understand that what I write and how I conduct myself are inextricably linked with my community. As a community member, I work to produce research that can be utilized by the Susanville Indian Rancheria community to understand our distinct history as Susanville Indians.[54] Personal growth has been an inherent part of this process. In some instances, it has been debilitating; I often would go

[52] Stephanie Nohelani Teves, Andrea Smith, and Michelle H. Raheja, *Native Studies Keywords* (Tucson : The University of Arizona Press, 2015), 86.
[53] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples*.
[54] I understand that other community members may not respect or like what I write. When I started, I agonized over the idea that my research would not be liked. However, I have grown and feel that my research provides an indigenized future based on respect and relationality to Susanville Indians in the Honey Lake Valley.

days or weeks without looking at my dissertation. This was not helpful or useful to completing my graduate school endeavor. However, the support from my community, family, and mentors pushed me to keep working. Developing the ability to overcome obstacles is a process we all face. Research is not an easy task; we are inextricably tied to the process.

My research project interweaves different methodological practices that will contribute not only to a successful research praxis, but a community responsive practice. As a Paiute/Shoshone researcher it is important that my research give back to the community, while contributing to the growing scholarly research focused on northeastern California. My dissertation research is based primarily on archival research, oral interviews and analysis of secondary sources. My methodology has been specifically and deeply informed by Linda Tuhiwai Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies,* Shawn Wilson's *Research is Ceremony,* Waziyatawin Angela Wilson, *Remember This!: The Eli Taylor Narratives and Dakota Decolonization,* and Keith Basso's *Wisdom Sits in Places.* Integration of methodological tools and sources allows me to connect various disciplines and ideas, making the research unique to me as the researcher.[55]

I have had the ability to conduct research since my first year at UC Davis. I have received funding from UC Davis Block Grant, Mellon Foundation, and Yoche Dehe Endowment for California Indian Studies. My research progress continued throughout my seventh year at UC Davis. I spent countless hours in the archives, talking with the community, and analyzing

[55] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 2nd ed.. (London ; New York : New York: London ; New York : Zed Books ; New York : Distributed in the USA exclusively by Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Shawn Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* (Fernwood Publishing, 2008), https://eduq.info/xmlui/handle/11515/35872; Waziyatawin, *Remember This!: Dakota Decolonization and the Eli Taylor Narratives*, Contemporary Indigenous Issues (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005); Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

information. The dissertation process is not an easy feat, but at the end I believe that it is worth it. Archival research and oral interviews are the basis of my research.

Oral Interviews

My interviews were conducted with community members who hold knowledge of the development of the Susanville Indian Rancheria. As a research project that involves human subjects, I was required to submit an application to the UC Davis Institutional Review Board (IRB). My application was approved as of February 2018. Following the IRB protocols, I informed interview participants on the goals of the project, and the potential risks and benefits associated with the participation in the project.

I have been in contact with members of the Tribal Business Council and received approval to conduct research in the community. I formally interviewed tribal members from the four different tribal groups of the Susanville Indian Rancheria.[56] During the research process, I first reached out to women from the four different tribes. I am grateful that these women shared their stories, pictures, and homes with me.[57] During the interview process, I used protocols that are laid out in *The American Indian Oral History Manual, Research is Ceremony,* and *Decolonizing Methodologies,* including participating in a reciprocal relationship.[58] As a custom, reciprocity establishes a relationship based on respect and accountability to the tribal community. The tribal members who agreed to share their stories included Minnow Calvin, Erma Hart, Teresa Dixon, Donna Clark, and Melany Johnson. Their stories and interviews expanded my understanding of land in northeastern California. It was important for me to gather their stories

[56] The information in my dissertation is not only collected from interview participants or archives. Some information is experiential. I have grown up in Susanville, California, as have my mother, father and brother.
[57] I interviewed: Marion Calvin, Erma Hart, Teresa Dixon, Donna Clark and Jim Mackay(Tribal Administrator).
[58] Charles E. Trimble, Barbara W. Sommer, and Mary Kay Quinlan, *The American Indian Oral History Manual: Making Many Voices Heard* (Routledge, 2016); Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples*; Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*.

because they are women who maintain and hold cultural practices and cultural knowledge from their communities.

I admire these women for their willingness to speak up and share their knowledge with others. Minnow Calvin is a respected Paiute elder in the Susanville Indian Rancheria community. She asked that I not record her interview but just listen to her speak. When I listened to her, her daughters Michelle Moose & Lisa Lent were there along with Lisa's granddaughter. They also offered their insight on the history and events on the Susanville Indian Rancheria. In this instance, I reflected upon intergenerational bonds that we all share.

Erma Hart is Maidu and a respected elder in my community. I have known Erma all my life. Erma dedicates her time to the tribe on a daily basis. She has and continues to serve on various boards and continues to commit her time to serving the Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal community. Currently, Erma services on the Susanville Indian Rancheria Housing Authority. She has served on the Indian Child Welfare Act board and been a receptionist for the Tribal Office. As a witness to Erma's commitment to the Susanville Indian Rancheria, her knowledge and stories are invaluable to the research project.

Teresa Dixon is a member and leader of the Wada-tudka people. I grew up calling her auntie and always listening to her stories and jokes. She is one of my mother's oldest friends. She carries on the stories of the Paiute people in the Honey Lake Valley. She is a descendant of Old Man Joaquin, one of the survivors of the Papoose Meadow Massacre.[59] Teresa's father, Oudie Dixon was one of our first elected leaders when the Rancheria became recognized. He helped build and develop the Lower Rancheria into what it is today.

[59] Papoose Meadow Massacre occurred at Eagle Lake in Northern California. In 1866, Paiute people were in Papoose Meadows to gather and fish along the nearby stream when they were attacked by a group of settlers. Teresa Dixon, Interview, September 2019

Donna Clark is a member of the Washiw and Maidu people, she worked in our Natural Resource Department and served as a leader in Maidu language preservation and revitalization. I have known Donna for a number of years. Donna always expands my understanding of the Valley. She worked closely with Maidu leader Farrell Cunningham yatam who has now passed away, who avidly worked to revitalize the Maidu language and reclaim Maidu homelands. Donna often shares her perspectives on language revitalization and the work she does in her own family to make sure that the knowledge is passed down.

Melany Johnson is not a tribal member but a member of the Pit River and Maidu communities and Susanville Indian Rancheria's Tribal Historic Preservation Officer. Melany has immense knowledge of the Susanville Indian Rancheria. She is very easy to talk to and our conversations often flow and are guided by our interests in the future of the Susanville Indian Rancheria. I did not have a chance to sit down with Melany because of the pandemic, however, she did offer to answer many of my questions through email.

I have had personal connections with these women throughout my life. These women are leaders, cultural bearers and elders in my community; their insight and valuable knowledge has assisted me with creating a research project that has helped me grow as a community member and scholar. However, the COVID-19 pandemic has played an important role in my research. Because I was secluded at home, I was unable to conduct as many interviews as I anticipated. I believe this presents an opportunity to future researchers who want to explore the area. Additionally, I would like to continue some version of this work after graduating. For those that offered their time and voice to the project, I am thankful and I wish I could have done more. I hope that reading their interviews will do the same for other tribal members. Some of the women

have chosen to recuse some of the information that they shared with me, and I have worked to be respectful of their privacy.

Archival Research

For my research study I utilized archival documents, including both primary and secondary from federal, tribal, state and private archives to create a narrative that embodies Susanville Indian Rancheria histories and experiences.

Primary Sources

Early on in the process, I contacted the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer and the Cultural Resource Department, both of whom shared valuable information with me pertaining to land reclamation and Susanville Indian land interests. I utilized this information in conjunction with archives from the other facilities that I visited. The National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) stores comprehensive documents and materials relating to Indian tribes. Records created by the Bureau of Indian Affairs are contained under Record Group 75. The scope of Record Group 75 includes, but is not limited to, documents relating to correspondence, census, enrollment, reports, education, Indian allotments, census, and resolutions. I conducted research at the National Archives Regional Branches in San Bruno, CA and Washington D.C.

In the San Bruno and Washington D.C. branches of NARA, I primarily looked for correspondence between Tribal members, Indian Agents, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Bureau of Indian Affairs collections (RG 75). In summer 2015 and 2016, I conducted preliminary research at the Washington D.C. branch, uncovering primary documents that are imperative to understanding the implications of the Dawes Allotment Act on Susanville Indians. Additionally, these repositories were particularly helpful in providing historical documents that

pertain to the formation and development of the Susanville Indian Rancheria, and defining the tribal relationships with each other, county, state and federal entities. Ultimately, archival information in Washington D.C. and San Bruno provided information about the position and perspective of the U.S., the State of California, Lassen County, and corporate interests regarding Native American people.

Through my initial research, I gained an insight into the primary documents that provided a foundation to my dissertation research. Archival research provided me with the ability to gauge and understand the context of erasure of Native peoples and economic development of the area. To fill in the gaps of this research, I visited the Minnesota Historical Society to research the T. B. Walker and Family Papers. The Red River Lumber Company was a family-owned corporation in Minnesota and California. The Walker Family began acquiring land in northern California during the early 1900's. The records offered a variety of valuable insights into Red River's business operations, acquisition of land and business partnerships. Investigation of the Walker archives is imperative to understanding how economic development aided in the destruction of Native American claims to land in northeastern California. The Red River Lumber Company archival information is imperative to my investigation into the process of economic induced displacement.

Lastly, I visited Special Collections at UC Berkeley and UC Davis to uncover information that is related to Susanville Indians. At UC Berkeley, I visited the C. Hart Merriam papers. C. Hart Merriam was a biologist and ethnologist who studied California Indian people. Merriam's archive provided ethnogeography and ethnographic materials that expanded my understanding of Susanville Indian community members' connections to each other and to the Honey Lake Valley. At the UC Davis Special Collection, I researched the Al Logan Slagle

Archives. Al Logan Slagle was a member of the United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians and worked at California Indian Legal Services in Oakland. His records offered Susanville Indian Rancheria land and enrollment information. Also in Special Collections, I visited the David Risling archives. Dave Risling, Hupa, Yurok and Karuk, was a professor of Native American Studies at UC Davis from 1970-1991. His collection is informative to understand California Indian community development. Archival research provided me with the ability to gauge and understand the attempted erasure of Native peoples, particularly in the context of economic development in northeastern California. Additionally, archives serve as active reminder of the ways in which Native American people resisted erasure. The archive preserves stories of survivance and accountability to the future of California Indian Nations.

Overview of Chapters

Chapter one centers on Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo Creation stories, offering an analysis that engages with the beginning of life. Creation stories are the foundation to who we are as Native people. Stories of creation place land, animate, and inanimate objects at the epicenter of Native thought and being. I work to establish an ethic that centers land as a basis for Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal identity; this discussion is imperative to the acknowledgment of the importance of land in northeastern California. I actively work to assert knowledge that centers on balance as an extension of respect and inclusivity.

I have chosen to provide all four creation narratives to engage with each of the tribal nations that are composed in the Susanville Indian Rancheria. In the Susanville Indian community, there are multiple discussions that center on belonging and land tenure. Some members of specific tribal communities reject claims of belonging to the other. In this case, I am specifically discussing Paiute and Maidu people. The Honey Lake Valley is an in-land valley

that stretches from the western part of Nevada, encompassing Susanville and multiple rivers and adjoining some interior valleys that are within the Sierra Nevada Mountain Range. Members of the Paiute and Maidu communities are in a constant process of asserting their traditional homeland claims. I have chosen not to directly address the historical claims to the valley. I feel that with the entrance of colonialism, the ideas of belonging and not belonging are a settler colonial ideas that aim to displace and disregard traditional knowledge of space and place.

Chapter two offers the reader a conceptualization of the Honey Lake Valley as a borderland. In this instance, I build off the work of Gloria Anzaldua to provide a framework for the hybridization and community building that takes place in the Honey Lake valley. I follow up this discussion to discuss the ways in Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people interact with the landscape through relationality, language, ceremony, and plants. Due to the limited ability to talk to the community, due to the COVID 19 pandemic, I was unable to fully explore my arguments for the chapter. I hope research this more in the future. Currently, it provides the reader with an understanding that the Honey Lake Valley is a crafted and curated landscape that support Indigenous Nationhood.

Chapter three offers a comparative analysis of California and Nevada histories. I explore the post-invasion history that affected Native American people in California and Nevada. I critically analyze colonial processes of land disposition and assimilation. Specifically, I focus on critical themes and topics that are relevant to Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people. I strategically examine settler intrusion and the fur trade, land contestation, treaties, mining, ethnographic imperialism, and assimilation to understand the effective mechanism of colonialism that disrupted and transformed the California and Nevada Indian landscapes. This discussion is imperative to understand the justification for Native American land dispossession. This

discussion will further encourage the members of the Susanville Indian Rancheria to recognize that their experiences as Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people were similar with the entrance of the settler population. I hope that this provides a basis to focus on similarities rather than differences in historical occurrences.

Chapter four interrogates the Dawes Allotment Act of 1887 and the imposition of economic entities that participated in the displacement of Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people. A large body of this discussion will be based on archival information gathered from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Red River Lumber Company archives. I interrogate the utilization of the Doctrine of Discovery by the United States government and federal Indian policy to justify the settler nations' interest in controlling land title and the allotment of Indian land. Control of land and land allotment by the United States government fundamentally restructured Native American lives and land tenure. Examination of expansion and development by economic interests aided in the exploitation of Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo homelands in northeastern California.

Chapter five will discuss how the Susanville Indian Rancheria is participating in land buy-back programs for cultural revitalization and land reclamation. This will consist of interviews with tribal members, leaders and elders. In this chapter, I provide a thorough investigation of the land the Susanville Indian Rancheria has reclaimed. The Susanville Indian Rancheria has a total land base of 1,547.36 acres.[60] Of the 1,547.36 acres, 1,401/74 remain in trust status and 287.62 acres have fee status. The tribe has entered into multiple processes of land restoration which include purchase, federal transfer, and donation. The ability to reclaim land in

[60] This figure is inclusive of the original 30 acres.

northeastern California empowers Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal members to create and build a decolonized future that tactfully prioritizes nationhood.

Susanville Indians have worked tirelessly to maintain and retain their cultural homelands in northeastern California. Despite the presence of colonial institutions that avidly work to prevent them from returning to the land and culture, tribal leaders have worked effortlessly to make sure their presence is felt. Through collective action the Susanville Indian Rancheria has been able to secure land in the region that aids in cultural and economic development. I believe that it is my primary duty as a tribal member and scholar to include the voices of the land and members who have been affected by this history.

CHAPTER 1: IN THE BEGINNING

> No matter where you go on the planet, Indigenous and traditional cultures regularly refer to the 'Original Instructions' or 'first teachings' given to them by their Creators... They are the literal and metaphorical instructions, passed on orally from generation to generation, for how to be a good human being living in reciprocal relation with all of our seen and unseen relatives..[1] – Melissa K. Nelson (Anishinaabe and Métis)

Since the beginning, Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo peoples inhabited areas in what is now considered northeastern California.[2] Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal members' primary land base sits in northeastern California; however, the familial and cultural relationships extend across state boundaries. Specifically, Paiute and Washo people traversed the California/Nevada border daily. Currently, these tribal groups continue to have familial and cultural affiliation with communities in both states. Tribal members' relationships with the Honey Lake Valley pre-exist the imposition of the California and Nevada border. The valley is a site of subsistence and culture for Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people. The landscape plays an important role in the curation of forged relationships between the tribal groups.

Land is essential to understanding how Indigenous people shape and reshape oral tradition. This chapter is centered on Paiute, Maidu, Pit River, and Washo connection to the land in northeastern California, so my discussion will be multifaceted. In this chapter, I will analyze and contextualize creation stories to situate how the connection to land is intergenerational. As Charles Trimble, oral historian, states "Such stories, which can help link human history to place, are sometimes described as a vital new past. They help maintain ties to traditional culture and

[1] Melissa K Nelson, *Original Instructions: Indigenous Teachings for a Sustainable Future.* (Rochester, VT: Bear & Company, 2008), 2-3.
[2] Paiute and Washo communities, also, extend into western Nevada. Maidu and Pit River communities extend into interior California.

land areas and can serve as a bridge in the disruption resulting from the contact period."[3]As a form of knowledge transmission, creation stories sustain Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo connections to each other and the northeastern California landscape. I will provide theoretical discussion of space and place, followed by a discussion on oral tradition to support the idea that land is a living entity that has sustained Paiute, Maidu, Pit River, and Washo people since time immemorial.

Creation stories from Paiute, Maidu, Pit River, and Washo communities will provide the groundwork to positioning land and oral tradition as integral to identity, sovereignty and belonging. I include creation stories from Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo communities in my dissertation because I value the knowledge of each community that is a part of the Susanville Indian Rancheria. Community accessibility is important to me as a community member and researcher, all members of the community should have access to their stories of creation for their future. Accessible scholarship is important to our work as Native American Scholars. As members of Native American communities and scholarship, we should create research that is with, by and for Native American communities. American Indian Studies scholar Margaret Kovach writes, "I situate myself not as a knowledge keeper – this has not been my path – rather my role is a facilitator. I have a responsibility to help create entry points for Indigenous knowledges to come through."[4] In this chapter, I utilized oral testimonies, anthropological sources, and secondary sources to generate a scholarly analysis that "rewrites and re-rights" the historical past.[5]

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[3] Charles E. Trimble, Barbara W. Sommer, and Mary Kay Quinlan, *The American Indian Oral History Manual: Making Many Voices Heard* (Routledge, 2016), 20.
[4] Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* (University of Toronto Press, 2010).
[555] Inés Hernández-avila, "Performing Ri(Gh)t(e)s: (W)Riting the Native (In and Out of) Ceremony," *Theatre Research International* 35, no. 2 (2010): 139–51, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0307883310000052; Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples*; Cutcha Risling Baldy, *We Are Dancing for You: Native*

Knowledge Systems of the Land

Oral tradition serves as a tool of historical preservation, which places Native American thought and being at the center of connection and interaction. Oral tradition is a process of conveying knowledge, history, culture, and worldview orally to an individual or community. As a body of knowledge and information oral narratives maintain connections between Native American people and the landscape.[6] Stories of the Honey Lake Valley exist throughout the Susanville Indian Rancheria communities. Tactfully, I choose not to include specific stories or complete written compilation of Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo creation stories. I employ what Audra Simpson, Kahnawake Mohawk, calls ethnographic refusal, which involves a practice of removing specific information from the academic lens.[7] Our traditions and stories are not meant to be understood under an academic microscope.

Stories of love, laughter, kin, survival, and trauma in the Valley exist in the Susanville Indian Rancheria community. The community's inextricable bonds with the landscape seep into their homes, lives and bodies. Family and community bonds endure across time through the use for storytelling. Oral tradition refers to ways in which storytelling is communicated generation after generation. Theoretical constructions of oral tradition situate storytelling as the ability to learn, create and teach. Native American Studies scholar Dian Million, Tanana Athabasca, uses oral storytelling as an Indigenous theoretical framework, explaining, "Story is Indigenous theory."[8] Our stories are a living body of knowledge which reflects Native American ways of

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Feminisms and the Revitalization of Women's Coming-of-Age Ceremonies, Indigenous Confluences (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2018).

[6] Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

[7] Audra Simpson, "On Ethnographic Refusal: Indigeneity, 'voice' and Colonial Citizenship," *Junctures : The Journal for Thematic Dialogue*, no. 9 (2007): 67–80.

[8] Million, Dian, "There Is A River in Me; Theory from Life," in *Theorizing Native Studies* (United States of America: Duke University Press, 2014), 35.

knowing and doing. Native American activist and scholar Vine Deloria, Jr., Standing Rock Sioux, offers oral tradition as scientific value.[9] Deloria provides an examination of oral stories and scientific fact, articulating that Native American accounts of historic or scientific events provide sufficient data that provide evidence of our experience. Native American ways of knowing are critical understandings of the world and creation. Oral tradition is the inherent characteristic of Native American problem-solving skills. Aboriginal scholar C. F. Black shows through a series of conversations with Senior Law Men that stories are Indigenous jurisprudence. Thus, from an Indigenous perspective, an Indigenous legal system is intrinsically tied to oral tradition, to land, and to language.[10] This is further affirmed by Native American Studies scholar Taiaiake Alfred, Kahnawake Mohawk, who utilizes Indigenous oral narratives to develop a discussion about Indigenous leadership and politics that are rooted in culture.[11] Historian Waziyatawin, Dakota, situates oral history as historical evidence.[12] These insights offer an understanding of how oral history is derived from and imperative to Native American historical experience. Writer Deborah Miranda, Esselen and Chumash, writes "Story is the most powerful force in the world – in our world, maybe in all worlds." She continues, "Culture is lost when we neglect to tell our stories, when we forget the power and craft of storytelling."[13] Indigenous scholars utilize oral tradition to construct methodologies and theories by relying on Native American communities' ways of knowing. Story as Indigenous theory is rooted in the pragmatic praxis. Native American Studies scholar Jo-Ann Archibald's, Q'um Q'um Xiiem, term

[9] Vine Deloria, *Red Earth, White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of Scientific Fact* (New York: Scribner, 1995).
[10] C.F. Black, *The Land Is the Source of the Law: A Dialogic Encounter with Indigenous Jurisprudence* (New York: Routledge, 2010), https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203844380.
[11] Gerald R. Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*, 2nd ed. (Don Mills, Ont.; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).
[12] Waziyatawin, *Remember This!: Dakota Decolonization and the Eli Taylor Narratives*, Contemporary Indigenous Issues (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005).
[13] Deborah A. Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir* (Berkeley, Calif.: Berkeley, Calif.: Heyday, 2013), xiv.

"Indigenous storywork" acknowledges the seven principles related to Native American stories and storytelling: respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, interrelatedness, and synergy.[14] In the Susanville Indian Rancheria community, stories are constantly being told and retold to remind people who they are and from where they come. Thus, our stories inform governance, relations, and history for future generations.

Storytelling is a form of oral tradition that educates Native American communities on how to interact, act, survive and act responsibly. Mishuana Goeman, Tonawanda Band of Seneca, writes, "[oral traditions] hold us together through time and beyond the boundaries of the state."[15] Oral tradition encompasses Indigenous thoughts, histories, philosophies and knowledges. Reliance on Native American oral tradition is situated within space and place. Oral tradition details the creation and existence of all life. Vine Deloria Jr., Standing Rock Sioux, acknowledges the precision of oral tradition. Oral tradition vastly acknowledges and categorizes birds, animals, plants, landscape features and religions of a specific group of people.[16] Oral tradition is historical fact. Community histories are widely known and accepted because of the constant retelling. Peter Cole, Douglas First Nation, writes, "storytelling is a way of experiencing the world rather than imposing decontextualized denotative 'truth' claims; story is about historicizing culture enculturing history contextualizing like poetry and drama storytelling is itself interpretation."[17] Through storytelling, Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people inhabit a storied landscape. The entirety of their being is tied to the stories, songs, and ceremonies, which are engrained in the landscape. Using the term "storied landscape" signifies the

[14] Jo-Ann Archibald, *Indigenous Storywork: Educating the Heart, Mind, Body, and Spirit* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008).
[15] Stephanie Nohelani Teves, Andrea Smith, and Michelle H. Raheja, *Native Studies Keywords* (Tucson : The University of Arizona Press, 2015), 86.
[16] Vine Deloria, *Spirit & Reason: The Vine Deloria, Jr., Reader* (Golden, Colo.: Fulcrum Pub, 1999), 51.
[17] Peter Cole, *Coyote Raven Go Canoeing: Coming Home to the Village*, McGill-Queen's Native and Northern Series 42 (Montreal; Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), xv.

embodiment of land, which is reinforced through oral tradition and storying. The term "storied landscape" connects to Archibald's term "Indigenous storywork." Indigenous ways of knowing and being are inherently tied to the land; The seven principles are carried out through the Indigenous body and practices. The Honey Lake Valley provides a physical landscape of relationships and responsibility which are codified into the oral traditions and storytelling of Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo. Susanville Indian understand their multi-temporal relationships to the landscape through the transmission of knowledge.

Land has both material and metaphorical power for Native communities because Indigenous cosmologies are inextricably linked to their land bases. The importance of land stretches far beyond its role as a space on which human activity takes place; for Natives, land is a significant source of literal and figurative power.[18] Native American Studies scholar Stephanie Teves, Kanaka Maoli, writes, "land has been theorized as a living entity that enables Indigenous life."[19] Recognizing land as a living entity generates a way of understanding the capability of land to hold critical knowledge-based systems, which inform place-based epistemologies, ontologies and cosmologies. As Vine Deloria, Jr. wrote, "American Indians hold their lands-places as having the highest possible meaning and all their statements are made with this reference point in mind."[20] Thus, land is power. Interaction with land increases the access to power. The power of land influences Native nations' behavior.

The intimate linkage of oral tradition and land involves direct and indirect interaction with place-based knowledge systems. Interaction with land informs ideas relating to self, peoplehood, and responsibility, this should be understood as both a physical and a metaphysical

[18] Stephanie Nohelani Teves, Andrea Smith, and Michelle H. Raheja, *Native Studies Keywords* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2015), 59.
[19] ibid, 59.
[20] Vine Deloria, *God Is Red: A Native View of Religion*, 3rd ed. (Golden, Colo.: Fulcrum Pub., 2003), 61.

interaction.[21] Peoplehood reflects the ways in which distinct groups of Native people act, react, transmit knowledge, and connect to the world around them.[22] Peoplehood is based on the four interdependent factors of language, sacred history, religion, and land.[23] Metaphysical interactions constitute the ways in which land informs indigenous people on a level that is not seen, instead metaphysical interactions are an embodiment of land in language, song, ceremony and tradition. The metaphysical interactions between people and land promote a multitemporal connection. Multi-temporality connotes the ability for Susanville Indians to connect with the landscape in multiple ways, which include physical, metaphysical, and spiritual. Indigenous People care for and transmit these connections through ceremony and tradition. Tradition is often characterized, by anthropologists and ethnologists, as "representation of the past that Indigenous peoples today have preserved and continue to honor through a set of practices."[24] Preservation of culture and practices is inherent to Native American ways of life and ceremonies. Tradition is not simply a "representation of the past," but rather an act of cultural continuity and futurity. The direct relationship to land shapes and maintains tradition.

Native American peoples are not separate from land; their existence is based on the physical and metaphysical connections of space and place. This metaphysical connection to space and place is codified in Vine Deloria, Jr.'s term Indian metaphysics "the realization that the world, and all its possible experiences, constituted a social reality, a fabric of life in which everything had the possibility of intimate knowing relationships because, ultimately everything

[21] Tom Holm, J. Diane Pearson, and Ben Chavis, "Peoplehood: A Model for the Extension of Sovereignty in American Indian Studies," *Wicazo Sa Review* 18, no. 1 (2003): 11, https://doi.org/10.1353/wic.2003.0004.Peoplehood reflects the ways in which Native people act, react, transmit knowledge, and connect to the world around them, distinct to different groups of people.
[22] Holm, 11.
[23] Ibid. 12.
[24] Teves, Kindle Location, 4640.

was related."[25] Relationality and responsibility are embedded in Native cosmological understandings of the world.

Native Nations exercise knowledge and tradition to honor the intimate relationships of land, and people. Mishuana Goeman describes the ways in which Native peoples' personal interactions with the environment and communal memories are based on their complex relationships with land.[26] For Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people, their cultural ontologies and epistemologies are rooted in the place of their creation. Origin stories do not connote a stagnation of people in place. Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people traveled and created a diaspora. The Honey Lake Valley is not specifically mentioned in many of the stories presented, however, because of the process of migration, settlement and travel, the Honey Lake Valley became a homeland for Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo peoples. Relations were created and maintained in the Valley.

Today, Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo interact with the landscape, both formally and informally. Formal interactions of Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal members and the land include participating in tradition, ceremony, and ecological practices. Informal interactions are not codified in the specific formalities of tradition and ceremonies; they can be simply living. Connection to land and place permeate every area of Native American existence, serving as a basis for identity, community, and knowledge. Through the daily affirmations of knowledge, language, and interactions between land and Paiute, Maidu, Pit River, and Washo people; Susanville Indians carry out their responsibilities to the Honey Lake Valley.

Creating the World

[25] Vine Deloria, *Power and Place: Indian Education in America* (Golden, Colo.: Fulcrum Pub, 2001), 2.
[26] Mishuana Goeman, "Land as Life: Unsettling the Logics of Containment," in *Native Studies Keywords* (United States of America: The University of Arizona Press, 2015), 71.

Creation Stories root innate responsibility of Native peoples to place and connect all life. The process of telling and retelling stories of creation facilitates conversations of responsibility and accountability to exercise effective stewardship and community building. Creation stories do not just discuss the physical landscape but are also used to note how all objects are specific to the idea of creation. Ethno-ecologist Dr. M. Kat Anderson acknowledges that California Indian creation stories place plants, animals, people and the earth at the center of tribal homelands.[27] Creation stories recognize the importance of all things in a specific region or place. All aspects of creation hold an innate responsibility for Native American people, these include other than human objects like rocks, plants, bodies of water and mountains. These "inanimate" objects are bestowed a life or spirit that garners respect from Indigenous people because they are and are viewed as architects of their world. [28] The acknowledgement of a spirit or life in objects places significance on the homeland itself, acknowledging sites of cultural meaning, sustenance, and peoplehood. Life would not exist without the land.

Stories of creation situate Native American peoplehood in particular areas of their existence of which Native identity and community become structured. Historian William Bauer. Wailacki and Concow, constructs a historicizing framework around creation stories as being the epicenter of Native thought and being. Bauer posits that creation is the basis of existence, while recognizing that the constant telling and retelling stories of creation is premised on the

[27] Kat Anderson, *Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources* (Berkeley: Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 37.

[28] Native American Studies scholar Cutcha Risling-Baldy (Hupa) writes, "Indigenous people become responsible for all things of creation, including those 'inanimate objects' like rocks, mountains, rivers and trees. Each of these inanimate objects is endowed with a spirit, a literal 'force of nature' that Indigenous peoples regard as creators of their world." The word inanimate" suggests having no motion, but plants and water are definitely in motion, all the time. Western Conceptions of knowledge and objects do little to acknowledge the spirit of plants, waters, stones, however, our oral traditions and stories recognize these objects as living beings.

maintenance and connection to place and community.[29] Through creation stories, the connection to place plays a significant role in connecting oneself to community and identity. Native American Studies scholar Marlowe Sam, Colville Confederated Tribe, affirms land as a foundation to Native American society, noting that Native people evolved from land and the basis of teachings is rooted in land.[30] Correspondingly, all stories of creation are not the same.

Creation accounts vary by tribe, region, or community. According to Vine Deloria Jr., respecting different tribal accounts of creation, requires active relationships with other tribal groups, in which no one is trying to establish credence over the other.[31] He also noted that tribal elders did not worry if their oral stories about creation were entirely different from a neighboring tribe's.[32] Valuing multiple representations of creation respects and recognizes the sovereignty and well-being of other tribal nations. Anthropologist Peter Nabokov argues that in any society, culture, or history,

> It is hopeless to search for any single, authoritative narrative as it is to look for paradise. Keeping many versions of its primordial claims and cultural experiences fluid and available for discussion enables a society to check and adjust its course through uncertain times. Any of those interest groups might provide a version that privileges its ancestral role in the account.[33]

Creation stories first serve the community of which they are told. Creation stories encourage members of the community to recognize and participate in relationships with animate and "inanimate" objects. Creation accounts provide reasoning as to why people are in a place and are

[29] William J. Bauer, *California through Native Eyes: Reclaiming History*, [1st edition].. ed. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), 10.
[30] Sam, Marlowe, "Ethics from the Land; Traditional Protocols and the Maintenance of Peace," in *Original Instructions; Indigenous Teaching for a Sustainable Future* (Rochester, VT: Bear and Company, 2008), 40.
[31] Vine Deloria, *God Is Red: A Native View of Religion*, 3rd ed.. ed. (Golden, Colo.: Fulcrum Pub., 2003), 100.
[32] Deloria, *Spirit & Reason*, 52.
[33] Peter Nabokov, *A Forest of Time: American Indian Ways of History* (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 47.

regarded as historical fact. The commitment to the telling and retelling of a story is an essential accountability to the homeland and people.

The commitment of an individual to continue to tell a story is a rigorous activity that takes specialized training and learning. Artist Julian Lang, Karuk, acknowledges the complexity of learning and telling stories. Lang recognizes storytellers as "students" who "would listen to the story then recite it back to his or her teacher word for word."[34] Thus, storytellers become agents in the sharing of stories. The training of storytelling is an arduous process because "the stories became the basis for medicine-making among our people."[35] In the recitation of creation Native people connect with the land, each other, and to our ancestors. Writer Gerald Vizenor, Anishinaabeg, discusses the active participation of the listener engaged with the story, "the story does not work without a participant. There has to be a participant and someone must listen. I don't mean listen in the passive sense. You can even listen by contradiction. So that's really critical in storytelling."[36] Active participation of the listener is imperative to sharing native knowledge systems. In this way the active listening assists in building strong relationships with the storyteller, the community, and the story itself.

The act of understanding, knowing, and telling creation narratives is central to Native American identity, language, relationships, and governance. I identify two common types of creation narratives: creation of the world and peopling the universe. Narratives that convey creation of the world commonly describe the geographical land features that are relevant to the tribal group. Tribes place significant relationships with the origins and use of the landscape.

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[34] Julian Lang, *Ararapíkva: Creation Stories of the People: Traditional Karuk Indian Literature from Northwestern California* (Berkeley, Calif.: Heyday Books, 1994), 31.
[35] Ibid., 31.
[36] Joseph Bruchac and Gerald Vizenor, "Follow the Trick Routes: An Interview with Gerald Vizenor," in *Survival This Way: Interviews with American Indian Poets*, Sun Tracks; v. 15 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987), 300–301.

These stories detail the historical events that are associated with this place. Land is therefore placed at the center of creation, and through the embodiment of the story people understand their responsibility to land. Creation stories that detail the peopling of the universe are central to how tribes identify how they came into being. These stories also relate tribal nations with other groups of people. Commonly, people spread across the universe from one specific site. Land is essential to the telling of all creation stories; whether specifically identified or not, land is the center of the universe.

Susanville Indian Rancheria stories of creation are vast and vary by tribe and sometimes by family. It is important for me to acknowledge a story from each tribal group. Many of the tribal members in my community come from two or three, and sometimes even all four ancestral groups that make up the Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal rolls. During my oral interview process, I asked a specific question about creation: "Can you share your tribe's creation story?" Commonly, the interviewee warily responded to this question. I reflected on the interviewee's guardedness and realized that maybe, like myself, they did not have an adequate understanding of their tribe's creation story, they did not feel it was their responsibility to tell the story, or it was not the time to share the story. As a community member, I hope to document, write, and place all four creation stories in one document to increase the accessibility for tribal members. I think about the implication of my work for my family. I have a niece and nephew that are both Maidu and Paiute. I strive to make them aware of their connection to the Honey Lake Valley in our conversations about identity. I want them to know who they are in relation to their community and the land. I believe my responsibility as a community member and researcher to take steps of sharing knowledge for the future generations of Susanville tribal members. I plan to share these stories of creation with our youth education center, so the youth will understand

where they come from. Thus, I will carry out my inherent responsibility to the community and the youth by sharing our stories of creation.

Paiute, Maidu, Pit River, and Washo stories of Creation

In this section, I present Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo creation stories to acknowledge the variance in Indigenous modes of community development and belonging in northeastern California. I will first start with a Paiute creation story because I am Paiute. I will follow with a Maidu creation story, for my niece and nephew. I then will explore Pit River and Washo creation stories. The process of identifying creation stories was an arduous task. I combed through ethnographies and asked community members to share their knowledge of Paiute, Maidu, Pit River, and Washo creation. As I scoured the sources, I was entrenched with the feeling of uneasiness about which stories I should use, because of the variance and how these stories were compiled. In my reflection, I realized that the stories I chose would each be important because, as tribal people we value each tribe's story. Commonly, we would be familiar with other stories of creation or understand the formation of other tribal groups because of our own stories. Detailing the existence of people from the beginning is important to recognize connections between tribal groups and their homelands. The stories I choose for my dissertation are not the only credible creation story of the community; the stories are not meant to be the be-all and end-all for Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people. I have reverence for the stories that I share because they come from community resources and should be understood as if they were told in the community context. Stories written in this document do not highlight the ability for the teller to emphasize certain aspects of the story. Therefore, in converting oral stories to written documents, I risk losing important aspects of the story.

Stone Mother: Paiute Creation

The Paiute creation story situates Paiute people and their homeland in central Nevada. As a travel narrative the creation story connects Paiute people with other tribal communities and homelands. The story acknowledges how First Woman came into the Paiute homeland, and her eternal inscription on the landscape. The Paiute creation narrative is a story example of peopling the universe. The People left their central Nevada homeland and populated other places of significance, connecting Paiute and Pit River communities to each other.

Man came into the area and lived near Stillwater, Nevada on a mountain. Stillwater is an identified location in Paiute homelands. The integration and use of settler names in the Paiute homeland signifies the utilization of the area by Paiute people and settlers.[37] The presentation that Man travels to the area highlights the expansiveness of Paiute homelands. The recognition of the landscape around Stillwater, Nevada distinctly provides the listener or reader a foundation for Paiute creation. Stillwater is the place where Man and Woman created the world, the center of the Paiute universe. Personality traits are codified on the first people of the land. Man is characterized as a "great and good man."

At first man was alone, but woman, living in the south, married to Bear. She heard about Man in the north. The recognition of North and South acknowledges Paiute understandings of spatiality, Paiute understanding of the world are not not strictly within central Nevada, but beyond the boundaries of centrality. Woman heard of Man in the north, and wished that "someday she might see Man, and this made Bear very jealous." The duality of characters recognizes the opposite forces in Paiute ways of knowing; Man is characterized as good while

[37] Bauer, *California through Native Eyes: Reclaiming History*, 40.

Bear is noted as jealous. The duality of character traits instructs Paiute people to be wary about their actions and reaction. Woman left Bear, traveling north to find man.

Woman leaves behind footprints along Mono Lake, California. Again, the storyteller recognizes the expansion of Paiute homelands. Acknowledgement of Mono Lake, of which is a part of Paiute homelands, inextricably links all Paiute communities. Woman arrived in Stillwater, where she came across Man. Woman was fearful that Man would leave if he saw her, so she hid. After her arrival, Man was walking around and saw her tracks; he began to look for her. Woman came out from hiding and met Man. Man asked Woman to come with him to his camp where we would provide food for her, Woman followed him. Each night Woman stayed with Man she would get closer and closer to him. "On the fifth night they were married." The marriages aspect of the relationships highlights the importance of relationship building that happened between woman and man over the five days before marriage. Trust was not given outright; it took time to develop.

Together, Man and Woman had many children. The first was a boy who was "very mean," constantly fighting with the other children. The first boy is bestowed with a mean guise, and the story goes on to explain that the other children are not mean like the first boy. The constant fighting between children caused Man to bring all the children together. Man warned the children that they would be separated if they continued to fight. Before man could finish, the children started to fight again. The hostility between the children made man very angry, and he started to separate them. Separation of children from each other infers the idea that people should have respectful interactions between each other and community. If, a person disregards the instructions of respect, they will face consequences for their actions.

After Man's warning the children of their consequence, Man traveled to his home in the sky and told his children that he will be waiting for them in the sky when they pass. Man instructed the children to "follow the dusty-road" to reach him again. The recognition of a "dusty road," which could be implied as the Milky Way Galaxy, recognizes celestial objects, thus following the Milky Way will lead you to your ancestors. The complexity of this narrative counters the idea that Paiute worlds are not just the physical landscape but a metaphysical universe that will be reached after death. In this telling, Man is a mediator between life and death. Peace between tribal groups is inferred in the afterlife. As he separated his children, he identified the troubled boy and a girl, and sent them west. The two that were sent west became the Pit River people. Man decided to keep the peaceful children home, these children became the Paiute. Woman grieved for her children that were sent west. Day after day, her tears pooled beneath her. Her tears became Pyramid Lake. Today, a stone formation of her remains in this place looking west toward Pit River country on the edge of the lake. The stone also highlights strength and a transformation of people to the landscape. Woman turning into stone ultimately creates a bounded relationship between Paiute and Pit River people and the landscape of northern Nevada. Stonemother is eternally connecting Paiute people with the land and the mother of all mothers.

In the Paiute creation narrative, Paiute homelands are vast and go beyond the physical landscape. The inscription of woman on the land speaks to the recognition of the power women hold. Man and Woman bore Paiute and Pit River. As a child, my mother would tell me this story but would frequently input Maidu people instead of Pit River. To me, this simple adjustment of the story speaks largely to community politics of the Susanville Indian Rancheria. Maidu people, then become identified as the angry and troubled boy and girl sent to the west. The Paiute

narrative of creation positions the distinctive responsibility of Paiute people to their homelands in central Nevada. Stone Mothers serves as a landscape formation that distinctly provides Paiute people with a sense of responsibility and belonging.

WorldMaker: Maidu Creation

The Maidu creation story sits in the center of the universe in northeastern California. The primary being of Maidu creation is World Maker. The Maidu creation story is a creation of the world story. World Maker traveled around northeastern California creating the world for Maidu People, defining and identifying key features and occurrences that took place on the landscape, which sustains Maidu life. I have included three excerpts of the creation story told by Leona Morales, a respected Mountain Maidu elder, documented by anthropologist Roland Dixon, to provide an example of how Maidu people are connected to life in northern California. Morales' active preservation of Maidu history was employed when she told the story of Maidu Creation to Dixon. The Mountain Maidu story of creation reaffirms the existence of land to support Maidu life. The story details historical events that occurred at each place:

> The Maker looked around and He said, "There are a lot of acorn trees for my people in through here." And He said, "I'm going to make a little place down along the creek, along the river. I want my people, after they fish and hunt, to have a nice place to lay down. It won't be a steep place." He made a little meadow, a flat place, and said, "My people will call this Wohs-lum Koyom.[38]

In this excerpt, Earth Maker created places where Maidu people could harvest acorns, fish and live. Earth Maker intended to create a landscape that would sustain Maidu people for eternity. Earth Maker named key features on the land that Maidu People

[38] Leona Morales, "Honey Lake Maidu Creation," Creation, 1976, http://www.honeylakemaidu.org/creation.html.

recognize. Wohslum Koyom is a place of sustenance and rest. Thus, labor is identified as a key feature of Maidu lifeways.

> Then, He came up the Feather River toward Crescent Mills. He looked around and named the big mountain (Mount Hough) between Taylorsville and Quincy: "This is going to be known as *Who-na-na-sim-gohdom*," that means danger, something not right for my people. So, I'll name it that. This country here will be known as *Who-na-na-sim-gohdom*. My people will always look out for this. They know this is going to be a place where grizzly bears, bears, mountain lions and big rattlesnakes, things like that, have their country. They'll have this place. When my people come, they will look out for them.[39]

In the telling of the story, Morales uses the English language during her interview with Dixon. Terms like "Feather River" and "Crescent Mills" are not traditional names for these places but are colonial terms that have renamed the Maidu landscape. Through naming, settlers transformed the landscape from an Indigenous space to a "place for colonization."[40] Morales's strategic engagement with colonial place names and Maidu ways of knowing the world, rectifies the landscape as a Maidu world. The usage of Maidu place names, like Who-na-na-sim-gohdom, instructs Maidu people to "always look out for this." Her use of specific landscape features situates the listeners understanding of indefinable place-names on the landscape. Morales instructively cautions Maidu people to respect the "country" of bear, mountain lion, and rattlesnake beings.

With these instructions, Maidu people are taught to be vigilant. With this guidance, Earth Maker creates a world of balance, consciously creating places for human

[39] Ibid.
[40] Bauer, *California Through Native Eyes: Reclaiming History*, 37.

and animal beings. The world then is not just strictly for people, but animals are a constant part of the landscape and people should respect their places in the world.

> Then he came on down to right where Diamond View cemetery is, on that old hill that goes way down to Standish. Its stuck way up in the air. He says, "At one time this was a tall hill. Any of my people who went up there would come back young. They could go up there an old man and they could make it to the top of the hill and come down a young man. My people, when they come, that will be their hill." The Maker said that the three cousins ruined the hill. They pushed it over. Coyote, a wolf, and a fox fought the Maker all the way. They followed him and told him, "We pushed it over because whenever a man got older, he went on top of this hill and came down a young man. And what would we do? We would never get hold of the man's widow. So, we pushed it over before your people came." The Maker says, "Well, for doing that, you will never be a beautiful animal. Coyote and wolf fur will never be pretty. Fox will always have beautiful fur because he had to do what you two told him to. He had to go along with you because he's small." That's what happened to that hill.[41]

Again, Morales uses English terminology to identify recognizable features on the Maidu landscape. Morales discusses the physical feature of the tall hill that is no longer there. The story infers that in the misusing of this place by people that this place be pushed over by Coyote, Wolf, and Fox. In this instance, Earth Maker punishes Coyote, Wolf, and Fox for their actions, it is why we recognize the beings the way they are today. This excerpt also hints that there was life before the creation of the world up to this point. People were utilizing the landscape before Earth Maker's journey. The landscape in northeastern California has always sustained life.

The Mountain Maidu creation story places the land as central to Maidu existence. World Maker is credited with the creation of the land and all things upon it. Stories detail the enduring experience of Native people, within specific places. Recounting the story of World Maker, Maidu people hold dynamic relationships with the land in northeastern California. The story

[41] Morales 1976.

conveys information that specifically relates to Maidu ways of knowing and doing. The landscape reaffirms Maidu existence in north eastern California.

Fox and Coyote: Pit River Creation

This Achomawi creation story, places Pit River people in Northern California. The Pit River homeland expands across Northeastern California. Many Susanville Tribal members who are Pit River descend from the Hammawi band of Achomawi people.[42] This story of creation was told by Lela Rhoades, a Pit River woman who worked to preserve Pit River history, ceremonies, and songs, and shared the story with Bruce Nevins. The Story was then shared with me from Morning Star Gali, a prominent Pit River community leader. The Pit River story of creation recognizes the inherent duality of the earth, in the recognition of two prominent characters, Fox and Coyote. In the beginning, Fox created the world. Fox is identified with characteristics like generosity and patience, whereas Coyote is curious and anxious. The story does not detail where the center of the Pit River universe is, just the main characters that can be credited with its creation. Details in the story provide the reader or listener with the idea that the world was already created before Coyote and Foxed peopled the universe.

In the beginning, Fox was the only one alive. Shortly after, Coyote came along, "What's going on, I'm hungry, what do you have to eat?" Fox replied, "I haven't got anything to eat, I just pick up anything here and there." Fox assured Coyote that he would find food for them the next day. Fox traveled to rugged mountains and prayed to Cocoon Man for bread. Fox's prayers to Cocoon man provides the food for himself and Coyote. The relationship between Fox and

[42] My use of the Achomawi creation story should not be understood as a prioritization of the Achomawi ways of knowing. I use the story because a majority of Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal members descend from Hammawi band of Achomwai people.

Cocoon man connects Pit River people to higher beings. Fox's prayers to Cocoon man provides food for all people. The act of prayer is an act that creates a reciprocal relationship between the land and Fox. The land provides food for the people. Hastily, Coyote questioned where Fox found the food:

> How in the word did you do that? He said
> There must be some people there where evidently you ate with them, he said.
> Fox laughed.
> I never did, he said
> There are no people, he said
> But how did you make this bread, he asked
> Long ago a woman always made bread, it was the women who made bread long ago.
> They dug all kinds of things, and cooked them, [43]

Coyote's actions of overindulgence ultimately lead to his death. Coyote takes it upon himself to find food for him and Fox. He travels to the same place where Fox asked for food, but in this way, Coyote begs and begs Cocoon man to send down big rounds of bread. As the rounds were rolling down the hill, Coyote was knocked down and suffocated. Coyote was brought back to life through his prayers. Later the bread turned back into stone. The transformation of bread into stone signifies that people associate the landscape with food. The environment provides food for the people. People must act in reverence with the landscape to receive food. Coyote's actions ultimately lead to his death; his haste and greed cause him to be punished. Coyote is often defined as a trickster figure, endowed with characteristics such as humor, sarcasm or ridiculousness. Stories that often feature Coyote carry lessons for the listener.[44] Trickster characters, such as Coyote, have existed in our stories since "time immemorial" as our people say.

[43] Lela Rhodes, *Coyote and Fox After the Creation of the World* (Redding, CA, 1970).
[44] Archibald, *Indigenous Storywork*; Cutcha Risling Baldy, "Coyote Is Not a Metaphor: On Decolonizing, (Re)Claiming and (Re)Naming 'Coyote,'" *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 4, no. 1 (May 27, 2015), https://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/des/article/view/22155; Miranda, *Bad Indians : A Tribal Memoir*.

Early in the story, the division of labor between men and women is mentioned. Fox discerns that the women were the ones who made bread long ago. Fox provided Coyote with bread after he prayed to Cocoon Man. The next day, Coyote went out and asked for bread from the same mountain. That women once provided bread long ago is important in acknowledging that there was life that existed before this time. The reader can also make a connection between higher beings and women, at this point in the story women do not exist, instead Cocoon Man provides food for Coyote. Connections between metaphysical entities and women are significant to Pit River creation.

The story continues to acknowledge Coyote's trials and tribulations to find food. He grew impatient and wary of Fox providing food for the both of them. Toward the end of the story, woman comes into being:

> Fox got married.
> He poked a hole through his winter house with an arrow.
> Then the sun shone down through the hole.
> But it became a woman.
> He named her Sunbeam Woman.
> That was the Heavenly Butterfly Woman.
> So, Fox was the one who made the woman.
> then she was pounding acorn.
> Thump, thump, thump, thump went the pounding.
> who could it be, I wonder, pounding acorn, thought Coyote.
> He must have brought some woman in.
> He went back in the house.
> The beautiful woman was pounding acorn.
> She kept pounding acorn without looking up at him.
> She never looked up at him.
> Ehem, ehem, he made a noise clearing his throat to make her look at him.
> Then he spoke.
> "She'll look at me" he thought.
> But she didn't look at him.[45]

[45] Lela Rhodes, *Coyote and Fox After the Creation of the World*.

Woman came from sunlight. She prepared food for her husband Fox and Coyote. Coyote often grew impatient because Woman did not pay attention to him. Because of the lack of attention from woman, Coyote tried to push her over, causing her to leave. Fox reasoned that women have their own agency, he reasoned, "A woman will always do what she wants…When she's tired of you she always leaves." The first woman that was created never came back because of Coyote's violent acts. Woman leaving is intrinsic to understanding how our communities should respect women. The actions by Coyote in the Pit River story of creation teach Pit River people how to not act.

For Pit River people, Fox and Coyote are essential to duality in creation of the world. Fox is endowed as a composed individual, while Coyote is characterized as an unexpressed rival. The implicit connotation of duality is an important element of Pit River creation. The connotation of duality exhibits that Pit River people are cognizant of balance. Coyote's reactive actions continually produce a negative response from the universe. The realization of duality serves as a reminder as to how the earth and people were created; it implicitly encourages Pit River people to live in balance.

Coyote and Seeds: Washo Creation

The Washo Creation story identifies the Washo valley as the center of Washo creation. This story of creation was told by Bill Fillmore, a Washo elder, who shared the story with Anthropologist Grace Dangberg who recorded this version of the Washo creation story. Dangberg acknowledges that Mr. Fillmore was "nearing 100" years old when he shared the story with her.[46] Washo people and communities are concentrated on the border of California and

[46] R.T. King, "An Interview with Grace Melissa Dangberg: A Contribution to a Survey of Life in Carson Valley, From First Settlement Through the 1950s," *University of Nevada Oral History Program*, 1984, 8.

Nevada. Washo creation features wind, seeds, and a basket. The story hints as a migration narrative, the actions of Coyote spread seeds across the land, which become the basis of life. The Washo story of creation acknowledges the relationships between the Washo, Paiute, and Miwok people, communities with whom Washo people shared borders and boundaries.

The story begins with three important figures: Pewetseli and Damlali, two weasel brothers, and woman.

> People say that ducks have always been Paiutes.
>
> At length Pewetseli and a woman went driving ducks. The woman drove them; Pewetseli tried to catch them. One that he seized swished him around in the water. It wanted to drown him. He was afraid but he tried to catch it.[47]

The recognition of a labor division is important in acknowledging the complexity of Washo lifeways. Specialized tasks create a dependency for one another. The introduction of the story infers the interrelatedness of Washo and Paiutes. The relationship between the two groups has existed since the beginning. The story continues by acknowledging that Pewetseli and woman did not kill many but only a few, therefore the action of letting ducks live by Pewetseli and woman privilege life over death. The relationship between Washo and Paiute people are consistently described as conflict ridden or unfriendly, however, this notion that privileges life over death in their relationship to one another is complex and equalizing.

Repetition is used throughout the story. This can be a stylistic device to emphasize and bring attention to the idea being presented. The orator used this style to stress important parts of the story to bring awareness to the listener.

> When they had gone off, when they had gone off fishing, when they had gone off woman began twisting off and gathering cattail seeds which she made ready, and dried. Then she burned off the fuzz.

[47] Grace Dangberg, *Washo Tales: Three Original Indian Legends*, 1968,

> Again, the next day they went off. Then again, she twisted them off and then she burned off the fuzz. She did all this.[48]

Pewetseli and Damalali leave to fish when Woman completes her work. Woman collects the cattail seeds and places them in her winnowing basket. This perspective places women, baskets, and seeds at the center of creation. Use of cattail seeds places Washo existence near water. Instinctually, this moment in the stories details the unbounded relationship between life, water and land. Bounded in the basket is the connection to the earth and life. The earth and basket hold the seeds for life to exist.

> "She kept working. The Cattail eggs which she had made ready, she scraped together,
> "These will be Paiutes!" she said.
> These will be western Miwoks!" she said.
> A few which were left in the middle, these she scooped together,
> "They are only a few, but they will be strong!" she said/ In fighting they will be strong!" she said.
> "But those others, though they are many, they will be cowards." She said.
> "Then too these Paiute, though they are many,
> "They will be cowards! She said,
> "Then these Washo, though they are few,
> "They will be mighty!" she said.
> At length she put the seeds in a jug which she made ready for them. Then she gave Coyote himself a task; she said that he was to carry the jug to the Washo's Valley."[49]

Woman identifies the seeds as they are separated in the basket. Woman carefully instructs Coyote to scoop the "eggs" or seeds together to create specific people. Characterizing Paiutes as cowards and Washo as strong, provides a perspective into the relationships Paiute and Washo people have with each other.[50] The identification of seeds that will become the Paiute and Miwok people tactfully implies a connection and relationship between these people.

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[48] Grace Dangberg, 24.
[49] Ibid, 25.
[50] The characterization of tribal groups differs from region to region. Paiute also characterize Washo people with "cowardly" attributes.

Seeds are a powerful element here. Seeds become the first people and are regarded as valued for sustenance. Again, the connection between land and life are bound together. Coyote is instructed to take the seeds and spread them across the landscape. He is directed to travel and take the Washo seeds to the Washo Valley. Woman acknowledges the attachment for Washo people to the valley. The Valley will provide for Washo people. The story continues to narrate the experience of Coyote mischievously opening the basket and people escaping.

As Coyote gets to the Valley, He listens to the thundering of woman as she travels south. Storms will come from the south where woman traveled.

> "Go there and grow, let people eat you!
> "Let my children eat you,
> "Pinon trees grow!" she said.
> Then she told the storms:
> "Go thither, moisten them
> "Dampen them!
> There let the wooly wyethia grow!
> "Let the pig weed grow!
> "and arrow-leaf balsam root!"
> All that there is that might be food for people – everything she spoke to and it began to grow.[51]

Intimately woman is the creator of the earth, the implied relationship between Coyote and Woman brings all life to earth. At the end of the story, Washo people will sustain themselves in the valley. Woman provided medicine and food for the people. Thus, Washo people must respect the valley and all things in it because it has a direct connection to creation.

The Washo creation story identifies specific characters and people which acknowledge the interrelatedness of all life beings. The social and political relationships of Washo, Paiute, and Miwok people are melded in the story to recognize the historical and ongoing relationships of

[51] Grace Dangberg, *Washo Tales: Three Original Indian Legends*, 26.

these tribal people. Woman is a constant life giver in the story. Women innately connects to the earth and brings life. Recognition of land, water, animals, and people bond every aspect of life to the landscape.

Creation Connects All Beings

Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo ontologies and epistemologies are rooted in place, and their connections to the land and environment are referenced in daily interactions, teachings, and oral tradition. Dian Million states, "Indigenous epistemologies are practices and disciplines of place, the protocol for relations between people, all life forms, spirit, and entity that are the places we inhabit in the face of hegemony"[52] Creation stories are the foundation for Native American epistemologies (ways of knowing) and ontologies (ways of being). Creation stories inaugurate relationships between all life forms. Makers of the world create a world in which people's lifestyles are influenced by their environment. Keith Basso discusses how oral narratives establish the lasting bonds Native American people have with the landscape.[53] Storytelling creates bonds of which endure across time and space. Through oral tradition, stories educate Native American communities on how to interact, survive and act responsibly. Mishuana Goeman writes, "they hold us together through time and beyond the boundaries of the state."[54] Native American identities, spirituality and relationships are based on constant telling and retelling of oral traditions. The stories are the basis of Indigenous knowledge systems and are to be cared for. In tandem, cultural significance is tied to specific places that are to be carried out through care and respect. Writer N. Scott Momaday, Kiowa, contends:

> None of us lives apart from the land entirely; such an isolation is unimaginable. We do not act upon a stagnant landscape, but instead are part of it. Place is created in the process of remembering and telling stories and the ability for the

[52] Teves, Smith, and Raheja, *Native Studies Keywords*, 340.
[53] Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*.
[54] Teves, Smith, and Raheja, *Native Studies Keywords*, 86.

> receiver to understand the meanings of place encapsulated in language. Key to both the spiritual and political "aspirations" of Indigenous people are the stories and imaginative acts that are dynamic interfaces, rather than methods of claiming land as a stagnant location.[55]

Stories of creation highlight the interrelatedness of people, plants and animals. Analysis and understanding provide listeners with an ancient perspective. Knowledge of identity, homeland, and lifestyles are intertwined with the transmission of knowledge.

Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo People embody the land in which they were created. Native American Studies scholar Gregory Cajete, Tewa, reminds readers to be mindful of the importance of elders and knowledge; "These stories, this language, these ways, and this land are the only valuables we can give you – but life is in them for those who know how to ask and how to learn."[56] To tell the stories within the Susanville Indian Rancheria community, tribal members connect to the knowledge systems of our ancestors, each other and the land from which they come. Relationships with the environment are interwoven by reciprocal bonds. Native American Studies scholar Robin Wall Kimmerer, Anishinaabe, presents, "Gifts from the earth or from each other establish a particular relationship, an obligation of sorts to give, to receive, and to reciprocate."[57] Kimmerer's discussion of relationships inherently expresses the connection between Native American people and their environments, which inform our ways of thinking, knowing and doing. Connection with these landscapes is ingrained in our bodies since time immemorial; the manifestation of who we are is the earth we walk upon.

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[55]N. Scott Momaday, *The Man Made of Words: Essays, Stories, Passages*, 1st ed. (New York: New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 358.
[56] Cajete, Gregory, *Look to the Mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education* (Durango, Colo.: Kivakí Press, 1994), 41.
[57]Robin Wall Kimmerer, *Braiding Sweetgrass: Indigenous Wisdom, Scientific Knowledge and the Teachings of Plants*, First edition. (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Milkweed Editions, 2013), 24.

Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo creation stories provide a metaphysical understanding of the land based on the ways in which the world was created to sustain life. Land is not only a tangible place of being, but a recognized spiritual entity, to which belong multiple metaphysical identities.[58] This is represented in the acknowledgment of specific actors of creation, such as, Stone Mother, World Maker, and Cocoon Man. The actors in the stories provide an interrelatedness of spirit beings and the land. The memorialization of significant cultural actors is displayed in the stories and inscribed on the landscape. These creation actors are regarded as living beings who influence human life. Native historian Clifford Trafzer, Wyandot, examines spiritual power within tribal communities through the use of oral tradition which has the ability to connect communities to the past and into the future. Trafzer acknowledges that creators and holy people on earth establish a bridge between the spiritual and human worlds.[59] Each story of creation signifies the importance of cultural beings and people who prepare the earth for human existence.

Our stories inform our communities of the events that have taken place in the past, which can inform the present. Important characters are often noted in the stories, of which people can learn from. u Coyote is a common character in Native American oral tradition. In Maidu, Pit River and Washo creation stories, Coyote is characterized as a teacher, trickster, villain and spirit. Tribal groups use different terms for Coyote: Paiute use the term Edza'aa. Maidu use the term Wepa. Washoe use the term K'ewe-we for Coyote. Achomawi use the term Ja'mul. Coyote often reminds listers of the consequences of behavior. Cutcha Risling-Baldy provides analysis of

[58] Christopher F Black, *The Land Is the Source of the Law: A Dialogic Encounter with Indigenous Jurisprudence* (Routledge, 2010), 127.
[59] Clifford Trafzer and Benjamin Jenkins, "Spirits, Landscape, and Power: Ways of Quechan, Navajo, and Apache," in *American Indian Medicine Ways*, (University of Arizona Press, 2017), 5.

Coyote and Coyote First Person as a "complex embodiment of Indigenous decolonizing epistemologies."[60] To think about Coyote as a simple trickster figure negates the work and agency Coyote upholds. For Washo people, Coyote assists woman in the peopling of the universe; In the Pit River story, Coyote participates in the creation of the world. For Maidu, Coyote suffers consequences from World Maker during creation. The synergy of Coyote and the world teaches communities on how to interact with space and place. Coyote is part of the landscape. Risling Baldy continues, "When the first people transform and become part of the world that is not inhabited by humans, they also endow animals with their spirit and these animals become intimately tied to human beings as their ancient ancestors."[61] Washo, Pit River, and Maidu people are intimately tied to the actions of Coyote. Coyote is a teacher, creator, and spirit.

The connection of multiple tribal groups can be directly or indirectly discussed in creation narratives. Specifically, the recognition and connection of tribal groups can be best identified in the Paiute creation story. The Paiute story of creation details the ways in which the tribes are connected and come from man and woman. To tell the story in this way acknowledges the memorialized relationship the tribal groups have to each other. In a similar manner, the Washo creation story connects all people to the seeds in the basket. Coyote aids in the population of the universe. The power of creation narratives to connect human life to each other creates common bonds between individuals, families, and communities.[62] Community relationships are revered and complicated in the telling of creation narratives. Creation of community in specific

[60] Cutcha Risling Baldy, "Coyote Is Not a Metaphor: On Decolonizing, (Re)Claiming and (Re)Naming 'Coyote,'" *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 4, no. 1 (May 27, 2015).
[61] Ibid.
[62] Clifford Trafzer and Benjamin Jenkins, "Spirits, Landscape, and Power: Ways of Quechan, Navajo, and Apache," in *American Indian Medicine Ways*, 5.

geographical locales are not only connected by a physical space but community is maintained through the embodiment of creation narratives.

California and Nevada Indians continue to travel and narrate their experiences and those of their ancestors.[63] The process of identifying creation stories for this project was an arduous process. The complete stories are not meant to be textually understood. Jo-Ann Archibald acknowledges that the textual form of story limits the understanding because stories in text do not depict the tellers "gestures, tone, rhythm, and personality."[64] The analysis of the stories is not an accurate understanding of the meaning of each section. I have chosen to omit certain sections of Paiute, Maidu Pit River, and Washo to concentrate the connections between tribal groups within the stories. Native American Studies scholar Greg Sarris, Coast Miwok and Pomo, cautions Native people about using text framework:

> In creating narratives for others about our histories and religions, in what ways are we not only compromising those histories and religions but at the same time compromising our identities, that are largely dependent upon these, as well as our resistance to the colonizer and dominant culture?[65]

Exact recitation is a disservice to the community and the tellers. As a Native scholar, I believe in the process of sharing, but I want to be cognizant of over-sharing. I have not been trained in the telling of oral stories. I feel uncomfortable in the analysis and sharing of stories because I am not a part of the communities from which these stories come. I will not include the full stories in the appendixes of my dissertation but will provide them to the community separately.[66] Our oral

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[63] Angela Cavender Wilson (Waziyatawin) states "[Our stories] are not merely interesting stories or simple dissemination of historical facts. They are, more important, transmissions of culture upon which our survival as a people depends." Waziyatawin, *Remember This!*, 36.
[64] Archibald, *Indigenous Storywork,* 17.
[65] Greg Sarris, *Keeping Slug Woman Alive a Holistic Approach to American Indian Texts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 68.
[66] Jo-Ann Archibald states "sharing what one has learned is an important indigenous tradition." The honor to share as a scholar is an important act in researching on Native communities. As a tribal member and scholar, it is important for me to respect the community by not delving deeply into a creation analysis. Productively engaging

stories detail the existence and experience of Indian people and spirit beings since time immemorial. The knowledge conveyed in the telling of these oral narratives provide tribal communities with a knowledge that informs politics, communities, economies and culture.[67] Creation stories detail important events, people and cultural homelands. Instructively, creation stories provide Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people a direct connection with their identity, community, and responsibilities as Native people.

Conclusion

Native American stories are adaptive, localized and varied, each tribal group has their own form of beliefs and practices which are rooted in their homelands and worldview. Paiute, Maidu, Pit River, and Washo connection to land influences languages, histories, worldviews and relationships. Author Leslie Marmon Silko, Laguna Pueblo, states:

> The People and the land are inseparable, but at first, I did not understand. I used to think there were exact boundaries that constituted 'the homeland,' because I grew up in an age of invisible lines designating ownership. In the old days there had been no boundaries between the people and the land; there had been mutual respect for the land that others were actively using. This respect extended to all living beings, especially to plants and animals. [68]

This reflective understanding of the meaning of space and place is critical to my research. Knowledge of the natural world is grounded in ancient traditions and encompassed in daily life

with 'ethnographic refusal' as a research and community member is an important tool to participate in ethical research representation. Archibald, *Indigenous Storywork*, 2.

[67] William J Bauer Jr, "The Giant and the Waterbaby," *Boom: A Journal of California* 2, no. 4 (2012):106.

[68] Leslie Marmon Silko, *Yellow Woman and a Beauty of the Spirit : Essays on Native American Life Today* (New York: New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 85.

through daily observation and management.[69] Native American Studies scholar Priscilla Settee, . Cree, states:

> Indigenous knowledge represents the accumulated experience, wisdom and know-how unique to cultures, societies and/or communities of people, living in an intimate relationships of balance and harmony with their local environments... Indigenous knowledge is not a singular body of knowledge but reflects many layers of being, knowing, and methods of expression.[70]

Native American cultures have roots that extend into history beyond the advent of colonialism. They stand apart as distinctive bodies of knowledge, which have evolved over many generations within their ecosystems and define the social and natural relationships with those environments. Thus, through multiple forms of disruption, the settler state seeks to remove Native American people of the land entirely, in doing so, knowledge of the land and relationships with multiple tribal groups have been ruptured. Our connection and respect to land and this can only be done if we learn to listen to the land. Paiute and Maidu relationships are often characterized as conflict ridden or warring. This can be a result of the vying for territorial boundaries within the valley. However, stories of creation have the power to preserve intertribal relations, knowledge production and survivance. To preserve stories of creation and connection, Susanville Indians serve as active agents in the preservation of history. To enact that preservation of history the stories of all tribes that make up the Susanville Indian Rancheria are to be respected and told. We must understand each other's stories of creation to be good relatives.

[69]Anderson, *Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources*, 41.
[70] Melissa K. Nelson, *Original Instructions: Indigenous Teachings for a Sustainable Future* (Rochester, Vt.: Rochester, Vt.: Bear & Company, 2008), 43.

CHAPTER 2: THE HONEY LAKE VALLEY AS A CULTURAL BORDERLAND

Long before the establishment of the United States, Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people traversed and told stories about the land and their communities. Creation stories assert Indigenous nationhood and sovereignty. Stories of creation by Paiute Maidu, Pit River, and Washo peoples provide insight into how their interaction with each other, and the landscape is facilitated. Anthropologist Stephen Powers wrote about the political boundaries and intimate relationships northwestern tribal groups have about their homeland.

> The boundaries of all tribes… are marked with greatest precision, being defined by certain creeks, canyons, boulders, conspicuous trees, springs, etc. each of which has its own individual name. Accordingly, the s***** teach these things to their children in a kind of sing song… over and over, time and again, they rehearse all these boulders, etc., describing each minutely and by name, with its surroundings. Then, when the children are old enough, they take them around...and so faithful has been their instruction, that [the children] generally recognize the objects from the description given them previously by their mothers.[71]

Knowledge of the homeland is fundamental to Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo identity. People understood the value of the homeland because it was inscribed in the creation story which acknowledges different plants, animals, places and people. Respect and relationships are codified in creation accounts to acknowledge the connections between people and place.

The imposition of borders to solidify U.S. national and state boundaries silenced Indigenous presences on that land.[72] The border demonstrates a western conception of property and land recognition, therefore asserting U.S. control over geographies, resources, and people. U.S. control and legitimization of property ownership does not recognize that Native American

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[71] Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 109–10.

[72] Juliana Barr, "Geographies of Power: Mapping Indian Borders in the "Borderlands" of the Early Southwest," *William and Mary Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (2011): 7.

people had already asserted control over these areas.[73] Before the imposition of the California-Nevada border, tribal groups-maintained connections to both sides, particularly Washo and Paiute peoples, whose homelands encompass areas that are on the bridge of the high desert and conifer forests regions. It is important to research these areas because Paiute and Washo people traverse(d) these state-recognized border regions daily through the transmission and sharing of knowledge, trade networks, governance, marriage, gathering, traditional homelands, and sacred sites that supersede 19th-century, state-imposed borders. Their movement across this region speaks to the historical relationships they had and have with each other.

This chapter will focus on a discussion to envision the Honey Lake Valley as a borderland, which connects Paiute, Maidu, Pit River, and Washo people.[74] My articulation of the convergence of geographical and cultural areas in the Honey Lake Valley reveals a forged relationship between four cultural groups which create a unique identity for Susanville Indians. The development of internal community negotiations of belonging in the Honey Lake Valley is filled with contention. I hope to not further fuel the animosities which currently exist. Rather, I hope that my analysis and discussion will help create a dialogue rooted in respect and understanding between tribal members and tribal groups.

California and Nevada on the Border: First Wave of Susanville Indian Dispossession

At the convergence of geographical and anthropological cultural areas, Susanville Indians experienced comparable acts of colonial intrusion that disrupted their communities, lands, and lifestyles. Located on the east side of the Sierra Nevada Mountain range, Native people did not

[73] Ibid.
[74] Francis A. Riddell, *Honey Lake Paiute Ethnography.*, Anthropological Papers (Nevada State Museum); No. 4 (Carson City: Nevada State Museum, 1960); Roland Burrage Dixon, *Maidu Texts*, Publications of the American Ethnological Society; v. 4 (Leyden: Late EJ Brill, 1912); William S. Simmons, "Honey Lake Maidu Ethnogeography of Lassen County, California," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 19, no. 1 (July 1, 1997); Powers, *Tribes of California*;.

experience the complete transformation brought on by the Spanish Missions. Settler entrance into the area was fueled by the California Gold Rush of 1849. Shortly after the California gold rush, silver was found in Nevada, which created the largest population boom the state has ever experienced. Droves of white male settlers came on emigrant trails into the area to strike it rich. Settlers coming into the Honey Lake Valley used Nobel's trail. The trail was named after William Nobel, a businessman from Minnesota who discovered the trail in 1851.[75] It was a shorter and more direct route to the interior of California. Thousands of settlers used the trail to populate interior California and the Honey Lake Valley.[76]

In 1854, Isaac Roop came into the area utilizing Nobel's trail and established a trading post on the west side of Honey Lake; this trading post would be the establishment of the town of Susanville. Gold was found south of Roop's trading post leading to a permanent settlement of the Honey Lake Valley and Lassen County. Settlers organized a government and recognized themselves as creating the Territory of Nataqua. Settlers perceived that the area was under the Utah Territory.[77] In the early 1860's California completed a survey and established that the Honey Lake Valley was under the jurisdiction of California and a part of Plumas County.[78] The region was vast and had unlimited grasses for livestock to feed on. On February 13, 1858, citizen of Honey Lake adopted the Laws of Honey Lake Valley. Section 1 of the law granted each white male twenty-one years of age the right to "take up and locate vacant land to the amount of 640

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[75] A sa Merrill Fairfield, *Fairfield's Pioneer History of Lassen County, California: Containing Everything That Can Be Learned about It from the Beginning of the World to the Year of Our Lord 1870 ... Also Much of the Pioneer History of the State of Nevada ... the Biographies of Governor Isaac N. Roop and Peter Lassen ... and Many Stories of Indian Warfare Never Before Published* (H. S. Crocker, 1916).

[76] Ibid.

[77] Nevada became a part of the United States as part of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. In 1850, Nevada was organized under Utah Territory and in 1861 Nevada became its own territory. On October 31, 1864 Nevada was admitted as the 36th state.

[78] "Nataqua Territory | Exploring Lassen County's Past," accessed September 21, 2019, http://www.tipurdy.org/nataqua-territory/.

acres. The Laws of Honey Lake operated to secure land for white landowners in the region. The perception that the area was vacant was utilized to usurp Indigenous inhabitation and transfer authority to white landowners. [79]

The close proximity of Lassen County to the Nevada border caused white settlers to forge a relationship with Paiute people. Pit River and Washo people frequently visited settlers in the valley participated in the practice of "driving off stock and committing other outrages. Finding that we could have no safety or security for life or property without the Pit River tribe driven off."[80] Interactions between Settlers and Indian people slowly worsened, causing white settlers to forge a relationship with Paiute people.[81] By 1857, white settlers were interested in identifying leadership in the area to forge a relationship that would facilitate land transfers to settlers. Early settlers in the area ignored tribal territories and tribal political organizations. Interactions

[79] Laws of Honey Lake. Adopted February 13, 1858. "Sec. 1—Each White Male twenty-one years of age shall have the right to take up and locate vacant land to the amount of 640 acres. Provided, that within 30 days from the taking up and locating he shall have it surveyed, and a mound three feet high thrown up at every corner, and a stake set in each mound 6 ft. long, and the claimant's name placed on Record, and to occupy and improve to the amount of one dollar per acre claimed within twelve months from the date of locating, said one dollar per acre to be placed on the land claimed as follows: 12 ½ cts. per acre within 30 days from the locating; 12 ½ cts. per acre within the next 30 days ; 23 cts. Per acre within the next 60 days; 25 cts. per acre within the next 4 months ; 25 cts. per acre within the next 4 months. Said improvement to consist in plowing, fencing, building, and the planting of fruit trees. Sec. 2 – An actual residence within the district where the land lays shall be held an occupation of the land claimed. A substitute can represent. No one person can represent more than on claim. Sec. 3 – Claims may be held in fractions, where such fractions have been made by prior surveys of claims, provided that the number shall not exceed 4, and the whole not more than 640 acres, and each and every fraction shall be improved agreeable to section one. Sec. 4 – All sales and transfers of land shall be acknowledged to by the Recorder, and to be placed on record. Sec. 5 – No person or persons shall divert water from its original channel to the injury of any prior occupant. Sec. 6 – Owners of hogs shall be held to pay all damages their hogs may do between the first day of April and the first day of November. Sec. 7 – All difficulties, disputes, and suits at law, of any nature, shall be had before a Board of Arbitrators, and a majority of said Board shall render a decision; and when a decision shall not be satisfactory to both or either party, the one so grieved may take an appeal within ten days thereafter, and have it tried before a Board in an adjoining district; and if the former decision shall have been sustained by a majority of the second Board, then such a decision shall be final; but if the decision shall have been reversed by a majority of the second Board, then the case shall be left to seven citizens, three to be chosen by each party, the seventh to be called by the six, and a decision the majority shall make shall be final. Sec. 8 – there shall be an election held on the first Saturday in May in each district, for the purpose of electing one Recorder and three Arbitrators in each district. Sec. 9 – The fees of the Arbitrators shall not exceed five dollars each a day, to be paid by the party losing the suit." Fairfield, 105 – 106.

[80] Fairfield, 82.

[81] In 1857, a group of Washo people harvest 3 acres of potatoes from a local settler. Settlers in the area portrayed this as stealing and tracked down the Indians to get the potatoes back. This caused a clash between the two groups, called the potato War. Fairfield, 93.

between settlers and Indian communities were filled with tension. There are a number of early settlers' graves that are marked with the words "killed by Indians."[82] Euro-American expansion into Honey Lake created hostile dynamics between the two populations.

Settlers in the Susanville area negotiated a treaty with Young Winnemucca to ease the tension between the Paiute people and the new population that ventured to the area; however, their conflicts were not with Winnemucca's band of Pyramid Lake Paiutes but the Smoke Creek band.[83] The settlers made a treaty with Winnemucca in 1856. William Weatherlow, Captain of the Honey Lake Rangers,[84] says the terms of the treaty were:

> "that if any Indian committed any depredation or stole anything from the whites, the settlers should come to Winnemucca and make complaint to him and not take their reverent indiscriminately upon the Indians. And the whites agreed that if a white man should steal horses or cattle from the Indians or molest squaws, that Winnemucca should come and make his complaint and they would redress his wrongs and punish the offender. The settlers also passed a resolution that no white man should molest or live with a squaw in the valley, under penalty of being summarily dealt with and driven from the settlement. The treaty was faithfully observed on both sides, in not a single instance was there a misunderstanding between the whites and the Indians."[85]

The treaty established a relationship between Paiute people and settlers. However, this agreement did not ensure the end of future tension. In 1866, settlers massacred Paiute people at Papoose Meadows.[86] Settlement by non-Indians increased the violence in the area. Non-Indians asserted ownership over the Honey Lake Valley undermining Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo land

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[82] This is noted on Peter Lassen's grave on Wingfield road and local people are trying to get this changed after more research has been conducted on the killing.

[83] According to Asa Merrill Fairfield in a recorded the copy of the Treaty. "Abstract of articles delivered as presents to the Pah Utahs Indians of Honey Lake Valley on June 16th 1858 Over Hall 54 pr, Blankets 10, Brown drill 7 yds, Buttons 3 gross, Combs 2 doz, Needles 5>00 Cotton thread 4 doz, Hicory Stripe 127 ½ yds, Cotton Kerchief 30, Blue Prints 60 ¾ yds, Bdls Lin thread 1..Blds, Thimbles 54, Military Jackets 16. 'Witness AL McDonald, AA Smith, WC Kingsbury.'" Fairfield, 1916, 106-108

[84] The Honey Lake Rangers were funded by the state of Califonria as a local militia to protect settlers from "hostile Indians."

[85] Ibid., 14.

[86] Interview, Teresa Dixon, August 2019.

claims. Assertion of land claims by settlers through the utilization of settler law effectively changed the relationships between Native people and the land and Native people and settlers. Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo homelands strategically transformed from a primary cultural homeland to a settler state.

Conceptualizing the Foundation of Borderland Research

Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo relationships to the Honey Lake Valley are often contested by Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal members. Demarcations of political boundaries and tribal territorial authority were often impermeable. Knowledge of these territories and boundaries have been impacted by colonialism; this will be further explored in Chapters 3 and 4. The Honey Lake Valley has become an important place to the melding of relationships that were historically defined and affected by colonialism. Social relationships between tribal groups have existed since time immemorial. Paiute and Washo creation stories specifically acknowledge relationships stemming from creation.

In this section, I investigate the foundational literature that influenced my discussion of the term borderlands.[87] Focus on the foundations of Borderland Studies research allows me to explain how my research contributes to the field of Borderland Studies. I organize my literature by focusing on the work of Internationally recognized cultural theorist, creative writer, and independent scholar Gloria Evangelina Anzaldua, to ground my work in a discussion of a geographical region that encompasses a multilayered ontological scape of culture, gender, and spirit. The borderland is not a static physical boundary, instead it is region that is fluid and

[87] For me to address, the full impact of Anzaldua's work around borderlands is not within the confines of this study. However, I am aware of the foundations she has given the field.

socially constructed. I follow up this discussion by investigating key researchers that build off her work and connect to the centrality of California as a borderland. My work contributes to the growing scholarly analysis of envisioning the complexity of indigenous homelands and territories as complex multilayered dimensions.

Focus on the borderlands was first explored by Anzaldúa in 1987 with her book *Borderlands/La* Frontera. Her book is divided into two parts. The first part is rooted in a historical discussion of the border, identity, and spirituality. The second part of her book a poetic sketch of her life and liberation. Anzaldúa focuses on the U.S.-Mexican border, providing her reader with an understanding of Indigenous land and multi-ethnic complexities. She states "[borderlands are] physically present wherever two or more cultures edge each other, where people of different races occupy the same territory, where under, lower, middle and upper classes touch, where the space between two individuals shrinks with intimacy."[88] Anzaldúa's engagement with the borderland highlights the hybridization that takes place in the physical territory. In addition, the physical space she echoes the negotiation of politics and relationships in the area. For Anzaldúa, the borderland is not fixed, it is fluid and full of possibility, including the negotiation of identity, which serves in my analysis of Honey Lake Valley as a borderland. .

Anzaluda's research and scholarship provide a formative framework to the area of borderland studies. Engagement with borderland theory resonates with scholars who interrogate her work to address how borders have both "discursive and material dimensions."[89] Melinda Pereira Savi, a Research as Universidade Federal De Santa Catarina, acknowledges the physical presence of the border, itself, she specifically notes how Anzaldúa's work highlights the melding

[88] Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands: The New Mestiza = La Frontera*, Fourth edition, 25th anniversary. (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 2012), 22.
[89] Melina Savi, "How Borders Come to Matter? The 'Physicality' of the Border in Gloria Anzaldúa's 'Borderlands/La Frontera,'" *Anuário de Literatura* 20 (June 1, 2015), https://doi.org/10.5007/2175-7917.2015v20n2p181.

of "geopolitical, geoeconomics, and emotional" effects on culture and community. Her articulation and analysis of Anzaldúa's borderland theory highlights the insistent creation of "something new, something powerful and something subversive."[90] Savi argues that Anzaldua's work pushes against the strict designation of the borderland as a physical locale, but instead promotes the borderland as a space for the engagement of multiple meanings and processes. Anzaldua's work has paved the way for scholars to understand and relate with their own experiences, such as I am doing with Honey Lake Valley. Dr. AnaLouise Keating, a professor of multicultural women's and gender studies, shares her perspectives on the implication of Anzaldúa's work. The first lesson she shares with readers is the ability "to recognize that life experience and the places we live in, if we are open to them and critical reflection, permit us to grow, evolve and transform ourselves and consequently our work and our work within it."[91] Development of identity and community transform and evolve through change. Keating affirms this point by stating, "The borderlands are places that have been conceptualized as painful, violent, conflict ridden and yet also beautiful, home to many, and a space of in-betweenness or nepantla–both concretely and spiritually."[92] The process of change and evolution is not easy, in fact the process is painful and often difficult, however, what is created after evolution and transformation enhances our understandings of the world and our communities.

Borderland identity can be contrived in other areas that are not in the physical locales of nation state borders. Specifically, California is a place of multi-interactions between state, countries and nations. David Chang, American Indian Studies scholar, builds upon Anzaldúa's work by criticizing the research which only focuses on "North American borderlands research"

[90] Ibid, 190.
[91] AnaLouis Keating, "3 Lessons Learned from Gloria Anzaldúa," *Neta* (blog), April 2, 2018, https://netargv.com/2018/04/02/3-lessons-learned-from-gloria-anzaldua/.
[92] Ibid.

that "consists of two coherent wholes: a Mestizo Mexico and an Anglo United States."[93] He acknowledges "that assumption undermines one of Anzaldua's signal interventions"[94] Chang does this by acknowledging that the nationalistic boundaries do not necessarily define the borderland, but instead the borderland can persist in spaces that don't have "two coherent wholes." Effectively, Chang uses borderland theory to place Indigenous people at the center. His intervention in borderland scholarship first focuses on El Dorado County, which he states," some historians might not accept as a part of the borderlands… [as it] is five hundred miles from the Mexican border, but in 1860 the connection was closer, as it had only been twelve years since Mexico ceded Alta California to the United States."[95] Specifically, he calls for the recognition of how settler colonialism disrupted complex connections and networks that Indigenous people had/have. Successfully, Chang acknowledges the ways in which California Indian people maintained networks of trade and intermarriage, which simultaneously was a maintenance of power. Thus, Indian people in California already curated a landscape filled with geopolitical, geoeconomic and intimate relations. However, colonial governments sought to sever these relationships by imposing hard boundaries through reservations, "to confine California Indians."[96] The imposition of boundaries, demarcates places of us and them. The California landscape already was a place of carefully crafted homelands that recognized Native sovereignty and belonging.

My intervention in the field of borderland utilizes the work of Anzaldúa and Chang as a foundation to my work. In focusing on the Honey Lake Valley, I argue that Susanville Indians

[93] David A. Chang, "Borderlands in a World at Sea: Concow Indians, Native Hawaiians, and South Chinese in Indigenous, Global, and National Spaces," *Journal of American History* 98, no. 2 (September 2011): 386, https://doi.org/10.1093/jahist/jar250.
[94] Ibid., 384.
[95] ibid., 386.
[96] Ibid., 390.

created their own unique identities in the valley. Literary Scholar Dean Franco refers to this as a "diasporic consciousness."[97] Franco explains that a "diaspora is as much about geographical dispersal as it is self-perception."[98] Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people living in areas of multiple convergences shows that Honey Lake Valley merges multiple identities and cultures. People living in the borderlands develop traits and characteristics that are similar to other communities living in the area. Anzaldúa states "borders are set up to define the places that are safe and unsafe, to distinguish us from them."[99] She continued to discuss the hybridization that takes place in borderlands as a space where various cultures merge to form a new culture, Anzaldúa calls it a "third country."[100] This key intervention, acknowledges that the people in the area learn to balance aspects of inclusivity and exclusivity. I apply this idea of a "third country" to sthe Honey Lake Valley to demonstrate that Susanville Indian create a unique identity that melded cultural practices, language, and ceremony.

Shared Regions and Susanville Indians

Intermarriage, trading, ceremonial, and ecological activities were carried out between tribal groups. Anthropologists Kent Lightfoot and Otis Parrish acknowledge the social relationships that existed across political boundaries.

> Regional exchanges were facilitated by designated trade partners, major ceremonies and dances and so-called trade fairs that periodically brought people from different communities together. These intercommunity relationships helped minimize local resource shortages by providing social mechanisms from moving food and materials from areas with surplus good to those facing resource shortages.[101]

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[97] Dean Franco, "Re-Placing the Border in Ethnic American Literature," *Cultural Critique*, no. 50 (2002): 114.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands: The New Mestiza: La Frontera*, (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 2012), 25.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Kent G. Lightfoot and Otis Parrish, *California Indians and Their Environment: An Introduction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 35.

Connection between tribal groups was respected and facilitated across political boundaries and tribal territories. The Honey Lake Valley is at the juncture of the high desert and coniferous forest. To manage different geographical formations, Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people cultivated and understood how to live off the varying landscape. The diversity of the landscape facilitates a conversation about how Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people inhabited and utilized the Honey Lake Valley. Thus, the Honey Lake Valley served as an idealized borderland that benefitted multiple tribal communities. Networks maintained and created in this space inform ideas self and peoplehood that are based on the relationships with each other and a shared landscape. Connection to the Honey Lake Valley is ingrained in the bodies of Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people since time immemorial. However, with the entrance of settler populations, the relationships Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people had created and maintained were fractured.

Relationality can be used to facilitate a conversation about how Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people inhabited and utilized the Honey Lake Valley, a place that ethnographically acknowledges the presence of all four communities at some point.[102] Marlowe Sam, descendant from Salish-speaking Wenatchi people, places land as a foundation to Native American society, noting that Native people evolved from land and the basis of teachings is rooted in land.[103] Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people have inherent responsibilities to each other and the Honey Lake Valley through established bonds and relationships. Resources were shared between

[102] Francis A. Riddell, *Honey Lake Paiute Ethnography.*, Anthropological Papers (Nevada State Museum); No. 4 (Carson City: Nevada State Museum, 1960); Roland Burrage Dixon, *Maidu Texts*, Publications of the American Ethnological Society; v. 4 (Leyden: Late EJ Brill, 1912); William S. Simmons, "Honey Lake Maidu Ethnogeography of Lassen County, California," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 19, no. 1 (July 1, 1997); Powers, *Tribes of California*.

[103] Melissa K. Nelson, *Original Instructions : Indigenous Teachings for a Sustainable Future* (Rochester, Vt.: Rochester, Vt. : Bear & Company, 2008).

groups during seasons of gathering. Anthropologist Roland Dixon noted how Washo people came over from the south to gather acorns with Maidu people.[104] Similarly, Dixon acknowledged that Paiute people invited Maidu people to participate in gathering activities in some harvest seasons. Living in a diverse landscape of coniferous forest and desert regions, the shift in borders and territories was constantly being reformed and sometimes overlapping based on access to resources and sharing. However, it is important to note that some borderland areas did not change. Good discussion.

Knowledge of the natural world is grounded in ancient traditions and expressed in daily life through observation and management.[105] Anderson discusses the intimate connection of California Indian people and the natural world. The Honey Lake Valley sits at the juncture of the high desert and coniferous forests, melding diverse ecosystems of plants and animals. Susanville Indians lived off of the land; daily activities were based on the environment that surrounded them. Subsistence was not an economic exchange but a cultural, spiritual, social exchange that was intended to go on for generations.[106] The action of gathering instructs ideas of responsibility and protection, plants are integral to Native livelihoods and communities. Environmental Studies scholar Robin Wall Kimmerer affirms that "in some Native languages the term for plants translates to 'those who take care of us.'"[107] Thus reciprocal relationships invoke a process of response and management, which in turns creates a relationship which sustains both the land and community. Plants can connect Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people to their homelands

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[104] Dixon, *Maidu Texts*.
[105] Anderson, *Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources*.
[106] Jerry Mander, Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, and International Forum on Globalization, *Paradigm Wars: Indigenous Peoples' Resistance to Globalization*, [New expanded ed.]. (San Francisco : Los Angeles, Calif.: Sierra Club Books ; Distributed by University of California Press, 2006), 27.
[107] Robin Wall Kimmerer, *Braiding Sweetgrass: Indigenous Wisdom, Scientific Knowledge and the Teachings of Plants*, 229.

and their ancestors. During my oral interview process, the plant name Toza kept coming up.[108] Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo relatives each talked about this plant and their yearning for its growth. Respected elder Minnow Calvin said that plant used to grow all over. She remembers her dad using it for his arthritis.[109] Others talked about how you could chew on the plant and it would help with your flu or cold symptoms. The medicinal properties of the plant are important aspects to the survival of Indian people. The plant no longer grows near the homes of Susanville Indian tribal members. The current use of the plant was not discussed. Lack of use and availability of toza has led to a decrease in use by the younger generations of Susanville Indians. I believe that in understanding the usage of the plant by multiple tribal groups, the connection between people and plant plays an intrinsic tool to recognizing the connection between Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo communities. Yes, good.

Indeed, plants connect people across time and space. Wooly Mules ears is another plant that was revealed to me during my research process. My Wintu relatives use this plant in ceremony. I was instructed to bring this plant with me in my travels to ensure that I stay protected. Respected Wintu leader Caleen Sisk shared with me how Wintu people traded with Maidu people over the mountains to acquire the plant's root. This plant grows in the high mountain valleys. Living in Susanville, I wondered why I had never heard of this plant before. The plant thrives in the high desert and coniferous forest, environment; much like the Native people who lived in the Valley. Last summer, as my partner and I were driving along the backroads he was amazed with the infinite growth of the plant. This winter we collected this plant, and I hope to bring the plant home to my community in the future. Susanville Indian

[108] Paiute people use the term Toza for wild Carrot. Maidu people use the term Lok-bom. Washo people commonly use the term Doza. I have not yet identified a term used by the Pit River people.
[109] Oral Interview, Minnow Calvin, August 7, 2019.

Rancheria's Historical Preservation officer Melany Johnson stated that the smell of this plant reminds her of home. In bringing the plant to the community, I hope that it reminds people of the connection they have to the landscape and the beings around them. Ethnobotanist Sage LaPena, Nomtipom Wintu, notes, "When your roots come from the soil you walk upon you are rooted to that place, it makes you the physical being you are."[110] Paiute, Maidu, Pit River, and Washo people have direct connections with each other through the use of plants thus rooting them in the Honey Lake Valley.

Tactfully use of languages recognizes tribal sovereignty. Use of language terms to connote specific geographic regions, plants and animals distinguishes relationships between tribes and the Honey Lake Valley. Language plays an important role in explaining how tribal groups are connected. Native American Studies scholar Gregory Cajete, Tewa, writes "Indigenous people are people of place, and the nature of place is embedded in their language."[111] Cajete notes that direct relationship with place and language, identities and bodies, are inherently tied to the land of creation. Language facilitates Native American relationships with land and between community members. Language constructs Native Americans connections to place as well as to community. I have identified the terminology Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people used for each other.[112] These tribal groups had relationships and communication with one another. Further, borrowing words supports the idea that interactions between tribal groups have always existed. Anthropologist Margaret Jacobsen acknowledges the

[110] Sage LaPena, Presentation, "Inseparable Landscapes : Connections of Environment and Spiritual Views in Central California," Monday, March 7, 2016.
[111] Gregory Cajete, "Philosophy of Native Science," *American indian thought* (2004): 45.
[112] Paiute names: Washo Wå-siu, Pit River Sai'I meaning strangers, I have not yet identified a Maidu term. Maidu names: Paiute Tolomam, Pit River is odkepepe meaning 'clam eaters', Wash Chaisum meaning 'ones away from here'. Washo names: Maidu damall, Paiute- bå'lew, I have not yet identified a Pit River term. Pit River names: Washo Achomawi Mah' -nah' -tse' -e & Astegwei Ok-pis-s e', Paiute Achomawi å-p huy and Astegwei henna meaning strangers and Maidu d!ikuc i wi.

borrowing between Paiute and Washo happens both ways. She identifies that the terms for porcupine, fox, buffalo, and cui-ui sucker were similar.[113] Anthropologists Martin Baumhoff and D.L. Olmstead suggest that Achumawi word for sagebrush and Astegewi word for juniper were borrowed from the Northern Paiute terminology.[114] Language details the interconnected relationships of Native people that are essential to the maintenance of Native American identity and peoplehood. Peoplehood reflects the ways in which Native people act, react, transmit knowledge, and connect to the world around them, distinct to different groups of people.[115] Language strengthens ancestral connection to the land, people and their history. Language serves an important linkage to epistemologies that connect Native people to their ancestors and to their historical relationships with each other as a form of survivance.

Community gatherings have been practiced in the Valley since time immemorial. Ceremonies such as the Bear Dance serve as a site of survivance.[116] Survivance acknowledges the ways in which Native people persist in contemporary culture, while preserving the collective knowledge of the past. The Bear Dance gathering served as a site where people renewed and strengthened reciprocal bonds. Frank LaPena explains the importance of the annual Maidu Bear Dance:

> The Bear Dance is a time of confirmation of family ties and friendship. It establishes our ongoing actions with the universe and puts us in touch with the land and animals in our immediate surroundings. The attention to human beings

[113] Golla, Victor, *California Indian Languages* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2011), 82.
[114] Ibid., 84.
[115] Tom Holm, J Diane Pearson, and Ben Chavis, "Peoplehood: A Model for the Extension of Sovereignty in American Indian Studies," *Wicazo Sa Review* 18, no. 1 (2003).
[116] Writer Gerald Vizenor (Anishinaabe) uses the term survivance to explain the persistence of American Indian identity in contemporary society. Vizenor explains, "Survivance is an active sense of presence, the continuance of native stories, not a mere reaction or a survivable name. Native survivance stories are renunciations of dominance, tragedy, and victimry." Gerald Robert Vizenor, *Manifest Manners: Narratives on Postindian Survivance* (U of Nebraska Press, 1999), viii.

> such as death, birth, love, and friendship are connected in the ceremony to Spirit and the New Year. The Bear Dance ceremony is an expression of thankfulness for the New Year. Many people, friends, and relatives are involved in helping to make the dance work, providing food and necessities. One comes away with fond memories and ready for the Maidu New Year.[117]

Community relations are strengthened at the annual Bear Dance gathering. These connections not only strengthen relationships with people and the land but with all of creation. The site serves as a ceremony that brings attention to the inherent responsibilities people have with each other and those around them. The Bear Dance is a ceremony of renewal and reawakening for the coming year.

In the early 1960's, people held the Bear Dance at Mankins Ranch. Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people gathered on, what is now known as, Janesville Grade to participate in the ceremony. The Bear Dance held at Mankin's Ranch brought together people from the area. The Bear Dance systems of relations are embedded at the annual gathering; people from different groups are coming together to share stories, songs, and prayers. Artist Jean Lamarr, Pit River and Maidu, shares her perspective,

> The first art project that I ever worked on as a teenager was doing posters and fliers inviting everyone to come to the Bear Dance. The Bear Dance is a spring ceremony of the Maidu people up in our area. It is welcoming. All the animals come out of hibernation and new life begins. It is the beginning of the new year. It is a time to renew your spirit, a time to cleanse yourself of any bad feelings. All the people come together. Even enemies come together and put down their past feelings, renew their friendship, and pray for the next year.[118]

The annual gathering encourages the restoration of connection and balance between people and the animal world. Tribal wisdom is inferred in the singing, dancing, and storytelling. Cleansing is

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[117] Frank LaPena, "Bear Dance and the New Year". News from Native California. Vol. 28. Number 3, (Spring 2015): 5.

[118] "Interview with Jean Lamarr: Supporting Native Pride; A Native American Artist Talks about Her Community Art Project for Reservation and Urban Youth," *Cultural Survival Quarterly Magazine*, September 1992, http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/interview-jean-lamarr-supporting-native-pride-native.

an important part of the Bear Dance Ceremony. Participants are encouraged to cleanse off in the river after the dancing and singing. This act of cleansing in preparation for the upcoming year. George McDow of the Honey Lake Maidu took these pictures of the Bear Dance on the South Side of Bass Hill.

Image 1.1 Picture of Bead Dance of South Side of Bass Hill

Image 1.2 Round House at Mankins Ranch

The Bear Dance has been hosted in a myriad of places in northeastern California. Minnow Calvin, a respected Paiute elder in Susanville, shared the meaning of the Bear Dance as an important gathering ceremony for people to come together.[119] She also acknowledged that her family hosted a Bear Dance gathering on the lower rancheria, in Susanville, for a couple years. It is my understanding that the Bear Dance was hosted by different families. Anthropologist Francis Riddell notes how the relationships were fostered between Paiute and Maidu people. Riddell identifies that Gladys Mankins, Paiute, held and cared for flicker bands, dentalium and abalone.[120] Typically these items are used in North-Central California ceremonies and tradition. Riddell acknowledges that in the Pyramid Lake region, a rattle had abalone.[121] The acquisition of these items suggests that the relationships between tribal groups were maintained and respected. It is important to mention that these activities are still taking place at the Bear Dance, now conducted at Roxie Peconom Campground. An integral part of the Bear Dance is to respect the spirit world and the powers of Bear and Rattlesnake. The use of traditional medicines such as wormwood, connect tribal people to the land and ceremony. The Bear Dance is a space to gather, honor and share, essential to the health and balance of the community. It is the ceremonial process of the Bear Dance that the cycles and responsibilities to land, life and our histories are cared for. Ceremonies are a reminder of our place in the world. As actors, Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people carry out their responsibilities to creation through ceremony.

[119] Personal Communication with Marion Calvin
[120] Riddell, *Honey Lake Paiute Ethnography.*
[121] Ibid.

Conclusion

Our land, language, and ceremonies are central to our ways of being as Native people. The ability for Native people to connect to their traditions around land, language and ceremony connect Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people is a tool to survival. World Maker created the world for all people. Stone Mother traveled to the north and has been inscribed on the landscape. Fox and Coyote assisted in the peopling of the universe. The weaving of stories situates Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people into a historical narrative that incorporates multiple ways of knowing and being. To tactfully bring the stories together could assist in the recovery of the collective, which works to recognize and restore the historical relationships of tribal groups, effectively aiding in their ability to decolonize and maintain a shared landscape and identity. Traditionally, having ties to the Honey Lake Valley, community members would be knowledgeable about each community's language, either by fluency or by understanding it because of historical trade relationships, gatherings, intermarriage or alliance. Exploring Honey Lake Valley as a borderland, situates a conversation about the landscape which supports multiple groups of people. Native people are not static, relics of the past, we are fluid. As our bodies moved throughout the landscape, so did our knowledge. If we look back and encourage the melding of these stories, Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people could again participate in the relationship of respect.

CHAPTER 3: COMPARATIVE BORDERS: SCHOLARSHIP ON CALIFORNIA/NEVADA BORDER

Susanville Indian Rancheria sits near the border of California and Nevada. Paiute, Maidu, Washoe and Pit River people make up the tribal membership rolls have familial and communal ties that pre-exist the establishment of California and Nevada. Prominent Native scholars have produced work that discusses California Indian and Nevada Indian experiences, respectively.[1] However, it is common for scholars to bypass the California/Nevada state border region. This is partially due to the large populations that are recorded in both the Great Basin and California, respectfully, hindering the exploration of scholarly analysis on tribal groups near the California/Nevada border region . Discussion of the border is necessary because borderlands act as a tool to understand how settler colonialism erases historical networks, landscapes, and connections of Native American people.[2] Native peoples have experienced settler colonialism, which has ushered in processes that deny Native land claims, sovereignty, infiltrate and outlaw Native culture, exploit Native minds and bodies. The term settler colonization is used to identify and explain how Native people experienced and continue to experience the entrance of the settler population. Linda Tuhiwai Smith states that colonialism and imperialism are processes that fragments Indigenous people and communities:

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[1] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006); Renya K. Ramirez, *Native Hubs : Culture, Community, and Belonging in Silicon Valley and Beyond* (Durham: Durham : Duke University Press, 2007); Deborah A. Miranda, *Bad Indians : A Tribal Memoir* (Berkeley, Calif.: Heyday, 2013); Jack D. Forbes, *Native Americans of California and Nevada*, Rev. ed.. ed. (Happy Camp, Calif. : Naturegraph Publishers, 1982); Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*, vol. 3 (Beacon Press, 2014); Steven James Crum, *The Road on Which We Came* (Univ of Utah Pr, 1994); Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo, *The Missions of California : A Legacy of Genocide* (San Francisco: San Francisco : Pub. by the Indian Historian Press for the American Indian Historical Society, 1987); William J. Bauer, *California through Native Eyes : Reclaiming History*, [1st edition].. ed. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016); *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here : Work, Community, and Memory on California's Round Valley Reservation, 1850-1941* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009); Diana Meyers Bahr, *Viola Martinez, California Paiute : Living in Two Worlds* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003).

[2] David A. Chang, "Borderlands in a World at Sea: Concow Indians, Native Hawaiians, and South Chinese in Indigenous, Global, and National Spaces," *The Journal of American History* 98, no. 2 (2011): 385.

> "It was a process of systematic fragmentation which can still be seen in the disciplinary carve-up of the indigenous world: bones, mummies and skulls to the museums, art work to the private collectors, languages to linguistics, 'customs' to anthropologists, beliefs and behaviors to psychologists […] Fragmentation is not a phenomenon of postmodernism as many might claim. For indigenous peoples fragmentation has been the consequence of imperialism."[3]

This chapter will provide an overview of the historical analysis of land dispossession that California and Nevada Indians experienced. This discussion does not set out to be totalizing, rather, it is to provide the reader with information on how colonialism has reshaped the relationships between specific tribal nations and land. Fundamentally through Federal Indian law and policy Native Nations have been forced to assimilate and emulate the United States government and society, thus changing their communities forever. Federal Indian law and policy has legitimized the dispossession of Native land, the assimilation of Native bodies and the imposed acculturation of Native government structures.[4] I begin with an interrogation of California/Nevada border scholarship, this will lead to my intervention into the border region. I then turn to a comparative analysis of California and Nevada Indian experiences, in the form of topics and themes that are relevant to the colonial process. The topics and themes will focus on settler intrusion and the fur trade, land contestation, treaties, mining, ethnographic imperialism, and assimilation. Native American communities fell victim to U.S. imperialism. Western expansion centered on land possession and control carried out by individuals, groups, or companies which facilitated the U.S. government's tactics of land dispossession and removal. Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo nationhood was strategically and constantly violated through processes of land exploitation and contestation, anthropological recording and forced assimilation.

[3] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 2nd ed.. (New York : Zed Books, 2012), 29.
[4] This will be more thoroughly discussed in Chapter 4.

California/Nevada Border Scholarship

Today, there is a significant amount of historical and sociopolitical analysis that focuses on the region of California and Great Basin.[5] What is absent from many historical and scholarly works is the focus on the border region of northern California and northern Nevada. One of the few scholars to focus on this region, Jack Forbes, centers on California and Nevada Native communities. Forbes includes a chapter on the reformation of education to include accurate Native American portrayals and histories, and advocates for a community-responsive multicultural approach.[6] Forbes calls for the reformation of educational programs to train to teachers to work with underrepresented groups. This training would assist in introducing relevant topics, histories, and prejudices regarding underrepresented groups.[7] Forbes recognizes the evolution of Native American populations, focusing on invasion, resistance and survival.[8]

Forbes influenced other Native historians to rewrite histories to include the Native perspective and voices to center Native knowledge. Dr. Steven Crum also contributed to Great

[5] Jack D. Forbes, *Native Americans of California and Nevada*, Rev. ed.. (Happy Camp, Calif.: Happy Camp, Calif. : Naturegraph Publishers, 1982); Jack D. Forbes, "The Native American Experience in California History," *California Historical Quarterly* 50, no. 3 (1971): 234–42, https://doi.org/10.2307/25157332; Brendan C. Lindsay, "Murder State California's Native American Genocide, 1846-1873," *Murder State: California's Native American Genocide, 1846-1873*, 2012; Deborah A. Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir* (Berkeley, Calif.: Berkeley, Calif. : Heyday, 2013); Rupert Costo, *Natives of the Golden State, the California Indians* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1995); Risling Baldy, *We Are Dancing for You*; William J. Bauer, *We Were All like Migrant Workers Here : Work, Community, and Memory on California's Round Valley Reservation, 1850-1941* (Chapel Hill: Chapel Hill : University of North Carolina Press, 2009); Steven J. Crum, "Pretending They Didn't Exist: The Timbisha Shoshone Tribe of Death Valley, California and the Death Valley National Monument up to 1933," *Southern California Quarterly* 84, no. 3–4 (October 1, 2002): 223–40, https://doi.org/10.2307/41172134; Steven J. Crum, "The Ruby Valley Indian Reservation of Northeastern Nevada: 'Six Miles Square,'" *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 30, no. Spring 1987 (n.d.): 1–18; Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873*, Lamar Series in Western History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016); Ned Blackhawk, *Violence over the Land : Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 2006).

[6] Forbes, "A Community Response, Multicultural Approach to Indian Education," in *Native Americans of California and Nevada*.

[7] Ibid., 188.

[8] Forbes, *Native Americans of California and Nevada*.

Basin and California-Nevada borderland research.[9] Crum analyzes the erasure of Shoshone people in the establishment of the Death Valley National Monument. Crum relies on archival documents and BIA correspondence to center his arguments on Timbisha Shoshone existence in the Death Valley region. He briefly discusses the oral history of Death Valley, which recognizes Shoshone creation and colonial intrusion into the area.[10] Crum address the presence of Timbisha Shoshone people in the Death Valley area before the establishment of the National Park, innately recognizes the continued existence of the Tribe in the area. Crum also focuses on Nevada Indians' experiences, specifically Shoshone people, with the introduction of silver mining and settler intrusion. Forbes and Crum center Native American agency as historical fact to counter Euromerican histories.

Other scholarly work on the border region focuses on interrogating boarding school histories, oral histories, and language reclamation. Diana Meyers Bahr uses oral interviews to document the life of Viola Martinez, an Owens Valley Paiute, and her experience at the Sherman Indian Institute, an off-reservation boarding school in Riverside, California. Although she was taken away from her home, Martinez resisted the assimilative system by speaking Paiute with her cousins. Bahr also discusses life after boarding school, highlighting Martinez' experience with higher education, work with the Los Angeles Department of Social Services, the Bishop Indian Agency, and Manzanar, the Japanese Internment camp in Owens Valley.[11] More recently, Dr. William Bauer has focused on several tribal groups in California, one being Owens Valley Paiute. In an effort to (re)claim historical narratives that address California Indian people,

[9] Steven J. Crum, *The Road on Which We Came: Po'i Pentun Tammen Kimmappeh: A History of the Western Shoshone* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994); Crum, "The Ruby Valley Indian Reservation of Northeastern Nevada: 'Six Miles Square'"; Steven J. Crum, ""The Western Shoshones of Smoky Valley, Nevada, 1900-1940.," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, no. 37 (March 1994): 35–51;
[10] Crum, "Pretending They Didn't Exist," 226.
[11] Diana Meyers Bahr, *The Students of Sherman Indian School : Education and Native Identity since 1892* (Norman, Oklahoma : University of Oklahoma Press, 2013).

Bauer situates oral histories recorded by anthropologists during the New Deal work relief project.[12] Bauer's work tells California history from the perspective of California Native people. He combines oral histories to discuss the importance of place and identity. The reclamation of traditional culture and land is also a focus of Dr. Beth Rose Middleton-Manning, who discusses the work of Native American land trusts, including the Native American Land Conservancy, which works on the Southern California-Nevada-Arizona borders. For example, Middleton-Manning focuses on the "Salt Song Project" collaboration between the Cultural Conservancy and the Southern Paiute and Chemehuevi peoples. Middleton-Manning documents the process of integration of oral tradition with sacred sites conservation and protection. She also provides a chapter on the Susanville Indian Rancheria, which acknowledge the Tribe's work to purchase land for conservation and education efforts.[13] Middleton-Manning also documents the impact of Dawes Allotment Act and the continuance of historical and cultural disruption. Her book highlights the complexity of Maidu belonging and damaging effects of hydroelectric development and conservation. She thoughtfully centers Maidu people's voices and stories along with archival documents to advocate for policy reform.[14] Including the voices and stories of Native American ways of knowing and doing that are respectful of Native knowledge production, and they reflect a methodology that is central to the field of Native American and Indigenous Studies.

Scholarship that focuses on language revitalization on the border is an act of institutional and community collaboration to create effective change in language revitalization. Dr. Kaitlin Keliiaa's MA Thesis "*Washiw Wagayay Maŋal*: Reweaving the Washoe

[12] Beth Rose Middleton, *Trust in the Land : New Directions in Tribal Conservation* (Tucson: Tucson : University of Arizona Press, 2011).
[13] Ibid.
[14] Beth Rose Middleton Manning, *Upstream : Trust Lands and Power on the Feather River*, 2018.

Language," focuses on community-organized Washoe Language revitalization and reclamation. She provides her readers with a linguistic history of Washoe tribal members and their passion to save their language.[15] In addition to Keliiaa's work, Dr. Marybeth Nevins work explores Maidu language revitalization and community. Nevins provides the Maidu community with accessible information relating to language pedagogy and scholarship[16]. She follows the work of Tom Young, a Maidu man, who shared stories with anthropologist Ronald Dixon. Nevins' work provides a model for Indigenous community/ scholarly collaboration in the processes of reclamation and revitalization of Native Languages.

In analyzing scholarship written on the border region of California and Nevada, there is lack of information written about the Native American people who occupy the Northeastern portion of California. I hope to contribute to the scholarly research growth on the Northeastern portion of California, noting the continual connections of tribal groups who inhibit the border region of California and Nevada. Dr. Steven Crum also has forthcoming work that focuses on the Ft. Bidwell community in Northeastern California.[17] While research in this area is not extensive, Native American scholars are making headway in providing accessible written scholarship that documents the experience of California-Nevada Indian people for the benefit of Native people. This can be highlighted in the work Middleton-Manning, Bauer and Keliiaa.

It is important to recognize that my intervention into this field will not focus on a specific tribal group that has connection to northeastern California, instead I will focus on the Susanville Indian Rancheria as a tribal entity that enrolls members from four different tribal groups.

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[15] Caitlin Keliiaa, "Washiw Wagayay Maŋal: Reweaving the Washoe Language" (UCLA, 2012), https://escholarship.org/uc/item/4zd060kz.
[16] M. E. Nevins, *World-Making Stories: Maidu Language and Community Renewal on a Shared California Landscape* (University of Nebraska Press, 2017).
[17] Steven Crum, personal communication, 2017.

Scholarly analysis with specific focus on the four tribal entities that make up the Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal rolls is non-existent. Historically, there have been numerous histories and research written on specific tribal groups that are enrolled in the Susanville Indian Rancheria, making scholarship on the entirety of the tribe limited. Early anthropological records and analyses of Northeastern California, specifically Lassen County, acknowledge the inhabitation of Indians in the Honey Lake Valley. Some notable anthropologists who write about tribal groups in the area include Stephen Powers, who discusses Maidu and Pit River;[18] Roland Dixon who has published his observations of Maidu people in three separate works;[19] and Francis Riddell, who published numerous works that focus on the Honey Lake Maidu and Honey Lake Paiute tribal groups.[20] Research on the area notably discusses territorial claims over the Honey Lake Valley. Territorial claims interrogated by white scholars inherently subjects the tribal groups, specifically Paiute and Maidu groups, to a focus on dissent over belonging and an imposition of hierarchical relationships. It is my feeling that the insistent disagreement over territorial claims of the Honey Lake Valley is because of the imposition of colonialism. I work to mediate these feelings by providing a comparative exploration of Nevada and California history.

Anthropological explorations are mainly written and documented as narratives of colonization and conquest, which seek to privilege the voices of white scholars. As Native American Studies Scholar Cutcha Risling Baldy, Hupa, Yurok and Karuk, notes, research

[18] Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (Berkeley: Berkeley : University of California Press, 1976).
[19] Roland Dixon, *Maidu Myths*. New York: Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History 17(2):33-118; *The Northern Maidu*. New York: Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History 17(3):119-346; *Maidu Texts*. Publications of the American Ethnological Society IV; 7/26/2021 3:43:00 PM
[20] Francis Ridell Archaeological Site Survey Record. Record on file at University of California, California Archaeological Survey, Hearst Museum, Berkeley; Final Report on the Archaeology of Tom- my Tucker Cave. Berkeley: Reports of the University of California Archaeological Survey No. 35:1-25; Ethnogeography of Two Maidu Groups, II: The Tasaidum Maidu. The Master key 42(3): 84-93; Honey Lake Paiute Ethnography [I960]. Nevada State Museum Occasional Papers 3(1).

conducted by white scholars was centered on the preservation of Natives of history before "they disappeared into the annals of history."[21] The anthropological record situates Native people as objects of study. In 1969, Vine Deloria, Jr. wrote the following response to anthropology; "The fundamental thesis of the anthropologist is that people are objects for observation, people are then considered as object for experimentation, for manipulation, and for eventual extinction. The anthropologists thus furnish the justification for treating Indian people like so many chessmen available for anyone to play with."[22] Knowledge produced by anthropologists is utilized to create narratives that serve settler interests of conquest. A comparative discussion of California and Nevada histories create a critical discussion on how settler colonialism has affected Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal members.

California

California, historically and today, is incredibly diverse in Indigenous languages, cultures, political systems and religions. Throughout the region there are many stories that detail Native American existence since time immemorial; these accounts are passed down from generation to generation through oral tradition. California, as it is known today, encompasses a wide variety of oral and written accounts on settlement from non-Indians. The state known as California has an atrocious history of Native American and settler relations.[23] Settler and Indian relations were a foundation for early ethnographic work that documented the colonization of California.

California Indians experienced colonization from all sides, aiding in the nearly complete disruption of California Indian governments, knowledge, and environments. The legacy of

[21] Risling Baldy, *We Are Dancing for You*, 5.
[22] Vine Deloria, *Custer Died for Your Sins; an Indian Manifesto* (New York: New York Avon, 1969), 81.
[23] Lindsay, *Murder State: California's Native American Genocide, 1846-1873*; Madley, *An American Genocide*; Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*, Yale Western Americana Series 35 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); Jack Norton, *Genocide in Northwestern California: When Our Worlds Cried* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1979); Robert F. Heizer, *The Other Californians; Prejudice and Discrimination under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971).

disruption continues to affect Native American communities. Three waves of California Indian periods occurred in California: exclusive Indian occupancy endured for fifteen thousand years or more; European invasion and military conquest, lasted one hundred years (1769-1873); and colonialism and non-violent Indian resistance extended from 1874 to 1971.[24] I would add a fourth period of California Indian history focused on the resilience of California Indians from 1971 to present. California Indians have worked tirelessly to assert control over their lands, communities and governments. The periodization of California history is important to understand how settler colonialism reshaped California Indian lives. Today, California Indian communities are working to repair their communities through active efforts of cultural revitalization, land reclamation and community development

California history is filled with settler-Indian conflicts, resistance, and legacy of settler intrusion. California as a state has pressed to deny and divide California Indian population through the passing of laws and policy, history books, school curriculum, and land dispossession.[25] However, California Indians are resilient, resisting the colonial erasure of their histories and presence. Deborah Miranda discusses the importance of storytelling for Native cultural survival, using her book to discuss her life, family, and communities' history.[26] Thus, the continued survival of California Indians is based on the maintenance of community and family histories that have existed since time immemorial. Research on the California region is

[24] Forbes, "The Native American Experience in California History."
[25] See Bauer, *We Were All like Migrant Workers Here : Work, Community, and Memory on California's Round Valley Reservation, 1850-1941*; Miranda, *Bad Indians : A Tribal Memoir*; Forbes, *Native Americans of California and Nevada*; Forbes, "The Native American Experience in California History"; Beth Rose Middleton, *Trust in the Land : New Directions in Tribal Conservation* (Tucson: Tucson : University of Arizona Press, 2011); Cutcha Baldy, "Why We Gather: Traditional Gathering in Native Northwest California and the Future of Bio-Cultural Sovereignty," *Ecological Processes* 2, no. 1 (2013): 1–10, https://doi.org/10.1186/2192-1709-2-17. James J. Rawls, *Indians of California : The Changing Image*, 1st ed.. (Norman: Norman : University of Oklahoma Press, 1984); Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*.
[26] Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir*.

extensive, which include multiple processes of understanding, and much of the current scholarship produced about California centers Native voices and experiences, prominently written to address the influx of invasion and devastation, focusing on the resilience of the California Indian populations.[27] The influx of white settlers during American expansionism devastated California Indians. However, California Indian people and communities continue to thrive.

Nevada

Nevada is comprised of four specific Native American communities; this can be related to the Great Basin's large geographical and environmental area. Unlike the California Indian population, which held many different populations of Indian people, four major groups populate Nevada: Northern Paiute, Southern Paiute, Shoshone and Washo people. Scholarly analysis of Indian history in Nevada is less expansive in comparison to California. While Nevada is less culturally diverse than California, Native communities expand throughout the state; politically Nevada Native Nations were incredibly diverse. Each tribal group was broken down into a specific community, with distinct governing structures, laws, and policy.

Washo communities inhabit what is now recognized, as the border region of California and Nevada. The Washoe community population and territorial claims are significantly smaller than Paiute and Shoshone people. Paiute and Shoshone people inhabit large swaths of the state. Generally Paiute people inhabit the middle portions of the state and Shoshone communities inhabit the eastern portion. Paiute and Shoshone communities are distinguished by their primary food sources and by geographical location. Using food resources as an identifier, tie Shoshone

[27] See Bauer, *California through Native Eyes : Reclaiming History*; Renya K. Ramirez, *Native Hubs : Culture, Community, and Belonging in Silicon Valley and Beyond* (Durham: Durham : Duke University Press, 2007); Miranda, *Bad Indians : A Tribal Memoir*; Sara-Larus Tolley, *Quest for Tribal Acknowledgment : California's Honey Lake Maidus* (Norman: Norman : University of Oklahoma Press, 2006); Crum, "Pretending They Didn't Exist"; Forbes, *Native Americans of California and Nevada*.

and Paiute people directly to their land where their existence is impacted by subsistence.[28] The action of using "eaters" at the end of a signifier directly implies that Paiute and Shoshone people are people with a particular landscape where reciprocity is developed and maintained between the people and the land. Today, there are 32 federally recognized tribes in Nevada which enroll Paiute, Shoshone and Washo people.[29]

Scholarly research on the area is developing; foundational scholars in the field of Native American Studies have provided important historical texts that tell the stories of the Paiute and Shoshone peoples. Jack Forbes, for example, detailed the complexity of Native American experiences. He relied on federal documents that detail the experiences of Nevada and California through correspondence and reports. Forbes provided an anthology that gives perspective on the imposition of the fur trade, warfare, protest, and treaties. Forbes provided the reader with context for California and Nevada Indian experiences.[30]

Additionally, Steven Crum focuses on Paiute and Shoshone people in Nevada. His work focuses on the active erasure of Nevada Indians, oral history, resilience, and interactions with the Federal government and Indian tribes.[31] To counter Euro-American historical narratives, Ned Blackhawk focuses on the role of violence in United States colonialism and the survival of Nevada Indians.[32] Blackhawk challenges historical representations of the west. He addresses how Native people adapted to the ongoing changes of colonial violence, disease, and economics.

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[28] Paiute and Shoshone people use signifiers like Agai Dicutta or Wada Tuduka to note the location and food resource of the tribe.
[29] "Map of Nevada Tribes | Nevada Indian Territory," accessed May 11, 2021, https://nevadaindianterritory.com/map/.
[30] Forbes, *Native Americans of California and Nevada*.
[31] Crum, "The Ruby Valley Indian Reservation of Northeastern Nevada: 'Six Miles Square'"; Steven J. Crum, ""The Western Shoshones of Smoky Valley, Nevada, 1900-1940.," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, no. 37 (March 1994): 35–51.
[32] Ned Blackhawk, *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006).

Indians in the Great Basin experienced cultural influences from Spanish and American settlement. Initially, settlers bypassed the Great Basin on the way to the California gold fields. Historical erasure can also be related to the lack of historical analysis on the area. Native historians that focus on the Great Basin are shifting the narrative to affirm Native experience with colonialism and settler intrusion. While the dearth of research on the Great Basin is not totalizing, Native historians are prioritizing the histories of their communities.

While there are notable scholars who focus in the area of Nevada Indian experience, I think that this could be expanded on. The lack of scholarship conducted about Nevada Indian experiences can be correlated to the lack of linguistic and cultural diversity. For Nevada, Indian communities inhabit expansive geographical territories, unlike their California relatives that have small communities in smaller geographical spaces. However, I think that the University of Nevada, Reno is making a considerable effort to expand scholars interested in these histories and experiences. UNR has recently created a Paiute Language class, in much of the Reno area Paiute is being spoken in high school classrooms across the city. This is an important act of revitalization and reclamation. I think by making these contributions in university settings, it will create scholars who will contribute to the growing body of research on Nevada Indians. Scholars who have interest in Nevada histories and experiences have an amazing opportunity to fill in the gaps of our communities, families, and cultures. Nevada Indians, similarly, to California, faced devastating impacts to their communities, cultures and environment from colonization.

Key Terms and Themes

Colonization deeply affects both California and Nevada Indian populations. I provide the reader with an introduction to colonialism and its effect on Native populations. I identify key topics and themes that will be used to interrogate the experience of California and Nevada Indian

populations. These topics and themes are relevant to the historical experiences of the Susanville Indian Rancheria. There is a clear absence of the history of the California and Nevada border, so I hope that this chapter provides clear context into how Native people have similar experiences. I focus on the fur trade, land contestation, treaties, mining, ethnographic imperialism and assimilation. Concentration on these areas push the reader to understand the unique histories of California and Nevada Indian peoples. Each community experienced colonization at different times with different agendas. Susanville Indians experienced the impact of the themes reviewed at different times or sometimes have experienced both. Through a comparative analysis, I seek to provide the community with an understanding of the pitfalls of colonization. The histories and themes discussed are intergenerational. In this analysis, I hope to push the reader to recognize the impact of colonization for Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo communities, while recognizing that our histories are similar in the experiences of the U.S. Nationalism. California and Nevada Indians were purposely removed from their traditional land holdings, assimilated and vilified to forgo their culture. Colonialism deliberately attacked Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo homelands through the fur trade, land contestation, treaties, mining, ethnographic imperialism and assimilation.

Invasion and the Fur Trade

A tactic for removing and transforming Native American environments was the expansion and development of trapping in North American. California and Nevada Indians experienced similar historical interactions with settlers who worked to expand American imperialism. Fur trappers represented some of the first interactions between Northern California and Nevada Indians and Euromericans. The Hudson Bay Company established intricate trade networks throughout the United States and Canada to acquire animal pelts and expand their

economic profits. At the onslaught of fur trappers into the area, American expansionism and populations shortly followed. For Nevada fur trappers depleted animal resources and participated in the transformation of the environment. In California, the entrance of fur trappers into the area was met with animosity by the Alta-California government because of the proliferation of distrust, and in turn profited off of Native allies. Fur trapping in the area of California and Nevada depended on the use of natural resources and the knowledge of Native people to expand into the American West. Fur trapping aided in the establishment of trading relationships between Native peoples and Euro-Americans which further aided in the expansion of settlement and economic growth in Nevada and California. California was not a main source of profit for Hudson Bay Company, forcing them to decrease their expeditions into the area. The North American fur trade ushered in western industry, targeting Indian homelands, environments, and communities.

Nevada

Intrusion into Northern Paiute homelands began in 1820, when fur trappers entered the area in search of beaver pelt to further the expansion of the Hudson Bay company. traders, emigrants, miners and settlers facilitated growth of Manifest Destiny.[33] Peter Odgen, from the Hudson Bay Company, was the first to interact with Paiute people.[34] Odgen was in search of beaver pelts.[35] His objectives were set out to deplete the beaver resources in the area, and to downplay competition, which simultaneously led to the decrease of other plants and animals Northern Paiute people depended on for subsistence.[36] Odgen captured Northern Paiute people to

[33] Nevada Inter-Tribal Council, *Numa : A Northern Paiute History* (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, 1976), 16.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] ibid.,17.

assist in navigating the area. Odgen's party facilitated the entrance of colonialism into Northern Paiute communities and homelands. The fur trade serves as a key intervention to the imposition of settler contestation over resources, land, and ultimately, violence.

In 1844, John C. Fremont traveled through Nevada during his second expedition.[37] In making his way down the Cascades, Fremont expedition arrived in the Pyramid Lake area where he met a group of Northern Paiute people. Fremont and his men participated in a trading relationship with Paiute people. He inferred that the main food resources for Indians in the area were fish: "These Indians were very fat and appeared to live an easy and happy life."[38] Fremont and his men enthusiastically established a relationship with Paiute people during the expedition. Following this encounter the expedition ventured into the interior of California during the Mexican-American War and later, southern Nevada.

California

In California, fur trappers ultimately led to the influx of the American population in Alta-California. Jedediah Strong Smith was a central figure to the expansion of the fur trade in California.[39] He entered California through the south and headed north into the San Joaquin Valley, almost wiping out the beaver population in Alta-California. [40] In exploring Alta-California, Smith worried Mexican and Mission leaders because of the idea that Americans were pressuring Indians to leave the missions and work in California's interior. In Smith's quest to expand American imperialism through fur trapping expeditions, Smith drew maps of the

[37] John C. Fremont also traveled to California. In California, Fremont visited Sutter's Mill and participated and led multiple massacres on Native American people. One of the massacres he led was around the Orgon-California border targeting Klamath people.
[38] (Fremont 1851:215) Fremont, J. C. (1851). Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842 and to Oregon and Northern California in the Years 1843-'44. Buffalo, NY: Geo. H. Derby
[39] Smith also traveled and explored Southern Nevada.
[40] Natale A. Zappia, "Indigenous Borderlands: Livestock, Captivity, and Power in the Far West," *Pacific Historical Review* 81, no. 2 (May 1, 2012): 193–220, https://doi.org/10.1525/phr.2012.81.2.193.

region.[41] Smith was successful in gaining Indian allies that supported his trapping and trading ventures, often securing supplies from the Missions to advance his exploration and business in California. [42]

After the Smith expedition, Odgen was also recorded in the area hoping to expand the Hudson Bay Company. Fur trading caused discontent between Mexican and American relations in the area. Hudson Bay petitioned the Mexican government to hunt sea otters and beaver along the California coast and purchase cattle and sheep to be sent north.[43] The San Francisco Bay and Gulf of California happened to be a profitable area for beaver and otter pelts, causing Hudson Bay to ask for a land grant in the San Francisco Bay.[44] Ultimately, California was not a profitable venture for fur trading, the profits were disappointing for the Hudson Bay Company, causing them to decrease their expeditions into the area.

Mining

As a conduit to colonization, trails led settlers through the Plains and Great Basin to the California gold fields. The California Gold Rush led to an influx in immigration and affected the Native population. As a result, the Gold and Silver Rush led to violent encounters between Indians and miners, who clashed over territory and the exploitation of natural resources. Ned Blackhawk acknowledges that violence and American nationalism goes hand in hand.[45] This is indeed relevant in the history of California and Nevada. California Indians were ostracized from their land because of the greed of gold miners, who set out to eradicate the Indian population. In Nevada, miners forced Nevada Indians to agree to modify their land tenure to make way for the

[41] James A. Sandos and Patricia B. Sandos, "Early California Reconsidered: Mexicans, Anglos, and Indians at Mission San Jose;," *Pacific Historical Review* 83, no. 4 (2014): 612, https://doi.org/10.1525/phr.2014.83.4.592.
[42] Ibid.
[43] John S. Galbraith, "A Note on the British Fur Trade in California, 1821-1846," *Pacific Historical Review* 24, no. 3 (August 1, 1955): 255, https://doi.org/10.2307/3635198.
[44] Ibid., 256.
[45] Blackhawk, *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West*.

influx of population. As a survival tactic, Indians transformed their economies to enter a western capitalistic economy by gaining employment as miners or working for Euro-American settlers.[46] Conforming to the mining industry was an economic venture that assisted many Native American people with employment, California and Nevada Indians were unaware of the degradation to their environment mining would cause.

Nevada

As emigrant travels in the area increased so did violent encounters. Joseph Walker, a trader, was a leader of one emigrant party that arrived with forty men and livestock in 1830 in Northern Nevada.[47] While Northern Paiutes were not hostile held no hostility to the group of men; however, Walker did not take a similar stance and authorized violence onto Northern Paiute communities killing almost one hundred people.[48] As settler intrusion became rampant in Northern Paiute territories, the increase of violence became inevitable. Paiutes became weary of settlers and their disregard for Indian law and land.

In 1869, gold and silver were discovered on the eastern slope of the Sierras, leading to the increase of prospectors in Paiute territory. This mineral strike is known as the Comstock Lode.[49] The Comstock Lode near Virginia City became one of the fast-growing, most profitable parts of the west in 1863.[50] Settlers viewed Indians as inferior because of their subsistence way of life. The ideology of white superiority led to the imposition of settler law, which involved the contracts and claims to land, ultimately giving legal right to white prospectors.[51] By claiming

[46] Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*, Yale Western Americana Series 35 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).
[47] Blackhawk, 18.
[48] Ibid.,19.
[49] Inter-Tribal Council of, 23.
[50] Blackhawk, 269.
[51] Martha C. Knack, *As Long as the River Shall Run: An Ethnohistory of Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 55.

Paiute land, settlers encouraged the use of force to adhere Paiute people to settler law, which depended on the depletion of natural resources and infringement on Native sovereignty.

Mining operations depended on the exploitation of natural resources and the employment of Native people in Nevada. Ned Blackhawk states "in the fragile ecologies of Nevada, mines consumed water, pinon stands, grasses, and game while ranches and farms helped feed the region's mushrooming population.[52] Native people experienced a complete rupture of the economies and lifestyles as a result of western expansion.[53] Subsistence lifestyles were forced to change, Indians could no longer access important food gathering areas because of the influx of Euro-American settler claims to land and exploitation of the environment.

A significant ecological impact of mining in Nevada can be seen in the cutting down of pine trees. Paiute, Shoshone, and Washo people depended upon pine nuts for sustenance. Pine trees were used in the mining industry to provide lumber for the railroad companies, lodging materials, and their primary use provided fuel for the charcoal industry that grew after 1860.[54] During colonization of Nevada, miners cut down pine trees causing the native people to leave their land holdings because of the depletion of natural resources, ultimately causing a decrease in their subsistence economies and lifestyles.[55] Despite the devastating environmental and social impacts of mining, Indians adapted to the new conditions. Mines, ranches, and towns offered a new economic opportunity to Nevada Natives, providing opportunities to socialize and create

[52] Blackhawk, 280.
[53] Blackhawk, 218.
[54] Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo, *The Missions of California : A Legacy of Genocide* (San Francisco: San Francisco : Pub. by the Indian Historian Press for the American Indian Historical Society, 1987).; Richard Francaviglia, ""Into the Crucible: Mining's Lasting Impact on the Native American Great Basin,"" *Mining History Journal* 9, no. 2002 (2002).
[55] Francaviglia.

communities.[56] Creating communities encouraged the integration of Nevada Indian people to western expansion.

In Central Nevada, Shoshone people were the primary labor force in the mines. Round Mountain Mining company labor force was 60% Native American, consisting of both Paiute and Shoshone people.[57] Central Nevada experienced a decline in mining during the period from 1920 to the mid 1930s, leading to the closure of many mining companies.[58] Steven Crum states "the Shoshone responded to their worsened economic situation in one of three ways: some left Smoky Valley temporarily to seek jobs elsewhere; a few other moved away permanently; but most remained and turned to the limited jobs available on the white owned ranches in the valley."[59] Despite the entrance of new economies, Indians in Nevada continued to modify their lifestyles to survive.

California

California Indians were prominent figures in the decline of the Spanish empire in California. California Indians undermined colonial authority through the expansion of their economies by stealing livestock and participating in trade relationships with Euro-American newcomers.[60] A beneficiary of this growth was John Sutter, a Swiss immigrant and businessman, who established a fort near the present-day Sacramento. Sutter petitioned the local tribes for title to the land but was denied by the governor of Alta-California because it was regarded that Indians could not sell or lease the land they occupied, the title to the land belonged to the federal government.[61] Sutter's Fort aided in the influx of Euro-American men fleeing into California

[56] Blackhawk, 281.
[57] Crum, "The Western Shoshones of Smoky Valley, Nevada, 1900-1940," 42.
[58] Ibid.
[59] ibid., 43.
[60] George Harwood Phillips, *The Enduring Struggle: Indians in California History*, Indians in California History (Sparks, Nev.: Materials for Today's Learning, 1990).
[61] Phillips.

after gold was discovered by John Marshall on the American River. Sutter offered protection for the men providing food and other essentials for mining.[62] This assistance invigorated miners to search and stake claims in mining ventures. Sutter used Indians as the primary labor force for mining, if they undermined his leadership, Sutter Killed them if he deemed necessary.[63] In 1848, Indians were prominent figures in the mining industry. A government report estimated that more than half of the four thousand miners were Indians, most worked for whites but the number of Indians miners who worked on their own was increasing.[64] Native people were essential to California mining because they had extensive knowledge of the land.

The California Gold Rush destroyed Native American communities and environments. Kat Anderson writes, "The Gold Rush was an instrumental event in the economic history of California, setting the tone, mind-set, fervor, and conditions for the exploitation of other resources and the mistreatment of minorities."[65] Settlers arrived in California hoping to strike it rich with the Earth's natural resources.

> Estimated gold dug up during the Gold Rush in California: 24.3 million ounces (1848- 1857). The estimated value of this gold at 1998 gold prices: $6.9 billion (at $285 an ounce). The price paid for a Native American severed head in Shasta in 1855: $5. The price paid for a Native American scalp in Honey Lake in 1863: 25 cents.[66]

The Gold Rush led to an influx of population into the region. Anderson continues to discuss California's landscape transformation, "The miners overran native homelands, altering stream courses, destroying salmon runs, scaring away game with pistols and rifles, chopping down oaks and sugar pines, and grazing cattle, hogs, and horses on the grasslands."[67] The ecological impact

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[62] Albert L Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*, vol. 35 (Yale University Press, 1988), 19.
[63] Ibid., 21.
[64] Phillips, 43.
[65] Kat Anderson, *Tending the Wild : Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources* (Berkeley: Berkeley : University of California Press, 2005), 91. Anderson, 91.
[66] Chag Lowry, *Northwest Indigenous Gold Rush History: The Indian Survivors of California's Holocaust* (Arcata, calif.]: ITEPP, 1999), 14.
[67] Anderson, 85.

of mining was tremendous in the state, leaving lasting impacts. Hupa scholar Jack Norton writes, "The miners tore up and diverted the streams, turning them into mud."[68] The use of hydraulic mining completely devastated mountains, canyons, and rivers. Some sacred and burial sites were completely lost because of the impacts of mining, and California continues to deal with the pollutants of hydraulic mining in our streams, rivers, and lakes.[69] Mercury contamination and poisoning is one of the lasting impacts of the California Gold Rush. Clear Lake is a prime example of the ongoing impact of the California Gold Rush. An abandoned mine named Sulphur Bank has leached tons of mercury into a site of cultural significance to the Pomo people, Sulphur Bank has poisoned the fish the tribe traditionally relied on and impacted the health of people. . Abandoned mines from the Gold Rush era throughout California have severely impacted Indigenous California populations, and contaminated hundreds of miles of streams, rivers and lakes are contaminated by runoff. Fueled by with the desire to acquire gold the necessity of land exploitation and violence was an imminent threat to the California Indian population.

In California, after the discovery of gold in the Sierra Nevada foothills, the government and settlers initiated widespread dispossession, rape, and mass murder against California Native people. California Indians were seen as central to the problem of gaining land and resources. In January 1851, Peter H. Burnett, the first governor of California, stated, "[t]hat a war of extermination will continue to be waged between the two races until the Indian race becomes extinct…"[70] California Native people were unable to escape the genocidal terror that swept through their communities; "[a]ttacks on Indian villages by volunteer military companies or

[68] Jack Norton, *When Our Worlds Cried: Genocide in Northwestern California* (San Francisco: The Indian Historical Press, 1979), 38.
[69] Lowry et al., 9.
[70] Robert F. Heizer and Alan J. Almquist, *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920* (Univ of California Press, 1977), 26.

regular army units, and casual killings, were common until about 1870."[71] Systematic violence on California Indian populations aided the immense population decrease of California Indian populations. The regularity of violence and murder in California has been identified by several scholars as genocide.[72] The Gold Rush resulted in "massacres, slavery, and the environmental raping of the land."[73] The mining industry ushered in systematic violence and environmental contamination of California that still persists today.

California Indians were direct targets of the violence that ensued in California, seen as impediments to progress California Indians populations were decimated by the abstract solution, "The War of Extermination." National and state officials consciously enacted genocide through the creation of law and policy, effectively embedding violence, genocide, and slavery into the establishment and creation of the state of California. We do not know how many California Indians were killed during the era of the Gold Rush. Historian Benjamin Madley estimates that between 1846 and 1873 there were at least 9,400 to 16,000 California Indians killed by non-Indians, occurring in more than 370 massacres.[74] A larger estimate acknowledges that "armed death squads combined with the widespread random killing of Indians by individual miners resulted in the death of 100,000 Indians in the first two years of the Gold Rush."[75] Another observation posits "the 20,000 Indians remaining in the state in 1880 faced a bleak future. Many groups had lost their entire intellectual-philosophical heritage because of the death of all of their

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[71] Ibid., 27.
[72] See Brendan C. Lindsay, "Murder State California & Native American Genocide, 1846-1873," in *Murder State: California Native American Genocide, 1846-1873* (Lincoln: Lincoln : UNP - Nebraska, 2012); Norton; Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo, *Natives of the Golden State, the California Indians* (Indian Historian Press, 1995); *The Missions of California : A Legacy of Genocide*; Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide : The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873* (New Haven: New Haven : Yale University Press, 2016).
[73] Lowry, 1.
[74] Madley, *An American Genocide*, 11 and 351.
[75] Edward D Castillo, California, and Native American Heritage Commission, *Short Overview of California Indian History.* (Sacramento: California Native American Heritage Commission, 1998), http://ceres.ca.gov/nahc/califindian.html.

leading people and the systematic terrorization, intimidation, or dispersal of the rest."[76] This moment in history is characterized as government sponsored violence. Historian Brendan Lindsay states "looking back, California appears to have been the Murder State rather than the Golden State."[77] Settlers were equipped with greed to strike it rich in the American West. Greed led to an influx of non-Native settlers to claim land in order to establish mining camps. The increasing settlement because of mining, ultimately led to violence over access to land and natural resources.

Land Contestation

Dispossession of Native people from land became an integral characteristic of settler intrusion into California and Nevada. American expansionism disrupted Native American relationships to land to increase Euro-American settlement. Similarly, Nevada and California are an example of the disorganization of the federal government in recognizing the claim California and Nevada Indians had to land. California Indians were affected by government-sponsored plans to exterminate the Indian population through modes of state-sponsored genocide and land dispossession. Nevada Indians adapted to the new lifestyles creating communities outside of Euro-American settlements. Both communities experience the outright denial of land holdings well into the twentieth century.

Nevada

The clash between the two populations was abrupt during initial Indian-settler relations. Settler prospectors and settler law had little regard for Paiute people and the exploitation of the land.[78] Negotiation of treaties between Native people and settlers was an attempt to ease relations

[76] Forbes 1971, 240.
[77] Lindsay, 123.
[78] Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, 24.

between the two groups. Nevada Indians entered into far fewer treaties than California Indians. Nevada Indian agents received little support from the Federal Government during treaty negotiations.[79] Washo people living along the California/Nevada border never entered into any formal or informal agreement with settlers.

Western Shoshone people living in Ruby Valley did negotiate a treaty with the Federal government in October 1863 between commissioner James W. Nye and Duane Dotty and representatives of the Western Shoshone Indians.[80] Steven Crum discusses the stipulations under the Treaty of Ruby Valley and how it affected Western Shoshone people. The United States allocated $20,000 to finance negotiations between the federal government and western Shoshone, because of the expansive area Shoshone people occupied,[81] officials decided to negotiate five separate treaties with the groups.[82] However, only one of the five treaties were completed. Only Shoshone people living in northeastern Nevada were involved in Ruby Valley treaty negotiations. The treaty included only one fourth of the Great Basin population, ignoring Shoshone people living in central or southern Nevada.[83] Treaty stipulations between the Western Shoshone and United States government ensured safe passageway for emigrants and travelers who were traveling through Western Shoshone land and the imposition of railroad, power, and stagecoach lines to cross freely through the territory.[84] The treaty also identified a land base that

[79] Bengston Ginny, *NORTHERN PAIUTE AND WESTERN SHOSHONE LAND USE IN NORTHERN NEVADA: A CLASS I ETHNOGRAPHIC/ETHNOHISTORIC OVERVIEW*, Cultural Resources Series 12 (Bureau of Land Management, Nevada, 2002).
[80] These representatives included: Te-moak, Mo-ho-a, Kirk-weedgwa, To-na, and other Chiefs, Principal Men, and Warriors.
[81] Shoshone people traditional territories are in the states of Wyoming, Utah, Nevada, and Central California
[82] Steven J. Crum, *The Road on Which We Came = Po'i Pentun Tammen Kimmappeh: A History of the Western Shoshone* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 25.
[83] Crum 1994, 26.
[84] Treaty of Ruby Valley with the Western Shoshone, U.S.-W. Shoshone, Oct 1, 1863, 18 Stat. 689. p. 2.

was to be reserved for Shoshone people. The reserved piece of land is a valley that is a part of the traditional territory of Ruby Valley Shoshone people.

The adoption of the reservation systems in Nevada encourages the expectation that Native people would adopt sedentary individualistic lifestyles.[85] An example of the insistent adoption of sedentary lifestyles is the granting of the Ruby Valley Indian Reservation in 1875. Since the late 1800s-1900s Ruby Valley Indian Reservation existence has been contested. Steven Crum states "the existence of the Ruby Valley Reservation remained in doubt because of the Central Office of the BIA in Washington, D.C. never provided enough funds for its maintenance."[86] The location of the reservation was based on the accessibility of natural resources in the area and there existed a large population of Shoshone people already in the area.[87] Because the reservation was not surveyed, white settlement grew and the contestation over the existence of the reservation decreased. Today, there is still no recognized land base for the Shoshone people of Ruby Valley.

Dispossession and erasure became inevitable with the imposition of mining capitalism. Bureau of Indian Affairs agent Frederick Dodge managed settler-Indian troubles in Central and Western Nevada in the mid-1800's. Dodge investigated violent encounters and concluded, "the whites who infest the country are far more troublesome than the Indians."[88] As a result, Dodge suggested that there must be a separation between Paiute people and white settlers, ultimately leading to the establishment of two reservations for Numa people, one at Cu Yui Pah and at Agai Pah. [89] The reservations were to assist in the separation of the two populations, however, the

[85] Discussion of the creation of Reservations is explored in Chapter 3.
[86] Crum, "The Ruby Valley Indian Reservation of Northeastern Nevada: 'Six Miles Square,'" 7.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Letter from J.H. Holeman to Brigham Young, September 30, 1853, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1853, S.S. 710 p. 447.
[89] Russell R Elliott, *History of Nevada* (U of Nebraska Press, 1987), 387.

imposition of moving Indian people to specific pieces of land assisted in the decline in the traditional usage of the land, aiding in the increase of white settlement into the Nevada region.

In the 1900's, the Federal Government denied Shoshone and Paiute claims to land and imposed National Forests. In applying for homesteads near these National Forests, specifically the Toiyabe National Forest, Smoky Valley Shoshone people had to "improve the land" or provide information that detailed inhabitants on the land for more than one generation.[90] The imposition of the Toiyabe National Forest assisted in a threefold disruption of Shoshone lifestyles: denying hunting practices in the forest, no longer allowing grazing without a fee, and restricting Native settlement without applying for occupancy.[91] Shoshone people were forced to show proof of continuous occupancy "predating the formation of the forest in 1907" in order to remain on their traditional homelands within the National Forest.[92] As a solution, Shoshone people moved from Smokey Valley to the Walker River Reservation in 1926. Although the land was already occupied by Paiute people, the Federal Government refused to recognize the cultural difference of Nevada Indians amalgamating Indian groups into specific places because of the increase of economic exploitation in the region.

California

During the California Gold Rush, Euro-Americans demonized California Indians . As a facet of demonization, the 1850 the Act for the Government and Protection for Indians passed in California, ensuring the continual legality of state sponsored genocide. Section 20 of the Act for Government and Protection for Indians legalized the arrest and conviction of Natives for vagrancy offences and once imprisoned Native people were "compelled to work until his fine

[90]Crum, "The Western Shoshones of Smoky Valley, Nevada, 1900-1940." 34.
[91] Ibid., 36.
[92] Ibid.

was discharged of cancelled" for white settlers.[93] Another provision of the act included enslavement disguised as apprenticeship. Chapter 133 provided that an Indian child could be enslaved until the age of 25.[94] During this time countless Indian children were kidnapped from their families and communities and sold to white households as slaves. In order to abolish Native American connection to land, Native people had to be removed off of the land entirely.

One attribute of California Indian genocide was the eighteen unratified treaties.[95] In 1851, American entitlement for land was supported through the enactment of law and policy, Indian removal was an inevitable consequence. President Millard Fillmore appointed three commissioners, George W. Barbour, Redick McKee and O.M. Wozencraft, to negotiate treaties with California Indian tribes. The three men negotiated 18 treaties, encompassing the homelands of approximately twenty-five thousand California Indians.[96] The 18 treaties were negotiated and implemented in three ways: 1) Indians were persuaded to leave their homelands and move to lands that were reserved for them in 1851 and 1852; 2) Indian agents purchased large quantities of supplies for the Indians; 3) Indians were forced to give up land as if they held no title.[97] Anthropologist Sara-Larus Tolley explains that commissioners, "worked under the stated assumption that 'as there is no *further west*, to which they can be removed,' the General Government and the people of California appear to have left but one alternative in relation to these remnants…extermination or domestication."[98] This idea further predicated the unjust acts of genocide and removal in California. The treaties were submitted for ratification in June 1852.

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[93] Kimberly Johnston-Dodds and John L Burton, *Early California Laws and Policies Related to California Indians* (California State Library, California Research Bureau, 2002).
[94] Lindsay, "Murder State California's Native American Genocide, 1846-1873," 257.
[95] Ibid., 272.
[96] James J. Rawls, *Indians of California : The Changing Image*, 1st ed.. ed. (Norman: Norman : University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), 141.
[97] Forbes, *Native Americans of California and Nevada*, 81.
[98] Tolley, 22; Rawls.

By July 1852 "U.S. senate rejected the 18 treaties by a separate resolution."[99] It is estimated that the land granted to California Indians would have amounted to 7,488,00 acres or 7.5% of the state.[100] Native title to land was denied and many Native American people were left landless. Treaties were problematic because Native American people viewed land as a communal entity and not individual, therefore ceding land from by an individual was not reflective of Native community ethics.[101] Non-ratification of treaties left California Indian land and people vulnerable to settlers and the California government, loss of traditional homelands, and denied the recognition of Indian claims to land. The United States government enacted the California Private Land Act of March 1851 which provided the creation of the California Land Claims Commission.[102] The commission, assembled by the president who appointed three members, oversaw California Land claims and made decisions to confirm or reject the claims through the evaluation of claimant documents. The impact of the California Land Claims Commission on Indian communities severely impacted their rights to land and essentially undermined their claims to land in the state.

In order to adjust to the invasion of the settler population, California Indians transformed community relationships. In Southern and Central California, many California Indian people settled in small communities known as rancherias. The term rancheria is a product of the Spanish influence in California, meaning 'small reservation' and applied to Indian communities that did

[99] Costo and Costo, *Natives of the Golden State, the California Indians*, 246.
[100] Ibid., 23.
[101] Robert Fleming Heizer, *The Eighteen Unratified Treaties of 1851-1852 between the California Indians and the United States Government* (Archaeological Research Facility, Dept. of Anthropology, University of California, 1972), 4.
[102] "Before 1851 Congress had been burdened with a staggering load of cases. Finding it impossible to give individual attention to 27,000 claims, Congress had resorted to blanket confirmation of claims of 640 acres or less that had been favorably reported by the boards, and later even claims of 1,000 acres, without itself giving any serious consideration to them." Paul Gates, "The California Land Act of 1851," *California Historical Quarterly* 50, no. 4 (1971): 397, https://doi.org/10.2307/25157352.

not settle in Christian mission communities.[103] The Mexican government granted lands to Indian people during secularization. The Indian population provided a labor force to the rancho economy. [104] The Mexican government recognized Indian houses, farms, orchards and fields as rancherias, which were specifically set aside for Indian occupancy.[105] Community was central to survival for California Indian. Notably, Indian labor exploited to serve local white communities the interior and northern California, Indian communities organized to create

In 1852, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California, Edward Beal, suggested the creation of reservations for California Indian communities. Beal supported the separation of Native and white communities. He proposed a system of "military posts" to be established for California Indian populations,[106] such that from 1821-1854, Beal established several reservations and farms for California Indian communities, the Tejon Reservation and the Fresno Indian Farm. Thomas Henley, Beal's successor, expanded the California Indian Reservations, with five additional farms and reservations: Nome Lackee, Mendocino, Klamath, Nome Cult, and the Tule River Farms.[107]

In 1869 the Federal Government recognized three military style reservations: Tule River, Round Valley and Hoopa Valley.[108] However, this did not resolve all matters for the Indian people in California, many still remained landless. After the treaties were found 1905, the treaty

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[103] David E. Wilkins, and Heidi K. Stark, *American Indian Politics and the American Political System,* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), 24.
[104] According to Jack Forbes, "[t]he rancho provided another means whereby Indian labor was integrated into the Hispano economy," and "[t]he typical Mexican rancho was based, economically and socially, upon the exploitation of Indian labor, a labor which was virtually unpaid except in the sense of possessing a certain share in crops raised and meat slaughtered. On the other hand, native villages or settlements were able to survive within rancho boundaries because the rancho owners needed Indian house servants and agricultural laborers." Forbes 12, 31, 40
[105] According to Helen Hunt Jackson, most of the Mexican land grants included tracts of land on which Indians were living, sometimes in large villages. Most of these grants were in accordance with Spanish law. A clause of protection, meant that the communities were to be left undisturbed in their homes. According to the grant the land belonged to them as long as they were cultivating or occupying it. Jackson 80.
[106] Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*, 61.
[107]Phillips, *The Enduring Struggle : Indians in California History*.
[108] Hurtado, 35, 148.

obligations were still not upheld. In 1906, C.E. Kelsey conducted a "Report on the Conditions of California Indians," which appropriated funds to purchase land for "homeless California Indians." By the 1950s, by the federal government established a total of 117 Indian communities, either on land set aside from the public domain or on lands purchased by federal funds.[109] In many cases the land set aside for California Indians amalgamated a number of tribes to one specific piece of land. The ability to control land, by the United States Government and State regulates land use and rights. Effectively, control by government entities restricts and limits that ability of Indian people to manage and maintain their homelands.

Ethnographic Imperialism

Anthropology serves as an instrument of domination. In the early twentieth century, many anthropologists, archeologists, linguists and other kinds of scholars were interested in the perceived "vanishing" Native American cultures. This type of research was deemed salvage anthropology, which attempted "to retrieve as much information about different [N]ative American tribes as possible while there were still native speakers and practitioners of their various cultures, despite the devastating impact of Euro-American settlers."[110] Research and documentation being conducted by white scholars was thought to be essential to the preservation of Native lifeways and history before its disappearance. Researchers and scholars used terms like "last" or "vanishing" to reflect a desire to rescue or save the knowledge from western destruction.[111] Anthropology was a discipline that was focused on the observation of human nature. Anthropologists quickly claimed expertise over Indigenous people and knowledge around

[109] Rawls, 211.
[110] Seymour, Susan C. *Cora Du Bois: Anthropologist, Diplomat, Agent*. Critical Studies in the History of Anthropology. 2015. 76.Susan C. Seymour, *Cora Du Bois: Anthropologist, Diplomat, Agent*, Critical Studies in the History of Anthropology (University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 76.
[111] Clifford, 1.

the world. Using Native consultants and informants, anthropologists and archaeologists became the authorities and experts on Native American people. California and Nevada Indian culture were subjected to the preservation of culture under the anthropological guise. Ethnographic work in maintaining the settler state and continue to harm Native people; knowledge production and power go hand-in-hand.

Nevada

Dehumanization played an intrinsic tool to justify treatment of the Indian population. In Nevada, scholars Crum and Blackhawk confront the legacies of Anglo-American writers arguing against their claims. Crum identifies Fredrick Jackson Turner's discussion of the frontier as a white creation that denied Indian claims to land.[112] Turner, a historian at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, presented a paper titled "The Significance of the Frontier in American History in 1892. Turner identified the term frontier as a "meeting point between savagery and civilization." He further argued that the frontier represented "free land" which ended in 1890, after settlers moved across the continent.[113] Crum rejects Turner's idea of "free land" because of the outright denial of Indian claims to land.The idea rejects and denies that the land was Aboriginal territory and that Native people occupied and utilized the land deemed "free" or "public domain." Crum notes that the ideas set forth by Turner became a foundation for historians and the general public to reject tribal land claims.[114] The concept of land as "free, unoccupied land," is woven into historic interpretation and contributes to the denial of Native land rights.[115]

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[112] Steven Crum, "Making Indians Disappear: A Native American Historian's Views Regarding the Treatment of Indians in American History," *Tribal College* IV, no. 4 (January 31, 1993): 28.
[113] George Rogers Taylor, *The Turner Thesis Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History.*, Rev. ed.., Problems in American Civilization (Boston: Heath, 1956), 3–4.
[114] Crum, 1993, 29.
[115]Convocation of American Indian Scholars, *Indian Voices.* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1970), 109.

Blackhawk notes the works of Mark Twain, an American writer, and Julian Steward, an anthropologist. Twain discusses Indians in Nevada as poor and hungry, deserving pity and "they will get mine."[116] Twain was a figure in American adventure writings of the west, and his writing engraved the dehumanization of Native people in American sentiment. Julian Steward, a student of Alfred Kroeber, studied Great Basin Indian populations. His research specifically notes the destitute environment, he stated "Shoshone were not simply inferior," but "the most wretchedness type of mankind. very considerably inferior to the even the despised Digger Indians of California." Steward submitted a report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier and recommended that the BIA not grant recognition to Nevada Shoshones.[117] Historical narratives from Euro-Americans suggest that Native people do not hold claims to land therefore, securing United States land title and denial of Native rights to land. The Inherent dehumanization of Native people supports the adoption of narratives that seek to disenfranchise and reject Native identity, communities, and government.

California

The anthropology department at the University of California, Berkeley was established in 1901. It was a pivotal time for California Indian people, many of their communities and people were recovering the genocidal policies set forth during the Spanish, Mexican and American periods. Alfred Kroeber was the first professor and chair of the department, notably he worked on documenting lifeways and cultures of California Indian people. Kroeber's mentor Franz Boas, the father of anthropology, advocated for the study of California Indians. In a letter to his colleague Zelia Nuttall, Boas states

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[117] Julian H. Stewart, "Shoshonean Tribes; Utah, Idaho, Nevada, Eastern California," report prepared for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, box 10, Papers of Julian H. Steward, University Archives, University Library, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana.

> "You know California we have an enormous mass of Indian tribes and languages about which we know practically nothing. There are a few missionary grammars and quite a number of short vocabularies, which, however, do not amount to very much. You are aware that all these tribes are on the verge of extinction, and that it is only a question of a very few years when their languages, and with them their traditions and the records of their customs, will have disappeared. For this reason, I have been exceedingly anxious to train men and to raise money to carry on work among these tribes. I have been somewhat successful in this respect, and during the past three years I have been able to interest."[118]

California Indians were the primary objects of study for the anthropology department at UC Berkeley. In 1911, Kroeber brought a Yahi man called "Ishi" to become a display at the UC Berkeley museum. Ishi was deemed "the Last Wild Indian."[119] The display of Ishi set precedence for Native people to be objects of anthropological study. Anti-colonial theorist, Frantz Fanon states,

> "Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it. This work of devaluing pre-colonial history takes on a dialectical significance today.[120]

As objects of study Native American people become prevalent to ensure American entitlement to land. Devon Mihesuah, Choctaw, writes that the settlers manipulated reality to fulfill their understandings of the Indian community.[121] Thus the manipulation of reality was carried out to racialize Native people as lesser than the settler population to ensure access to land and territory. African American studies scholar Cedric Robinson writes, "tendency of European civilization through capitalism was thus not to homogenize but to differentiate to exaggerate regional,

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[118] Boas, Franz. "Founding Document." Letter to Z. Nuttall. 11 Apr. 1901. *Foundations of Anthropology at the University of California*. Bancroft Library, n.d. Web. <http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/Exhibits/anthro/3founders3.html#item1>.
[119] Orin Starn, *Ishi's Brain: In Search of America's Last "Wild" Indian*, 1st ed.. (New York: Norton, 2004).
[120] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 1st ed.(New York: Grove Press : Distributed by Publishers Group West, 2004), 210.
[121] Devon A. Mihesuah and Angela Cavender Wilson, *Indigenizing the Academy : Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities* (Lincoln: Lincoln : University of Nebraska Press, 2004).

subcultural and dialectic differences into 'racial' ones."[122] The racialization became the primary factor to divide and assert dominance over Indian lives and land. The acceptance that Indian people were lesser than the settler population and dispossession and assimilation was inevitable.

In California, James Rawls identifies terminology used on the Indian population "Wild, tame, docile, weak, savages, primitive, diggers."[123] These terms were used interchangeably, to be called upon when it was seen fit. Anthropologist Robert Heizer looked at the Northeastern portion of the state and recognized that the Indians here were similar to the Great Basin, poor and weak. Terms that denote dehumanized characteristics assist in the construction of reality that seeks to remove and displace Native people from the land. Negative terminology was adopted and engrained in law and policy of the United States and California and continues to be a detriment to Native Nations and people. Academic classifications of Native people were accepted as truth. The adoption and use of the anthropological record increased the ability of the United States government and population to picture Native people as the other, distorting the ability to see Indian people as human.

Education and Assimilation

The U.S. government imposition of ethnocentric ideals through education became an effective mechanism to assimilate Indian children. The removal of Indian children from their homes and communities promoted inherent disregard for Native languages and culture, education served as a tool to increase assimilation and promote language loss.[124] Historically, education of Native Americans has been a lethal component to the destruction of Native American culture and

[122] Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*, Third World Studies (London : Totowa, N.J.: Zed ; Biblio Distribution Center, 1983), 26.
[123] James Rawls, *Indians of California: The Changing Image*.
[124] Neyooxet Greymorning, "Understanding Culture and Language Ethnocide: A Native Perspective - Ethnic NewsWatch - ProQuest," *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 38, no. 1 (March 2014): 17.

identity. Three institutions were created in an attempt to assimilate and educate Native children including day schools, on-reservations boarding schools, and off-reservation boarding schools. David Adams examines how education became central to acculturating Indian youth from 1875 to 1928. Adams proposes that the last "Indian War" was fought against Native American children in government sponsored boarding schools.[125] Adams finds that by "by the 1860s, forty-eight" day schools were created, and by 1900, 154 existed, although day schools were not as effective as their counterparts. In day schools, Indian children went home to their families and communities, and in 1870 it was acknowledged that day school was of limited value as a mechanism for assimilating Native American youth.[126] Off-reservation boarding schools were the strategic forces that took way Indian children away from their homes entirely, embodying the idea of Richard Henry Pratt "kill the Indian to save the man."[127] Native American boarding schools were created to force the integration of Native American children into American society, reconstructing Native communities and identity to an assimilative western ideology.[128] Boarding schools were not entirely successful in assimilating Native children to American ideals. Diana Bahr suggests that students used boarding schools to create "opportunities for themselves and make use of their new knowledge to benefit their people."[129] American Indian students resisted colonialism at the boarding schools.

Nevada

[125] David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (ERIC, 1995), 30.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Diana Meyers Bahr, *The Students of Sherman Indian School : Education and Native Identity since 1892* (Norman, Oklahoma : University of Oklahoma Press, 2013), 9.
[128] see Diana Meyers Bahr's *Viola Martinez California Paiute* and *The Students of Sherman Indian School*, Polingaysi Qoyawayma's *No Turning Back*, Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, and Devon A. Mihesuah *Cultivating the Rosebuds,* and St. Pierre's book *Madonna Swan*.
[129] Bahr, *The Students of Sherman Indian School: Education and Native Identity since 1892*, 6–7.

In Nevada, there were three Indian Boarding schools; Western Shoshone Boarding School (1882-1917), Stewart Indian Boarding School (1890-1980, and Lovelock School, also referred to as the Fallon Day School (1913-1920). Schools in Nevada mostly enrolled local Washo, Paiute, and Shoshone. Primarily the education was geared toward day schools, students returned home in the evenings and weekends when school was not in session. Steven Crum argues that day schools were not as effective in assimilating Native children. This caused the Western Shoshone school to change into a boarding school in 1893, because the federal government regarded that student returning home in the evenings and on weekends was ineffective in assimilating the Native children.[130]

California

There were four boarding schools established in California: Hoopa Valley Boarding school (1893-1937), Greenville Indian Industrial Boarding School (1897-1922), Fort Bidwell Indian Boarding school (1898-1930), and Sherman Institute (1898-1980). Viola Martinez speaks of her experience in Sherman Institute in Riverside California, stating that Paiute children would "…climb up (palm trees) where we couldn't be seen or heard…we wanted to talk Paiute so badly we would climb up in those trees."[131] In order to resist the assimilative tactics of boarding school, Native children worked to retain their Native identity. Similarly, historian William Bauer writes, "Round Valley families wanted their children to attend Sherman, either to escape local racism, to learn new skills, or provide a network for other family members at the school."[132] Boarding school encouraged Native students to retain their kinship networks and familial responsibilities outside of their communities. The continual effect of the boarding school system

[130] Crum, 54.
[131] Ibid., 21.
[132] Bauer, "Family Matters: Round Valley Indian Families at the Sherman Indian Institute, 1900-1945," *Southern California Quarterly* 92, no. 4 (2010): 304, https://doi.org/10.2307/41172543.

is still endured in the lives of lineal descendants whose ancestors attended. Education is one of the most effective mechanisms of assimilation.

Conclusion

The histories of California and Nevada are plagued with historical analysis that centers on genocide, land contestation, and continued settlement. California and Nevada Indians experienced numerous cultural influences which include Spanish, American, and Christianity.[133] Cultural influences forced Nevada and California Indians to adapt to the changing political, cultural, and economic conditions. Native Americans experienced violent historical encounters with Euro-American settlers, who demeaned and demonized the Indian population to solidify white entitlement to Native land. The demarcation of the California-Nevada border was an important act to define land claims and erase Native American existence. As Alfred explains "Colonization is a process of disconnecting us from our responsibilities to one another and respect for one another, our responsibilities and our respect for the land, and our responsibilities and respect for the culture."[134] Imperialistic forms of expansion took form in multiple processes including the expansion of industry, colonial land claims, ethnographic reports, and education to control and exploit. Ultimately, imperialism of land in California and Nevada resulted in the displacement of Native American people from their homelands. Through the juxtaposition of California and Nevada histories this fact remains true, it was always about the land. Euro-American settlers and the accompanying federal and state governments effectively forced the complete rupture of relationships and responsibilities to land and community.

[133] California and Nevada were both once part of the Spanish Empire and became acquired by the United States as a result of the Mexican-American War and the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. I do not focus on the Spanish Empire because members of the Susanville Indian Rancheria were not directly affected by the Spanish Empire.
[134] Gerald R. Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*, 2nd ed.. (Don Mills, Ont. ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 5.

CHAPTER 4: IT WAS ALL ABOUT THE LAND

> Only rarely in US history has the law served as a shield to *protect* Native Americans from abuse and further their aspirations as indigenous peoples. The law has more often been employed as a sword to *harm* Native peoples by stripping away their human rights, appropriating their property, stamping out their culture, and, finally, to provide legal justification for federal policies that have, at times; resorted to genocide and ethnocide.[1] - *Walter Echo Hawk*

American methods of colonization forced Native Nations to assimilate and emulate the United States government and society, consequently changing their communities and institutions for generations. United States westward expansion facilitated the entrance of exploitative economies that profited from Indian land and community. Three forms of displacement occurred in Northern California: the entrance of the settler population, which caused disruption and removal from traditional village sites and lands; federal and state government law and policy that legally removed Native people from their homelands; and effective economic displacement of California Indians during the development of California state infrastructure and industry. Federal Indian law and policy facilitated the legitimized dispossession of Native land, ushering in the process of involuntary and voluntary displacement. Ultimately, removal from traditional homelands through law and economic systems, resulted in the destruction of natural habitats, knowledge systems, traditional government structures and collective lifestyles of Susanville Indians. Today, the descendants of these populations suffer from historical trauma due to the removal from traditional land holdings. It is my hope that in recognizing the direct forces that removed Susanville Indians from their traditional land holdings, descendants can begin to restore their rights to land and culture.

[1] Echo-Hawk, *In the Courts of the Conqueror: The Ten Worst Indian Law Cases Ever Decided*, 4.

In this chapter, I will explore two forms of displacement that affected Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal people: the involuntary displacement caused by the Dawes Act and development-induced displacement, disguised as voluntary displacement, committed by the ranching and lumber industries in northern California. I break up the chapter into two different section: first, I focus on the Dawes Allotment Act, then I transition to a discussion on development induced displacement. Settler colonialism is premised on the logic to restructure Native societies to adopt lifestyles of the settler to ideologically change Indigenous societies. I will critically analyze how the United States government carefully crafted removal of Indigenous bodies from their homelands through the passage of Federal Indian policy. I will provide a historical analysis that demonstrates how the Indian Agency both systematically recognized Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal members' land rights through the Dawes Allotment Act, and targeted these same lands for sale, development, and extraction. Land sales systematically redistributed land in northeastern California from Susanville Indians to ranching, lumber and private interests.

Settlers and their government systems effectively targeted Native American land claims during the perpetual colonization of California to ensure access to territory and resources. Indian people were displaced from their homelands in California and made landless through the liquidation of their land rights by law and policy. Anthropologist Patrick Wolfe examines the removal of Indigenous people through the utilization of the term "logic of elimination;" eliminations refer to how the settler colonial projects construct a system that is based on the creation of social and government structures which uphold settler rights. Wolfe states that the "primary motive for an elimination is not race (or religion, ethnicity, grade of civilization, etc.)

but access to territory."[2] In northeastern California, the imposition of the settler colonial project effectively transforms the land from a primarily Indigenous homeland to capitalistic market relying on the removal of Indigenous people. The regional growth of Northeastern California heightened the lumber and ranching production that fueled population growth in the West. Land allotment assignments for Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people were obstacles to economic progress. The United States government viewed Indian people as expendable, further pushing them to assimilate and to remove Indian people from the land entirely.[3] The Bureau of Indian Affairs Agents assisted and expedited the sale of Indian allotments by Susanville Indians, ultimately leading to exploitation and policing access to traditional space and place. The first form of displacement, the Dawes Act, was a mode which recognized Native American land titles. In tandem, the Federal government abolished Native American communal land holdings and introduced Euro-American farming practices. As a political tool, allotment policy aided in the ability for the United States government to confine Indian people to specific parcels of land. Utilizing the tool of confinement solidified colonial settlement patterns and the forced assimilation of Native peoples.[4]

Section 1: Land Dispossession Solidified by Law

United States law ignores Indigenous communities.[5] The Doctrine of Discovery and Marshall Trilogy are foundations to the U.S. articulation of the federal trust relationship. Ultimately, federal Indian law and policy applied these doctrines to solidify access to land and

[2] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 388.
[3]Wolfe, Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native. Ines Hernandez-Avila, "Meditations of the SPirit: Native AMerican Religious Traditions and Ethics of Representation." *American Indian Quarterly 20, no ¾ (1996): 337.*
[4] J. Kehaulani Kauanui and Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism Then and Now: A Conversation between J.Kehaulani Kauanui and Patrick Wolfe," in *Politica & Societa*, 2012, 235–58.
[5] C.F. Black, *The Land Is the Source of the Law: A Dialogic Encounter with Indigenous Jurisprudence* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 45.

resources, making Indian lives and sovereignty expendable.[6] European Christian nations used the Doctrine of Discovery to legitimize the colonization of lands outside of Europe. When Christian nations "discovered new lands the discovering country automatically gained sovereign and property rights in the lands of the non-Christian, non-European nation even though… natives already owned, occupied and used these lands."[7] European countries and the Catholic Church held exclusive title to the land, and Indigenous People became mere occupants.[8]

The Doctrine of Discovery was formally recognized in US law in 1823 by Chief Justice John Marshall in the *Johnson v. Mcintosh* decision. In 1773 and 1775, Thomas Johnson acquired the title of land from the Piankeshaw Indians. Descendants of Thomas Johnson's were plaintiffs in the case who continued to hold the title of the land. The defendant, William Mcintosh obtained a land patent for the same parcel of land from the United State Government. Plaintiffs initiated court action against Mcintosh in the District Court of Illinois to determine land title claims. Arguments of title over the Mcintosh and Johnson land claim became the first decision, *Johnson v. McIntosh* (1823). The case referred to the Doctrine of Discovery to determine that Indian people could not sell land to an individual, only to a "discovering nation" because they did not own it. Native American property rights were thus severely diminished through the justification of "Discovery."[9]

The Mcintosh and Johnson decision affirms federal power. According to the Marshall court:

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[6] Ibid.
[7] Robert J. Miller, *Native America, Discovered and Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis & Clark, and Manifest Destiny* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006),10.
[8] Ibid, 175.
[9] Robert J. Miller, *Native America, Discovered and Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis & Clark, and Manifest Destiny* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006), 11.

> The United States…its civilized inhabitants now hold this country. They hold, and assert in themselves, the title by which it was acquired. They maintain, as all others have maintained, that discovery gave an exclusive right to extinguish the Indian title of occupancy, either by purchase or by conquest, and gave also a right to such a degree of sovereignty, as the circumstance of the people would allow them to exercise… discovery gave title to the government by whose subjects, or by whose authority, it was made against all other European governments, which title might be consummated by possession.[10]

The utilization of discovery as a legal principle, solidified by Federal Indian Law, ensured that U.S. power could be maintained through property rights. European settlers justified the maintenance of European sovereignty and land title through the distinction of civilization. Indeed, racial and religious superiority legitimized the acquisition of land in the Americas. According to the Mcintosh and Johnson judgement:

> However extravagant the pretension of converting the discovery of an inhabited country into a conquest may appear; if the principal has been asserted in the first instance, and afterwards sustained; if the country has been acquired and held under it, it becomes law of the land, and cannot be questioned. So, too, with respect to the concomitant principal, that Indian inhabitants are to be considered merely as occupants, to be protected, indeed, while in peace, in the possessions of their lands, but to be deemed incapable of transferring the absolute title to others.[11]

Thus, although Marshall acknowledged that the rationale of discovery could be considered extravagant, he held that if the assertion of ideologies was sustained long enough, it garnered the force of law. As a result, the United States government inherited legal title and power to extinguish land titles. Effectively, in *Johnson v McIntosh*, the Supreme Court extinguished Indian land title and identified Indian nations as tenants.

The *Johnson v McIntosh* decision was the first of three foundational cases decided by Justice Marshall, known as the Marshall Trilogy. that truncated Native American tribes' political

[10]c*Johnson v. McIntosh*, 21 U.S. 543 (1823).
[11] Ibid.

rights in the United States. The trilogy established a complex precedent for the future of the tribal-federal relationship in the US. In the second case of the trilogy, *Cherokee Nation v Georgia* (1831), Marshall defines tribes as quasi-sovereign "nations within" that are "dependent on the United States for the recognition and protection of their rights to self-government and territorial integrity."[12] However, the *Johnson v McIntosh* ruling declared that the "culture and religion of Indigenous people…were inferior to that of Europeans….civilization and Christianity were offered to them as compensation for their lands…"[13] European Nations defined Indian people as inherently different in terms of religion and civilization, suggesting that Indigenous people were incapable of civilization.

Assimilation into Euro-American culture by the Cherokee Nation, the Cherokee Nation became recognized as on of the five civilized tribes. However, the insistent clash over land led to the second case handed down by Chief Justice John Marshall, *Cherokee Nation v Georgia.* Citizens of Cherokee Nation had inhabited the state of George since time immemorial. In the early 1800s, the Cherokee Nations still possessed a large amount of land in the states known as Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Alabama. However, the increase of Euro-American settlement on the Eastern seaboard decreased the Cherokee Nations' land base. The State of Georgia wanted to extinguish Cherokee title to land to increase settlement by Euro-Americans. Settlers actively desired new territory and urged the removal of Cherokee people. In 1823, the State of Georgia pressed for the removal of the Cherokee people. In 1828, the Cherokee Nation pursued an injunction from the Supreme court to prevent extinguishment of Cherokee land title. The Cherokee people argued that they were a foreign Nation, articulating that the law of Georgia did not apply to them. In *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831), the Supreme Court identified

[12] *Johnson v. McIntosh*, 21 U.S. 543 (1823)..
[13] *Ibid.*

tribes as "domestic dependent nations,"[14] creating a foundation to the paternalistic relationships between the U.S. government and Native American tribes. The court utilized the Constitution's Commerce Clause, which grants Congress the ability to "regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with tribal nations."[15] The court indicated that the Cherokee Nation was neither a state nor a foreign nation. This ruling distinguishes the relationship between the federal government, states, and tribes. The ruling inscribed the idea that the relationships between the federal government and tribes "resembles that of a ward to his guardian."[16] Therefore, Marshall solidified federal paternalism and the federal trust responsibility.[17]

In 1831, Missionary Samuel Worcester and other non-Native people were preaching on Cherokee Land. Worcester argued that the state did not have the right to impose restrictions on Native American land. Marshall's third decision in *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832) exempted states from authority over tribal nations; "treaties and laws of the United States contemplate the Indian territory as completely separated from that of the states."[18] As Chief Justice Marshall explained:

> The Cherokee Nation, then, is a distinct community, occupying its own territory in which the laws of Georgia can have no force. The whole intercourse between the United States and this nation, is, by our constitution and law, vested in the government of the United States.[19]

[14] *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, 30 U.S. 1 (1831).
[15] Ibid,
[16] Ibid.
[17] "Broadly, the trust doctrine requires the federal government to support and encourage tribal self-government and economic prosperity, duties that stem from the government's treaty guarantees to 'protect' Indian tribes and respect their sovereignty" Stephen L. Pevar, *The Rights of Indians and Tribes: The Authoritative ACLU Guide to Indian and Tribal Rights, Third Edition* (NYU Press, 2004), 33.(.
[18] *Worcester v. Georgia* 31 U.S. 515 (1832).
[19] Ibid.

The Cherokee Nation was identified as a "distinct political community" and "capable of self-government and are completely independent and separate from states."[20] Marshall recognized that, before contact, tribes possessed sovereignty, but, after the formation of the United States, tribes surrendered some of that sovereignty to the United States.[21] The ruling undermined state power over tribes, limiting state jurisdiction and affirming federal-tribal jurisdiction.

The Marshall Trilogy promulgated relationships based on dependency and supreme power between the United States and Native Nations. Simultaneously, the Marshall trilogy limited sovereignty of the Cherokee Nation and confirmed their right to occupy, but not own, their homelands. The United States does not recognize Indian land ownership, instead, the Federal Government owns the lands and Indian people and tribes occupy it. President Andrew Jackson refused to enforce *Worcester*, enacting legislation that damaged tribal sovereignty and facilitated the violent erosion of Cherokee and other Indigenous peoples' rights. Even prior to *Worcester*, Jackson had begun to advance Indian Removal. In May of 1830, the House passed the Indian Removal Act. The Act authorized the removal of Indian people from the territories along the southeastern seaboard west of the Mississippi River, in what was known as Indian Territory (today's Oklahoma). In 1838, the U.S. government began forcing Cherokee people off their land and marching them to Oklahoma.

After the Indian Removal Act, the United States Congress passed the Preemption Act of 1841, which allowed squatters, identified as a person who holds no legal title to the land they inhabit, to buy land they occupied at a minimum price.[22] The Act states:

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[20] Ibid.
[21] Charles F. Wilkinson, *American Indians, Time, and the Law: Native Societies in a Modern Constitutional Democracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 55.
[22] *Preemption Act 0f 1841*, 27th Congress, Ch. 16, 5 U.S. Statue 453 (1841)

> Who since the first day of June, A. D. eighteen hundred and forty, has made or shall hereafter make a settlement in person on the public lands to which the Indian title had been at the time of such settlement extinguished, and which has been, or shall have been, surveyed prior thereto, and who shall inhabit and improve the same, and who has or shall erect a dwelling thereon, shall be, and is hereby, authorized to enter with the register of the land office for the district in which such land may lie, by legal subdivisions, by any number of acres not exceeding one hundred and sixty.[23]

As such, the United States allowed homeless settlers to attain land rights through squatting. Effectively, the United States government asserted and legitimated control of land and territory through the passage of law and policy, thus facilitating settlement and western expansion. According to legal scholar Brenna Bhandar at the University of London, "the law of preemption allowed white settlers to stake out territory, and upon improving the land by cultivation, to obtain ownership of that land."[24] White settlers actively secured title to land through occupation. Economic development by white settlers was dependent on the ability to acquire land.[25] As Native American Studies scholar Liza Grandia explains "…beyond the sense of simply harvesting more from the same amount of ground, 'improvement' also came to mean the liberation of land from any customary practices and its transformation into a new, privatized form of property."[26] As such, the idea of 'improvement' was essential for justifying empire.[27] In Lassen County, settlers politically organized to solidify their control of land parcels.[28] The

[23] Ibid.
[24] Brenna Bhandar, *Colonial Lives of Property: Law, Land, and Racial Regimes of Ownership*, Global and Insurgent Legalities (Duke University Press, 2018), 58.
[25] Donald J. Pisani, "Squatter Law in California, 1850-1858," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (1994): 305, asserts that "squatters called upon such time-worn legal principles as popular sovereignty, preemptions and equal access to justify their actions. Squatters in California tactfully curated an identity that appealed to the population and legislators to solidify land rights in law.
[26]Liza Grandia, *Enclosed: Conservation, Cattle, and Commerce among the Q'eqchi' Maya Lowlanders, Culture, Place, and Nature* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012), 16.
[27] Robert J. Miller, *Native America, Discovered and Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis & Clark, and Manifest Destiny* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006), 10.
[28] In Asa Fairfield's *Pioneer History,* she tactfully concentrates on land claims. Avidly she describes locales where land claims occurred by who, Fairfield records the sale and transfer of land in the area. P. 30

Preemption Act encouraged settlers to venture west and "improve" land at the expense of Indian homelands. Leonard Carlson states that the "The [Indian] Removal Act and the Preemption Act represent two sides of the same coin: the desire of settlers to acquire land cheaply and the desire to open more Indian land for settlement."[29] Un-settled land, water, and trees were considered "waste" and in need to be made useful. Simultaneously, Western expansion required moving Indian people to specific tracts of land to ensure settler access to territory and the transformation of territory into property.

Indian Removal and the Preemption Act ensured that land would become property in the west. Indian Removal and the Preemption Act can be identified as settler state mechanisms to exert further control over Indian People. The federal government identified specific tracts of land that were considered suitable for Indian communities as reservations. Indian reservations are parcels of land occupied by Indian nations. The 1851 Indian Appropriations Act applied government funds to remove Indian tribes onto restricted pieces of land and grant control to the U.S. Government.[30] Indian reservations ensured that Native American people and lands would be under U.S. government jurisdiction. Reservations also served as an approach to reduce conflict between westward bound settlers and Native Americans, opening large swaths of tribal inhabited land so settlers could move freely. Reservations offered a solution to relieve Indian and white relations during the period of settler expansion. Containment of Indian people to a reservation, was thought to reduce the tensions between the two groups.

Further, confinement to reservation lands increased the likelihood that Indian people would adopt sedentary agricultural lifestyles. In this view, the establishment of reservations

[29] Leonard A. Carlson and Mark A. Roberts, "Indian Lands, 'Squatterism,' and Slavery: Economic Interests and the Passage of the Indian Removal Act of 1830," *Explorations in Economic History* 43, no. 3 (July 1, 2006): 488.
[30] *Appropriations Bill for Indian Affairs,* Ch. 14, 9 Stat. 574, passed on February 27, 1851.

serves to produce civilization.[31] In 1851, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Francis A. Walker explained,

> …the reservation system affords the place for thus dealing with tribes and bands, without the access of influence inimical to peace and virtue. It is only necessary that Federal laws, judiciously framed to meet all the facts of the case, and enacted in season, before the Indian begin to scatter, shall place all members of this race under strict reformatory control by the agents of the Government. Especially it is essential that the right of the Government to keep the Indians upon the reservation signed to them, and to arrest and return them whenever they wander away, should be placed beyond dispute.[32]

Essentially, reservations became mechanisms to manage and maintain social control over Indian people. The implication of the creation and population of reservations continually faced redefinitions during different eras.[33] Reservation policy was formulated to be broadly implemented by the Federal government and officials.[34] The diverse implementation of reservation policy in the United States fueled the constant redefinition of the meaning of space: reservations served as a mechanism for separation, easing the "civilization process", and the Indian community's ability to maintain cultural homeland for self-sufficiency, and survival.[35] Ultimately, reservations served as a mechanism that solidified Native American dispossession.

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[31] Robert A. Trennert covers the early evolution of reservation policy in Robert A Trennert, *Alternative To Extinction: Federal Indian Policy And The Beginnings Of The Reservation System, 1846-5* (Philadelphia, UNITED STATES: Temple University Press, 1975); See also Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (U of Nebraska Press, 1995)..

[32] David WIlkins, "'A History of Federal Indian Policy,'" in *Native Voices Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2010).David Wilkins, "A History of Federal Indian Policy," in *Native Voices Reader* ed. Susan Lobo, Steve Talbot and &Traci Carlson (New York, New York: Routledge, 2010) 115.

[33] John Findlay, "Elusive Institution: The Birth of Indian Reservations in Gold Rush California" in George Pierre Castile and Robert L. Bee, *State and Reservation: New Perspectives on Federal Indian Policy* (University of Arizona Press, 1992), 14.

[34] Ibid.

[35] See Castile and Bee, *State and Reservation*; Steven J. Crum, "The Ruby Valley Indian Reservation of Northeastern Nevada: 'Six Miles Square,'" *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 30, no. Spring 1987 (n.d.): 1–18., Robert A. Trennert *Alternative to Extinction: Federal Indian Policy and the Beginnings of the Reservation System, 1846-51* (Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press, 1975). See also Prucha, The Great Father, 315-409., *Frederick E. Hoxie, "From Prison to Homeland: The Cheyenne River Indian Reservation Before World War I," in The Plains Indians of the Twentieth Century, ed. Peter Iverson (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1985.),*Tracy Neal Leavelle, "'We Will Make It Our Own Place': Agriculture and Adaptation at the Grand Ronde Reservation, 1856-1887," *American Indian Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (1998): 433, https://doi.org/10.2307/1184835.

Dispossession was a direct consequence of westward expansion; to maintain control, the U.S. Government issued specific tracts of land to support social and political integration into American society. However, for much of the tribal communities in the west little to no reservations were set aside.[36]

Removal and isolation of Indian people from homelands ensured cultural genocide. Native American Studies scholar Mark Rifkin discusses the logic of dispossession and removal; "acquiring territory through treaties more broadly, relies on envisioning land as a thing to be exchanged either for an equivalent quantity elsewhere or for its 'value in money and/or goods."[37] Within settler colonial discourse, Native American people's connection to land must be fractured in order to gain land rights, thus commodifying the land and making it into property. It was a perception by the settler state that Indian homelands were vacant, and open to settlement; a perception which validated settler desires to transform Native space into private property through occupation and cultivation.[38] Acts and laws passed by the United States enabled settlers to speculate on tribal lands, thus encouraging migration west and ultimately increasing the political power of the United States government.

Not all law and policy had a direct consequence on Susanville Indians. Land policy effectively aided in the continuation of dispossession and manifest destiny as a proponent to United States nation-building. Euro-Americans perfected techniques of removal prior to the entrance into California and the West, including the use of forcible displacement, assertion of

[36] Since large land tracts were not set aside for Indians in the form of Reservations. Native American individuals had to apply for land through the allotment application process. SeeMartha C. Knack, "The Saga of Tim Hooper's Homestead: Non-Reservation Shoshone Indian Land Title in Nevada," *Western Historical Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (2008): 125–51, https://doi.org/10.1093/whq/39.2.125.
[37] Mark Rifkin, *When Did Indians Become Straight?: Kinship, the History of Sexuality, and Native Sovereignty* (Oxford University Press, 2010),176.
[38] Bhandar, *Colonial Lives of Property*, 61.

settler rights and the application of reservation policy, which affected Susanville Indians. Because of the non-ratification of California treaties, state-endorsed violence affected California Indian populations. Simultaneous violence and the failure to acknowledge Indian land rights left California Indians vulnerable to settler injustice. To restructure settler and Indian relations, government bureaucrats advocated for the adoption of land policy that acknowledged Indian rights to land and intended to ease settler-Indian violence.

Implementation of the General Allotment Act

In the 1880s, the federal government shifted to Indian-centered policy of assimilation and acculturation. However, this policy still involved land; White settlers' desire for Indian land propelled the passage of law and policy that ensured settler access to land. In 1887, the idea of breaking up large tracts of Indian land prompted Congress to pass the Dawes Act. Native American Studies scholar Kristen Ruppel states that Indian land is a colonial invention, a colonizing tool, the product of an imposed "guardianship" under which Indigenous people were forced into peculiar modes of private land tenure and inheritance.[39] As a colonial invention, the idea to acquire access to and control of land through law and policy facilitated the federal government's quest for the assimilation of the Indian population and allowed the federal government to manage Native land titles.[40] Native American Studies scholar Glen Coulthard discusses how the creation of social relations facilitated the dispossession of Indian land, in which authority is given to the settler, who in turn maintains domination of land, to the United

[39] Kristin T. Ruppel, *Unearthing Indian Land : Living with the Legacies of Allotment* (Tucson: Tucson : University of Arizona Press, 2008), 7.
[40] see Jodi A. Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism*, NED-New edition (University of Minnesota Press, 2011), https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctttv97j; Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (University of Minnesota Press, 2014), https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctt9qh3cv; Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," 2012.

States, thus ensuring state maintenance of power and access to the territory.[41] Federal Indian policy is inherently oppressive to Native people. Policies ensure the maintenance of power and assert control over Indian Nations to dismantle Native American tribes' relationships to community, subsistence, and land.

The Dawes Act, also known as the General Allotment Act, intended to open vast tracts of land for white settlement and to assimilate Native American people into American society through the allocation of 160 acres of land to Native heads of household. Reformers of the Dawes Act supported the inherent social restructuring of tribal lifestyles, including imposing western farming techniques, as a hopeful push to "civilize" Indian people through land policy. As Coulthard explains

> …a settler colonial relationship is one that is characterized by a particular form of domination; that is, it is a relationship where power—in this case, interrelated discursive and non-discursive facets of economic, gendered, racial and state power—has been structured into a relatively secure or sedimented set of hierarchical social relations that continue to facilitate the dispossession of Indigenous peoples of their lands and self-determining authority."[42]

Reorganization of Native homelands and communities transformed the relationships between communities, families and territory. U.S. expansion tactics of dispossession through miscegenation, economics, and racial superiority decimated traditional tribal community livelihoods and ways of being.

The Dawes Act proposed that Indigenous People adopt individualism and sedentarism. To facilitate this, the United States government divided community-held land into individual parcels or allotments. Individuals, prominently male heads of households, were granted up to 160

[41] Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*.
[42]Coulthard, 6-7. Emphasis added.

acres of land to adopt American farming practices.[43] Single adults 18 years of age or older received eighty acres, orphaned children received 80 acres, and all other children forty acres.[44] To issue land to individuals, the federal government forced Native Americans to adopt American ideals of independence and self-reliance. The Dawes Act forced Native American communities to dissolve communal land holdings and households to organize into nuclear families, including a male head of household, a wife and children. Reconstruction of Native families forced Native parents to have the primary responsibility as caretakers of homes and lands, forcing the abjuration of Native communal responsibilities and lifestyles.

Issuing land commonly to heads of household, primarily recognized as male individuals, interfered with the societal organization of many Native American communities. Deeming males as head of household hierarchically sanctions male dominance in the household and disrupts the variance of Native American society, in which some Native American groups were matrilineal or egalitarian. Native American Studies scholar Mishuana Goeman (tribal affiliation) acknowledges that generating the idea of men's and women's roles in the nuclear family claimed and reordered Native space.[45] Cathleen Cahill writes that allotment policy was "designed to encourage proper marital relations while placing married couples in appropriate spatial configurations of private property."[46] The General Allotment Act fundamentally restructured tribal communities to imitate settler households, thus coercing the dissolution of egalitarian and

[43] Land would be broken up in specific parcels granted to individuals the act specifically states "to each head of a family, one-quarter of a section; to each single person over eighteen years of age, one eighth of a section and to each other single person under eighteen years now living, or who may be born prior to the date of the order of the President directing an allotment of land embraced in any reservation, one-sixteenth of a section."
[44] General Allotment Act of Feb. 8, 1887. (24 Stat. 388 CH. 119, 25 USCA 331). Acts of the Forty-ninth Congress-Second Session, 1887.
[45] Mishuana Goeman, "(Re)Mapping Indigenous Presence on the Land in Native Women's Literature," *American Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (2008): 298.
[46] Cathleen Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869-1933* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 41, https://search.library.ucdavis.edu/primo-explore/fulldisplay/01UCD_ALMA21225814760003126/01UCD_V1.

matrilineal societies. The Act assisted in the declaration that men were in charge of land and the household, thereby forcing Native women to become subordinate to men in the home and on the land.

The imposition of heteropatriarchal notions of male dominance challenges tribal communal organization that equalized caretaking. Western farming and ranching practices prioritized men participating in field tasks, such as plowing and harvesting, while women participated in household tasks such as cooking and cleaning. Engendering Native households worked to acculturate Native communities to embrace Euro-American ideas and farming methods. Euro-American monocultural farming and ranching techniques include growing plants and food in crops or having large groups of a specific animal.[47] Farming practices based in western ideals diverged significantly from traditional forms of agriculture and sustainability carried out by Native Nations since time immemorial.

Native farming practices were perfected and organized over time to be sustainable for the entire community. According to ethnoecologist M. Kat Anderson, "Indigenous land management practices were largely successful in promoting habitat heterogeneity, increasing biodiversity, and maintaining certain vegetation types that would otherwise have undergone successive change."[48] Traditional forms of farming knowledge and practice help maintain ecosystem health and food security. In contrast, the adoption of western farming practices encouraged Native American families to participate in the market economy and the swift change in land management and stewardship had a direct effect on land: "dwindling biodiversity is linked to contemporary land

[47] See Kat Anderson's discussion on "Expansion of Farming and Ranching Practices" in *Tending the Wild.* Anderson actively discusses how the landscape was transformed by the imposition of western farming practices.
[48] Kat Anderson, *Tending the Wild : Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources* (Berkeley: Berkeley : University of California Press, 2005), 5.Kat Anderson , 5.

uses, which cause degradation, fragmentation and outright loss of habitat."[49] The federal government urged Indians to adopt western farming practices, which ultimately impacted land and subsistence and caused Indians to depend upon non-Native businesses for survival. For example, Native people were encouraged to buy equipment, stock, and crop seeds from individuals who were interested in Native American land.[50] The federal government "failed to provide adequate equipment, seeds and training to enable the transition to the new system."[51] In many cases, Native people became indebted to non-Native businesses for supplies, forcing them to give up their land to solve the debt.[52] Acculturation was a main tenet to the Allotment act; adoption of farming practices was just one facet of the acculturation "solution." The United States forced Indian people to modify their land ethic and land stewardship to adapt to western society, which encroached on Native land holdings.

Opening land for white settlers facilitated U.S. expansion. The United States deemed unallotted lands as "surplus" and transferred them into the public domain to be sold to non-Indian homesteaders and corporations.[53] In the selling of surplus land to white settlers, the U.S. government received a monetary increase in territory and control. Increasingly the sale of "surplus land" forced the integration of Native American families with white settler families.[54] This integration was a hopeful push to assimilate Native American individuals into adopting

[49] Anderson, 7.
[50] Steven Crum, "Assimilation 1879-1935," Lecture, 130C, 2015.
[51] R. Douglas Hurt, *Indian Agriculture in America: Prehistory to the Present* (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 1987), 17.
[52] Steven Crum, "Assimilation 1879-1935," Lecture, 130C, 2015.
[53] see Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8:4 (2006): 387-409; Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*, vol. 3 (Beacon Press, 2014) ; LaDuke, 1999; Kristin T. Ruppel, *Unearthing Indian Land : Living with the Legacies of Allotment* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2008).
[54]Janet A. McDonnell, *The Dispossession of the American Indian, 1887-1934* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 6.

American ideas of family, farming, economy, and land practice. Federal government bureaucrats advocated for the adoption of mainstream American farming practices and opening Indian land for white settlers, ultimately aiding in the acculturation of the Native American population.

The acculturation process also depended upon Indian people not selling their allotments. Section 5 of the Dawes Allotment policy stipulated that the land would be held in "trust" by the federal government for a twenty-five-year period for the "sole use and benefit of the Indian to whom such allotment shall have been made."[55] A 25-year trust stipulation, purposely prevented Indian allottees from selling land. Following the 25-year trust period, Indian people would be granted land title, including the ability to sell land without the approval by the Secretary of Interior. Indians would possess full rights over land but be obligated to pay taxes on said allotment. Utilization of Section 5 of the Dawes Act ensured that the federal government would control Indian identity and land tenure. Further, Section 6 of the Act upheld territorial/ state legal authority: "each and every member of the respective bands or tribes of Indians to whom allotments have been made shall have the benefit of and be subject to the laws, both civil and criminal, of the state or territory in which they may reside."[56] As such, the Act worked to maintain foreign (American) jurisdiction over Indian lives and land. Section 6 goes on to state:

> …every Indian born within the territorial limits of the United States who has voluntarily taken up, within said limits, his residence separate and apart from any tribe of Indians therein, and has adopted habits of civilized life, is hereby declared to be a citizen of the United States, and is entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of such citizen.[57]

[55] General Allotment Act of Feb. 8, 1887, Section 5.
[56] General Allotment Act of Feb. 8, 1887, Section 6.
[57] General Allotment Act of Feb. 8, 1887, Section 6.

The above section equates land ownership and adhering to U.S. law and policy with civilization. Indians were to adhere to U.S. core values of land ownership and civilization to become American citizens. In 1906, the Burke Act amended this section.

The Burke Act of 1906 authorized the Secretary of the Interior to approve the issuing of fee simple land patents to allottees. Under fee simple status, the landowner holds title and control of the property and can make decisions about land use or sale without government oversight. Indian agents recommended fee simple status when the allottee was deemed "competent" and therefore, capable of managing his or her own assets and affairs. Competency was evaluated based on blood quantum, ability, and assimilation. Assimilation was also utilized in determing citizenship after the Burke Act of 1906. Following amendments filed under the Burke Act, federal officials concurrently granted citizenship to Indian allottees who received a fee patent after the 25-year trust period and who "adopted the habits civilized life." As such, the United States used a process of determining "competency" of Indian allottees to confer American citizenship status. The Burke Act of 1906 also amended the 25-year trust period policy, easing the ability of Indian agents to direct the sale of Indian allotment land to white settlers, ranching companies and logging interests. Effectively, the U.S. government was in control of Indigenous land status, citizenship, and competency designations. American law and policy in this period situated land/property as tools to mark belonging.[58] Simultaneously, Indians acquired property and citizenship as a marker of assimilation and dispossession.

Across the US, the Dawes Act ultimately resulted in a massive land transfer of 90 million acres away from Indigenous peoples, thus privatizing a majority of Indigenous land in the United

[58] Aileen Moreton focuses on the Aboriginal Australian context to link race, sovereignty, and possession to understand property ownership. Her discussion situates Indigenous identity and colonial control through property.

States. Since Euro-American entrance into North America, Native land ownership decreased from 100% to 2%.[59] In most instances, the Dawes Act was unsuccessful in assimilating Indians into the Euro-American lifestyle, however it succeeded in transferring Indian land to non-Indians, increasing agrarian settlement and economic development by non-Indians, establishing male dominance and restructuring tribal communities. In 1890, Thomas Morgan, Commission of Indian Affairs, stated:

> The Indians must conform to the white man's ways, peaceably if they will, forcibly if they must. They must adjust themselves to their environment and conform their mode of living substantially to our civilization. This civilization may not be the best possible, but it is the best the Indians can get. They cannot escape it and must either conform to it or be crushed by it.[60]

Conformity into Euro-American society was the main tenet of the Act. Native American lifestyles were demonized by the United States government; in order to assimilate and become civilized, Indian people were pushed to adopt a specific family structure, farming practices and American lifestyle. The United States government viewed western progress as inevitable. The Dawes Act targeted specific Native American groups in the Plains, Rocky Mountain region, Oklahoma, and Pacific Northwest, which can be directly correlated with western expansion and regional development.[61] Susanville Indians were directly implicated in allotment policy.

General Allotment Act in Context

United States federal policy aimed to culturally assimilate Native American people into western society. Assimilation efforts focused on the breaking up of large tribally occupied lands

[59] Tuck Eve and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," *Decolonization : Indigeneity* 1, no. 1 (2012).
[60] Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas Jefferson Morgan. September 5, 1890. In *The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History*. Vol. II. Ed. Wilcomb E. Washburn. New York: Random House, 1973,
[61] Leonard A Carlson, "Federal Policy and Indian Land: Economic Interests and the Sale of Indian Allotments, 1900-1934," *Agricultural history* 57, no. 1 (1983): 35.

into individual land allotments.[62] In 1889, after the passage of the Act, Indian Affairs commissioner Thomas Morgan stated, "if there were no other reason for this change, the fact that individual ownership of property is the universal custom among the civilized people for this country would be a sufficient reason for urging the handful of Indians to adopt it." Allotment was perceived to be the cornerstone of cultural assimilation in the United States. Individual land ownership was equated to civilization. The Allotment Act resulted in the privatization of Indian land, simultaneously seizing land and sovereignty from tribal nations.[63]

In this section, I investigate the literature on General Allotment law and policy, and the ways in which Native American communities were affected by and resisted the law. This focus on allotment scholarship also allows me to explain how my research builds upon existing scholarship and offers new and important areas of inquiry. I organize my literature by the year in which the research was published, as this provides the reader with an understanding of how scholarship on allotment policy has progressed. Investigative analysis that focuses on the outcomes of allotment is imperative to understanding how communities continue to understand and experience the effects of the policy. Research on the impact of the Dawes Allotment Act in California is limited; my work contributes to the growing scholarly focus on the implementation of allotment in the region.

Scholarly examination of the implementation and motivations of the Act was conducted by D.S. Otis, a historian appointed by 1933 Commission of Indian Affairs John Collier. Otis

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[62] United States Congress House Committee on Indian Affairs, *Readjustment of Indian Affairs: Hearings Before the Committee on Indian Affairs, House of Representatives, Seventy-Third Congress, Second Session, on H.R. 7902, a Bill to Grant to Indians Living Under Federal Tutelage the Freedom to Organize for Purposes of Local Self-Government and Economic Enterprise; to Provide for the Necessary Training of Indians in Administrative and Economic Affairs; to Conserve and Develop Indian Lands; and to Promote the More Effective Administration of Justice in Matters Affecting Indian Tribes and Communities by Establishing a Federal Court of Indian Affairs. With Index* (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1934), 461.

[63] David A. Chang, "Enclosures of Land and Sovereignty: The Allotment of American Indian Lands," *Radical History Review* 2011, no. 109 (January 1, 2011): 116, https://doi.org/10.1215/01636545-2010-018.

prepared a history of the implication of the Dawes Allotment Act on Indian land tenure. Otis provides evidence of the "aims and motives" of the interest groups advocating for the implementation of allotment policy through his analysis of the Office of Indian Affairs annual reports, debates and publications. He provides a thorough demonstration of how dominant ideologies of "individualism" influenced Indian policy in the late 19th century. Otis' account affirms the motives of early allotment policy influencers; he states. "first of all [allotment was] a method of destroying the reservation and opening up Indian lands; it was secondly a method of bringing security and civilization to the Indian."[64] Thus, the outcomes of the Act were at least two-fold, and primarily benefited non-native communities. Through Allotment and other post-contact land law and policy, the federal government worked to reconstruct Native communities and their landholdings to benefit white constituents.

Indeed, non-Indian reformers and economic interests specifically molded Federal Indian Policy. Leonard Carlson, Economics Professor at Emory University, draws on archival information, Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) reports, and statistics to argue that non-Indians influenced who would ultimately benefit from the sale of Indian land. Carlson's argument corresponds with the ultimate goal of Congress to assimilate, individualize, and change Indian agricultural practices.[65] He recognizes that the primary objective of the Dawes Act was to open Indian lands for western industry, thus enacting development-induced displacement of Native American people.

[64] D. S. Otis, *The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands*, New ed., United States. Congress. House. Committee on Indian Affairs. Readjustment of Indian Affairs. Hearings ; Pt. 9 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973).
[65] Leonard A. Carlson, "Federal Policy and Indian Land: Economic Interests and the Sale of Indian Allotments, 1900-1934," *Agricultural History* 57, no. 1 (1983): 33–45. Otis, *The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands*.

Building upon the discussion of economic exploitation of Indian land and agency. Historian Henry Fritz takes a similar stance to Carlson's article, in citing that the OIA served special interest groups' instead of Indian tribes.[66] Fritz drew upon archival information from BIA (former OIA) files, Congressional decisions, and U.S. statutes to support his argument. Archival information provides a crucial foundation to understand how the United States ratified the Dawes Act and endorsed the dispossession of Indian people for non-Native economic expansion. Synchronously, Carlson and Fritz suggest that the OIA lacked the manpower to manage the proposed amendments and implementation of the Dawes Act in its entirety. Therefore, the OIA failed to uphold the trust responsibility to Indian tribes during this era. Carlson and Fritz break down the Congressional amendments that changed the Dawes Act based on region, land availability, subsurface rights, and settler interests. Allotment policy varied by location and settler aspiration. Carlson and Fritz's arguments confront the notion that the primary purposes of the Dawes Act were not to just break up communal land structure or assimilate Indian people, but to encourage economic development of the United States. These discussions intervene in the idea of development-induced displacement; the United States removed Native people from the land for settler economic interests.

Unilaterally, the United States used economic power to gain and maintain control of land and Indian communities. Historian Emily Greenwald examines agency, resistance and spatial control on the Nez Perce and Jicarilla Apache reservations. Her case study acknowledges how the two tribes resisted territorial authority to assert their own agency through negotiations and allotment selection. Nez Perce allotment selections were based on claiming allotments that maintained traditional subsistence and cultural practices. The Jicarilla Apache example provides

[66]Henry E. Fritz, "Allotment of Mineral and Timber Lands on Indian Reservations and the Public Domain," *The Historian* 67, no. 4 (December 1, 2005): 645–63, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6563.2005.00125.x.

context into how tribal people utilized the legislation to acquire land for economic strategies, to combine small-scale agriculture and ranching.[67] Tribal groups used allotment selection to assert their own ways of community organizing.[68] Greenwald's work intervenes in the idea that Native people practiced resistance strategies to allotment policy. She codifies the conversion of Indian land under the General Allotment Act from experiential to mathematically measurable.[69] The Dawes Act sought to divide collectively controlled land into individual land allotments, however, the perpetuity of land allotments was ill-conceived.

Dawes Act provisions significantly disrupted the contemporary legacy of the Act. Kristen Ruppel, Professor in the Department of Native American Studies at University of Montana, documents the history of the General Allotment Act, alongside the contemporary issue of fractionalized allotments and the efforts of Native communities to recreate Indian lands. Ruppel uses federal government policy, case studies and Indian voices to highlight how Indian land became fractionated from one generation to the next, shifting the control over land from Indian allottees to government officials. [70] Ruppel views the legacy of the allotment as "a story of the smothering of earth as person beneath the bureaucratic weight and economic utilitarianism of earth as property, a contrivance of colonial design."[71] The process of adapting to an American capitalist utilitarian view of land encouraged Indian people to advance their rights to land ownership.

Complex legacies of allotment include land loss, fractionalized heirship, and resistance. Historian Khal Schneider, Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria, focuses on Pomo communities

[67] Emily Greenwald, *Reconfiguring the Reservation: The Nez Perces, Jicarilla Apaches, and the Dawes Act* (United States of America: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 119.
[68] Ibid., 2.
[69] Ibid., 7.
[70] Ruppel, *Unearthing Indian Land: Living with the Legacies of Allotment*, 4.
[71] Ibid., 7.

in Northern California. His work centers on the agency of Pomo people to participate in adaptive strategies that assert their communal claims, citizenship, and sovereignty. Similar to Greenwald, Schneider explores the implications of and Indigenous resistance to the Act. His use of BIA archival documents, California Indian histories, and biographies details the ability of Pomo people to adapt to capitalistic economies during statehood and economic expansion.[72] His work emphasizes the roles that California Indian people played in the development of State infrastructure, laws and policy by asserting community rights to land, kinship, and land stewardship. The direct implications Native communities faced with the entrance of the capitalist system placed value on land, belonging and kinship. Capitalistic systems failed to recognize the immeasurable value of land, belonging and kinship in Native communities; instead the federal government used methods of value to increase dispossession and attack Indian identity.

The imposition of capitalism thoroughly challenges Native communities' ability to maintain land. Professor of Geography Mark Palmer, Kiowa/Comanche, investigates problems associated with Kiowa allotment sales using land maps, archival BIA documents, and oral accounts.[73] His work tracks how dispossession progressed after the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act. He concludes that Kiowa people lost a majority of their allotments through direct sales in order to buy basic living necessities, pay off debts, migrate to urban areas, and improve or purchase another home.[74] Palmer's work actively situates how imposed ideas of self-governance changed the concept of land tenure, transforming land stewardship into ownership. This framework challenges the idea that land dispossession ended with the dismantling of the

[72] Khal Schneider, "Making Indian Land in the Allotment Era: Northern California's Indian Rancherias," *Western Historical Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (November 1, 2010): 429–50, https://doi.org/10.2307/westhistquar.41.4.429.
[73] Mark Palmer, "Sold! The Loss of Kiowa Allotments in the Post-Indian Reorganization Era," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 35, no. 3 (July 29, 2011): 53, https://doi.org/10.17953/aicr.35.3.ag57542426n1v58q.
[74] Ibid.

Dawes Act. In contrast, Palmer shows the ways in which the entrance of non-traditional governing structures sped the process of removal for Kiowa tribal members working to "successfully" enter capitalistic society. The Dawes Act encouraged Native American people to participate in the capitalistic economy by selling their lands and becoming employed by extractive industries, which were based upon Indian land.

The United States generated the paternalistic ideology of allotment to remove Native people from the land and establish control over territory. Historian David Chang speaks to the facilitation of blood quantum ideology to accelerate land sales when allottees were deemed "competent."[75] Federal determination of competency directly facilitated the sale of Indian land. During land sales, Indian Agents did not advise Indians deemed "competent;" rather, Indians took offers they thought were financially beneficial.[76] Historian Katherine Ellinghaus argues that measuring competency was a tactic exploited by white businessmen and the government to sell or transfer Indian land into non-Indian hands.[77] Ellinghaus uses archival BIA documents in conjunction with other scholarly work that discusses women, federal Indian policy, allotment, and assimilation. Chang, Ellinghaus, and Ruppel address governmental processes of policing identity and land and acknowledge the role that blood quantum played in competency classification, thus pushing the reader to understand how ideas of whiteness and assimilation ultimately were enacted through land dispossession, federal assertions of power, and Federal Government guardianship practices.

[75] David A. Chang, "Enclosure of Land and Sovereignty," *Radical History Review* 109 (Winter 2011).
[76] Ibid.
[77] Katherine Ellinghaus, "'A Little Home for Myself and Child' The Women of the Quapaw Agency and the Policy of Competency," *Pacific Historical Review* 84, no. 3 (August 1, 2015): 307–32, https://doi.org/10.1525/phr.2015.84.3.307.

Native American Studies scholar Beth Rose Middleton provides a multileveled understanding of allotment information by gathering quantitative and qualitative data on allottees and allotments files from the BIA and local Plumas County agencies, while directly working with the community. Her research uses mapping as a political tool to assert traditional land stewardship, identity and cultural knowledge, and land transformation, placing importance on reclamation of lands for nation building. Middleton further argues that natural resource policy reinforces inequalities and excludes Indigenous ways of knowing and being. Middleton situates Indian voices and history in context with water and land rights on the headwaters of the State Water Project. Middleton's active use of Bureau Indian Affairs archival documentation and intimate work with the community reveals the devastating effects of water infrastructure and the importance of land restoration. Both Middleton and Schneider discuss historic and contemporary land claims in California. The foregrounding of Native voices recognizes the involvement by California Indian people to assert claims to traditional homelands and maintenance of relationships between land and community. It is important to acknowledge the ways in which Native people were dislocated from their traditional homelands that were and continue to be exploited because of economic and industrial expansion of California and the nation. Displacement mapping becomes a key intervention to understanding the process and trends of removal.[78] In addition to the GIS mapping, Middleton-Manning's book project *Upsteam: Trust Land and Power of the Feather River* provides a comprehensive analysis of California's State Water Projects from the perspective of Maidu allottees.[79] Her work evaluates the allocation of allotment lands in areas that become profitable to energy producers. Her work interlaces archival

[78] Elisabeth Middleton, "Seeking Spatial Representation: Reflections on Participatory Ethno Historical GIS Mapping of Maidu Allotments.," *Ethnohistory* 57, no. 3 (Summer 2010): 363–67.
[79] Beth Rose Middleton Manning, *Upstream : Trust Lands and Power on the Feather River*, 2018.

research with interviews and testimonies of Mountain Maidu community members. Her research questions the idea of "progress" and interrogates land alienation, displacement, and cultural genocide. Her work advocates for cultural engagement in conservation-oriented projects and natural resources policy making.

As shown by diverse scholarship on allotment, the United States used the General Allotment Act of 1887 to remove Indian people from their traditional homelands and thereby increase American settlement and promote economic progress. The United States government-maintained control over Indian allotments through the "trust relationship." The United States policed Native American land claims and identity in order to redistribute land and promote economic development. While destructive, allotments also acknowledged Native American land rights and provided original allottees the ability to maintain ties to their homelands.[80]

Susanville Indian Allotments

American settlement and state-sanctioned violence devasted California Indians communities and lands. Following the non-ratification of treaties negotiated with California Indian tribes between 1851-1852, Susanville Indians experienced the second wave of land dispossession during the allocation of northeastern California under the Dawes Allotment Act. In northeastern California, Paiutes, Maidus, Pit Rivers and Washos applied for allotment applications from 1891 to 1904. Allotment lands in northeastern California became one limited tool to protect Indian entitlements to land in the face of large-scale dispossession.[81] In northeastern California, Susanville Indians' allotments were considered lands off reservation, known as public domain allotments. Indian Agents assisted Indian people in the allotment

[80] Ibid.
[81] Beth Rose Middleton, *Trust in the Land : New Directions in Tribal Conservation* (Tucson: Tucson : University of Arizona Press, 2011).

application process. The BIA then reviewed and either denied or approved the application; if approved, the allotment was placed in trust status for the allottee. The United States approved 409 public domain allotments applications to Paiutes, Maidus, Pit Rivers, and Washos in Lassen County. Thus, 409 Susanville Indians Susanville Indians Northeastern received allotments that were placed into trust status . However, California settlement and economic progress made Native American land rights expendable. Due to increase settlement and poor quality of land allotments a majority of Susanville Indians were unable to protect their allotment lands from sale; in 1914, Susanville Indians began selling their allotment lands to ranchers, lumber companies and private owners. Susanville Indians fought to maintain connection to their homelands despite increased settlement and economic development by white settlers. Allottees' resistance to sale preserved their ability to retain their lands for the future.

The Susanville Indian Rancheria has made considerable efforts to track and maintain records of Indian Allotments made throughout Northeastern California. In August and September of 2011, tribal leaders consulted the King Law Firm in Washington D.C. to identify archival documents and compile data to serve the project. Researchers compiled the data at the National Archives in Washington D.C. The report includes 1050 land allotment applications in Lassen, Modoc, Plumas and Sierra Counties. The register provides useful information on each allotment application, including: Name of applicant, tribe, description of land, county, application date, serial patent number and comments. The document codes individuals meeting the Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal enrollment criteria for allotments in Lassen County in bold. Utilizing this data, I identified 348 land allotment applications, which are eligible for Susanville Indian

Tribal enrollment at the time of the law firm's study of the study.[82] However, not all allottees who received allotments in Lassen County meet the eligibility criteria for tribal affiliation.

In Lassen County, there were 409 Indian allotment applications.[83] The first allotment in the area was a Pit River man named James Bucanan, who was allotted on May 25, 1891.[84] His allotment was in the northern section of Lassen County near the Modoc County border. The county saw the largest number of allotment applications processed in 1894, specifically in the months of October and November.[85]

[82] Persons eligible for Enrollment in the Susanville Indian Rancheria include: 1. "Persons of not less than ¼ degree California Indian blood who have held valid assignments on the Susanville Indian Rancheria as of the effective date of the Susanville Indian Rancheria assignment Ordinance, dated July 17, 1969…" 2. "Persons of not less than ¼ degree California Indian blood who are from the Paiute, Pit River, Maidu and Washo people from Lassen County based on the Bureau of Indian Affairs 1928 California Indian census roll and/or a department of interior document, entitled: 'Greenville Indian agency, register of applications, allotments, Susanville, California, Land district', and/or other bureau of Indian affairs records produced in the administration of other allotment ask the rafter; or three. Persons listed on the base role of the Susanville Indian Rancheria approved by the tribal business Council on November 2, 2004, which lists 466 tribal members living or deceased; or 4. Persons who are lineal descendants of individuals in subsection 1, 2 or 3 above."

[83] This includes people who meet Susanville Indian Rancheria Tribal enrollment criteria

[84] Application for lands outside a reservation, May 7, 1891, signed JA Roseberry.

[85] In the months of October and November a total of ninety-four allotment applications processed. November 5 received the highest record of processing allotment applications with thirty-five.

Image 3.1-3.3: Allotment Application Data Specifics

Allotments Applications by Year	
Allotments Application filed in 1891	16
Allotments Application filed in 1892	9
Allotments Application filed in 1893	0
Allotments Application filed in 1894	217
Allotments Application filed in 1895	10
Allotments Application filed in 1896	16
Allotments Application filed in 1897	31
Allotments Application filed in 1898	5
Allotments Application filed in 1899	5
Allotments Application filed in 1900	1
Allotments Application filed in 1901	13
Allotments Application filed in 1902	17
Allotments Application filed in 1903	2
Allotments Application filed in 1904	1
Total # of Allotments that Meet SIR enrollment	**348**

Assumed Gender	
Female	146
Male	202

Allotments by Identified Tribe	
Pit River	147
Dixie Valley	66
Big Meadows	31
Digger[86]	13
Washo	23
Paiute	62
Indian Valley	6
Total	**348**

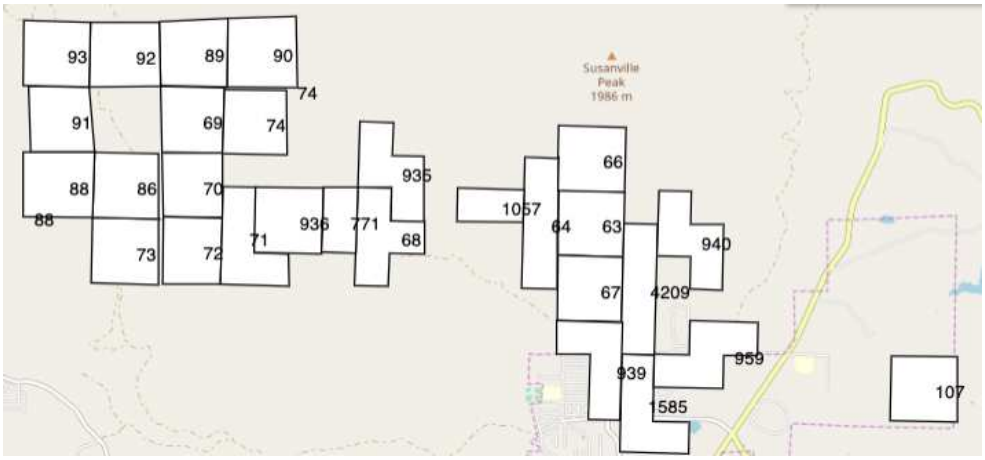
The first woman to receive an allotment was Mattie Jack, in Big Meadows, in 1894. The last distribution of allotment land was in 1904 to Adna Johnson, Dixie Valley. Many allottees received 160 acres.[87]

[86] Digger was a term commonly used by white settlers and anthropologists as a negative identifier used to dehumanize Native people. Commonly, this term was applied to tribes in the Great Basin and then, applied to California Indians. See ALLAN LÖNNBERG, "The Digger Indian Stereotype in California," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 3, no. 2 (1981): 215–23. Commonly, in Northeastern California the derogatory terms was used to describe Maidu people.

[87] Some allottees received less than a 160 acres. I was able to identify children who received 80 acres. Receiving less than 160 acres can be equated to the original intention of the act allocating 160 acres to heads of household. see General Allotment Act of Feb. 8, 1887. (24 Stat. 388 CH. 119, 25 USCA 331). Acts of the Forty-ninth Congress-Second Session, 1887.

In reviewing the Historic Indian Allotment Map of Plumas and Lassen County from research conducted by Middleton, allotments were often made in cluster assignments, meaning that tribal groups, families, or close relations had allotments in and around the same area. Indian agents processed a large number of applications on the same date to efficiently designate specific areas of land to Indian people. Increasingly, Native people were able to maintain close connections with each other through the application process. Clustering allotments served as a strategic practice to maintain social control over the geography for Indian people and kept families together in important areas of their homelands. Analysis of the cluster allotments affirms that many of the allotment application dates are in the same time frame; applications were processed or applied for in the same year, month, or even day and family members received allotments simultaneously.

Image 3.4 Example of Clustered allotments[88]



Allotment applications filed in Lassen County were not only for the adult population. Parents acted as strong land advocates for their children to maintain a land base within tribal

[88] Beth Rose Middleton, *Historical Indian Allotments in Plumas and Lassen Counties, CA.* Map was created by Beth Rose Middleton in collaboration with Native individuals and communities in Lassen and Plumas Counties.

homelands. Tommy Young applied for an allotment for his child Nooney Young at the age of 15 days.[89] Other parents who applied for their children include, but were not limited to: Captain Jack, Maggie Young, Bob Mack, Charley Purdy, John Peconom, Jim Martin, and Joe Butler. As agents in land stewardship, parents displayed acts of persistent responsibility of land caretaking and collective perpetuity in requesting allotments for their children.[90] Susanville Indians reclaimed land through allotment applications in northeastern California after the entrance of settlers in order to maintain access to and control over their homelands. However, the ability to maintain access and control over their homelands, was a fraught process.

Following the denial of land rights with the non-ratification of California treaties, the United States and the State of California limited Native American access to land and considered Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo landless. The United States then considered the allocation of public domain allotments for Indians who lacked an established and recognized land base. The United States identified federal public domain lands as lands that belong to the citizens and are managed by a public entity – such as a state, region, or agency. Section 4 of the Dawes Act directs the allotment of these lands: "any Indian not residing upon a reservation, or for whose tribe no reservation has been provided, to secure an allotment upon public lands."[91] Public lands infers that land is a public good to transferred to Indian people, when in reality the land were already apart of their traditional homelands. According to Section 4, public domain lands do not

[89] to my minor child Nooney Young age 15 days (Indian Allotment Application for lands outside of any Indian Reservation, Feb. 28, 1894, signed Roseberry, Feb 28, 1894)

[90] In the early twentieth century, Native American Boarding schools were strategic forces to strip children away from their families and lands. Historically, education of Native Americans has been a lethal component to the destruction of Native American culture and identity. Three institutions were created in an attempt to assimilate and educate Native children including day schools, on-reservations boarding schools, and off-reservation boarding schools. David Adams examines how education became central to acculturating Indian youth from 1875 to 1928. Adams proposes that the last "Indian War" was fought against Native American children in government sponsored boarding schools. In David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*, 2nd ed. (University Press of Kansas, n.d.), 30.

[91] General Allotment Act of Feb. 8, 1887, Section 4.

belong to Indian people, but rather to the American public. As such, the United States removed land from Indian stewardship and transformed it into public property. Allotment of public land secured land titles for Indian people who did not live on a reservation or lacked recognized land title applied to them through treaty or executive order. [92] Federal assertion of spatial control through establishing "public domain" on Indigenous land required Native people to formally apply for land allotment applications within their homelands. [93] Settler entrance into the region facilitated by U.S. government assertion of law and policy effectively promoted spatial control of the geography through the active denial of Indian land rights.

Indian Agents carried out divestment of allotments through allotment cancellations and relinquishments. On January 26, 1895, Congress authorized the Secretary of Interior to "correct errors where double allotments of land have erroneously been made to an Indian."[94] Cancellations proceeded if an Indian had two allotments, if an Indian received another allotment under another name, or if there was a mistake in land description. This statue gave the Secretary of Interior the authority to cancel allotments without the oversight of Congress.[95] In some cases, the Secretary of the Interior first relinquished allotments and, then a few short years later, cancelled them.[96] In 1905, Indian Agent C. E. Kelsey stated,

> There are certain allotments in the Susanville Land district which were held for cancellation by letter from the Hon Commissioner of the General Land office. Cancellations of allotment which contain timber, have been pending for 3 years and 6 months. There is now no land which they can secure in lieu of these allotments. Between

[92]Henry E. Fritz, "Allotment of Mineral and Timber Lands on Indian Reservations and the Public Domain," *The Historian* 67, no. 4 (December 1, 2005): 647, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6563.2005.00125.x. Fritz, 647.
[93] Knack, "The Saga of Tim Hooper's Homestead," 149.
[94] [Public-No 158] AN Act Amending the Act of Congress approved January 26,1895, entitled "An Act Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to correct errors where double allotments of land have erroneously been made to an Indian, to correct errors in patents, and for other purposes"
[95] Ibid.
[96] Some relinquishments were sought after by Susanville Indians in order to select lands in lieu of on the public domain. R.G. 75 CFF Sacramento box 45 Correspondence, July 1934, signed William Zimmerman, Assistant Commissioner

> the establishment of Forest Reserves on the one hand and policy of the land syndicates of grabbing everything in sight on the other hand. The competition between the local representative of the rival syndicates has been simply fierce and they have even filed upon the calcinated tops of the Sierra Nevada mountain. This list of 137 suspended allotment might easily be an entering wedge. Of the 1050 Indian allotments in the Susanville Land district, taking no account of those canalled, about 220 in number, about 350 are absolute desert. The remainder, with but three or four exceptions are mountain land and timber more or less. If those in the list of April 21, 1902 may be cancelled for the reason given, then every one of the other six hundred mountain allotments will have to be cancelled also. Some of those suspended have little timber value… The average value of timber per allotment is not so very large, but the acreage of the 137 allotments must be worth in excess of $100 a sum large enough to account for the interest with which the timber men contemplate these suspensions. 'If allotments are too heavily timbered for Indians, the Government should exchange land with less timber on it for these Indian allotments and put the land now covered by the allotment into the forest reserves. If the timber on these allotments is too heavy for an Indian it is certainly not too light to be put under the Government forestry official. Not an acre of it should be sold to the timber syndicates at $2.00 of any other prices. These allotments should be included in the forest reserves even if the reserve boundaries must be extended to do it.[97]

The Secretary of Interior utilized Indian agents to make the judgement if land allotments should be cancelled. Seventy-six Susanville Indians experienced the loss of their allotment land through cancellations or relinquishments. In 1903, the Secretary of the Interior cancelled or relinquished 29 Susanville Indian allotments. Pit River people experienced the most cancelled allotment with 40. In some instances, cancelled allotment lands are described as filled with timber or rocky. In some instances, cancellations are put forth because of the allocation of double allotments, however, this was not always the case. Indian Agents used land quality classifications to direct the cancellation or relinquishment of land in the area.

Tribe	
Dixie Valley	17

[97] R.G. 75., Correspondence, Nov. 13, 1905, signed C.E Kelsey, to Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs

Figures 3.4 & 3.5 : Relinquishment and Cancellations of Allotments

Digger	6
Paiute	10
Pit River	40
Big Meadows	2
Washo	1
Total	**76**

Year Cancelled/Relinquished	**# of allotments**
1891	0
1895	3
1896	1
1897	2
1899	4
1901	8
1902	12
1903	28
1904	7
1905	1
1906	3
1907	2
1914	1
1915	1
1921	0
1922	1
no date	2
	76

Status	
Relinquished	26
Cancelled	50
Total	76

The desirability of land facilitated spatial organization. Indian Agents identified the suitability of the allotments of Susanville Indians as “the lands are only valuable for grazing

purposes."[98] This was a generic classification used to describe the characteristics and desirability of allotments, listed on a majority of allotment applications for Susanville Indians. In Lassen County, Indian agents were filing for allotments without thorough evaluation of land. Lassen, Plumas, Sierra, and Modoc counties processed a high volume of applications. Proper evaluation was only conducted before the initiation of sale when an appraiser valued and investigated the land. Appraisers assessed the value of land based on a variety of characteristics including timber, soil composition, access, surrounding land use, and improvements. In some cases, evaluations varied from appraiser to appraiser. Some Allotment appraisals took place twice or even three times. An example of multiple appraisals is on Susanville Series[99] Allotment 79: C.E. Dunston appraised the allotment in October 1915 at $325, quantifying the land value as $125 and the lumber value as $200. In April 1920, Irvine P. Gardner then appraised the allotment and quantified the land value at $686, with the land value as $686.00 and the lumber value as $196.[100] During evaluation and appraisal, land was no longer looked at as an object to allocate for Indian people; rather, it became a commodity of sale. In [year], Indian Agents deemed Allotment 79 unsuitable for a home, requesting to get "any price" upon sale.[101] Allotment appraises created a financial incentive to remove Indian people from their allotment land. The utilization of settlement suitability was specifically used to evaluate the allotment land. Appraisers used land descriptors on Certificates of Appraisal including "unsuitable for establishing a homesite," "not in close proximity to water," "timber land," "rocky," and "filled with sage brush;" all terms that ensured that the Secretary of the Interior would approve allotments for sale.

[98] R.G. 75., Indian allotment Application for lands outside a reservation, July 2, 1891, signed JA Roseberry
[99] Susanville Series is used to connote allotment allocations specifically for Indians living in northeastern California.
[100] R.G. 75., Certificate of appraisement.
[101] R.G. 75, Correspondence, August 2, 1923, to Commissioner Indian Affairs, Signed Edgar Miller

Land classification of suitability enabeld Indian Agents to direct Indians to sell allotments. Indian Agent C.E. Kelsey recognized the lack of quality farmland available for Pit River Indians in Modoc county:

> Allotting to Indians parcels of public domain land, ranging in size up to 160 acres, was motivated by a desire to provide land resources to these Indians to aid them in producing a subsistence. This end was not achieved for several important reasons. All the limited amount of agricultural lands, as well as the desirable range land, had already been appropriated by white settlers. There remained only mountainous and poor range land, in most instances without water. Local pressures were usually exerted to keep any remaining usable range land in the public domain out of Indian hands. The mechanical process of allotting land from a map without field inspection, resulted in Indians getting, in most cases, allotments comprising the poorest of the remaining public domain. These allotments, being in many cases inaccessible without water, and at best, poor grazing land, required large acreages for productive use. In few instances' allotments are used merely as isolated homesites, but in most instances they remain unoccupied, idle or used free by white livestock men. Safely it can be said that the mechanical transfer of title to a type of land represented by allotments really contributed but little to the solution of the problem of deficiency of productive land among the Pit River Indians.[102]

While this example focuses on Pit River allotments, it is representative of similar allotment distributions throughout northeastern California, including Susanville Indian allotments. As Carlson and Fritz found in other parts of the United States, the Bureau of Indian Affairs' actions to grant lands served the interests of non-Indians. The Bureau of Indian Affairs manipulated Susanville Indians by forcing them to sell land allotments to open areas of traditional homelands to industries that worked to exploit and police access to traditional places. Assignment of land to Susanville Indians in inhospitable areas forced Susanville Indians to sell their land to private industries for economic development. Allotment sales thoroughly privatized remaining tribal spatial geographies; breaking connections that had existed with the natural environment since time immemorial.

[102] C.E. Kelsey Report, 1906.

Susanville Indians sold a majority of these allotted lands because of the land's unlivable condition. Land sales dispossessed Indians from land holdings, causing Indians to purchase smaller tracts of land closer to larger regional communities. The BIA facilitated consultation and advisement of Indian land sales due to the "incompetent" designation on Indian people. In 1906, Congress amended the Dawes Act with the Burke Act, which authorized the Secretary of the Interior to decide if an Indian was "competent" enough to manage his or her land.[103] The Federal Government utilized competency designation to take land out of trust, thus making it taxable. Consequently, some parcels of land ended up in auctions because of the taxes owed on the property once taken out of trust.

Upon sale, many ancestors of contemporary Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal members moved closer to the town of Susanville. Not all Indians who sold their allotments in Lassen County moved to or near the townsite of Susanville, but those that did moved to the outskirts. Indians established homes around Paiute Creek which is adjacent to the Rancheria today. Prior to the designation of Rancheria land, the territory was known as the Indian Heights or Rooster Hill. Selling allotments changed how Indians lived off the land, as they no longer had access to sacred places and traditional food resources. Allotment decreased the use of traditional land management practices such as gathering and burning, further disconnecting Indians from their homelands. Historian Janet McDonnell acknowledges that, in the progression of the allotment era, Indian agents actively worked to ensure that desirable land for farming and grazing would be allocated to Euro American citizens. Thus, Indian agents would assign land that was unsuitable for farming or grazing, contrary to the original intention of allotment allocations.[104]

[103] "Land Tenure History ",https://iltf.org/land-issues/history/.
[104]Janet A. McDonnell, *The Dispossession of the American Indian, 1887-1934* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 10.

Because of their placement, size and available resources, allotments granted to Susanville Indians did not fulfill the goals of assimilating Native people into an American agricultural lifestyle. Indian Agents assigned on public domain land parcels for Susanville Indians that were unsuitable for building homes or establishing farms.[105] Susanville Indian rights to land were encouraged in the allotment process; as strong land advocates they applied for allotments for their children. However, due to the desirability of land by white settlers. increased the influx of white settlement in the area. Indian Agents evaluation of land for sale and allotment cancellations were detrimental to Susanville Indians' land rights. Exponentially, Susanville Indians participated in the market economy in the sale of their allotment land. Paiute, Maidu, Pit River, and Washo people were faced with the expansion of a western economy that focused on the development of land, specifically seized Indian land.

Section 2 : Development-Induced Displacement

Federal Indian law and policy legitimized the dispossession of Native land, assimilation of Native bodies and adoption of western principles of community development. Western expansion accelerated the construction of exploitative economies that profited from Indian land and community. Environmental Justice scholar, Kyle Whyte, Potawatomi, explains:

> The settlers' aspirations are to transform Indigenous homelands into settler homelands. Settlers create moralizing narratives about why it is (or was) necessary to destroy other peoples (e.g., military or cultural inferiority), or they take great pains to forget or cover up the inevitable militancy and brutality of settlement. Settlement is deeply harmful and risk-laden for Indigenous peoples because settlers are literally seeking to erase Indigenous economies, cultures, and political organizations for the sake of establishing their own. Settler colonialism, then, is a type of injustice driven by settlers' desire, conscious and tacit, to erase Indigenous peoples and to erase or legitimate settlers' causation of such domination….. By seeking to establish their own homelands, settler populations

[105] National Archives, R.G. 75 BIA Central Classified Files 1905, Land Allotments .310.

> are working to create their own ecologies out of the ecologies of Indigenous peoples, which often requires that settlers bring in additional materials and living beings (e.g., plants, animals) from abroad.[106]

Colonial governments worked to build economies to benefit the geographical region through the exploitation of natural resources. Settlers worked to inflict a predetermined power structure to undermine Indian communities, which assisted in creating cultural hierarchies in the region, and these hierarchies upheld extractive practices over Indian people and a reliance on exploitative economies to raise capital and build economies. Extractive economies based on the land as an object to claim inhibited the recognition of Indian land rights. As seen in the previous section, deeming Indian allotments "uninhabitable" became a tool of dispossession, and entrance of exploitive economies caused a third form of dispossession for Susanville Indians.

During the late 1800's and early 1900's Susanville Indians faced threats to their livelihoods. Because of the direction of Indian Agents in allotment sale, it became economically feasible for allottees to sell their land and purchase a home that was more favorable to settler economic ideals. Outside interests purchased many of the allotments in the area to develop and exploit the land at the expense of Indian people and homelands. In Lassen County, there are a total of 6,366 records of land patents on public land managed by the Bureau of Land Management, including 1,476 homesteads, 2,510 sales, 409 Indian trust patents, 293 livestock, 8 timber, and 14 lode.[107] The issuance of land patents by the United States government created private property in the United States, effectively transferring land from the public domain to private individuals, timber and livestock interests. Of the land patents recorded: Homesteads

[106] Kyle Whyte, "Settler Colonialism, Ecology, and Environmental Injustice," *Environment and Society* 9, no. 1 (September 1, 2018): 135, https://doi.org/10.3167/ares.2018.090109.

[107] "Land In Lassen County, California | The Land Patents™," accessed February 24, 2021, https://thelandpatents.com/usa/california/lassen-ca035.

were granted to private individuals in Lassen County; sales connote the sale of federal land; Allotments are codified as allotment lands; Federal citations for livestock, lumber and lode entries are coded to identify the allocation of federal land to ranching, timber, and mining interests. The issuance of land patents to individuals and interests increased non-Native land ownership and settlement in Lassen County. Specifically, the allocation of land to private, livestock, timber and lode interests heightened land exploitation in Lassen County. While allotments offered a limited recognition of property rights, they also created a discrete unit of that property that with Agency leadership or support could be sold or cancelled. Susanville Indians experienced development-induced displacement facilitated by the selling of allotment lands to logging and ranching interests. While there were other industries that targeted land in the area, ranching and logging interests purchased a majority of Susanville Indian allotments. The advancement of land ownership by non-Native people transformed the area from a predominantly Indian space to a space of contestations and economic development.

Development-induced displacement effectively forces people to leave their land as a result of development. The California Gold Rush in the late 1800's and early 1900's fueled Lassen County development. Common risks associated with development induced displacement include; landlessness, homelessness, poor health, food insecurity, loss of access to common property or resources, and social disintegration.[108] Although, there are positive proponents to development in northeastern California, benefits of the development included water and electricity, economic development, agricultural production, and increased revenue for the

[108] Chris de Wet, "Economic Development and Population Displacement: Can Everybody Win?," *Economic and Political Weekly* 36, no. 50 (2001): 4637–46; Michael M. Cernea, ed., *The Economics of Involuntary Resettlement: Questions and Challenges*, Directions in Development (Washington, D.C: World Bank, 1999); Aboda, Caroline, Mugagga, Frank, and Byakagaba, Patrick, "Development Induced Displacement; A Review of Risks Faced by Communities in Developing Countries," *Sociology and Anthropology* 7 (February 1, 2019): 100–110.

regional economy. Negatives of the development include land dispossession of the original inhabitants, land degradation and restriction of mobility.

The utilization of the Preemption Act eased the ability to transform Indian homelands into private property, divesting tribes of their traditional homelands and sacred sites. Preemption strengthened the ability for white settler in the region to acquire property rights. Transformation of Indian homelands to private property lead to the construction of a regional economy which targeted Paiute, Maidu, Pit River, and Washo land. Native American Studies scholar Cutcha Risling-Baldy, Hupa, writes "in California, the attempts to divest tribal peoples of their ownership or rights to the lands were systematic and ultimately exercised as a means to annihilate California Indian peoples and to erase their presence from the memory of the land."[109] Development induced displacement effectively transformed the region to benefit settler populations who were invested in ranching and lumber industries.

Figure 3.6 Breakdown of Susanville Indian Allotment Sales

Private purchase[110]	95
Relinquished/Cancelled	76
Lumber company purchase	68
Ranching purchase	64
Allotments Claimed by heir	21
No info	14

[109] Cutcha Baldy, "Why We Gather: Traditional Gathering in Native Northwest California and the Future of Bio-Cultural Sovereignty," *Ecological Processes* 2, no. 1 (2013): 1–10, https://doi.org/10.1186/2192-1709-2-17.
[110] The Private purchase designations is utilized to connote purchasers of allotments that were not located in the researchers' findings. Some private purchases could have been ranching or lumber interest, since some private parties acquired a significant number of allotments. However, upon investigation the names were not found in the historical record to connote affiliation with ranching or lumber interests.

Trust Patent Transferred to State of California	7
Fee Simple	1
Railroad Purchase	1
Unknown	1
Total	348

Ranching

In the late 1800s, farming and ranching became a profitable venture in Northeastern California for the local economy. The California Gold Rush of 1849 increased the demand for sheep and cattle. In 1856, settlers actively asserted their claims to land in Honey Lake Valley, Janesville, and Indian Valley. In 1864, Lassen County officials recorded the first livestock brand.[111] By 1910, the total number of farmers in Lassen County was 603—including 412 white farmers; 77 foreign-born white farmers; and 13 non-white farmers.[112] Susanville Indians integrated to the economic activities brought forth by the farming and ranching industry. Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people commonly worked for the local settlers that came into the area. Upon settlement of Honey Lake Valley, settlers acknowledged the vast amounts of grasses that would support domestic livestock. For Lassen County, the arrival of sheep and cattle transformed the environment. Local settlers described the transformation of the land: "On a great deal of land where little or no grass can now be seen, rye grass grew as high as a man's head, and bunch grass grew everywhere. There was literally 'thousands of feed.'"[113] The impact

[111] Tim Purdy, "'Thomas Watson Was the First Person to Record a Livestock Brand to February 13, 1918.,'" *Lassen County Brand Index* (blog), April 8, 2016.
[112] Statistical Report of the California State Board of Agriculture For the Year 1917, California State Printing Office Sacramento 1918, 138.
[113] Asa Merrill Fairfield, *Fairfield's Pioneer History of Lassen County, California: Containing Everything That Can Be Learned about It from the Beginning of the World to the Year of Our Lord 1870 ... Also Much of the Pioneer*

of cattle on the California landscape harmed Native plants, people and animals. Historian John Ryan Fischer writes,

> Cattle ate native grasses, outcompeted native grazers, encouraged invasive species and changed the pacific landscapes in the process. They also enabled the permanent establishment of European influence and colonists, and they created interlinked economies that furthered conquest.[114]

Ranching and farming reshaped the land. According to the Statistical Report of the California State Board of Agriculture for the Year 1917, Lassen County had 502 farms with an average acreage of 589.1.[115] The entrance of cattle and sheep into the Honey Lake Valley led to the decline of biodiversity and the increase in invasive species, ultimately diminishing the natural food resources for Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people. The decline in food resources for Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people was inevitable with the entrance of ranching and farming. In 1932, anthropologist Isabell Kelly reported that in the Surprise Valley, Modoc County, many of the plants with edible roots could no longer be found in the area, and sagebrush and cultivated land had replaced much of the meadowed landscape.[116] Subsistence lifestyles were thoroughly changed with the entrance of private property and degradation of land. The ranching industry played a fundamental part in the Lassen County economy.

The Gold Rush precipitated the increase of livestock throughout the State. Between 1852 and 1857, ranchers used sheep to help supply the demand for fresh meat.[117] In the 1860s, wool used to replace cotton during the Civil War.[118] By 1875, the number of sheep increased to a peak

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History of the State of Nevada ... the Biographies of Governor Isaac N. Roop and Peter Lassen ... and Many Stories of Indian Warfare Never Before Published (H. S. Crocker, 1916), 11. Fairfield, Pioneer History, 11

[114] John Ryan Fischer, *Cattle Colonialism: An Environmental History of the Conquest of California and Hawai'i* (Chapel Hill, United States: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 200.*Cattle Colonialism*, 200.

[115] USDA California Field Office, "Statistical Report of the California State Board of Agriculture For the Year 1917" (Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1917).

[116] Isabel Kelly, "Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiutes," *American Archaeology* 31, no. 8 (1932): 101.

[117] Robert Miller, "Sheep Production in California," n.d., 6.

[118] Personal communication with Dr. William Bauer, 9/10/2020.

of 5.5 million head.[119] After 1876, sheep flocks gradually declined because of the low prices on wool and the increase in fruit cultivation in the Central Valley.[120] After 1880 in particular, the sheep market experienced a rapid decline because of increasing land values and the expansion of ranches, towns and farms, which reduced pasture land and water supply, ultimately obstructing migration routes.[121] In Lassen County, the sheep industry played a vital role in the local economy in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Ranchers utilized the high mountainous valleys in the summer for grazing and returned to lower elevations during the winter.[122] In summer 1906, 200,000 head of sheep grazed in the Honey Lake Valley.[123] During this time in other portions of the State, sheep herders experienced a rapid decline in the price per head. By 1930, Shasta, Modoc, Lassen, Inyo and Mono counties held eight percent of the sheep population in the state. Lassen County had an estimated 80,000 head of sheep by 1930.[124]

Figure 3.7 Livestock population in Lassen County

Lassen County 1910 [126]	
Dairy Cows	2,890
other Cows	18,444
Yearling Heifers	5,975
Calves	4,906
Yearling Steers and Bulls	5,458
Other Steers and bulls	6,161
Total	**43,832**

Lassen County 1910 Sheep, Lamb, Swine[125]	
Hams, ewes, wethers	42,490
Spring Lamb	30,225
Total	**72,725**
Mature Hogs	3,079
Spring Pigs	1,955
Total	**5,034**

[119] Raymond Dasmann, *The Destruction of California* (Macmillion, 1965), 67–68.
[125] Ibid., 136
[126] USDA California Field Office, "Statistical Report of the California State Board of Agriculture For the Year 1917," 138. This date was specifically noted in the Statistical Report.

The post profitable venture in terms of ranching in northeastern California was cattle. Similar to the Gold Rush's effect on the sheep market, internal markets for beef production also increased during the mid-1800s.[127] The population of cattle in the State quadrupled between 1850 to 1860. By 1862 there were more than three million head of cattle.[128] In northeastern California, grazing was considered cheaper than in other portions of the state, leading to an increase in heads of cattle regionally. Ranchers practiced free range methods of livestock production, and the State considered Lassen County as a grazing county.[129] Grazing allows cattle to move freely throughout the high mountainous valleys.

The ecological changes that took place with the entrance of farming and ranching in northeastern California harmed Paiute, Maidu, Washo and Pit River livelihoods. Settlers worked to restructure the environment to maintain the crops and ranches. Issac Roop, one of the original settlers in the Honey Lake Valley, described mechanisms of redistribution of water in the area: "I undersigned claim the privilege to take all the water out of Smith creek at the junction of the two forks where this stake stands. I shall build a dam some six feet high and carry the water along the

[122] SHEEP CAMPS, TIM PURDY
[123] Tim Purdy, "Worley Ranch, Lassen County," *Exploring Lassen County's Past* (blog), January 23, 2018.
[124]Miller, "Sheep Production in California," 8.
[125] Ibid., 136
[126] USDA California Field Office, "Statistical Report of the California State Board of Agriculture For the Year 1917," 138. This date was specifically noted in the Statistical Report.
[127]Fischer, *Cattle Colonialism*, 195. Cattle colonialism, 195.
[128] Raymond Dasmann, *The Destruction of California*, 67–68.
[129] USDA California Field Office, "Statistical Report of the California State Board of Agriculture For the Year 1917," 138.

south hill to the Emigrant Road."[130] Water diversion is an example of manipulation and restructuring of the environment to assist in settlement.

The killing of animals that prey on livestock is also a form of environmental restructuring. Local historian Tim Purdy recounts,

> It was on November 29, 1883 that Charles E. Jones reported that he had killed two gray wolves on Skedaddle Mountain that he stated each weighed approximately 150 pounds. According to Jones he stated the wolves had been a "terror" to the sheep men there. In 1890, A.J. Hall reported seeing a lone gray wolf on the mountain. In the course of time, with increased livestock operations, the wolf population witnessed a steady decline.[131]

The ranching industry destabilized northeastern California's ecology. Livestock and farm operations diverted waterways to fulfil the increased need for water. The introduction of domestic sheep and cattle transformed habitats, water diversion changed the hydrology, and "free range" land was impacted by unrestrained and extensive grazing, the introduction of invasive non-native plant species for feed, and the increase in domestic animal waste.[132] The prioritization of domestic animals modified the environment to increase economic productivity and industrialization.

In northeastern California, the geographic landscape enforced social hierarchies through the imposition of capital accumulation under ranching and lumber industries, which intrinsically placed Native people as objects to be removed for development. Property ownership became a mode that maintained a social order, placing white settler populations at the top. As historian John Ryan Fischer explains:

> The imposition of Western ideas of property, and the power dynamics that played into the enforcement of those ideas, , not only closed off cattle as a source of

[130] Isaac Roop, August 1854, Isaac Roop Recorder. Fairfield, *Fairfield's Pioneer History of Lassen County, California*.
[131] Tim Purdy, "Lassen County Gray Wolves," *Exploring Lassen County's Past* (blog), November 29, 1018.
[132] "Livestock and the Environment," in *The State of Food and Agriculture: Livestock in the Balance*, 2009.

> mobility and revenue for many Native people seeking to protect their sovereignty; it also handed native lands to foreign interests as colonial ranchers bounded cattle on new private ranches. Dispossession of native land combined with the experience of cattle labor to proletarianize the indigenous people of the eastern Pacific.[133]

The increase in cattle and sheep production assisted in the population growth of California. Lassen County was a profitable venture for free range farmers because of the low price on land, despite the adverse impacts on waterways and natural habitats. The ranching industry was a driving force in the economic growth of eastern California. However, for Indian people, the ranching industry facilitated the loss of environmental diversity and land. Settler entrance into Lassen County prioritized regional economic growth over the environment.

Timber

Lumber companies purchased many allotments granted to Susanville Indians, ultimately acquiring vast amounts of timberland in the region and facilitating northern California's economic and political development. A large stakeholder in this venture was Red River Lumber company, which, by 1905, had acquired 900,000 acres in Lassen, Plumas, Siskiyou, Shasta and Tehama Counties.[134] Other lumber ventures included the Lassen Lumber and Box Company,[135] Indian Head Lumber,[136] Sierraville lumber,[137] Sierra Box, [138] and Fruit Growers Supply Company.[139] The lumber industry boom in Northern California aided in the establishment of large and small mill operations in Lassen County. In tandem, the necessity of

[133]Fischer, *Cattle Colonialism*, 202.
[134] T.B. Walker "T.B. Walker" An inventory of Their Papers at the Minnesota Historical Society (1914-1980) accessed January 14,2015 http://www2.mnhs.org/library/findaids/00093.xml
[135] Lassen Lumber and Box Company was a small mill. It began operating in Susanville in 1918.
[136] Indian Head Lumber was completely dependent on Federal reserve Timber and operated out of Little Valley in Lassen County.
[137] Allotments claimed by Sierraville Lumber Company were purchased by Richard Barrington.
[138] No information was found on Sierra Box company.
[139] Fruit Grower Supply company was established in 1907 in Siskiyou County. The company built wooden boxes for the citrus company Sunkist. In 1920, the company built a mill in Susanville and in 1944 they purchased Red Rivers Mill in Westwood.

building railway systems to connect Northern California with lumber markets assisted in the construction of railway systems to connect Northern California to Nevada.[140] The construction of the railways systems and the lumber companies established the town of Westwood, which is located in close proximity to forested allotments, about 30 minutes west of Susanville.[141] The lumber business led to an influx of white laborers in both Susanville and Westwood..[142] Large areas of timber land in northern California became a target for outside lumber operations to expand into Northern California.

Allotments Purchased by Timber Interests:

Figure 3.8 Breakdown of Lumber company Allotment Purchases[143]

Red River Lumber Company	50
Walker Purchase on behalf of RRLC	5
Richard Barrington on behalf of Sierraville Logging	8
Indian Head Logging Company	1
Fruit Growers Supply	2
Sierra Lumber	1
Susanville Logging	1
	68

Red River Lumber Company

In 1884, Thomas Barlow Walker founded the Red River Lumber Company, based in Akeley, Minnesota. The Red River Lumber Company operations in Minnesota were one of the largest east of the Mississippi. T.B. Walker instructed his sons – Willis, Clinton, and Fletcher –

[140]Tim Purdy, "'At A Glance A Susanville History' Exploring Lassen County's Past and More…," January 14, 2015, http://www.citlink.net/~lahontan/susanville.htm.
[141] Tim Purdy, "'Fruit Growers Supply Company: Hilt-Susanville-Westwood-Burney,'" *Exploring Lassen County's Past* (blog), n.d., http://www.citlink.net/~lahontan/fruitgrowers.htm.
[142] Many settlers employed by the lumber companies acquired territory in the area.
[143] King Law Firm, "Allotment of Lands of the United States, Not Otherwise Appropriated, Made to Indians under Section 4, Act of February 8,1887 (24 Stat., p.388), as Amended by Act of February 28,1891 (26 Stat., p 794)" (Washington, D.C, September 2011).

to search for a new location for the company. After exploration, the Walker family decided on northeastern California. In 1913, the Red River Lumper Company expanded its operations by establishing a company town and sawmill in Westwood, California in Lassen County. Looking west, timberlands looked like a profitable venture for the Lumber Company and the Walker Family. Acquisition of land by the Walkers in northeastern California was extensive, including areas near Fall River Mills, Chester, Redding, McCloud, and Alturas.

Red River's land agents explored northern California on behalf of Walker. Lawyers and agents made land selections on behalf of Walker that would be held in reserve until the company established their lumber mill in Westwood. In Lassen County, attorney H.D. Burroughs from Susanville, Ellsworth G. Scammon from northern California, Chester Hovey from San Francisco and Clinton Walker were given the task to purchase land on behalf of the company.[144] As an attorney, Burroughs worked on lieu and scrip and selection.[145] Burroughs also prepared deeds and abstracts and got them signed and recorded at the county level. Red River Lumber Company land commission and title examiner, Scammon, an attorney and land agent from San Francisco, worked on a large number of land interests, including land purchases, sales, and rental or lease of company lands to individuals for grazing or farming purchases. Hovey worked as Walker's chief land man in California. He purchased land on behalf of the Company and in some cases, for himself. also worked on selling land parcels after harvest.

Designated land agents from RRLC corresponded with T.B. Walker and the Red River Lumber Company. In one case, the Lassen County Assessor valued a specific land tract at $10 per acre, however, Burroughs did not agree with this price and negotiated it down to $5.00 per acre. In order to keep land acquisition cost down, the average price paid per acre around the

[144] T.B. Walker and Family: An Inventory of Their Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, 152.K.2.8F, Box 8.
[145] Land scrips are certificates granting private ownership.

Westwood and Susanville region was $5.00 per acre.[146] Agents contacted T.B. and asked if he would like to buy a specific land tract, taking into consideration the quality of lumber, whether the lumber company held other land tracts in the area, accessibility, and species of tree. The vast acquisition of land by assigned agents led some settlers to seek out Walker to purchase their land, individually. In one example a settler in Modoc County wrote, "Now it's like this Walker has some agents here but they all want to make something themselves on what claims they buy."[147] This quote reveals the ways in which the agents worked to acquire land that would be the most profitable for the company to gain T.B.'s trust in land acquisition. The Modoc County resident offered Walker his land by stating simply, "Do you want these?"

The first allotment purchased in July 1914 by Red River Lumber Company (RRLC) in Lassen County was that of Big Meadows Maidu, Henry Jenkins.[148] The Company went on to purchase 78 Indian allotments in the region, acquiring Indian allotments in Lassen and Plumas counties until 1930. To make these land purchases, designated agents were instructed to work in the best interest of the Company.[149] . Walker's land agents assessed allotments on lumber quality and type.[150] Even when Indian allotments are sold, the United States government retains the right-of-way for the construction of roads, ditches and canals, which later aided in hydroelectric development in Lassen County.[151] In this and other ways, removal of Indians from traditional land holdings fueled the United States' economic development.

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[146] T.B. Walker and Family: An Inventory of Their Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, 149.B.10.13B, Box 24
[147] T.B. Walker and Family: An Inventory of Their Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, 152.I.12.7B, Box 2, Folder 5.
[148] King Law Firm, "Allotment of Lands of the United States, Not Otherwise Appropriated, Made to Indians under Section 4, Act of February 8,1887 (24 Stat., p.388), as Amended by Act of February 28,1891 (26 Stat., p 794)" (Washington, D.C, September 2011).
[149] T.B. Walker and Family: An Inventory of Their Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, 152.K.2.8F, Box 8.
[150] Red River Land agents assessed land acquisitions of hardwood which includes sugar, white and yellow pine.
[151] T.B. Walker and Family: An Inventory of Their Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, 149.B.11.7B.

In northeastern California, Indian agents directed sales to the timber industry, who cleared the land, and then lumber companies like Red River sold the land to numerous industries, including hydroelectric, ranching, and railroad companies, and roadway construction entities.[152] Walker was enthusiastic about using electricity at his mill and in other operations, so he developed a deal with the Western Power Company to build a dam and generators on RRLC property in exchange for low cost energy.[153] In Middleton Manning's analysis of the State Water Project and Mountain Maidu community disruption, she highlights the impacts of hydro-electric development on Maidu people. Western Power Company divested Maidu people living in Big Meadows from their homelands during the flooding of what today is known as Lake Almanor. The extinguishment and cancellation of Maidu allotments aided in Western Power's and later Pacific Gas & Electric's expansion, and the eventual development of the California State Water Project, which provides water for the larger California region.[154]

The establishment of RRLC fueled the economic expansion of other industries in the north state. The success of lumber operations in Westwood led the company to partner with other companies that were interested in development of infrastructure that connected the region to the rest of California and the United States. Walker's expansive logging operation in California facilitated the establishment of roads and railroad networks to connect the industry to the larger United States and to the rest of the State. Logging roads were built to access land holdings and transport logs to RRLC's sawmills in Westwood. In January 1912, RRLC signed an exclusive deal with Southern Pacific Railroad to haul lumber from the company's northern California holdings. The Southern Pacific Railroad was completed in 1914 and connected Westwood to

[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Middleton Manning, *Upstream : Trust Lands and Power on the Feather River*.

Fernley, Nevada.[155] The railroad connected Red River's sawmill with the larger Southern Pacific line running through Fernley. The development of the region aided in the commodification of forested land for economic profit.

By the early 20th century, Lassen County was dominated by non-Indian federal and private land ownership. In 1918, approximately 936,877 acres belonged to the National Forest Service and private entities owned 384,466 acres. Red River Lumber Company and other lumber interests had amassed these land holdings in part through the purchase of Indian allotments in public sales or individually from Indian people as directed by Indian AgentsLumber operations consisted of logging, which includes harvesting timber, processing timber, and transporting it to sawmills, which were first established in the town of Westwood and later Susanville. Railroads provided transport of timber to larger markets. The vast lumber operations had inconceivable implications for Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people.

Allotment and Commoditization of Land Facilitated Displacement

The General Allotment Act of 1887 (Dawes Act) effectively removed Susanville Indian people from their traditional homelands in northeastern California. The western idea that Native people did not use their land became a justification to support removal and allocate lands to improve white settler access to territory under the Dawes Act of 1887. The allotment system as an enclosure serves as a transformative model for the extinguishment of communal land holdings to private property. As anthropologist Liza Grandia argues:

> Enclosure… required the historical extinguishment of common property rights and the development of the idea of private property. In particular, the ideological edifice of improvement become the critical thread connecting the first wave of

[155] Railroad construction is in the middle of Susanville. Portions of the railroad have been removed due to the discontinued use of the rail line.

> enclosure in the fifteenth century with a second wave of enclosure in the eighteen and nineteenth centuries directly preceding the rise of industrial capitalism.[156]

For Paiute, Maidu, Pit River, and Washo people, the Dawes Act removed their recognized land rights, restructured communities, and implemented forms of private property. Western expansion facilitated development-induced displacement by introducing exploitative economies that profited from Indian land and community; imposing social hierarchies, enforcing economic inequalities, and reforming the environment as an object, thus disconnecting Native people from space and place. Allotment policy pressured Indian individuals to convert to the American economic system of perceived high productivity and profitability.[157] The far-reaching impacts of development-induced displacement further challenge the use of traditional redistributive economies and active land stewardship by Susanville Indians.[158]

Common property or homeland inhabited by Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people was thoroughly privatized by the Preemption Act and the Dawes Allotment Act. The transference of Native homelands to white settlers inflicted a predetermined power structure to undermine Indian communities, which assisted in creating cultural hierarchies in the region, upholding extractive practices over Indian people and a reliance on exploitative economies to raise capital and build economies. Development projects that target land impose an intergenerational consequence of economic marginalization.[159] As such, the economic expansion and acquisition of property by ranching and lumber interests had significant implications for the

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[156] Grandia, "The Tragedy of Enclosures," 10–12.
[157] Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, "Our Right in Remain Separate and Distinct," in *Paradigm Wars: Indigenous Peoples Resistance to Globalization,* edited by Jerry Mander and Victoria Tauli- Corpuz (Sierra Club Books, San Francisco: 2006) 18.
[158] Kat Anderson, *Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) 8.
[159] De Wet, "Economic Development and Population Displacement"; Aboda, Caroline, Mugagga, Frank, and Byakagaba, Patrick, "Development Induced Displacement; A Review of Risks Faced by Communities in Developing Countries."

future of Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people. In 2020, Susanville Indians continue to feel the effects of economic inequality and impoverishment because of the privatization and exploitation of land in northeastern California.

Colonial governments built economies to benefit the geographical region through the exploitation of natural resources and Native homelands. Development in northeastern California required the exploitation of natural resources such as land, timber, and water. Settler populations do not recognize the connection between land and Indigenous people; in contrast, non-Indians placed values on the trees and rocks, calculating them into monetary terms.[160] This approach devalued nature as a spiritual entity and turned it into a commodity. Through processes of displacement and increased settlement by non-Indian people, Susanville Indians were cut off from food resources, burial grounds, and sacred sites by the mobilization of private property. Private property effectively inhibited the ability to maintain their communities, lifestyles, and social structures. This further inhibited the recognition of Indians people's right to collective societies and sacred land holdings. Maori Scholar, Christine Black states:

> By placing economic development before the protection of the land they're looking out for what is best for them, they're looking into the rights rather to level their responsibilities to future generations furthermore they're blocking off the voice of their ancestors who might be trying to help them see a way of living rather than surviving.[161]

Settler claims to land are rooted in a legacy of dispossession embedded in economic development and land exploitation. Ultimately, United States law and policy enabled white settlers and their companies to target northeastern California land. Native American communities

[160]Gerald R. Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*, 2nd ed. (Don Mills, Ont. ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 87.
[161] Christopher F Black, *The Land Is the Source of the Law: A Dialogic Encounter with Indigenous Jurisprudence* (Routledge, 2010), 140.

experienced severe and far-reaching development-induced displacement in the early 1900's. The settler population and the Dawes Allotment Act dispossessed Paiute, Maidu, Washo and Pit River. The vast lumber operations led to a situation in which Indian allotments were expendable sources of profit for lumber companies. Exploitative industries fostered and supported settler colonial claims to land and Native communities.

Conclusion

Development-induced displacement divested Susanville Indians of their inherent rights to cultural homelands and disrupted communal organization. Settler colonialism aims to remove Indigenous bodies from the land, inherently enacting violence through removal and establishment of settler society. Violence and the acquisition of land go hand-in-hand. Dislocation from territories inherently enacts violence onto Native American bodies.[162] Federal and State governments adopt principles of settler colonialism and logics of elimination, operationalized through law, policy, and settlement. Violence is imbricated within settler law. C.F. Black mentions that law has ignored and purposefully undermined Indigenous institutions and ideas that previously weakened ancient connections to their environment.[163]

Settler-colonial nations have set forth political agendas, law, and policy, to aid in the removal of Native people from their homelands. This removal has been carried out by law and policy involving but not limited to the Marshall Trilogy, Removal, Dawes Allotment Act, and the establishment of reservations. Historian Ned Blackhawk argues that that western histories have failed to discuss state-sanctioned violence that enabled western expansion and

[162] Mishuana Goeman, *Mark My Words: Native Women Mapping Our Nations*, First Peoples (2010) (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 77. Mishuana Goeman, 77.
[163] Christopher F Black, *The Land Is the Source of the Law: A Dialogic Encounter with Indigenous Jurisprudence* (Routledge, 2010), 4.

accumulation of resources, people, and territories.[164] The United States government views Indian people as an obstacle to progress, further pushing to assimilate and remove Indians from the land entirely.[165] Displacing Indians through laws and policy has complicated their histories and disrupted knowledge systems.

While displacing Indians aided in the regional development of Lassen County, this development-induced displacement has contributed to the problems that the Susanville Indian communities face today. Through allotment and later the sale of allotment lands, Indians in the Susanville area have faced three different forms of displacement: first, the removal from their homelands with the entrance of the settler population; second, the intentional forceful and regimented removal by government policy under allotment; and, finally, the purchase of Indian allotments by lumber companies, ranching interests, and private parties. Dispossessed from their traditional land holdings, Susanville Indians lost essential parts of their culture and identity. Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang discuss how "the disruption of Indigenous relationships to land represents a profound epistemic, ontological, cosmological violence."[166] The inherent acts of violence to the people and the land are multileveled. Violence does not end with the loss of homelands and desecration of land; it continues to be felt in the community and on the land. As Lee Maracle, Sto:loh First Nations scholar, explains, "violence to earth and violence between humans are connected."[167] The lifeways and epistemologies of Susanville Indians are rooted in the land. The disturbance of Native American relationships to land effectively undermines the ancient connection between Native American and their environment.

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[164] Ned Blackhawk, *Violence over the Land : Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 2006).
[165] Gerald R. Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*, 2nd ed. (Don Mills, Ont; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 27.
[166] Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," 5.
[167]Lee Maracle, *Memory Serves* (Edmonton, Alberta: NeWest Press, 2015), 53.

Susanville Indians were faced with the expansion of the regional economy, which was founded on the seizure of Indian land. Vanessa Watts, Mohawk & Anishinaabe, asserts "the measure of colonial interaction with land has historically been one of violence … where land is to be accessed, not learned from or a part of. "[168] Colonial violence is exponentially tied to capital accumulation which facilitates the removal of Indigenous bodies from the land to promote assimilation, genocide, and exploitation. Of the 348 of allotments belonging to Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people; private citizens purchased 95 allotments, ranching families bought 64, and timber companies acquired 68. Private citizens, ranching families and lumber companies assisted in the expansion of the economies in Lassen County and the State of California. In turn, population growth in the region aided in the development of other industries in California such as roads, railroads, and hydroelectricity. The expansion of the ranching, lumber companies, railroads, roads, and hydroelectricity increased the areas of settlement and development. Industrialization and economic expansion supported population growth in Lassen County causing a direct threat to Paiute, Maidu, Washo and Pit River communities and livelihoods.

Through the first phase of dispossession, encroachment of white settlers in Indian homelands and second, displacement by government law and policy, Susanville Indian allottees' rights to land were expendable in the face of settler exploitation and development of the land. In the third phase, Indian agents directed Indian allottees to sell their government-granted land allotments. Indian agents placed importance on extractive economies, labeling Indian individuals and lifestyles as unimportant and as obstacles to progress. In losing these vast areas of land,

[168] Vanessa Watts, "'Indigenous Place-Thought and Agency Amongst Humans and Non-Humans (First Woman and Sky Woman Go on a European World Tour!).,'" *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Edu- Cation and Society* 2, no. 1 (2013): 26.

Susanville Indians became dispossessed of knowledge generation centers embedded in the land. Tribal communities faced the loss of sacred sites and gathering areas that held vital importance to their collective identities. Shared memories, history, cultural practices, and a sense of place are central to the formation of collective identities.[169] Mishuana Goeman discusses Native peoples' personal interactions with the environment, in which communal memories are based on the complex relationships people have with land. [170] Land links generations of people to specific land bases creating systematic relationships with the environment and their community.

The Dawes Allotment Act inhibited the recognition of Indians peoples' right to collective societies and sacred land holdings. Settlers actively devalued nature as being property and not a spiritual entity, thus turning it into a commodity for capital accumulation. Through policy and practice, Indian agents pressured Indian individuals to convert to the American economic system of high productivity and profitability. [171] Through displacement and assimilation, Indian people were separated from traditional redistributive economies, and often prohibited from practicing active stewardship of the land and environment.[172] With the loss of traditional lands, the transmission of culture, language, and land stewardship all suffered. Land sales dispossessed Susanville Indians from land holdings, causing Indians to purchase smaller tracts of land closer to larger regional communities. Selling allotments changed how Indians lived off the land, no longer having access to sacred places and food resources, decreasing the

[169] Isabel Altamirano-Jiménez, *Indigenous Encounters with Neoliberalism: Place, Women, and the Environment in Canada and Mexico*, Women and Indigenous Studies Series (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 45.
[170] *Mishuana Goeman, "Land as Life: Unsettling the Logics of Containment," Native studies keywords (2015): 75.*
[171] Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, "'Our Right in Remain Separate and Distinct,'" in *Paradigm Wars: Indigenous Peoples Resistance to Globalizatio*n (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books; Distributed by University of California Press, n.d.), 18. *Resistance to Globalization,* edited by Jerry Mander and Victoria Tauli- Corpuz (Sierra Club Books, San Francisco: 2006) 18.
[172] Kat Anderson, *Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) 8.

use of traditional land management practices, and furthering the disconnection of Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people from their homelands. In 1923, under the Landless and Homeless Indian Act, Congress provided funds for the purchase of lands for California Indians who became displaced through similar processes.

CHAPTER 5: SUSANVILLE INDIAN LAND RECLAMATION

> Our struggle at the moment is to continue to survive and work toward a time when we can replace the need for being preoccupied with survival with a more responsible and peaceful way of living within communities and with the everchanging landscapes that will forever be our only home.[173] – Robert Warrior

Development induced displacement divested Susanville Indians of their inherent right to cultural homelands and disrupted communal organization. Displacement within their own homelands has produced a multitude of both positive and negative effects on the Susanville Indian community. Specifically, resettlement consolidated Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people to a specific area of land located in Susanville. Historically, each tribal community lived in a distinct cultural homeland and community. Susanville tribal leaders are actively working to restore the cultural homelands for all tribal members in northeastern California. Through the

[173] Robert Allen Warrior, *Tribal Secrets: Recovering American Indian Intellectual Traditions* (U of Minnesota Press, 1995), 176.

implementation of sovereignty and nationhood, the Susanville Indian Rancheria is restoring their rights to land in the Honey Lake Valley. Effective strategies of land reclamation are encouraging economic and community development.

In this chapter, I explore the resurgence of Susanville Indian claims to land. To accomplish these connections, I analyze how the Susanville Indian Rancheria actively reclaimed land in northeastern California for community development and cultural revitalization. I begin with the purchase of the original 30 acres of the lower rancheria by the Federal Government. I then explore tribal sovereignty and nationhood which directly impacts the Susanville Indian Rancheria's ability to reclaim land in northeastern California. Through the restoration of cultural homelands, the Tribe is effectively working to restore the transmission of knowledge between the landscape and tribal members. The expansion of tribal land increases the ability to create and maintain economic and community development, both of which are fundamentally tied to the expansion of tribal sovereignty.

"Homeless Indians" in their Homelands

In 1905, an archivist found the California treaties, which renewed effort to secure land for California Indians who were deemed "homeless" and "landless".[174] One-third of the Indians

[174]C.E. Kelsey, Report of Special Agent for California Indians (Mar. 21, 1906); In his final report to the Commissioner, Kelsey notes that his investigation in 1905 showed that [is this a quote? If so add quotations please] only about 5,200 Indians in the State had reservations, 1700 of whom were in Northern California and 3,500 in Southern California. The non-reservation Indian population of the State was estimated at about 12,000. It is estimated that 2,800 had allotments; about 1,000 had land purchased under private ownership or lived on land were supposed to have land of their own or to live on land owned by whites, or churches or other associations. The remainder, numbering about 8,000, needed land, and it was estimated that for about three fourths of them the land would have to be purchased. These 8,000 landless Indians were mostly found in small Indian settlements, called in California, rancherias. These were located usually upon the land of some complacent white man who allowed the Indians to live there temporarily. Evictions took place from time to time, and as few places were open to an evicted Indian, the only place they could go was to some rancheria as yet unevicted. Also, see Larisa Miller, "The Secret Treaties with California's Indians," 2013.

living in the State, or approximately half of the entire California Indian population, signed treaties with the three federal commissioners.[175] A total of 8,519,900 acres was reserved for California Indian communities by these treaties.[176] Upon signature of the treaties, California Indians relinquished their traditional lands in favor of designated areas of land set aside for their communities. However, active protest by the State of California and California citizens effectively caused Congress to reject the authorization of the 18 treaties on July 8, 1852.[177] California Indians were left without federal protections, legal rights and a designated land base. As a result, California citizens seized land and destroyed the California landscape. Without a land base, California Indian tribal communities were considered "homeless" and "landless".

In 1900, there were only three reservations for California Indians: Hoopa Valley, Round Valley and Tule River. A majority of the California Indian population lived outside of the reservation boundaries. Under pressure from reformers pursuing redress for the "landless Indians of California," Congress authorized the purchase of small parcels of trust land for groups of Indians.[178] In tandem, reformers advocated for federal protection of Indian land and federal acknowledgment of non-reservation communities. [179] In 1905, Special Agent C.E. Kelsey was appointed to "...investigate . . . existing conditions of the California Indians and to report to Congress at the next session some plan to improve the same.[180] In his report, Kelsey emphasized

[175] Report of Subcommittee of Assemble Committee… Investigating Conditions of Indian Affairs in the State of California, Jan. 15, 1947, p. 454.
[176] Costo, *Natives of the Golden State, the California Indians*.
[177] Senate Exec. Doc. No. 4, 1853, Treaties.
[178] Khal Schneider, "Making Indian Land in the Allotment Era: Northern California's Indian Rancherias," *Western Historical Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (November 1, 2010): 430, https://doi.org/10.2307/westhistquar.41.4.429.Khal Schneider, 430.
[179] Ibid.,
[180] See Kelsey, Final Report, supra n. 26, at 2 (July 25, 1913) [hereinafter Kelsey, Final Report]. Mr. Kelsey was a San Jose attorney who served as Secretary of the Northern California Indian Association, which had been lobbying the Department of Interior, the President, and Congress to take action to secure land titles for Indian villages and families. *Indian Department Appropriations,* Public Law 212, U.S. Statutes at Large 33 (1905):1058.

the need for the immediate relief for Indians who were living in small settlements and villages in central and northern California. In his review of Kelsey's report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Francis Leupps recommended that Congress appropriate funding to assist central and northern California Indian communities. In 1906, Congress approved an appropriation of $100,000 to purchase lands for homeless California Indians and to provide infrastructure for water and other improvements on Indian lands.[181] Land restoration facilitated tribal government organization and community development for many California Indian communities.

Between 1907 and 1910, a series of appropriation acts were passed that provided funds to purchase small tracts of land in central and northern California for Indian people deemed landless.[182] Land acquisitions for homeless California Indian resulted in what is now referred to as the rancheria system, in which many tribes were amalgamated on specific parcels.[183] It is important to note that the term rancheria is used interchangeably with other terms such as reservation or Indian land. Ed Castillo, Cahuilla, describes rancheria land tracts as "reservations scattered throughout 16 northern counties."[184] He continues to state that they "were mostly home sites or rancherias between five and a few hundred acres each."[185] Jack Forbes acknowledges that that "most of these 'rancherias' in California or 'colonies' in Nevada were designed to

[181] *Indian Department Appropriations*, Statutes at Large, No. 59-258, 34 Stat. 325, 333 (1906).
[182] For example, see Stuart Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land: Law and Power on the Frontier* (Harvard University Press, 2009); Jean M. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650-1790* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Melissa L. Meyer, *The White Earth Tragedy - Google Books* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994),; Janet A. McDonnell, *The Dispossession of the American Indian, 1887-1934* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).
[183] Examples include: Susanville Indian Rancheria composed of Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo People. Redding Rancheria composed of Wintu, Pit River and Yana People. Grindstone Indian Rancheria of Wintun and Wailaki Indians of California. However, there are a few examples of rancheria composed of only one tribal group.
[184] Edward D. Castillo, *Exterminate Them: Written Accounts of the Murder, Rape, and Enslavement of Native Americans during the California Gold Rush* (Michigan State University Press, 1999), 118, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.14321/j.ctt7zt6m8.
[185] Ibid.

provide residential sites only."[186] Rancherias were "exceedingly small parcels [that] were occasionally purchased or set aside for 'homeless' Indians, especially between 1910 and 1929."[187] Moving on to rancheria lands served as an active form of survivance for California Indian people. California Indians transformed these spaces of homelessness into their homelands. Indeed, rancherias became important "places where a native identity could be maintained and passed on to new generations."[188]

The Northeastern California Experience

Northeastern California, specifically what is known today as Lassen County, is populated by Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people. Implementation of allotment allocations took place in northeastern California from 1891-1904. Allotment policy instigated land sales and dispossession of Indian people from their cultural homelands, which sustained their entire communal and familial structure, prioritizing the individualization of households needs over the needs of the whole community. Susanville Indian people participated in the market economy by selling their allotments. Allotment sale took place between 1914 and 1964. Many Susanville Indians who sold or lost their allotment land experienced homelessness. Some Indians established homes along Piute creek.[189] In 1923, 125 Indians lived in the vicinity of Susanville.

In 1923, L.A. Dorrington, special agent in charge of Reno Indian Agency, conducted an Annual Report for the Reno Indian Agency. Dorrington calculated the populations of Indian

[186] Indian Education Hearing, 1969. Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, p. 900..
[187] Forbes, (1969):By 1919 eleven-thousand California Indians were residing on federal 'trust' land (reservations or rancherias) with another 5,200 to 14,000 scattered elsewhere." Id. at 73.
[188]Frederick E Hoxie, "From Prison to Homeland: The Cheyenne River Indian Reservation Before World War I," in *The Plains Indians of the Twentieth Century* (Norman, 1979), 58.
[189] This is in close proximity to the lower rancheria.

people for California and Nevada Counties. In Lassen County, Dorrington reported the following:[190]

Figure 4.1 Dorrington's Population Data

Location of Indian Communities	Population	Recommendations
Ash Valley	10	"Ash valley, consisting of a small band, does not require homesite"
Bieber	97	"The Bieber band one of the largest in the County, are making their way and do not require land for a home site."
Cove	15	" The Cove band do not need land for home site."
Hayden Hill	7	"The Hayden Hill band being quite small, do not need assistance in the way of home site."
Madeline	27	"The Madeline band do not require land for home site."
Dixie Valley	72	"The Dixie Valley- another large Indian community – are providing for themselves quite satisfactorily and do not need help in the way of land for homesite."
Secret Valley	10	"The Secret Valley band do not require land for home site."
Willow Creek	15	"The Willow Creek band do not need land for a home site."
Susanville	125	"In the vicinity of Susanville. We have the largest Indian settlement of Lassen County. Thirty acres was purchased for them but to date they have failed to make any use of same, having, as already state, provided fairly good homes for themselves. However, there is a strong tendency for the Indians to drift to Susanville on account of the market it affords for labor, hence it is believed that within a short time additional land for home site will be required, in fact, it is about definitely decided that such will be the case."
Johnstonville	35	"The Johnstonville Indians do not need land for home site."
Standish	27	"The Standish band are not in need of land for homes."

[190] RG 75, Reno Indian Agency, Annual Report 1923, pg 1-31.

Janesville	25	"The Janesville band do not require home sites."
Milford	15	"The Milford band is well provided for."
Long Valley	40	"The Long Valley band does not require land for home site."

According to Dorrington, a majority of the Indian population in Lassen County did not need land for a homesite. Dorrington's investigation considers that "so far as homes are concerned, the majority of the Indians of Lassen County have provided homes for themselves which compare favorably with, if not better than the average home situated on land purchased for homeless Indians."[191] As such, Susanville Indians became the primary benefactor of government appropriations to Indians in Lassen County. Indians living in other parts of Lassen County, California were not prioritized in the designation of a land base.

Through a government appropriations bill, congress purchased thirty acres of land for Susanville Indians on August 15,1923.[192] The Federal Government purchased land from Fannie Taylor, a non-native woman, for Susanville Indians. The "original thirty acre" became the first acquired land base for the Susanville Indian Rancheria.[193] The establishment of a land base for Susanville Indians grouped members of four tribal groups together: Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo. Congress designated the land purchase as non-tribally specific. The non-tribally specific land designation considers the diverse Native populations that live in Lassen County, today and during the time of establishment. Primarily, the original 30 acres, also known as Rooster Hill or Indian Heights, served as a site for residential housing. On January 12, 1963, Susanville Indian

[191] Ibid.,
[192] Jim Mackay, interview, November 2019.
[193] Susanville Indian Rancheria, "History: Our Land," accessed March 1, 2016. http://sir-nsn.gov/history.html

tribal leaders created and adopted a land assignment ordinance which established policy and procedure for tribal land assignments on the original 30 acres. The ordinance policy served as a foundation for the establishment of the Susanville Indian tribal government and communal organization.

Image 4.2 Picture of Susanville Indian Home shared by Teresa Dixon

Government Response to Native American Communities

Native American people experienced a variety of unhealthy conditions in the early 1900s. Specifically California Indian populations faced the results of increased settlement, genocide, and ecocide. Settler colonialism completely transformed Native American people's ways of life; many communities experienced health insecurity, poor living conditions, inadequate health care, and low-quality education. Native American economic and community disparities led to the support of a survey on the conditions of Native American reservations conducted by the Institute

of Governmental Research funded by the Rockefeller Foundation.[194] In 1928, Lewis Meriam, a PhD. from the Brookings Institute who was familiar with Census Bureau data, compiled a report on the conditions experienced by Indian people across the country. The report, entitled "Meriam Report: The Problem of Indian Administration (1928)" identified that the Federal Government failed in protecting Indian land, culture, economic conditions, healthcare, and education. As Meriam states, "an overwhelming majority of the Indians are poor, even extremely poor, and they are not adjusted to the economic and social systems of the dominant white civilization."[195] According to Meriam's findings, Indian communities faced two major issues: 1) the United States' failure to protect Native Americans, their land, and their resources; 2) Native American communities did not manage their own affairs. The Report served as an indictment of the incompetence of the Bureau of Indian Affairs oversight of Indian communities. The Meriam Report led to substantial reforms in education, land, health care and housing.

In order to address the report's findings, the federal government hoped to overturn unscrupulous Federal Indian policy by passing the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934. After the failure of the General Allotment of 1887, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, and Native American representatives drafted and lobbied for the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act. Political Scientist David Wilkins, Lumbee, describes IRA as "the vehicle for the transition into US American society, "which represented a legitimate but inadequate effort on the part of Congress to protect, preserve and support tribal art, culture, and public and social organizations."[196] The Indian Reorganization Act was enacted by the United States Congress during a time when the U.S. government was working to decrease federal control over Indian

[194] Meriam Lewis, "The Problem of Indian Administration," (Baltimore), 1.
[195] Ibid., 3.
[196] Wilkins, American Indian Politics, 119.

tribal operations and increase tribal self-government. The Indian Reorganization Act mandated the cancellation of the allotment of land under 1887 Dawes Allotment Act, supported the organization of tribal councils through the adoption of a tribal constitution and by-laws, created a revolving loan fund to increase tribal economic development, formed a higher education loan to increase higher education attainment for Indian people, and established Indian preference for employment in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.[197] The Indian Reorganization Act was important legislation to increase Native American self-government and self-determination

Implementation of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) organized tribal governments to resemble Western governing institutions, disregarding the use of traditional forms of Native government.[198] As Shawnee, Muscogee, and Seminole historian Donald Fixico states:

> Native American communities were pressured to approve organizations under the IRA in order to receive federal assistance, when Indians approved inclusion… they sometimes inadvertently initiated the self-termination of autonomous traditional governments. Under the IRA, tribal governments were regulated by federal guidelines. They embraced the political and social norms of white Americans, often without fully realizing the impact that this would have on future generations of their people.[199]

Adoption of the IRA discouraged tribal communities from developing and creating tribal constitutions rooted in their own cultures and traditions. Additionally, the Act promoted the dissolution and replacement of tribal government systems that were formed and created prior to the signing of the Act. The Act lacked acknowledgement of tribal community diversity, providing a one-size-fits-all model for tribal government systems. Additionally, the IRA increased federal government oversight of tribal governments. Federal government oversight

[197] Crum, The Road from which we came, 85
[198] The Indian Reorganization Act is criticized by multiple authors within *American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century* [1985].
[199] Donald Lee Fixico, *Termination and Relocation : Federal Indian Policy, 1945-1960*, 1st ed.. ed. (Albuquerque: Albuquerque : University of New Mexico Press, 1986), xiii.

occurred in several ways; Primarily, it involved transactions relating to the acquisition of land and natural resources requiring approval by the Secretary of Interior. Also, the use of revolving loan funds were under close supervision by local Indian bureau officials to monitor use of funds.[200] Given the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act, which promoted self-governance, required Federal Government oversight.

The ability to conserve tribal land holdings and prohibit land from being taken out of trust were important elements of tribal support for the IRA. Tribes experienced the loss of 90 million acres under the General Allotment Act. The opening words of the Indian Reorganization Act state:

> Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of American in Congress assembled, hereafter no land of any Indian reservation, created or set apart by treaty or agreement with the Indians, Act of Congress, Executive Order, purchase, or otherwise, shall be allotted in severalty to any Indians.[201]

IRA policy terminated the ability of the Federal Government to allot Indian lands and promoted Tribal Nations ability to place additional tribal lands into trust. However, the adoption of the IRA required tribal governments to formally adopt a western governing structure, which was not fully accepted by all tribal nations. Out of the 99 federally recognized tribes in California in [year], 44 rejected the Act, 55 were in favor, and 10 defaulted.[202] In a case study of the Sacramento Agency, Thomas Melendrez found that, due to the "small scattered rancherias and reservations, the IRA did little to alter landlessness, poor health and poverty."[203] Throughout California, each tribe had their own reasons for why they accepted or rejected the Indian Reorganization Act. For

[200] Scudder Mekeel, "An Appraisal of the Indian Reorganization Act," *American Anthropologist* 46, no. 2 (1944): 209–17.
[201] *Indian Reorganization Act* (June 18, 1934, Public No. 383).
[202] Joachim Roschmann, *No" Red Atlantis" on the Trinity: The Rejection of the Indian Reorganization Act on the Hoopa Valley Reservation in Northwestern California* (University of California, Davis, 1991), 40.
[203] Ibid.

California Indian communities, the best way to overcome landlessness, poor health and poverty was to create opportunities for themselves.

Susanville Indian Rancheria Tribal Government

The Susanville Indian Rancheria became recognized as a single political entity in 1969, after the Tribe accepted the Indian Reorganization Act in 1967. Tribal leaders conducted a vote and accepted the Indian Reorganization Act 13 to 1, with 30% of the general membership voting.[204] Approval of IRA by tribal membership facilitated the adoption of the first Susanville Indian Rancheria constitution. The Susanville Indian Rancheria constitution specifically acknowledges the organization of rancheria to "protect our tribal customs, and to promote our common welfare."[205] The constitution consolidated power between Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people, creating a single political organization. The constitution has explicit terms on who can and cannot be a member. Specifically, membership criteria includes "persons of not less than one-fourth (1/4) degree California Indian blood who hold valid assignments on the Susanville Indian Rancheria," and descendants of persons in subsection 'a' above, provided such descendants are not less than one-fourth (1/4) degree California Indian blood."[206] The constitution was the second of two governmental documents created in the early formations of the Tribe. Management of tribal lands and organization and establishment of political structures promoted Susanville tribal sovereignty.

Through the adoption of a constitution, the Susanville Indian Rancheria became recognized as a sovereign nation in the eyes of the federal government, ultimately providing the

[204] Certificate of Results of the Election submitted to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on September 18,1968.
[205] Constitution and Bylaws of the Susanville Indian Rancheria, Preamble , 1969
[206] Constitution and Bylaws of the Susanville Indian Rancheria , Article II membership, 1969.

tribal government with the ability to make changes and oversee community organization.[207] The political organization of Susanville Indians assisted in the facilitation of community caretaking and development. Using sovereignty as a framework, Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo leaders adopted a government system that supported Susanville Indian community development. As David Wilkins and K. Tsianina Lomawaima argue, "tribes existed before the United States of America, so theirs is a more mature sovereignty, predating the Constitution; in that sense, tribal sovereignty exists 'outside' the Constitution."[208] Indeed, Susanville Indians have always been sovereign.[209] Susanville Indians have used that preexisting sovereignty to enact their own government systems and determine their own way of life, without interference from outside sources.[210] As a sovereign nation, the Susanville Indian Rancheria has developed consultation and community development processes to expand their ability to serve the Native and even the non-Native local community. The term "sovereignty" has been re-articulated to be applied to different ideas that Native people embody and apply.[211] Sovereignty has a wide array of

[207] However, tribes were already sovereign. Tribal communities have inherent sovereignty. See David E. Wilkins, *Uneven Ground: American Indian Sovereignty and Federal Law* (Norman [Okla.]: Norman Okla. : University of Oklahoma Press, 2001); Joanne Barker, *Sovereignty Matters : Locations of Contestation and Possibility in Indigenous Struggles for Self-Determination* (Lincoln: Lincoln : University of Nebraska Press, 2005); Amanda J. Cobb, "Understanding Tribal Sovereignty: Definitions, Conceptualizations, and Interpretations," *American Studies* 46, no. 3–4 (2005): 115–32; Clara Sue Kidwell, *Native American Studies* (Lincoln [Neb.]: Lincoln Neb. : University of Nebraska Press, 2005); Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance* (U of Minnesota Press, 2017).

[208] David E. Wilkins, *Uneven Ground : American Indian Sovereignty and Federal Law*, ed. K. Tsianina Lomawaima (Norman [Okla.]: Norman Okla. : University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 15.

[209] This is specifically noted in chapter one that centers the discussion on land, plants and language.

[210] Amanda J. Cobb, "Understanding Tribal Sovereignty: Definitions, Conceptualizations, and Interpretations," *American Studies* 46, no. 3-4 (2005): 118.

[211] The idea of sovereignty is not a term founded by Native American communities at all. Deloria discusses the origins of the term sovereignty, "Although originally a theological term it was appropriated by European political thinkers in the centuries following the Reformation to characterize the person of the King as head of the state." Joanne Baker also acknowledges the direct relationships between the term sovereignty and the church. Imposition of the term sovereignty is articulated and rearticulated by the U.S. government, and policy to connate meaning that is not necessarily beneficial to Native American Nations. Taiaiake Alfred's centers a discussion in which he references that the term and idea of sovereignty did not originate in Native American communities, instead it is a term invented in Europe. Alfred suggests that "fewer still have questioned the implications of adopting the European notion of power and governance and using it to structure the postcolonial systems that are being negotiated and implemented within indigenous communities today."

definitions depending on the author's focus; the term is often used to discuss political, cultural, ideological, literary, visual, and/or environmental self-determination.[212] According to Joanne Barker, that sovereignty "link[s]…different concepts of self-determination and self-government," always recognizing the inherent rights and cultural identity of Indigenous people.[213] Susanville Indian Rancheria's approval of a constitution has strengthened the Tribe's ability to organize and assert a central role in the futurity of the community.

Land Recovery

For Native American people, land reclamation is the process of acquiring ancestral homelands from private or public entities, which can be done through purchase, transfer or buyback programs. Reclamation efforts are carried out by tribal governments and tribal leaders to restore the original acreage of their homelands that existed before colonization. In an effort to restore the original land base, tribes are utilizing land reclamation efforts to support economic development of tribal and regional homelands. Taiaiake Alfred, a Mohawk scholar, states that "land, culture, and government are inseparable in traditional philosophies; each depend on the others, and this means that the denial of one aspect precludes recovery for the whole."[214] Tribal

[212] Lawrence W. Gross, "Cultural Sovereignty and Native American Hermeneutics in the Interpretation of the Sacred Stories of the Anishinaabe," *Wicazo Sa Review* 18, no. 2 (2003): 127–34, https://doi.org/10.1353/wic.2003.0014; Clara Sue Kidwell, *Native American Studies* (Lincoln [Neb.]: Lincoln Neb. : University of Nebraska Press, 2005); Audra Simpson and Andrea Smith, *Theorizing Native Studies* (Durham ; London : Duke University Press, 2014); M.H. Raheja, "Reservation Reelism: Redfacing, Visual Sovereignty, and Representations of Native Americans in Film," *Reservation Reelism: Redfacing, Visual Sovereignty, and Representations of Native Americans in Film*, January 1, 2010, 1–338; Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (University of Minnesota Press, 2014), https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctt9qh3cv; Robert Allen Warrior, *Tribal Secrets: Recovering American Indian Intellectual Traditions* (U of Minnesota Press, 1995); Scott Richard Lyons, "Rhetorical Sovereignty: What Do American Indians Want from Writing?," *College Composition and Communication* 51, no. 3 (2000): 447–68, https://doi.org/10.2307/358744.

[213] Joanne Barker, *Sovereignty Matters : Locations of Contestation and Possibility in Indigenous Struggles for Self-Determination* (Lincoln: Lincoln : University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 26.

[214] Gerald R. Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*, 2nd ed.. (Don Mills, Ont. ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 26..

advancement of land recovery increases the ability for Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal members to recover tribal ways of knowing and sovereignty.

Native nationhood is an idea that centers responsible and accountable actions within a community context. Native nationhood is central to the ability of the Susanville Indian Rancheria to reclaim traditional homelands in northeastern California. Within the nationhood concept, tribes act as protectors of their communities and lifestyles. Political scientists Jeff Corntassels Cherokee, and Richard Witmert argue that, in order to assert nationhood, tribes need to develop their own economic and political systems.[215] Thus, in order to be Nations, tribes must act like Nations. Cortassell and Witmer advocate for the protection and maintenance of Indigenous political systems, cultural homelands, tribal businesses, and cultural revitalization.[216] Building and maintaining a strong, intricate network of land, sovereignty, and culture ensures the perpetuation of power in Native communities.

The Susanville Indian Rancheria has effectively developed networks of economic development to assist in community development. The prioritization of economic and community development by the Susanville Indian Rancheria through the construction of tribal gaming facilities, gas station, housing, healthcare, childcare, and cultural facilities reflects a commitment to invest in a decolonial future. Susanville Indians are effectively identifying and prioritizing the reclamation of tribal homelands to support Native Nationhood and economic independence.

Inherently, elemental demonstration of nationhood is dependent on the nation itself which is directly tied to nationalism. Craig Womack, Creek and Cherokee, contends that Native

[215] Jeff Corntassel and Richard C. Witmer, *Forced Federalism: Contemporary Challenges to Indigenous Nationhood* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2008).
[216] Ibid.

Nationalism is fluid. Womack asserts that the concept of nationhood is a combination of "…politics. imagination, and spirituality. Nationhood is affected by imagination in the way that the citizens of tribal nations perceives their cultural political identity."[217] Therefore, nationhood recognizes the uniqueness of spiritual practice and respects community difference.[218] Similar to Corntassels, Witmer, and Womack invoke the practice of nationhood from within Native people and communities. Nationhood fits into an Indigenous context that is inherently tied to culture and the on-going ability for tribes to recognize their rights.

Application of reclamation efforts facilitates an understanding of connectedness and respect between Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people to the northeastern California landscape. Logical applications of nationhood create land recovery systems that are rooted in connectedness to cultural homelands and community improvement. The ability for tribes to reclaim land is directly tied to the maintenance of power and cultural tradition. As the Susanville Indian Rancheria asserts claims to land in northeastern California, tribal leaders directly work to expand and maintain power as a community. Expansion of power is an integral component of the expansion of tribal governance over cultural homelands. The expansion of tribal government systems through land reclamation ensures the ability for tribes to preserve and restore culture and tradition.

The Susanville Indian Rancheria has acquired and holds land in both trust and fee simple status. Generally, tribes and Native individuals can own land in three categories: trust, restricted fee and fee simple. Trust lands are the most common form of tribal land ownership. Today, there are approximately 56.2 million acres, nationwide, held in trust by the federal government for the

[217] Craig S. Womack, *Red on Red: Native American Literary Separatism* (U of Minnesota Press, 1999), 60.
[218] Ibid.

use and benefit of tribal nations and people.[219] Tribal trust lands are managed by the tribal government with oversight by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Title to trust lands is held by the federal government and these properties are exempt from state and local taxation. Trust land is essential to daily operations and functions of tribal governance. Restricted fee land titles are held by a tribe or an individual; the land is restricted from conveyance, requiring the approval of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to sell.[220] Restricted fee land is treated as trust land, under tribal jurisdiction and not subject to state or local taxation. Fee simple lands are often owned by individuals or entities who are not members of the tribe.[221] Fee lands are alienable without federal government approval and can be used as collateral for a mortgage. Fee simple lands are subject to taxation. Economic and community development are dependent on land status. For example, Susanville Indian Rancheria has used restricted fee lands primarily for environmental stewardship. In regard to trust land, the Tribe has utilized a majority of the land for tribal infrastructure and economic development. Overall, acquiring land more broadly, siginifiacantly impacts the ways in which Susanville Indian Rancheria invests in its community.

The process of taking land into trust is a formal practice that restores tribal ownership pursuant to Section 3 of the Indian Reorganization Act.[222] The Susanville Indian Rancheria has processed numerous trust acquisitions with the Department of Interior. The Tribe has entered both contiguous parcels into trust, including both land that shares and does not share a boundary

[219] Bureau of Indian Affairs, Frequently Asked Questions: "What is a federal Indian Reservations?" https://www.bia.gov/frequently-asked-questions
[220] Tana Fitzpatrick, "Acquisition of Title to Land Held in Fee or Restricted Fee Status (Fee-to-Trust Handbook)," n.d., 100.
[221] Ibid.
[222] . See, e.g., Sol. Op. 3 M-6510 (1960), reprinted in 2 OPINIONS OF THE SOLICTOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR RELATING TO INDIAN AFFAIRS 1917-1974, at 1866 (1979); Sol. Op. M-29798 (1938) reprinted in 11 OPINIONS OF THE SOLiCITOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR RELATING TO INDIAN AFFAIRS 1917-1974, at 832 (1938).

with existing tribally held land. The application for fee-to-trust acquisitions by a Native American tribe is a tedious process. Basic trust process procedure includes: (1) a written request regarding land acquisition which includes identification of applicants, legal descriptions of the land, and purpose(s) for which the property will be used, (2) A completed application with all document requirements,[223] 3) BIA evaluation of trust acquisition, and, finally, a (4) Notice of Decision.[224] Land can also be transferred into trust by judicial order or act of Congress, in which the Secretary of Interior is required to accept the title of land into trust. Susanville Indian Rancheria has pursued, Judicial and BIA land into trust procedures, to take land into trust for community development.

Restoration of land empowers the Susanville Indian Rancheria to create and build agency on the landscape. The reclamation of land includes the colonial process of land purchase and transfer. Thus, Native people are performing (in reverse) an active method of coloniality through participation in land acquisition and land ownership. To reclaim land, the Susanville Indian Rancheria has worked with the Bureau of Land Management, Department of Defense, and private individuals to acquire suitable land for reclamation. In purchasing areas of cultural importance, the Susanville Indian Rancheria exercises its sovereign rights to reclaim land in northeastern California. Susanville tribal leaders have worked tirelessly (and successfully) to expand tribal trust land in the northeastern California region. Susanville Indian Rancheria now

[223] Documents include: a map depicting territorial boundaries and locations, deed or evidence of transferring title, evidence of insurance commitment, Legal Land Description Review, jurisdictional problems or potential conflicts, signed cooperative agreements relating to acquisition, agreements between State or local government, Description of services do not require by the state or local governments. Certificate of Inspection, Environmental Compliance Review, Review comments to notice of application. See Fee To Trust | Indian Affairs," accessed November 5, 2020, https://www.bia.gov/bia/ots/fee-to-trust.

[224] For a more in-depth look at the process see "Fee To Trust | Indian Affairs," accessed November 5, 2020, https://www.bia.gov/bia/ots/fee-to-trust.

has a total land base of 1,547.36 acres.[225] Of the 1,547.36 acres: 1,401.74 have trust status and 287.62 acres have fee status. The Susanville Indian Rancheria has acquired land in both Lassen and Plumas Counties, most of the land holdings are located in different areas within SIR members' homelands and do not have contiguous boundaries. Susanville Indian Rancheria leaders have implemented land restoration projects that prioritize nationhood.

Susanville Indian Rancheria Land Holdings

Susanville Indian Rancheria land holdings are spread throughout Paiute, Maidu Pit River and Washo homelands. Tribal leaders work to reclaim land that is beneficial for economic development and cultural revitalization. The Tribe has worked actively to reclaim land located in each of the traditional homelands of Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal members. I utilize the term "tribal land reclamation" to denote the tribal process of purchasing or participating in land return, and I work to acknowledge the collective story of Susanville tribal land return efforts. Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal leaders' participation in land reclamation affirm land tenure for future Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people. As active participants in land reclamation, the Susanville Indian community and Tribal leaders actively confront settler injustices that stole land from Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people. Confrontation of settler colonial legacies decenters settler presences and invests in a decolonial future that prioritizes Native American belonging.

Year acquired	Acreage	Process	Use	Status
1923	30 acres	Landless and Homeless Act-	Lower Rancheria- Housing Development for Tribal Members, Elder Springs,	In Trust

[225] This figure is inclusive of the original 30 acres.

			Health Center, Tutoring Center, Gym & All Tribes Eatery	
June 6, 1975	.53 acres	Quit Claim Conveyance	Cemetery	In Trust Received Trust Status on December 7, 1981
October 14, 1978	120 acres	Public Law 95-459	Upper Rancheria- Larger Housing Development for Tribal Members, Water Tower, & Forest Lands	In Trust
1994	80 acres	Donation	No Current Use	Non-Trust
Nov 6, 2000	72 acres	Base Realignment Closure Act – Herlong	Housing Development for non-Tribal Members & Economic Development	In Trust
December 30, 2000	3.21 acres	Purchased by Susanville Indian Rancheria Housing Authority	Adjacent to Lower Rancheria Housing Development for Tribal Members	In Trust Received Trust Status on January 5, 2004
March 29, 2002	875 acres	Utilized Funds from Casino Loan	Adjacent to Upper Rancheria Forestry development	In Trust Received Trust Status on December 8, 2004
September 30, 2003	160 acres	Funds Received from the Natural Resource and Conservation Service Wetlands Reserve Program	The stewardship practices carried out in Cradle Valley include returning the land to a "pre-contact ecological condition, establish[ing] a	Non- Trust Fee Status

			cultural center, offer[ing] educational programs to demonstration traditional management and host[ing] cultural gatherings.	
January 28, 2016	10.45 acres	Susanville Indian Rancheria Corporation Signed a Grant Deed	Adjacent to Lower Rancheria No Development	In Trust
May 1, 2015	301 acres	H. R. 2212 PL 114, 181	Excess property of BLM transferred to tribe	In Trust Received June 22, 2016
September 12, 2016	37.17 acres	Purchase	Adjacent to Lower Rancheria- No Development	In Trust
Total	**1,547. 36 Acres**			

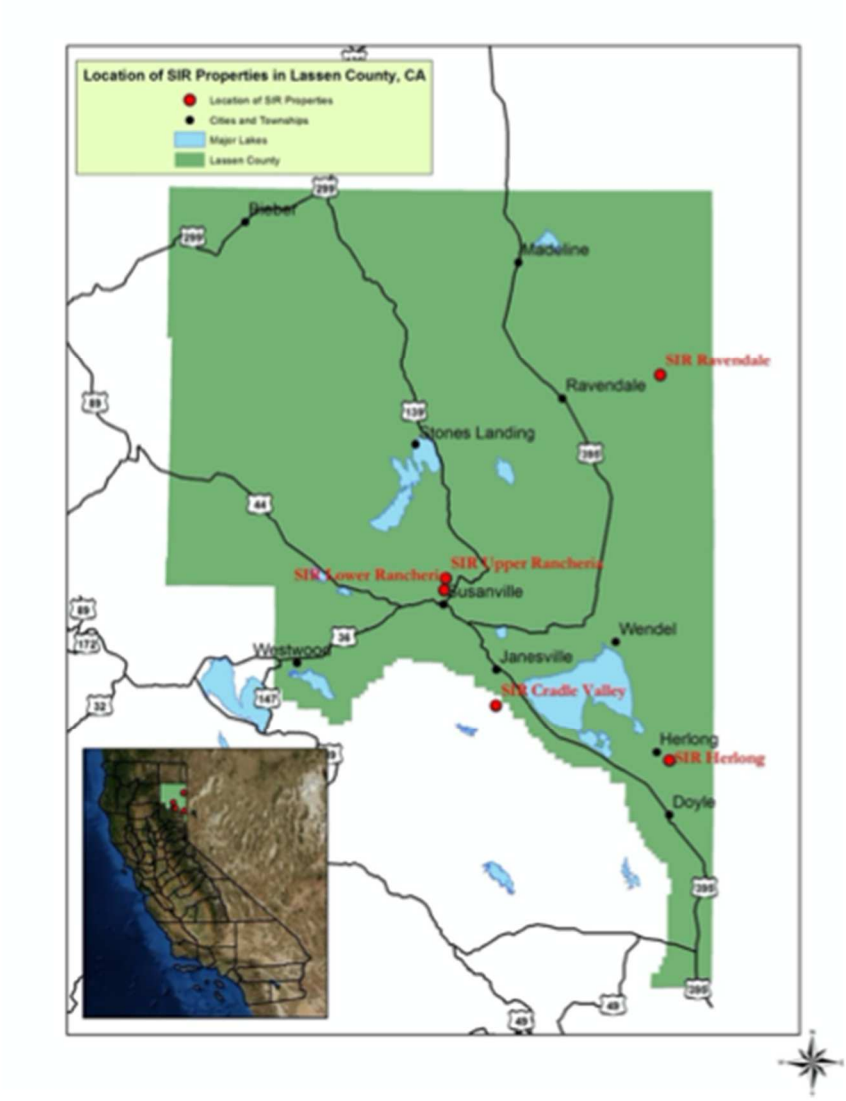


Figure 2. Location of SIR Tribal Trust and Fee Lands in Lassen and Plumas Counties, CA

Susanville Indian Rancheria Land Investments

The original 30 acres of the Rancheria primarily serves the daily functioning of the tribal community. The original 30 acres is called the “Lower Rancheria” or “Lower Rez” by tribal members. The Lower Rancheria is a foundation for the daily functioning of the Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal government and includes childcare facilities, education center, the housing department, public works, healthcare center, gymnasium, and an All-Tribes Eatery for local tribal Elders.

The public works and housing department work closely with each other to serve the Tribal community. Public works and housing employ many of our Tribal members in making daily improvements to our tribal housing, roads, buildings, and offices. For example, the Susanville Indian Rancheria Housing Authority was established in 2000 to develop, manage, and maintain tribal housing for tribal members of the Susanville Indian Rancheria.[226] Tribal housing is a staple in the community. At the current time, there is limited space for tribal housing. The expansion of tribal land holdings has improved the ability of the Tribe to offer affordable housing for existing Tribal members.

The All-Tribes Eatery is currently funded by the nonprofit California Indian Manpower Consortium and serves lunch for our Elders (tribal members living in Lassen County that are 60 years of age and older) on Mondays and Wednesdays.[227] The Tribal Business Council is currently supplementing the eatery to serve all Native Americans and their non-native spouses living in Lassen County between the ages of 55 and 59.[228] The All-Tribes Eatery ensures that Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal elders and their partners are receiving basic nutrition.

The SIR Tribal education department is a facility with wich I feel a personal connection. As a child, I was enrolled as a student who received supplemental help with my homework and classroom tasks. I felt comfortable being with my peers learning and receiving help from community educators. The Education Department has dual functions; while it is primarily helping students succeed academically, it also helps youth connect with their culture(s). When I enrolled in college, I applied and was accepted to be a tutor at the Education Department. I

[226] Erma Hart, Interview, September 2019.
[227] "SIR Elders – Susanville Indian Rancheria," accessed April 7, 2021, http://www.sir-nsn.gov/sir-elders/.
[228] ibid.

enjoyed helping the students succeed inside and outside of the classroom. It was a rewarding experience to see the students thrive academically and learn about their culture.

The Lassen Indian Health Care center serves the Native American population and the larger Susanville Population. In 1991, the Lassen Indian Health Center was 1 of the 21 established services provided for Indian Health Services throughout California. The clinic serves both Native and non-Native Community members. Specifically, the clinic serves approximately 1,463 Native Americans in Lassen County, plus 958 non-Native people. It serves the Susanville, Doyle, Janesville, Johnsonville, Litchfield, Milford, Standish, Termo, and Westwood communities. [229] Lassen Indian Health provides medical, dental, behavioral health, alcohol and drug counseling, and community health. At the current time in 2021, Susanville Indian Tribal leadership is working to expand and develop new client services at a new site. The daily functions of the tribe are mostly carried out on the lower rancheria. The expansion of tribal land holdings has led to increased improvement in access to affordable housing for tribal citizens.

Under Public Law 95- 459, signed on Oct 14, 1978, Congress approved 120 acres in Lassen County into trust for the Rancheria.[230] PL 95-459 was introduced to the House on September 6, 1978 by representative Harold T. Johnson.[231] This land is known by tribal members as the "Upper Rez." The "Upper Rancheria" or "Upper Rez" is located about a mile from the Lower Rancheria along a rocky hillside filled with juniper tree and sage brush. Today there are over 50 housing units on the Upper Rez. This land also contains a cultural site where sweat lodge ceremonies have taken place in the past. The Upper Rancheria is critical to offering affordable

[229] Undisclosed participant, Interview, January 2021.
[230] Public Law 95-459. Sess. 95. Oct 14, 1978.
[231] Harold T. Johnson, "Actions - H.R.13991 - 95th Congress (1977-1978): A Bill to Provide for the United States to Hold in Trust for the Susanville Indian Rancheria of Lassen County, California, Approximately 120 Acres of Land.," webpage, October 14, 1978, 1977/1978, https://www.congress.gov/bill/95th-congress/house-bill/13991/all-actions.

housing opportunities to Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal members. The Upper Rancheria offers members the ability to own a home or rent affordable housing units. All housing for tribal members is managed by the Susanville Indian Rancheria Housing Authority, a HUD-approved Community Based Development Organization, overseen by the tribe. Housing development for the Tribe is critical to provide tribal members with housing that promote the general welfare of tribal citizens.

Investment in cultural and historical resources are important to community preservation. In 1975, the .53-acre Indian Cemetery was transferred to the Susanville Indian Rancheria by a Quit Claim Conveyance from Clifton C. Cramer and Betty G. Cramer. The Tribal Nation did not purchase the land from the Cramer's; but transferred property ownership to the tribe. A quite claim conveyance does not require the new owner to pay for the parcel. Prior to the Cramer's ownership Native American people use the plot for a burial site. Upon transfer, the Susanville Indian Rancheria continued to use the area as a cemetery. The Bureau of Indian Affairs entered the .53 acres into trust status on December 7, 1981. The reclamation of the cemetery offers the Susanville Indian community with a space that reflects the memory of the past in the present. Additionally, it ensures that Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal members can be active caretakers of our people.

Active and ongoing Susanville Indian Rancheria acquisition and expansion of land holdings in northeastern California creates a unique opportunity for Lassen County residents to think about transferring land to the Tribe. In 1994, private citizen donated an 80-acre parcel to the Susanville Indian Rancheria.[232] The fee simple parcel is located in Ravendale, California, about 45 minutes from Susanville. Currently, the land is not used by Susanville Indian Rancheria

[232] Melany Johnson, Personal Communication, Fall 2020.
[232] Jim Mackaay, Interview, November 2019.

members or businesses. The land is considered landlocked, meaning that access is limited.[233] The Rancheria Natural Resource Department has not performed a natural resources assessment of the property. However, the Tribe has been in active discussions with the Bureau of Land Management, who manages land adjacent to the property, to exchange the parcel for BLM-managed lands that are near the Upper Rancheria.[234] The Ravendale property is an example of how private citizens or non-profits can support Native American land reclamation efforts. The property also serves as a strategic opportunity for the Tribe to leverage current land holdings for other parcels in the future.

Federal transfers of land have been a viable option for the Susanville Indian Rancheria. Under the Base Realignment Act of 2000 involving the Sierra Army Depot, located near the town of Herlong, California, in the interior of Honey Lake Valley, a 72-acre parcel was transferred to the Susanville Indian Rancheria. The land was described as "excess to the needs of the Army" and thus available for transfer to the Tribe.[235] Approximately 110 duplex housing units and four buildings were included in the transfer. [236] The Susanville Indian Rancheria Corporation currently operates a rental housing program on the property which is managed by the Susanville Indian Rancheria Corporation (SIRCO) . Susanville Indian Rancheria Corporation is an economic development enterprise, located in Herlong, CA. SIRCO runs and manages a majority of the Susanville Indian Rancheria's businesses. The Corporation serves as an economic development enterprise which strategizes the expansion of tribal businesses. At one time, the Tribe also managed and operated a cigarette manufacturing facility on the property. However,

[233] Melany Johnson, Personal Communication, Fall 2020.
[234] Jim Mackaay, Interview, November 2019.
[235] "SIERRA ARMY DEPOT Site Profile," accessed April 7, 2021, https://cumulis.epa.gov/supercpad/cursites/csitinfo.cfm?id=0902765. m
[236] Stephen Morrow, Personal communication, Summer 2018.

this operation has now closed. The housing units offer a unique economic development opportunity for the Susanville Indian Rancheria. The property in Herlong offer affordable housing to tribal members and other members of the Lassen County community.

Tribal leaders and the housing authority are regularly working to acquire property to develop housing for tribal members. On December 30, 2000, the Susanville Indian Rancheria Housing Authority (SIRHA) purchased 3.21 acres to benefit community development needs. The SIRHA was created in 2000 to purchase, improve, repair, and manage housing for Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal members. The authority provides housing assistance to Native American families that have low or moderate income. The goal of SIRHA is to develop housing for community and economic development. After the initial purchase of 3.21 acre, the land was transferred to the Susanville Indian Rancheria governing body. In 2008, the Susanville Indian Rancheria applied for the Indian Community Development Block Grant, a federal grant to improve tribal communities' ability to improve housing.[237] The Susanville Indian Rancheria received grant funding in the amount of $580,000 to construct the homes for Tribal members on Hammawi Court.[238] Approximately 12 tribal families were able to purchase homes. Hammawi Court provides a positive example of how community development strategies such as tribal entity land transfer can improve community development and expand tribal land holdings.

Expansion of tribal landholdings in and near the City of Susanville has effectively increased the visibility of the Susanville Indian Rancheria. On March 29, 2002, SIR tribal leadership purchased 875 acres. The tribe utilized funds from the Casino loan to purchase the

[237] "Announcement of Funding Awards for the Indian Community Development Block Grant Program for Fiscal Year 2005," Federal Register, July 25, 2006, https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2006/07/25/E6-11816/announcement-of-funding-awards-for-the-indian-community-development-block-grant-program-for-fiscal.
[238] Ibid.

property. The land was placed into trust status in 2004. The 875 acres encompasses six parcels that have a contiguous boundary to the existing Upper Rancheria land. The tribe planned to utilize the property to build an additional 50 housing units for tribal members and invest in community development. However, at the current time there is a "bottleneck in the pipeline for sewage. And because of that, we can't build up there until a parallel line is put in."[239] Therefore, the land is considered unbuildable. The Natural Resource Department is maintaining the space; specifically, Susanville Indian Rancheria forestry technicians maintain the land and work on resource management, conservation, and fire protection. While the parcel did not meet the immediate demands of tribal housing, the land provided an opportunity to strengthen the relationship Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal members have with the land. Tribal members are gaining valuable environmental knowledge on how to protect the land for future generations.

SIR leadership in land protection has also been strengthened in Plumas County. On September 30, 2003 the tribe used funds from the Natural Resources Conservation Service to purchase 160 acres, Cradle Valley Ranch. The Cradle Valley Ranch is located on Janesville Grade in Plumas County about 20 minutes from the town of Susanville. The deed for the property is under a Department of Agriculture's Wetland Reserve Program easement for 30 years. The easement expires in March 2036, and, upon expiration, the Tribe will receive $98,400 from the easement.[240] Placing the land into an easement allowed the Tribe to reclaim the land for "about one-fourth of the Cradle Valley Rancher purchase price."[241] Prior to 2003, the land was used to graze cattle which severely impacted the natural habitat, destroying grasses and erosion

[239] Jim Mackay, Interview, November 2019.
[240] Jim Mackay, "Tribal Administrator Report," n.d., 2.

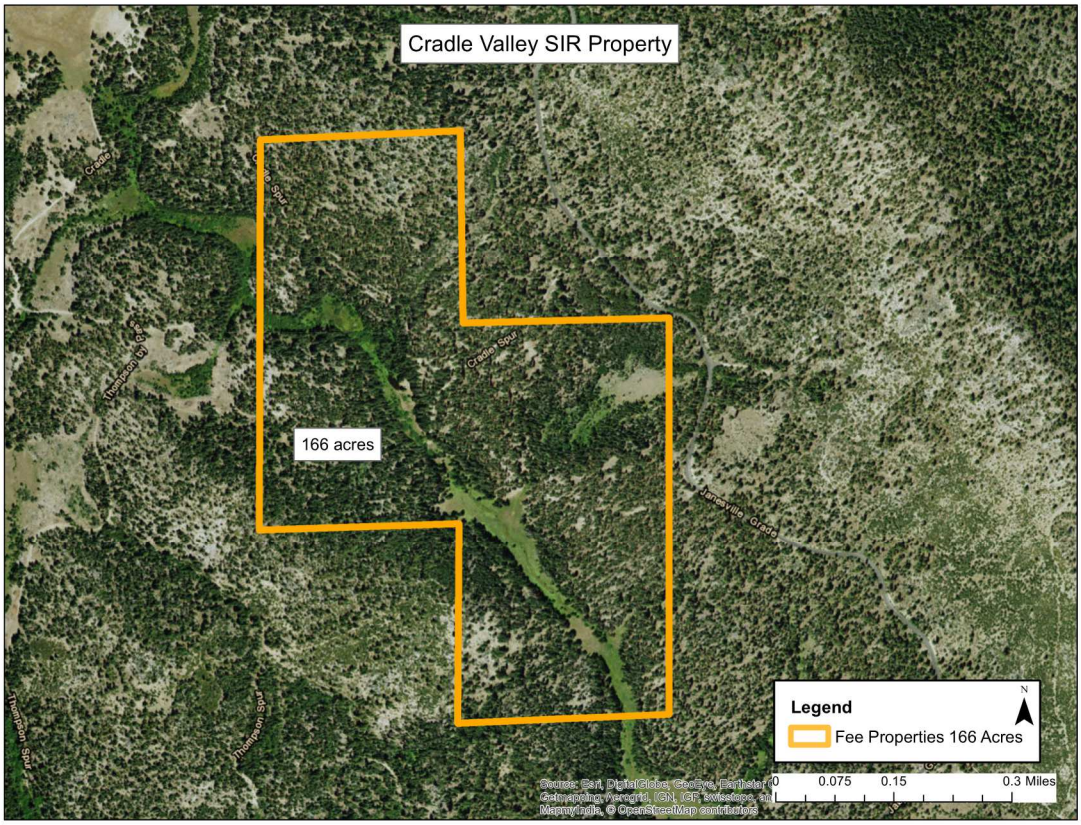
[241] "Tribal Successes: Protecting the Environment and Natural Resources, May 2007," n.d., 44. https://archive.epa.gov/region9/tribal/web/pdf/20070503-2007-p-00022jt.pdf

along Clark's Creek, which runs through the property. In *Trust in the Land*, Middleton Manning discusses Agency and Tribal perspectives on the stewardship of the property, highlighting the Tribe's work to protect the region and restore its ecological condition.[242] The Tribe is currently using the land to foster interagency relationships and to support the revitalization of traditional ecological knowledge.

Cradle Valley currently is a very active site of ecological restoration and cultural revitalization. Tribal members are encouraged to visit and stay in the Valley. Frequently, the Tribal education department visits the area to encourage students to learn about the environment and Native stewardship practices. The Maidu Summit Consortium also uses the area to host a Maidu Culture Camp. Effectively the restoration of Cradle Valley encourages cultural revitalization projects that center on identity, heritage, and land. The SIR Natural Resource Department has consulted and partnered with the U.S. Forest Service and U.S. Fish and Wildlife to evaluate forest health and develop plans to recover the natural vegetation. The Natural Resource department has been able to reintroduce Native plants to the area, including elderberry, beargrass, and willow. The Susanville Indian Rancheria community is working to create sites that improve the local community's understanding of the environment and the relationship Native American people have with the land.

[242] Beth Rose Middleton, *Trust in the Land : New Directions in Tribal Conservation* (Tucson: Tucson : University of Arizona Press, 2011) 220.

Image 4.3 SIR Property Cradle Valley



As the Tribe is expanding into new economic ventures and opportunities, there is an incessant need to build infrastructure that meets the needs of the local tribal and regional community. On January 28, 2016, 10.45 acres was purchased from the Guitierez family by the Susanville Indian Rancheria Corporation (SIRCO). This parcel is adjacent to the lower rancheria. SIRCO used a grant deed to transfer the property to the Susanville Indian Rancheria. A grant deed is typically used when a buyer is transferring a property to another entity to ensure that there are no title problems with the parcel; it ensures that the purchaser is no longer legally responsible for the property. Susanville Indian Rancheria now retains ownership over the property and has placed it into federal trust. The Tribe's current intent for the property is to

construct a powwow grounds and parking lot, and to repair the wetland.[243] Prior to purchase, the land was a 10-acre ranch that was used as a primary residence where agricultural activities took place. Hazardous waste (specifically dioxin, metals and inorganic contaminants[244]) has been found at the site due to the operation of agriculture and equipment maintenance from the 1940s to 2002.[245] The Tribe is currently in the process of cleaning up the site. In 2020, the Tribe applied for a brownfields grant for $441,545 to clean up the parcel.[246] In addition to clean up, the brownfields grant will also be used to develop a redevelopment plan and support community outreach. Acquiring land that shares contiguous boundaries with the lower rancheria, has increased the ability for tribal government offices to expand.

Dually, the Tribe is making effort to reclaim land that facilitates community and cultural development. On May 1, 2015 the BLM transferred 301 acres to the Tribe under H.R. 2212, PL 114-181. Back in 2005, the BLM Eagle Lake field office identified the 300-acre parcel in Lassen County for disposal.[247] The 300-acre parcel is adjacent to existing tribal lands; however it is

[243] Jim Mackaay, Interview, November 2019.
[244] "Brownfields Grant Fact Sheet: Susanville Indian Rancheria, Susanville, CA | Brownfields and Land Revitalization | US EPA," accessed February 22, 2021, https://cfpub.epa.gov/bf_factsheets/gfs/index.cfm?xpg_id=11764&display_type=HTML.
[245] Ibid.
[246] The EPA brownfields program " empowers states, communities, and other stakeholders to work together to prevent, assess, safely clean up, and sustainably reuse brownfields. A brownfield site is real property, the expansion, redevelopment, or reuse of which may be complicated by the presence or potential presence of a hazardous substance, pollutant, or contaminant. The Small Business Liability Relief and Brownfields Revitalization Act of 2002, as amended by the Brownfields Utilization, Investment and Local Development Act of 2018, was passed to help states and communities around the country clean up and revitalize brownfield sites. Under this law, EPA provides financial assistance to eligible applicants through five competitive grant programs: Multipurpose Grants, Assessment Grants, Revolving Loan Fund Grants, Cleanup Grants, and Environmental Workforce Development and Job Training Grants. Additionally, funding support is provided to state and tribal response programs through a separate mechanism." See OLEM US EPA, "Overview of EPA's Brownfields Program," Overviews and Factsheets, US EPA, January 8, 2014, https://www.epa.gov/brownfields/overview-epas-brownfields-program.
[247] In 2008, it noted that the BLM Eagle Lake field office manages 1,022, 767 acres in northeastern California and Northwest Nevada. The BLM uses land uses "and use planning documents typically identify lands that are potentially available for disposal through sale, exchange, or for conveyance to state or local governments under the Recreation and Public Purposes Act (R&PP) for public purposes. The BLM conveys lands under the R&PP Act for projects such as schools, fire stations, and community parks. Lands identified for potential disposal may be available for any or all of these purposes." See "Programs: Lands and Realty: Land Tenure: Sales and Exchanges: Lands

divided by Highway 139. BLM noted that the parcel was difficult to manage due to the land being isolated from other BLM-managed land.[248] On June 20, 2014, Susanville Indian Rancheria Secretary and Treasurer Aaron Dixon, Paiute, testified to the House Natural Resource committee on the background of the Susanville Indian Rancheria and the implications of land transfer for protection of culturally important sites and community development. Dixon described the terrain as "rugged and hilly with large volcanic rock deposits."[249] He noted that "this land contains numerous cultural, historical and archaeological sites of great significance to the Rancheria. We seek to protect these sites and restore the natural ecological condition of the land. The land and vegetation in the area consist primarily of volcanic rock, juniper, sagebrush, bitterbrush, great basin wild rye… important to the Rancheria for food, medicine, and basket making. Some of the best Indian Medicine grows in this vicinity."[250] H.R. 2212 does not allow tribal gaming on the land. The reclamation of land that fosters community growth is imperative to survivance. The continued existence of Susanville Indian Rancheria members is directly tied to the land. The ability to reclaim land that will increase tribal member access to traditional plants and medicine is imperative to cultural revitalization,

The reclamation of land also comes with an incredible responsibility. On September 12, 2016 the tribe acquired 37.17 acres adjacent to the lower rancheria. Currently, there is no development on the land, however, the Tribe is working to get the parcel rezoned. In the City of Susanville, the parcel is zoned as R-4. The R-4 zone designation is intended for multi-family residential units. The tribe wants to change the parcel designation to C-O for commercial

Potentially for Disposal | Bureau of Land Management," accessed March 1, 2021, https://www.blm.gov/programs/lands-and-realty/land-tenure/sales-and-exchanges/lands-potentially-for-disposal.

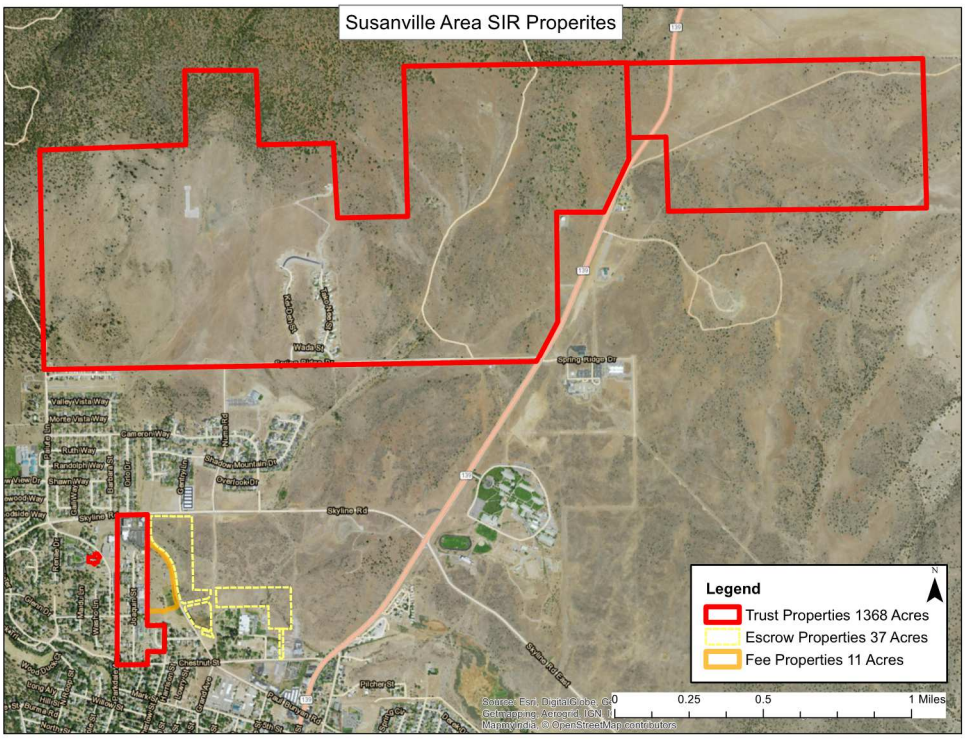
[248] Ibid.

[249] Aaron Dixon, "Testimony of Secretary/Treasurer Aaron Dixon Tribal Business Council, Susanville Indian Rancheria Hearing on H.R. 2212," § House Natural Resources (2015).

[250] Ibid.

offices.[251] The tribe is currently in the process of making zoning changes to the 37.17 acres, with an estimated application cost of $2,257.[252] The City will hold a public meeting to discuss the implications of zoning change for the surrounding community. The Tribe will then follow up with an Environmental Assessment of the property which will require Tribal Business Council Approval. [253] Despite the arduous nature of these processes of land acquisition and development, the Susanville Indian Rancheria community is committed to restoring land in Lassen County back to the original stewards and caretakers.

Image 4.4 SIR Susanville City Lan d Holdings



Susanville Indian Rancheria has reclaimed 1,659.36 acres of land in 6 different regions of Lassen and Plumas Counties since the acquisition of the original 30 acres. Clearly, Susanville Indians are reclaiming space in northeastern California, and challenging the ways in which tribal

[251] Jim Mackay, Interview, November 2019.
[252] Jim Mackay, "Tribal Administrator Report," n.d., 2.
[253] Ibid.

members interact with the land post-contact. The Susanville Indian Rancheria has transferred land through creative and organized processes including quite claim conveyance, congressional law, donation, conservation easement, federal transfer and purchase. Land reclamation efforts are a collaborative process carried out by tribal leaders, community members, and tribal economic businesses. Success in reclaiming land has is an investment in cultural revitalization and economic development.

Reclamation for the Future

Land reclamation is more than the idealized recognition of tribal property rights. Land transfers provide the Susanville Indian community with the ability to regain ancestral memory and promote a future for the community. When talking with elders and leaders in my community, I asked them, "What type of land reclamation do you think is most important?" I offered examples such as land for economic development, housing, and cultural revitalization. Most simply replied, "all the land." Susanville Indians are transforming space in northeastern California from a primarily settler space back to Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo territories. Actively, the Susanville Indian Rancheria community is participating in programs that facilitate the recovery of the community. As a self-determined people, the community has developed tribal programs and land reclamation projects that seek to restore their responsibility to land.

Susanville Indians are expanding cultural resources and sites of cultural continuance, leading to the recovery of cultural revitalization and self-determination. The Susanville Indian community has taken steps that ensure the stabilization of language acquisition. There have been two funded workshop series in Paiute and Maidu languages. These are often limited in attendance but work to effectively create language speakers. Other activities have included

creating audio CDs of all four languages.[254] Digitizing linguistic information ensures that the language is being heard by the youth and at home. These CDs hold songs and lullabies, as well as short backgrounds on the songs. However, this CD was distributed to members for one cultural affiliation, presenting challenges for individual members with all four tribal backgrounds, only being recognized as one, would only receive one CD. While these acts may be problematic in prioritizing and focusing on one language over the other, the community is still working to engage in language revitalization and encourage the use of language in the household. Language revitalization is an active agent in our assertion of sovereignty; language is power.[255] Synchronously, the restoration of cultural knowledge and land acquisition necessitates cultural growth and community development.

Susanville Indian land reclamation is part of a larger movement to regain ancestral homelands in the United States. In the last ten years, there have been heightened efforts to reclaim tribal space and place, as reflected by the Land Back movement. Land Back is the recovery of land that was taken under colonization. The movement is larger than the reclamation of land; it is also the reclamation of our identity, resources, culture, and lifestyles. Land Back is transforming how Native American people are asserting themselves and upholding Native American self-determination and sovereignty. It is about expanding tribal management of resources and land. As a movement, Tribal leaders and nations are advancing their strategies to reclaim land for the future of their peoples. Land Back fosters a commitment to the restoration of cultural knowledge, which necessitates cultural growth. Land Back actively implements change, encouraging active interaction with space and place. In interacting with places of cultural

[254] Donna Clark, Interview, August 2019
[255] Matthew Bronson, "Rekindling the Flutes of Fire" 18, no. 2 (1998): 8.

significance ,the community makes a commitment to themselves, each other and the land. In the book *Tending the Wild*, Kat Anderson discusses the ways in which traditional land management practices playing an important role in shaping native societies, culture, and language.[256] The entire being of Native people comes from the land, which is reflected in the landscape. This can be seen in naming practices of our children, plants, and geographical locales. The Susanville Indian Rancheria is a part of the Land Back movement. Their implementation of land transfers and land purchase is expanding their access to territory and expanding their territorial authority across the northeastern California region.

Reclaiming traditional land holdings encourage younger generations to grasp traditional knowledge and cultural fluidity. Specifically, Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal members maintain a cultural identity that is rooted in the land of their ancestors. Susanville Indians are returning to their traditional homeland and sacred places through land restoration. Susanville Indians relational accountability to the land guides governance and development. Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo identity is grounded in the landscape and the cosmos.

[256] Kat Anderson, *Tending the Wild : Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources* (Berkeley: Berkeley : University of California Press, 2005).

CONCLUSION

When I began my research on northeastern California, I felt an immense responsibility to respect Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people and homelands. I have always been deeply connected to the mountains, valleys and waterways that make up the Honey Lake Valley. Through my research process my thoughts and feelings changed. As I navigated research institutions that held archival information that focused on the removal of Susanville Indians from their homelands, I often contemplated the transactional history of northeastern California. I no longer looked at the land as only a beautiful place; I felt jaded. As I flipped through paper after paper that actively discussed the legitimated Indian removal in Honey Lake Valley, I watched the land change from a relative to a possession. I can't help but think about how most people only know the land as a possession. Many people don't know the story of how World Maker specially crafted the waterways and rock formations for Maidu peoplehood, or how Paiute and Pit River people became separated, nor do they understand how the wind blew us into different regions. The people who care for this knowledge have been forced from their homelands, punished into silence.

Specifically, Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal members maintain a cultural identity that is rooted in the land of their ancestors. Susanville Indians are returning to their traditional homeland and sacred places through land restoration. Vine Deloria states "American Indians hold their lands—places—as having the highest possible meaning, and all their statements are made with this reference point in mind."[9] Land plays a central role in understanding how tribal groups are related and understand their identity and sovereignty. Homelands play a central role in tribal members' understanding of themselves and others. In chapter one, I focused on Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo Creation stories. The stories contained here do not represent the

only creation narratives of Paiute, Maidu, Pit River, and Washo Nations; they are only one version. It is my goal to share all four creation narratives to show mutual respect for the tribal nations that make up the Susanville Indian Rancheria. The sharing of all four creation stories offers the reader an opportunity to engage with four different histories that discuss the beginning of life. Creation stories are the foundation of Indigenous ways of knowing and doing. Stories shared in my dissertation reflect the epicenter of Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo universes.

Chapter two, specifically focuses on conceptualizing the Honey Lake Valley as a borderland. I provided a limited discussion of Gloria Anzaludua's work to provide the reader with an understanding of the theory. My discussion is limited due to the fact my current research is only a small intervention into the field and there is still more I need to uncover and address to fully apply the theorization. Building of the discussion of creation and Anzaludua's work emerges the complexity of Indigenous belonging in the Honey Lake Valley. Within this borderland, Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people create distinct identities that co-create Indigenous Nationhood.

In Chapter three, I offered the reader a comparative analysis of California and Nevada Histories. I critically analyze injustices of settler intrusion, the fur trade, land contestation, treaties, mining ethnographic imperialism, and assimilation to understand the ways in which Susanville Indians experienced history. These sections acknowledge the historical injustices that continue to affect Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo people. The complexity of settler colonialism has reshaped the relationships Susanville Indians have with the landscape and with each other.

Chapter four examines land and the General Allotment Act of 1887. I focus on Susanville Indian land allotments to tell the story of dispossession. Susanville Indians experienced two

types of displacement; involuntary displacement caused by allotment, and development induced displacement disguised as voluntary displacement. The systematic allocation of allotments was perfected and solidified as the United States population moved west. I offer an examination of the Doctrine of Discovery and the Marshall Trilogy to understand how the United States government removed and justified settler colonial interests in land. Control of Indian land and life was the basis of assimilation and land exploitation. Allotment policy forced Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washo land dispossession for colonial economic development. This land dispossession simultaneously exploited Native people and the land, creating lasting effects in the community today. Violence, extractive community development and political organization carried out by Settler governments and individuals has become normalized in our tribal communities. The normalization process ensures that settlers have and will continue to have access to our homelands. The colonial process maintains and legitimizes Native erasure, encoding Native communities to specific parcels of land legitimated by Federal Indian Law, and erasing Native American people from the landscape. Federal Indian Policy legitimizes systemic processes of violence, marginalization and oppression. Active erasure of Native American presences is a product of colonization and the continued oppression Native American people experience. It is the reality that Native people only retain control over 2% of land in the United States.[257]

In Chapter five. I discussed the development of the Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal government and participation in land reclamation, offering specific information on tribal land purchase and acquisition processes. Participation in land reclamation has increased the ability of the Susanville Indian tribal government to offer housing, healthcare, and job opportunities for

[257] Tuck and Yang

tribal members. Investment in economic and community development empowers Susanville Indian Rancheria tribal members to create and build a decolonized future that prioritizes nationhood. Land ownership and reclamation by tribal governments and communities is an active expression of resistance. It is within that resistance the cultural and tribal leaders stand up to preserve our communities. Land expands the future of our communities to reclaim and revitalize knowledge for our future generations. It ensures that the landscape will return to its original care takers.

Our creation stories tie us to the land. The idea to buy-back land is a foreign concept to Native people. How do you buy-back a land that is and always will be a part of you? The reclamation of land is a fraught process that Native people have to commit to. It is no longer a swipe of a pen that will help them reclaim land. Native communities have to formally go through a bureaucratic process of purchase and then application for trust status. It was easier to take the land away than it is to gain it back. The infiltration of the colonial system of democracy, heteropatriarchy and coloniality seeks to separate Native American people from their lands and cultures. Settler colonialism has created power structures that violently disrupt human relationships with their environments. [258] Susanville Indians are no longer the primary caretakers of land in Lassen County. Settler and colonial enterprises retain the property rights to a majority of the land in Lassen County.

However, Native American people survived and continue to find strength in the land from which they come from. Tribal leaders are intentional in their work to reclaim traditional homelands. Every acre and parcel reclaimed means that Native People will continue to thrive on

[258]Kyle Whyte, "Settler Colonialism, Ecology, and Environmental Injustice," *Environment and Society* 9, no. 1 (September 1, 2018): 125, https://doi.org/10.3167/ares.2018.090109; Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," 2012.

the landscape. By reclaiming land, Native People work towards a future that instills responsibility and revitalization. The formal application process of land reclamation is another colonial feat that Tribal Nations have to withstand. The dominant systems of land privatization and ownership historically that we navigate today did not want Native people to exist, nor have land.

Interwoven into our communities are aspects of intergenerational accountability. The entirety of our communities is wrapped in aspects of trauma, relationship building, and intergenerational relationality. Too often when focusing on Native American or Indigenous communities, we focus on intergenerational trauma. Inter-generational trauma is the idea that the transmission of trauma is felt across generations. Trauma affects the children and grandchildren of those who were victimized. Overall, it has a negative effect on the reality of Native Communities today.[259] However, it is not only important to discuss the intergenerational trauma, but the intergenerational transmission of survivance and community building. Every action in a Native community is intergenerational. Susanville Indian Rancheria is actively preserving a future for the community that encourages community growth. SIR's leadership in land reclamation and restoration allows the community to build a decolonized future.

[259] For example, The Marshall Trilogy and the Doctrine of Discovery are still used and are still considered the foundation of Federal Indian Law. Landlessness and poor socioeconomic conditions continue to exist in Indian countries today. Native people continue to experience both racism and romanticism, in colonial imagery that threaten the livelihoods of Native American community building.

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