

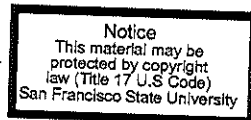
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Writing the Range

Race, Class, and Culture
in the Women's West

Edited and with Introductions by
Elizabeth Jameson and Susan Armitage

WENDY WALL. "GENDER & THE CITIZEN INDIAN"



1997

University of Oklahoma Press : Norman and London

The following articles were first published, in slightly different versions, as follows, and are reprinted in this volume by permission of the authors and the publishers. "Race, Gender, and Intercultural Relations," by Peggy Pascoe; "Dead Ends or Gold Mines?," by Vicki Ruiz; and "Desperately Seeking 'Deirdre,'" by Valerie Matsumoto, *Frontiers* 12, no. 1 (1991): 5-18, 33-56, 19-32. "Mexican American Women Grassroots Community Activists," by Mary Pardo, *Frontiers* 11, no. 1 (1990): 1-7. "The Women of Lincoln County, 1860-1900," by Darlis A. Miller, in *New Mexico Women: Intercultural Perspectives*, ed. Joan M. Jensen and Darlis A. Miller (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), 169-200. "I See What I Have Done," by Coll-Peter Thrush and Robert H. Keller, Jr., *Western Historical Quarterly* 26, no. 2 (Summer 1995): 169-83. "Yo Sola Aprendi," by Genaro Padilla, in *Revealing Lives: Autobiography, Biography, and Gender*, ed. Susan G. Bell and Marilyn Yalom (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 115-29. Copyright by the publisher. "Beyond the Stereotypes," by Annette White-Parks, in *Women and the Journey: The Female Travel Experience*, ed. Bonnie Frederick and Susan H. McLeod (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1993), 100-16. "We Are Women Irish," by Laurie Mercier, *Montana The Magazine of Western History* 44, no. 1 (Winter 1994): 28-41. "Lifting As We Climb," by Lynda F. Dickson, *Essays in Colorado History*, no. 13 (1992), 69-98. "Introduction to *Quiet Odyssey*," by Sucheng Chan, in Mary Paik Lee, *Quiet Odyssey: A Pioneer Korean Woman in America*, ed. Sucheng Chan (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), xxi-lx, 179-201). "Tsugiki, a Grafting," by Gail M. Nomura, in *Women in Pacific Northwest History*, ed. Karen Blair (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), 207-29. Cherríe Moraga's poem "The Welder," which appears in "Empowering 'The Welder,'" by Marian Perales, is reprinted by permission of the poet and Kitchen Table/Women of Color Press.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Writing the range: race, class, and culture in the women's West/edited with introductions by Elizabeth Jameson and Susan Armitage.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.

1. Women—West (U.S.)—History. 2. Minority women—West (U.S.)—History.
3. Frontier and pioneer life—West (U.S.)—History. 4. West (U.S.)—Race relations—History. 5. West (U.S.)—Ethnic relations—History. I. Jameson, Elizabeth.
- II. Armitage, Susan H. (Susan Hodge).

HQ1410.W73 1997

305.4'0978—dc21

ISBN 0-8061-2929-8 (cloth)

ISBN 0-8061-2952-2 (paper)

96-39163

CIP

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Dedication

For Our Children, E.V., Amy, Julia, Peter, and Daniel

Gender and the "Citizen Indian"

WENDY WALL

Conquest allows the victors to set the rules. U.S. westward expansion in the nineteenth century was based on twin commitments to private property and male-headed nuclear families. These values were legislated in the Homestead Act of 1862, which divided the public domain into parcels of land for individual family settlement. But the same values that were so important to Euro-American settlement had quite different effects on American Indians when they were imposed on them in the Dawes Act of 1887. As described in general terms in the introduction to this section and in specific terms in this article, the Dawes Act forced many changes on Indian reservations.

Various tribes adapted differently to the Dawes Act, sometimes farming collectively for a time, or learning to market women's crafts and domestic products for income. As this article shows, the system of adaptation was complex, and it was not one-sided. Wendy Wall examines government documents and ethnographies from the Round Valley Reservation in California to show the strategies Euro-Americans used to try to teach Indian women "proper" gender roles, and the Indian women's adaptations and resistance. Government policy becomes not just a matter of law, but a series of accommodations and exchanges in which Indian women forged their own survival strategies and government officials adapted their civilizing mission to the resistance they encountered. Wall portrays the active roles of all the women in the process, without losing sight of the power relationships that affected the outcomes.

On 19 November 1910 a fire broke out at the boarding school on the Round Valley Reservation in Mendocino County, California. Before the blaze could be contained, it had destroyed the girls' dormitory, the dining room, the kitchen, and the doctor's residence. Although the cause of the fire was never determined, both the superintendent and students suspected it had been set by several older girls who "hated the school."¹

The mysterious fire was only the first sign of trouble brewing on the reservation. In ensuing months, the agency's sawmill burned, students ran away, and teenage girls twice tried to torch the remaining buildings. In early 1914, two boys burned the schoolhouse to the ground, while others



Employees and students at the Round Valley Reservation boarding school, circa 1905, Covelo, California. (Collection of the Mendocino County Museum, Willits, California, no. 79-5-4.)

set their dormitory on fire. Meanwhile, adult Indians collected affidavits and circulated petitions calling for the superintendent's removal.

What triggered such overt resistance at the Round Valley Agency between 1910 and 1914? A reconstruction of events at the reservation suggests that the explosion of tensions there resulted largely from attempts by federal officials to meddle in Indians' personal lives. Such meddling stemmed directly from assumptions about gender, family, and sexuality embedded in the policy of "total assimilation" that the federal government pursued from 1887 until the beginning of the New Deal.

As scholars have noted, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century efforts to "civilize" Native Americans often involved attempts to modify Indian gender roles.² Missionaries and reformers tried to teach Indian men to farm and women to sew, even as they encouraged both sexes to adopt Euro-American moral standards. The policy launched in 1887 of converting tribal lands to individual ownership—as well as the educational campaigns that buttressed this land allotment program—carried such efforts a step further. In attempting to make citizens of Native Americans, U.S. policymakers envisioned nothing less than, as Theodore Roosevelt put it, the "pulverizing . . . [of] the tribal mass" and the restructuring of

Indian society around patriarchal family units. Indian men would be taught to enter white commercial society as independent farmers and householders, while Indian women would be transformed into the chaste, submissive, and nurturing housewives prescribed by the ideology of Victorian womanhood. These male-headed farm families, reformers believed, would be the vessels that would carry Native Americans into mainstream white society.

The centrality of Euro-American gender norms to the assimilation program—as well as the fierceness with which Native Americans at Round Valley resisted them—highlights the cardinal role played by issues of gender and family in cultural construction and conflict. To the federal officials stationed at Round Valley, legal marriage was a crucial sign of civilization while the boarding school was civilization's cradle. But, because they tampered with personal relationships, it was precisely these institutions that the Indians most resolutely resisted. The Native Americans of Round Valley selectively adopted Euro-American work roles and dress codes that would help them survive in a marketplace dominated by whites. At the same time, they fought off all outside attempts to interfere with their families and their personal lives. This resistance ultimately contributed to the disillusionment of white officials with the innate "equality" of their Indian charges and to the failure of the assimilation campaign.³

In the late nineteenth century, American reformers and policymakers saw the idealized Victorian family as the linchpin of civilization. This white, middle-class family ideal revolved around the twin pillars of sexual purity and "separate spheres." The Victorian couple was expected to reserve sexuality for marriage and to remain together until separated by death. The husband would work outside the home, engaging in politics and earning money to support the family. The wife shaped the domestic sphere, nurturing her husband and children and maintaining her home's tranquility and moral character.

However unrealistic this ideal was for many white Americans, it differed dramatically from the conceptions of gender, sexuality, and family held by the various Native American groups overseen by the Round Valley Agency. In 1890, remnants of the Yuki, Concow, Wailaki, Achumawi, and Nomlaki tribes, as well as several bands of Pomo, made their home on the reservation, which was located 150 miles north of San Francisco between the Eel River and what is now the Mendocino National Forest. In the early twentieth century, the agency's purview was extended to encompass hundreds of Indians, mostly Pomo, living in small "rancherías" south of the reservation.⁴

Prior to contact with whites, all of these tribes—like most cultures—distinguished between men's and women's roles; however, their conceptions of those roles differed from one another as well as from the Victorian ideal. All of the Round Valley tribes saw hunting as an exclusively male domain, but women aided in fishing and insect hunts and collected the bulk of the wild plant food on which the Indians subsisted.

Most household duties fell to women; however, men generally performed domestic tasks if their wives were observing menstrual taboos, and Wailaki men fashioned garments. Although mothers played the principal role in child rearing, fathers and other family members also took turns caring for offspring and tribal members were quick to adopt children who had been orphaned or deserted. Most of the tribes had some men who wore female clothing and followed the occupations of women.⁵

The power and privilege reserved for each sex also differed from tribe to tribe. Most of the Round Valley tribes, like Euro-Americans, counted descent through the male line and reserved powerful positions for men. However, two of the tribes most heavily represented at Round Valley—the Yuki and Pomo—accorded women higher status. The Yuki traced descent along maternal lines, and if a Yuki chief left no son, his sister often served until a male successor could be appointed. The Pomo favored both matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence and had some tribelets with female chiefs. Women could become shamans and powerful "bear doctors," and a few were admitted to male societies. A multifamily dwelling and the land surrounding it was said to be owned by the oldest woman. The Pomo often gave their children two names—one conferred by maternal relatives—and naming generally favored the mother's line.⁶

But it was on issues of marriage, divorce, and sexuality where all of the Round Valley Indians differed most dramatically from white middle-class reformers. At Achumawi girls' puberty ceremonies, the celebrants sang bawdy songs and had intercourse in the bushes. Pomos thought of courtship as a time of sexual enjoyment, and none of the tribes barred premarital sex.⁷ Girls often married in their early-to-mid teens and were sometimes betrothed even before they reached puberty. Marriage required neither legal nor religious sanction, although family approval was usually necessary. It was accomplished by the couple living together, sometimes followed by an exchange of gifts between families. Although the various tribes held marital fidelity as an ideal, some men took two or more wives and adultery was not always treated seriously. Divorce was common: Either party could leave the other for any reason, and many Indians had two or more partners over the course of a lifetime.⁸

Such cultural patterns were severely tested in the 1850s as gold-seeking white settlers poured into northern California. In the decade following the discovery of gold at Sutter's Fort, the tribes north of San Francisco Bay suffered some of the most brutal treatment of any Native American group on the continent. White miners and other settlers hunted Indian men and raped Indian women, while fortune seekers kidnapped both adults and children and sold them into indentured servitude. Such rampaging on the part of whites prompted the U.S. government to establish the Nome Cult Indian Farm at Round Valley in 1856. Two years later, the farm became the Round Valley Reservation.⁹

By 1890, forty years of contact and conflict with white settlers, soldiers, and missionaries had eroded some native customs, while intertribal marriage and reservation life had blurred some of the distinctions between

tribes. Most Round Valley Indians spoke English, wore "white man's clothes," and lived in frame houses rather than slab huts. Nevertheless, they were still far from the "civilized" standards proclaimed by white reformers, policymakers, and bureaucrats. The Round Valley Indians retained their largely communal lifestyle, living in villages and doing a small amount of farming communally. Both men and women supplemented government rations by migrating off the reservation to pick hops for white farmers. With one brief exception, efforts to persuade the Indians to convert to Christianity and marry "legally" had been wholly unsuccessful.¹⁰

For the federal agents and missionaries trying to "civilize" the Indians before they were overrun by white settlers, time appeared to be running out. White ranchers stole agency cattle and grazed their herds on reservation land. White settlers squatted in the small, fertile valley. In 1887, when the Round Valley agent summoned troops to drive the squatters away, the white settlers persuaded a friendly state court to issue an injunction on their behalf.

Round Valley was not the only reservation facing such difficulties: From the South Dakota badlands to the California coast, white settlements were engulfing Indian reservations and Euro-Americans were clamoring for more land. Independently, many reformers were becoming disillusioned with a reservation system noted mainly for its corruption. Far from helping the Indians, the reservations actually seemed to many whites to be hindering their progress. The solution, reformers concluded, was to do away with reservations entirely and pursue "total assimilation." That meant remaking Indian society—from property values to gender roles—to bring it into line with Euro-American ideals.

The cornerstone of this assimilation program, and of Indian policy for the next half-century, was the General Allotment, or Dawes, Act. Passed in 1887 but implemented over the next several decades, the act established a pathway for bringing Indians into "mainstream" American society by giving the U.S. president the right to divide reservation lands among individual Indians. The federal government would hold these tracts in trust for twenty-five years, at which time Indians would receive full title to the land and could do with it as they wished. When they received their allotments, Indians would also become U.S. citizens. Land that wasn't allotted—reformers and policymakers reasoned that Indians had more than they could possibly manage—would be sold by the government to railroads and settlers. The proceeds would be held by the U.S. Treasury and used to "educate" and "civilize" the tribes.¹¹

The Dawes Act temporarily appeased rapacious white westerners by freeing up unallotted Indian land, but it was not simply a cynical land grab. As Frederick Hoxie has shown, it reflected many reformers' deep faith in the great homogenizing power of American institutions, as well as their surprisingly egalitarian assessment of Indians' innate abilities. "The Indian is not unlike his white brother in moral and intellectual endowments and aspirations," J. D. C. Atkins, the commissioner of Indian

affairs wrote in 1887. "Any people of whatever race or color would differ little from our Indians" if they lived in tribes, held land communally, and received government rations and clothes. Under such conditions, even "enterprising Yankees" would become "a race of shiftless paupers," Atkins concluded. The Dawes Act would aid the Indians by eliminating such handicaps; it would "dissolve all tribal relations and place each adult Indian upon the broad platform of American citizenship."¹²

But just as American citizenship in the 1880s did not afford equal rights to white men and women, the Dawes Act was informed by the reformers' assumptions about separate and different roles for the Indian sexes. When the Board of Indian Commissioners welcomed the passage of the Dawes Act as the "Indian emancipation day," the commissioners were clearly focusing on male Indians: "The measure gives to the Indian the possibility to become a man instead of remaining a ward of the government. It affords him the opportunity to make for himself and his family a home, and to live among his equals a manly and independent life."¹³ As the board's wording suggests, many policymakers and reformers believed that a civilized society was, by definition, one organized around patriarchal family units.

The degree to which this concept of civilization informed the assimilation campaign becomes sharply apparent in the 1892 annual report of the commissioner of Indian affairs. In a section entitled "What Is an Indian?" Commissioner Morgan considered whether a woman who was one-quarter Indian should be denied an allotment because her father was white. Morgan first described the inheritance practices of the U.S. and other "civilized nations": "Under the rule upon which a family is constructed among civilized nations the predominant principle is descent through the father. The father is the head of the family. When a man marries, his wife separates herself from her family and kindred and takes up her abode with her husband, assumes his name, and becomes subordinate, in a sense, to him." That said, Morgan went on to acknowledge that in many North American Indian tribes the line of descent was through the mother, and "in many instances the wife and not the husband is recognized as the head of the family." He concluded that, for purposes of allotment, the law of descent should be loosely construed and take into account Indian practices. However, once Indians became citizens by taking allotments, "the old English common law, which makes the father the controlling factor and determines relationships through him" should apply. In Morgan's schema, patrilineal families were clearly associated with civilization and citizenship; matrilineal families were a sign of savagery. The allotment program would transfer Indians from "primitive" matrilineal to "civilized" patrilineal law.¹⁴

The implications of this approach soon became apparent on the Round Valley Reservation. In 1894, the agency's Indians finally received their allotments, well ahead of some tribes, but hardly soon enough to satisfy the reservation's agents. Within days of allotment, the new acting agent began moving Indian families out of their villages and onto their allotted

tracts of land. By fall, the last of the village houses had been torn down, and soon thereafter all government rations ceased.¹⁵

As the destruction of the villages suggests, allotment at Round Valley entailed far more than simply giving individual Native Americans tracts of land. Instead, federal officials attempted to break up the Indians' kinship-based communal society and restructure it around patriarchal and patrilineal nuclear families. A circular from the Office of Indian Affairs, for instance, urged Round Valley's agent and school superintendent to "systematically endeavor . . . to have children and wives known by the names of their fathers and husbands." The circular noted that once Indians became citizens, they would be subject to the inheritance laws of the various states. If different family members had different names, the result would be "needless confusion."¹⁶

Washington's vision of male-headed nuclear families also guided the allotment of land. When the Round Valley Reservation was divided, most Indians received ten acres of valley land; wives got just five acres. Thus, Maggie Hoxie received less land than her husband, her three-year-old son, and even her three-month-old daughter. By contrast, Sallie Haines, who was single, got the full ten acres. So did Martha Doan, a thirty-one-year-old with three children and no husband in sight.¹⁷

In giving Round Valley wives less land than their husbands and children, federal officials clearly assumed that these women could rely on their husbands for lifelong financial support. But this assumption overlooked the ease and frequency with which the Round Valley Indians divorced.¹⁸ Moreover, the assumption that husbands controlled their wives' property could be used to justify depriving women of full title to their land. In 1912, for instance, departed Round Valley superintendent Horace Johnson recommended against giving Minerva Allen her patent in fee because "I fear her husband would dissipate her property." Allen's husband, Johnson explained, had trouble keeping a job and was rumored to have shown attention to another woman. Johnson recommended that his successor sell Allen's allotment and use the money to buy her a home in the area.¹⁹

In the long run, however, the most disruptive aspect of this policy was the determination of who constituted a "wife." In 1894 most Indians on the reservation were married only by tribal custom. But the Office of Indian Affairs decreed that all couples cohabiting at the time of allotment would be considered married under state law.²⁰ This ruling eventually became a major source of tension on the reservation as agents and superintendents tried to prosecute Indians who changed partners without obtaining formal divorce decrees from California courts.

If allotment was the first step in the process of preparing Native Americans for citizenship, education was the second. Reformers from the eighteenth century on had looked to education as a solution to the "Indian problem," but only after the Civil War did the federal government become actively involved. By the 1870s, the Office of Indian Affairs had concluded that only a universal school system could assimilate Native

Americans, and in 1879 it opened the first off-reservation boarding school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. The philosophy of "full and immediate assimilation" embodied in the Dawes Act gave the federal thrust into Indian education an additional push. "The time has come in our history for us to recognize that the only good Indian is an educated Indian," Commissioner T. J. Morgan told the Indian Rights Association in an 1889 speech. Such education would "enable [the Indians] to compete successfully with the white man on his own ground and with his own methods."²¹

Indian education was designed to teach Native Americans not only reading and writing but also "a love of labor and a habit of working." As several scholars have pointed out, such education revolved around gendered Euro-American ideas of work and morality.²² Reformers particularly emphasized the education of Indian girls, whom they believed to be the key to "civilized" homes. As one prominent reformer wrote in 1881, "If we educate the girls of to-day, we educate the mothers of tomorrow, and in educating those mothers we prepare the ground for the education of generations to come."²³

Ironically, although the Victorian ideal revolved around nuclear families, federal officials often believed the first step in instilling this ideal was separating Indian children from their parents. Only in boarding schools, many reformers and policymakers believed, would students be sufficiently isolated from the contaminating influences of their home environments. At Round Valley, agents and superintendents saw a boarding school as crucial to enforcing Euro-American moral and sexual codes.²⁴

When the first Indian boarding school opened on the Round Valley Reservation in 1881, Agent Henry Sheldon insisted that the school's teachers maintain sex segregation among the Indian students to prevent sexual contact he deemed immoral. Sheldon was angry when he learned that one instructor had allowed boys and girls to play together when the agent and his wife (a teacher at the school) were absent. He was even angrier when he discovered that the school's missionary had tried to arrange marriages for two Indian girls—ages fourteen and sixteen—whom Sheldon had forbidden to wed. In July 1883 Indian students burned the school to the ground, probably in part because of Sheldon's harsh enforcement of middle-class Euro-American moral codes.²⁵

The day school that immediately replaced the burned boarding school continued to teach Indian boys to farm and Indian girls to sew. Nevertheless, the reservation's agents continued to lobby for a new boarding school that would prevent sexual mischief. "The want of a boarding school is seriously felt here," Agent Theodore F. Willsey wrote the commissioner of Indian affairs in 1885. "It is simply impossible to protect the young and half-grown girls from the insults of the young 'bucks' while they are allowed to live in the camps." Two years later, C. H. Yates complained, "The moral training these children receive during [day] school hours is more than offset by the vices of camp life, and I am powerless to prevent this without the aid of a boarding school." In 1890,

the returned agent Willsey was blunter still: "Boarding-school buildings should be erected at once for the protection of the young girls. Morality is unknown in Indian camp life. Scarcely a girl reaches the age of 14 without being a mother."²⁶

In 1897, three years after the allotment of the Round Valley Reservation, the OIA granted the agents' wish and opened the Round Valley Industrial Boarding School. Just as it enforced Victorian sexual codes, the school taught Indian children Euro-American gender work roles. Although all students spent several hours a day in the classroom, much of their time was devoted to learning practical tasks. The boys worked with the school farmer, gardener, carpenter, stockman, and stableman, while brigades of girls aided the seamstress, laundress, and cook.²⁷

At least at the outset, such training seems to have been geared to teaching Indian children to become independent farmers and farmwives. In a report sent to Washington in 1900, Superintendent Harry Liston noted that Indian boys were being taught "such information as is needed to successfully manage a farm in this valley." Meanwhile, in addition to the tasks already noted, girls were being taught to make beds; care for the sick; make butter; and can fruit, jam, jellies, and preserves. These, Liston added, were "all the duties most likely to devolve on a housewife" and thus "everything they will in all probability be called upon to perform in future life."²⁸

At the Round Valley school, gifts, games, magazines, and clothes also reinforced gender roles. The school subscribed to *Boys' World* and *Girls' Companion*, as well as to *Cosmopolitan* and the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Teachers taught Indian children "white children's games"—"break bronchos" and marbles for the boys, school and "keep house" for the girls. The school had a marching band and a baseball team, for boys only. Girls received other benefits: In 1905, the school spent \$9.60 on five dozen pairs of women's hose.²⁹

Despite such amenities, life at the school was frequently harsh. For the older girls, whose work was essential to keeping the school running, chores often left little time for books or play. And discipline was generally strict. In 1902, Liston temporarily suspended the cook after she beat six-year-old Lara Parker for forgetting to put a pitcher of water on the table. Seven years later, U. L. Clardy explained why the laundress would make a good head matron: "Mrs. Tuttle is a woman who understands Indian children and handles them with good results," the agent wrote. "She appears to have little sympathy for the children."³⁰

The school could also be a deathtrap. Both the sewage and water systems were in "deplorable condition" when the school opened, and the damp, drafty, overcrowded buildings bred consumption. On a reservation where disease took a heavy toll, the death rate among students was unusually high: Between 1899 and 1905, about 2 percent of the student body died each year, according to the reservation physician. In this, Round Valley was hardly unique. The monthly report forms Washington sent to Indian schools around the country routinely asked how many students had died.³¹



Two Native American girls and a school employee inside a building at the Round Valley Reservation boarding school, circa 1905, Covelo, California. (Collection of the Mendocino County Museum, Willits, California, no. 79-5-5.)

From the beginning, the boarding school stirred distrust and resentment among some Indians. Many older Indians at Round Valley remembered the 1850s and 1860s when rampaging white settlers kidnapped Indian children and sold them into indentured servitude far away from their families. Even many parents who wanted their children educated worried about treatment at the boarding school. But if parents tried to keep their children home, Round Valley officials often sent out the reservation police. Only away from their home environments, the agents and superintendents believed, could girls be protected and children taught their proper roles.³²

The allotment program and boarding schools were two pillars of the "total assimilation" campaign. But by the early 1890s, the Office of Indian Affairs had begun to worry about a hole in its plans. Adult male Indians had long been instructed in farming techniques by reservation farmers and stockmen, but the Indian woman had been left "to work out as best she could the problem of exchanging a teepee or wigwam for a neat, comfortable and well-ordered home according to civilized standards," one report warned. Unable to observe the practices of civilized white neighbors, she had taken the habits of her outdoor life inside. "Dirt, disease and degradation were the natural consequences," the report concluded.³³

In the eyes of policymakers and reformers, such dirt and degradation threatened the entire plan to reorganize Indian society around civilized single-family homes. "It is no wonder that Indians sometimes fail to take kindly to civilization presented in such a guise," the commissioner of Indian affairs wrote. He worried that Indians would contrast the "squalid home" to the "freedom, fascination, and quasi-dignity of a roving life." And, though Indian girls learned the habits of housework in school, these practices received no reinforcement and were quickly forgotten.

In 1891, the Office of Indian Affairs developed a program to address this problem. Pressured by female reform groups like the Women's National Indian Association, it dispatched "field matrons" across the country so that "Indian women may be influenced in their home life and duties, and may have done for them in their sphere what farmers and mechanics are supposed to do for Indian men in their sphere." These government-sponsored household missionaries would be the "powerful ally of the schools." They would help put Indian civilization on "the right basis, which is the home basis."³⁴

The first Round Valley field matron took up her post in 1897, and over the next two decades at least four other field matrons worked on the reservation or in the district's scattered rancherias and encampments.³⁵ By visiting Indian women and inviting them into their homes, these middle-class white women instructed their native neighbors in everything from ventilation to virtue. "When Indian women come to my house I treat them like white friends. I do my housework before them and entertain them like any guests," wrote Carrie Moses in November 1897. Eleven years later, Linnian Tindall reported that she tried to encourage marriage and chastity "by kindly talks when visiting."³⁶

Through visits, chats, and informal classes, the field matrons instructed Indian women in the principles of "women's work." Over the years, they taught knitting, sewing, ironing, breadmaking, gardening, canning, fancy needlework, and the intricacies of making buttonholes. They handed out recipes, distributed flower seeds and stressed to Indian women "the duty they owe to their families to keep their houses clean." Tindall taught Indian girls the twin principles of grammar and laundry work by having them write compositions on starch making.³⁷

At the same time, the field matrons directed much of their attention to the intertwined issues of manners and morals. They promoted church, temperance, and charity and took up the banner of "social purity," the late-nineteenth-century movement that urged both men and women to control their sexuality and confine it to marriage. "I have had much to say to them lately on social purity and try to have them properly married," Moses wrote in 1898. Tindall distributed Bibles and moral literature, organized a women's aid society, and used sewing classes to "talk to [older girls] about their 'future'" and "instill into them the right principles of womanhood."³⁸

The field matrons' tone, as reflected in their reports, fluctuated between the moralistic and the practical and humane. This tension became more

apparent in the early twentieth century as matrons shifted more of their attention to issues of sanitation and health. "Have called their attention to the disease breeding qualities of refuse," Tindall reported in 1909. "Try to teach them that eating regularly and cooked food is the proper way to live." Tindall campaigned for ventilation, clean underwear, and the widespread use of lime. She passed out sputum cups to consumptives and warned of the dangers of putrified meat. Nevertheless, her frequent use of the word "proper" suggests an underlying cultural agenda: I "tell them that they will be healthier [if they] work and live as white people do," she wrote.³⁹

Although the field matrons focused on Indian women and girls, they didn't neglect the male members of the household. The Indian Office encouraged field matrons to "give to the male members of the family kindly admonition as to the 'chores' and heavier kinds of work about the house which in civilized communities [are] generally done by men." While Moses reported that she was doing just that, Tindall went even further. As part of her campaign for marriage and chastity, she urged young boys "to respect their girl companions . . . and lead self-respecting lives." Later, she tried to wipe out "'vulgar' or unseemly talk" by appealing to "the 'manhood' of fathers and brothers."⁴⁰

Charged initially as domestic missionaries, the field matrons soon found they were spending much of their time as nurses and nurturers. Tuberculosis was rampant in the Round Valley district around 1900 and—together with whooping cough, measles, chicken pox and the "grippe"—it took a heavy toll. Moses, Tindall, and Ella S. Brown all cared for the sick and delivered food regularly to elderly and disabled Indians, who had been left deserted and destitute in the new cash-based economy. As Moses wrote in 1898, "The main need here of a Field Matron is to feed the sick and have some heart for the needy."⁴¹

Confronted daily by sickness and suffering, the field matrons quickly became advocates of increased federal aid. Their monthly and quarterly reports were filled with pleadings for the government to provide land for the landless, medicine for the sick, and food for the old and disabled. "I would have liked to take an Inspector on my walks among the old people. I think the sight would convince him of the great need of a hospital for the helpless," Moses wrote in 1898. By 1914, Emma Alexander had scaled down the request: She wanted two single beds for the room in her quarters that she had converted into an emergency room.⁴²

Requests for aid sometimes brought the field matrons into direct conflict with their male supervisors. In November 1908, after months of begging for food and old clothes for elderly and disabled Indians, Linnian Tindall added a note of urgency to her request: "Some of the old ones are apt to freeze or starve if this cannot be done soon." Nevertheless, the Round Valley superintendent, Horace Johnson, recommended that Washington reject the plea. Although he agreed that the government should help the Indian, "this helping hand should not, except in very unusual cases partake of the nature of gratuities, but . . . should be in the nature of

assistance that will help him to help himself." Education, field matrons, legal protection, and agricultural advice were acceptable, Johnson concluded. "Subsistence and clothing" were not.⁴³

Tindall's aid request may have reflected her growing realization that the idealistic, if ethnocentric, goals of the assimilation program were crashing headlong into both economic reality and Indian resistance. At least initially, both Washington policymakers and Round Valley agents had hoped to turn Indians into independent farmers and farmwives. But this optimistic vision—while revealing an upbeat assessment of Indians' innate ability to assimilate—completely overlooked the realities of their daily lives.

The Dawes Act had called for each Indian head of household to receive 160 acres of farmland, if possible. But Round Valley had little arable land to begin with and large tracts were set aside for agency buildings and sale to whites. Thus, those Indians who received allotments got at most 10 acres of "tillable" land. Some allotments were on steep, rocky hillsides, while others were in swampland or creek beds. Even those Indians who had excellent soil—and who could afford both tools and seed—could hardly run a farm on a 10-acre patch. "Gardening might be very successfully conducted were there any market for garden produce," Superintendent Johnson observed. But the reservation was several days away from the railroad—when the roads were passable at all.⁴⁴

All this meant that even Indians who continued to farm their allotments could rarely make enough to support their families. Many simply leased or abandoned their land, and even those who stayed on the reservation generally migrated off it to work for whites in the area. In this migratory cycle, they were joined by hundreds of rancheria Indians who had never received allotments at all. The men worked as stockmen, sheepshearers, crop pickers and day laborers. The women washed clothes and picked crops too. The field matrons thus often found their work hampered by the striking disparities between what they were trying to teach and the realities of the Indians' daily lives. The gender roles and "civilized" home values dictated by Washington bureaucrats might have been ignored even by the independent farm families those bureaucrats thought they were creating. To the Indians with whom the Round Valley field matrons worked—poor, sometimes landless, migratory laborers—such values were often irrelevant at best.

Field matrons, for instance, were instructed to teach Indian women to "adorn the home, both inside and out, with pictures, curtains, home-made rugs, flowers, grassplots, and trees." But as Linnian Tindall pointed out, the Indians were too poor to afford furnishings, let alone curtains and wallpaper: "They move about so much that it is hard to get them to realize that their homes and yards require ornamentation." Similarly, it made little sense to urge Indians to keep and care for bees and cows, another prescribed task, when they often had no land on which to put the animals.⁴⁵

Land and homes were not the only problems. In September 1908, Tindall explained why she had not been able to teach Indian children "the games and sports of white children" that month: "The children down to eight years worked in the fields. This hard work . . . is really necessary that they may have warm clothing through the winter," she wrote. "So there was no time for play." The following winter, which turned out to be unusually harsh, Tindall added that she had "little to do in the line of food preparation" as "most any food is acceptable."⁴⁶

If the Round Valley Indians quietly ignored some of the field matrons' lessons, they flagrantly flouted other prescriptions of the assimilation campaign. Between 1890 and 1915, no issue caused Round Valley agents and superintendents more consternation than the Indians' failure to obtain marriage licenses, remain with their initial partners, and—when necessary—divorce "legally." In 1897 Agent George Patrick complained that widespread "adultery" made "the task of the officer in charge of preserving order on the reservation difficult and unpleasant." A decade later Thomas Downs estimated that 30 percent of the "younger element" of Indians on the reservation were living in open adultery. "In fact, it is the rottenest state of affairs for the small number of inhabitants that I have ever seen," he lamented.⁴⁷

Some federal officials—seeing in the Native Americans' marital and sexual practices a breakdown of order and a threat to their own authority—tried to coerce Indians into obtaining marriage licenses and marrying legally. Downs, for example, reported that he was "tak[ing] steps to correct the evil and compel those who can legally do so to get married." Downs didn't reveal what steps he planned to take, but a subsequent agent reported that Downs had somehow "persuaded" thirty-two couples to marry!⁴⁸

In 1907 Superintendent Horace Johnson consulted the district attorney about cracking down on those Indians whom he saw as setting an immoral example. Told there was little he could do, he eventually looked the other way. The Indians' "state of morality is not particularly high when viewed from a puritanical standpoint, yet I believe it to be not inferior to that of the white people of the same grade of intelligence," Johnson told his Washington superiors in his final report in 1910. Noting that the Indians' labor was "skillful and steady"—and that, by working both on and off the reservation, they were able to support themselves—Johnson recommended closing the agency and relinquishing the Indians' common land. The Office of Indian Affairs ignored his suggestion.⁴⁹

In July 1910, in a move that proved fateful, the Office of Indian Affairs transferred Johnson and appointed Thomas B. Wilson superintendent at Round Valley. Wilson, a fifty-five-year-old Kentucky lawyer who had spent years in the Indian service, immediately set about sorting out the tangled heirship issues on the reservation. Wilson was probably spurred to such activism by a major revision of the Dawes Act that June. The original legislation had barred Indians whose allotments were still held in

trust by the federal government from disposing of their land through wills. The 1910 revision lifted this restriction, but made such wills subject to the approval of the secretary of the interior. The act also granted the secretary specific authority to determine the heirs of allotment holders who died intestate. To carry out the legislation, agency superintendents were authorized to help their Indian charges draft wills and to conduct probate hearings. For each will and probate, superintendents were required to forward a case report and recommendations to the interior secretary.⁵⁰

Not surprisingly, Wilson's focus on inheritance issues brought submerged disagreements over marriage and family to a head. From the beginning, marriage and allotment had been so closely tied at Round Valley that one former agent felt compelled to ask the Indian Office if couples who had been allotted together could legally divorce and remarry.⁵¹ The imposition of American heirship law produced additional complications. Who, for instance, was the heir to an Indian who had had several tribal marriages, only the first of which was legally certified by the state? What if the Indian's wives had each entered additional tribal marriages after leaving him? And what if they had remarried legally without bothering to get legally divorced?

In deciding one such case, Horace Johnson sidestepped legal doctrine and relied primarily on common sense.⁵² However, Wilson's legal training, combined with new regulations issued by the interior secretary in 1910, led the Round Valley superintendent to a more rigid interpretation of American family law. For instance, Wilson ruled that Jim Halley's wife at the time of allotment, Alice Joe, was Halley's legal heir even though the couple had separated years earlier and both had remarried. Jim's and Alice's subsequent marriages (undertaken under pressure from an earlier agent) had been properly licensed and performed by clergymen. Nevertheless, Wilson held that these later unions were void, since Jim and Alice had never legally divorced. Wilson also ruled against the heirship of Jim's adopted son, Tom Pike, on the grounds that Tom had never been formally adopted.⁵³

Although Wilson held dozens of heirship hearings, he constantly complained that the Indians' long-standing patterns of tribal marriage and divorce made his task nearly impossible. "This promiscuous marrying and separating and utter disregard of marital ties on the part of many is the most trying problem of the reservation," Wilson complained bitterly in his 1911 annual report. "Aside from the demoralizing effect on the whole tribe, it renders the task of determining the legal heirs to the property well-nigh impossible."⁵⁴

With encouragement from Washington, Wilson soon took steps to crack down on such relationships. In 1912, the superintendent reported that he had filed criminal complaints, charging adultery, against nine "unmarried" couples and thus persuaded several to procure licenses and marry. But when some couples still refused, Wilson discovered that his legal ground was slippery. Ironically, Wilson used terms like "marital law" and "adultery" carelessly. The district attorney informed him that only

individuals who were already legally married could be prosecuted for adultery; California had no law against fornication.⁵⁵

Undiscouraged, Wilson wrote the Office of Indian Affairs about the case of Belle Wilsey, a forty-year-old widow, who was living with Annet Spenser, a twenty-one-year-old man. "Will the office allow such Indians as these to remain on the reservation in defiance of law, order and common decency?" he asked. "As there is no express statute for the punishment of the crime of fornication, then there must be some other way to punish those who commit the act." Although both Indians had allotments on the reservation, Wilson suggested that they be banished because their presence "may be detrimental to the peace and welfare of the Indians."⁵⁶

Wilson seemed even more upset by Wilsey's defiance than by her morality. He reported that Spenser was willing to marry but that Wilsey refused. And when the superintendent sent police to Wilsey's house to collect evidence of wrongdoing, she threatened to shoot them if they ever returned on such business. "She is living in defiance of law and decency and doing so more in contrariness and spite than anything else," Wilson wrote. (Although Wilsey may have defied Wilson out of spite, it is equally possible that she wanted to maintain her legal independence, which would allow her son, rather than Spenser, to inherit her allotment.)

Wilsey was not the only strong-willed woman Wilson tried to rein in. In 1912, Wilson had Minnie Card arrested for adultery after she had been living with George Scott for more than three years. Card's husband, Charles, was serving a forty-year prison sentence for murder, and she had obtained an interlocutory divorce decree. Wilson dropped the case after Card agreed to leave Scott until the divorce was finalized and they could be legally married. But when Card stayed with Scott—and defied Wilson in other ways—the superintendent moved to prevent her divorce. "She is an exceedingly bad character," Wilson explained to his Washington superiors. "George Scott also has a bad reputation and such people as these ought not to be permitted to live together."⁵⁷

Wilson's opinion of Card was shaped in part by a run-in they had that year over the schooling of her daughter. As Wilson recalled the incident, Card had been permitted to remove her daughter, Maude Feliz, from the boarding school one Sunday morning on the condition that the girl return to the school that afternoon. When Maude did not appear, the reservation clerk and policemen visited her house and "Mrs. Card fought vigorously [but unsuccessfully] to keep the girl." Wilson claimed that Card took revenge for the episode by burning hay that belonged to one of the policemen. "She is a disreputable character and not a suitable person to have control of [her] children," Wilson wrote.

In a 1914 affidavit, Minnie Card (known by then as Mrs. Scott) remembered the episode rather differently. She said she had withdrawn her daughter from school because she wanted company while George was away sheepshearing. When the Round Valley clerk, Omar Bates, came to get the girl, Minnie told him she wanted Maude at home at night and that the girl was attending public school in the nearby town of Covelo every

day: "Mr. Bates then threatened Mrs. Scott with arrest if she did not comply with his order. A few days later Mr. Bates, accompanied by two police officers—Charles Goodwin and Edward Smith—entered Mrs. Scott's yard and grabbed Mrs. Scott and threw her down and choked her while Charles Goodwin grabbed the girl, Maude Feliz, and dragged her away. Mr. Bates choked Mrs. Scott so severely that his finger marks were left on her throat." The finger marks, Minnie testified, were seen by a local doctor and the justice of the peace.⁵⁸

Although this episode was probably extreme, it reflected a further source of tension between Wilson and the Indians he oversaw. The Round Valley Indians felt it was their privilege to keep their children home from the boarding school when they wanted to, and most agents had allowed this to at least some degree. Wilson, however, took a tough stance. "Because I have not permitted them [to keep their children home], they feel they have been deprived of their liberty, and for this reason have objected very seriously to sending their children to the Government School," Wilson reported. In fact, some Indians in the district had begun petitioning the local school board for the establishment of a public day school on the reservation.⁵⁹

Wilson's frustration with the Indians' resistance strongly colored his verdict on assimilation. "The granting of citizenship has proved a failure," he wrote the Indian Office in 1912. "Citizen Indians are not full-fledged citizens nor wards of the government. The government relinquishes its control and the state refuses to exercise any and they are virtually without restraint." For Wilson, Indian citizenship had come to be defined primarily in terms of control.⁶⁰

Just four months after Wilson assumed office that control began to break down. On 20 November 1910 the superintendent sent an urgent telegram to the commissioner of Indian affairs reporting that a fire the previous night had destroyed the girls' dormitory and several other agency buildings. "The fire started in the girls' clothing room where there was neither fire nor lamp, origin unknown," Wilson reported. He recommended that a new building be erected immediately.⁶¹

It did not take Wilson long, however, to recognize that trouble was brewing on the reservation. The following spring a "mysterious" fire destroyed the sawmill that was cutting wood for the new dormitory. In November 1911, girls made two attempts to burn the new building, and three of the older girls ran away. Wilson blamed the trouble on a strict head matron and recommended that "for the safety of the school" she be transferred immediately. The Indian Office complied.⁶²

The reservation revolt, however, had only begun. In April 1912, two Indians began circulating a petition calling for the superintendent's removal. The Indians charged that Wilson was allowing schoolchildren to be mistreated and not giving them enough to eat. Wilson denied the charges, but a letter from the school's white physician supported the Indians' claims. Dr. Wellstead said Wilson had dismissed his request for a supply of cough medicine, telling him: "Oh, mix up anything and give

it to 'em, just so it is medicine; and make it bitter so they won't return for more."⁶³

The gathering tensions came to a head in early 1914. On 30 January, a 3 A.M. fire destroyed the schoolhouse and a large quantity of stores. By late that day, two boys, ages twelve and fifteen, had admitted setting the blaze and implicated two more. The young arsonists had previously tried to run away from the boarding school and, as Wilson reported, they thought that if they burned the building "the school would be closed, and they could return home." Instead, the superintendent threw the boys in jail.⁶⁴

That episode proved a turning point on the reservation. A few days later, while Wilson was in San Francisco testifying before the grand jury that indicted the boys, more than 50 Indians met in the home of the local Presbyterian minister to plan a revolt. A traveling white preacher who had been working to set up Indian day schools in the area attended the meeting, and Wilson later charged that this man, the Reverend F. G. Collett, incited the Indians. But the uproar on the reservation can hardly be laid at Collett's feet. Nearly 150 Indians signed the petition calling for Wilson's removal, and scores also petitioned for the removal of clerk Omar Bates. A handful gave money, and some 30 to 40 Native Americans signed affidavits detailing their complaints.⁶⁵

The charges leveled in the petitions, the identity of the revolt's leaders, and the observations of special agents sent out by the Office of Indian Affairs to investigate the controversy all suggest that the uproar resulted from issues long simmering on the reservation. Of the five charges in the petition against Wilson, the first three involved issues of family and heirship. The Indians reiterated their earlier charges that boarding-school students were being mistreated and weren't being given enough to eat. They also complained that Wilson had wrongfully retained money belonging to Indians. As Special Agent C. H. Asbury explained, "Certain heirs thought they should have the money derived from [allotment] leases."⁶⁶

Many of those Indians leading the protest—including several who were former employees of the agency—had had run-ins with Wilson over gender and family issues. The fathers of two of the schoolboys prosecuted by Wilson gave money to press for his ouster. So did George Scott, whose wife Minnie had tangled so unfortunately with Wilson and Bates. Alex Frazier, another vocal opponent of Wilson, was probably hounded by the superintendent because of a "promiscuous" relationship. Beulah E. Smith, who spoke at the initial meeting, had held various posts at the boarding school until Wilson forced her to resign because he suspected she had been seduced by a white employee. In her letter of resignation, Smith complained that she was "being treated and watched like one of the pupils." Wilson, she said, had grilled her about her personal affairs "which I consider of no importance to any one excepting myself."⁶⁷

Ben Neafus, until February the school disciplinarian, spearheaded the effort to collect money and affidavits from the Indians. A one-quarter-blood Indian, Neafus had not long before been recommended by Wilson

for promotion. But shortly before the school fire, Wilson forbade Neafus to spend nights with his sick wife, insisting that the disciplinarian was needed at the school. Neafus disobeyed Wilson's orders and was away the night the fire broke out. For this, Wilson had him dismissed.⁶⁸

Two special agents sent out by the Office of Indian Affairs cleared Wilson of wrongdoing, although one criticized the superintendent's lack of patience with the Indians. But Round Valley's Native Americans were to have the final word. On 11 March two twelve-year-old boys tried to burn the boys' dormitory, and a few days later, Wilson sent a lengthy letter urging Washington to abandon the school. Given the recent spate of fires and the unabated hostility of both parents and pupils, it no longer made sense for the government to spend money on a boarding school, Wilson wrote:

These Indians have had the advantage of schools for 43 years . . . and it seems to me that they are about as well prepared to be thrown on their own resources as they ever will be. . . . I recommend that the government say to these Indians, "You have been given every advantage for obtaining an education, have been furnished land and stock and implements to cultivate your land, and from this date you will have to depend on your own resources."

This time the Office of Indian Affairs listened. Later that year, it transferred Wilson, closed the Round Valley boarding school, and opened a day school in its place.⁶⁹

The Indians had won a battle in the assimilation campaign, but had they in fact won the war? Several documents from the Round Valley Agency files suggest the dichotomous results of the assimilation campaign. In September 1914, shortly before he left the reservation for good, Wilson sent Washington a list of student-made articles to be displayed at the Panama-Pacific International Exhibition in San Francisco the following year. The list included a child's white dress, an embroidered pin cushion, and a lawn apron trimmed in ribbon and lace. In a separate missive, Wilson noted that the older Indian women overseen by his agency made baskets only in their spare time. For the most part, he wrote, they did washing for white people, picked hops, and worked as domestics.⁷⁰

In a 1919 inspection report, Special Agent L. A. Dorrington bemoaned what he saw as the rampant immorality of Round Valley Indians. "There are many cases of open adultery," some involving girls under the age of consent, he wrote. "There is no excuse for such conditions as these Indians are largely mixed blood and have lived in close relation with the whites for more than fifty years. . . . They know right from wrong but frequently seem to prefer the latter or rather take to it more readily." The General Allotment Act, Dorrington concluded, "has not been fully received" by the Indians.⁷¹

Taken together, these documents say much about the ironic outcome of the "total assimilation" campaign. The Indian women and men of Round Valley had indeed learned the gendered skills of Euro-American society,

but they were far from being the dutiful housewives and "manly and independent" farmers reformers had once hoped to create. Too poor to sit home and knit doilies, Indian women had survived by putting their skills to work in a marketplace dominated by whites. This put them on a plane more equal to their own men than that Washington had hoped to encourage, but it also deposited them far below the middle-class Euro-American women they served. Instead of embodying the Victorian ideal, the Native American women of Round Valley helped make that ideal possible for others.

At the same time, the Indians of Round Valley fiercely resisted federal efforts to curb their marital freedom or deprive them of control over their children. But this very resistance to attempts at "uplift" disillusioned many white reformers and bureaucrats and contributed to their willingness to abandon their original goals and work instead to slot Indians into American society's lower ranks.⁷² As Dorrington wrote in his 1919 report, "Many [whites] feel that [the assimilation campaign] forced a condition upon [the Indians] which they were not prepared to accept."

By 1914, the Office of Indian Affairs had not only accepted but had embraced this inequality. No longer convinced that Indians were inherently equal to Euro-Americans, policymakers and federal bureaucrats had altered their goals. The quarterly reports sent out to field matrons no longer asked about the Indians' adoption of home decorations and white children's games. Instead, the office asked about women's work and what had been done to help "returned students." Ella Brown's answer in December 1914 spoke eloquently about the assimilation program's new direction: "The girls," she wrote, "have all been placed in good homes in domestic science."⁷³

Notes

I would like to thank archivist Kathleen M. O'Connor and the rest of the staff at the Pacific Sierra Branch of the National Archives in San Bruno, California. Thanks also to Estelle Freedman, Mary Lou Roberts, and the other members of the Stanford Women's History Workshop for their constructive suggestions.

The following abbreviations will be used in the notes:

CIA	Commissioner of Indian Affairs
LB 1	Letter Book, 14 August 1899 to 13 February 1902
LB 2	Letter Book, 14 February 1902 to 1 April 1904
LB 3	Letter Book, 2 April 1904 to 29 November 1905
LB 4	Letter Book, 2 December 1905 to 11 March 1907
LB 5	Letter Book, 12 March 1907 to 16 February 1908
LB 6	Letter Book, 26 February 1908 to 9 February 1909
LB 7	Letter Book, 16 February 1909 to 26 February 1910
LB 8	Letter Book, 26 March 1910 to 5 January 1911
LB 9	Letter Book, 5 January 1911 to 2 November 1911
LB 10	Letter Book, 2 November 1911 to 21 September 1912
LB 11	Letter Book, 28 September 1912 to 30 June 1913

LB 12 Letter Book, 1 July 1913 to 24 March 1914

LB 13 Letter Book, 27 March 1914 to 30 October 1914

Round Valley Papers Round Valley Agency, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, Pacific Sierra Branch, National Archives, San Bruno, Calif.

Dorrington Papers "Investigative Reports of Col. L. A. Dorington," Records of Col. L. A. Dorington, Special Agent, 1913-1922, Reno Indian Agency, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, Pacific Sierra Branch, National Archives, San Bruno, Calif.

1. Elsie Allen, *Pomo Basketmaking: A Supreme Art for the Weaver* (Healdsburg, Calif.: Naturegraph Publishers, 1972), 11. Allen was a student at the school at the time of the fire. Also see telegram from T. B. Wilson to CIA, November 20, 1910, LB 8, box 2, Round Valley Papers.

2. For discussions of the gender aspects of assimilationist policies and their impact on particular tribes, see Joan Jensen, "Native American Women and Agriculture: A Seneca Case Study," *Sex Roles* 3, no. 5 (1977): 423-41; Mary E. Young, "Women, Civilization and the Indian Question," in *Clio Was a Woman: Studies in the History of American Women* ed. Mabel Deutch and Virginia C. Purdy (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1980), 98-110; Theda Perdue, "Southern Indians and the Cult of True Womanhood" in *The Web of Southern Social Relations: Women, Family and Education*, ed. Walter J. Fraser, Jr., R. Frank Saunders, Jr. and Jon L. Wakelyn (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985), 35-51; Carolyn Garrett Pool, "Reservation Policy and the Economic Position of Wichita Women," *Great Plains Quarterly* 8, no. 3 (Summer 1988): 158-71; Dolores Janiewski, "Learning to Live 'Just Like White Folks': Gender, Ethnicity, and the State in the Inland Northwest" in *Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's History*, ed. Dorothy O. Helly and Susan M. Reverby (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992), 167-80; and essays by Theda Perdue and Katherine M.B. Osburn in *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women*, ed. Nancy Shoemaker (New York: Routledge, 1995). Two recent studies of the Dawes Act—Frederick Hoxie's acclaimed *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984) and Janet A. McDonnell's *The Dispossession of the American Indian, 1887-1934* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991)—ignore gender issues.

3. In general, federal officials heading the Round Valley Agency in the nineteenth century were known as agents, while those who served in the twentieth century bore the title of superintendent. However, there seems to have been a temporary exception to this around 1909. In that year, Thomas Downs first served as the special U.S. Indian agent in charge at Round Valley. He was succeeded briefly by U. L. Clardy, clerk and special disbursing agent, who wrote the agency's 1909 annual report.

4. The rancherías resulted from the unique labor situation in California at the time the territory became a state. By 1850, Anglo and Hispanic ranchers and farmers in California relied heavily on Indian labor. Thus, they were reluctant to have Indians swept wholesale onto the separate reserves and reservations the federal government began establishing in 1851. In 1850, the state assembly passed a bill allowing Indians to remain in "homes and villages" that they had occupied "for a number of years." The white proprietor could apply to have "sufficient" land set aside for the Indians, and they could remain there until "otherwise provided for." Initially, the Round Valley Agency oversaw just the reservation established at Round Valley; however, in the early twentieth century its purview was extended to cover "ranchería" Indians in Mendocino, Sonoma, and Lake Counties. In this paper, I use the term "Round Valley Indians" to refer to all the Indians under the agency's supervision at a given time. For more on the establishment of the rancherías, see Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988), 129-30.

5. In general, sources on the gender roles of northern California tribes prior to contact with whites are scattered and scarce: Many tribes—including most of those represented at Round Valley—were decimated during the 1850s, and ethnologists who subsequently studied these tribes primarily interviewed men. The most comprehensive article on the subject is Edith Wallace, "Sexual Status and Role Differences," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, 20 vols., ed.

William C. Sturtevant (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978-), vol. 8, 683-89. However, Wallace is more interested in generalizing about the region's tribes than in distinguishing between them. Also see articles on the Conkow, Yuki, Wailaki, Achumawi, Nomlaki, and Pomo in that volume. For a further ethnographic discussion of the various tribes, see A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 78* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1925).

6. In addition to the sources cited in note 5, see Russell Thornton, "History, Structure, and Survival: A Comparison of the Yuki (Ukomo'm) and Tolowa (Hush) Indians of Northern California," *Ethnology* 25, no. 2 (1986): 119-30; and Edwin Loeb, "Pomo Folkways," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. 19, no. 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926).

The concept of a "Pomo tribe" is itself a social construct invented in the nineteenth century by white ethnographers. For more than a century, the term "Pomo" has been used in anthropological literature to refer to speakers of seven distinct and mutually unintelligible languages in northern California, who nevertheless shared many cultural characteristics. Most of the Indians overseen by the Round Valley Agency probably belonged to the Western and Northeastern Pomo. However, since material on these individual groups is limited—and all of the groups seem to have accorded their women unusually high status—this paper follows the tradition of the ethnographic literature and treats them as one group.

7. See the sources cited in notes 5 and 6, particularly the various articles in the *Handbook of North American Indians*.

8. In 1839, P. Kostromitonov, agent of the Russian American Company at Fort Ross, described the northern California Indians' custom of marrying "without formality whatever" and separating whenever they fought. Although Kostromitonov was clearly ethnocentric and his ethnographic precision must be doubted, he was only the first in a long line of European and Euro-American observers to comment on the "informal" sexual practices of the northern California tribes. See *Ethnographic Observations on the Coast Miwok and Pomo by Contre-Admiral F. P. Von Wrangell and P. Kostromitonov of the Russian Colony Ross, 1839*, trans. Fred Stross (Berkeley: University of California Archaeological Research Facility, 1974), as well as the sources cited in notes 5 and 6 above.

A particularly interesting source on this subject is a set of oral histories conducted around 1940 with three Pomo women who were born in the 1870s and 1880s. All of the women, as well as their mothers, had more than one husband: As the mother of one of the women told an interviewer, "That's the way the Indians do it." The interviews also point up the mixed feelings Indian women had about this practice. Sophie Martinez, who was born at the Round Valley Reservation, was bitter that her father had left her mother and that she had been abandoned by her first three husbands. By contrast, both Ellen Wood and her mother were married to older men when they were quite young to get them away from the sexual advances of relatives. Both later ran away from their first husbands and remarried. "Our way is good—no law. You stay with them as long as you feel like it and then run away and get another man," Wood said. Elizabeth Colson, *Autobiographies of Three Pomo Women* (Berkeley: University of California Archaeological Research Facility, 1974).

Other scholars, including Joan Jensen and Mary Young in the articles cited above, have noted that other Indian groups also followed sexual and marital practices that seemed lax to white observers. However, most historians have paid this only passing attention. Christine Bolt has suggested that "the Indians' free sexual expression from an early age ensured the survival of their numerically small and vulnerable groupings." Albert Hurtado notes that some Plains tribes believed coitus transferred power from one man to another by way of a female intermediary and used sex to establish friendship and trade relations. See Christine Bolt, *American Indian Policy and American Reform: Case Studies of the Campaign to Assimilate the American Indians* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 253; Hurtado, *Indian Survival*, 171.

9. For accounts of the impact of the gold rush on Native Americans in northern California, see Albert Hurtado, *Indian Survival*; Lynwood Carranco and Estle Beard, *Genocide and*

Vendetta: The Round Valley Wars of Northern California (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981); and Edward Castillo, "The Impact of Euro-American Exploration and Settlement," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 8, 107-13.

10. In 1874 and 1875, Round Valley agent J. L. Burchard reported a sudden explosion in the number of Indians converting to Christianity and taking Christian vows of marriage. However, this burst of piety proved transient: Apparently the Indians believed that if they joined the church, the government would give them land. For information on this and other developments at Round Valley prior to 1890, see the annual reports filed by the Round Valley agents between 1870 and 1890 and included in the annual *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. Also see Todd Benson, "The Consequences of Reservation Life: Native Californians on the Round Valley Reservation, 1871-1884," *Pacific Historical Review* 60 (May 1991): 221-44; Virginia P. Miller, *Ukmo'm: The Yuki Indians of Northern California* (Socorro, N.M.: Bailena Press, 1979); Virginia P. Miller, "The Changing Role of the Chief on a California Indian Reservation," *American Indian Quarterly* 13 (1989), 447-55; and Virginia P. Miller, "The 1870 Ghost Dance and the Methodists: An Unexpected Turn of Events in Round Valley," *Journal of California Anthropology* 3 (Winter 1976): 66-74.

11. Both a copy of the Dawes Act and a discussion of its provisions are included in the 1887 *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. The Burke Act of 1906 revised the Dawes Act in three significant ways: (1) It postponed citizenship for future allottees until the end of the trust period; (2) it authorized the president to extend the initial twenty-five-year trust period on allotments (which would further delay citizenship) if conditions so warranted; and (3) it authorized the secretary of the interior to waive the remaining trust period for all Indians judged competent to handle their property independently. Michael L. Lawson, "The Fractionated Estate: The Problem of American Indian Heirship," *South Dakota History* 21, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 14.

12. Hoxie, *Final Promise*, 15. For quotes from Atkins, see the discussion of the Dawes Act in the 1887 *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, viii-x.

13. Quoted in S. Lyman Tyler, *A History of Indian Policy* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1973). Ironically, Tyler quotes this passage without making any note of its gender connotations. Similar passages can be found in some of the correspondence of Round Valley agents. For instance, in his 1897 annual report, acting agent George A. Patrick mentions the "manly independence" fostered by the Dawes Act. His report is included in the 1897 *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*.

14. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* for 1892, 31-37. In 1894, the Hopi—another tribe that traced kinship through the maternal line—responded to the commissioner's patrilineal approach with a small lecture on the Hopi way of life. In a remarkable petition addressed to "the Washington Chiefs," the Hopi wrote in part: "The family, the dwelling house and the field are inseparable, because the woman is the heart of these, and they rest with her. Among us the family traces its kin from the mother, hence all its possessions are hers." A copy of the letter can be found in Peter Nabokov, ed., *Native American Testimony: A Chronicle of Indian-White Relations from Prophecy to the Present, 1492-1992* (New York: Viking, 1991), 249-51.

15. See Round Valley agent Thomas Connally's 1894 annual report, included in the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*.

16. Circular dated 19 March 1890 from the Office of Indian Affairs, box 30, Round Valley Papers. The rancharia Indians provide an interesting contrast to the federal policy of linking private property ownership to patriarchal nuclear families. One U.S. Indian agent observed in 1912 that the rancharia Indians in the Round Valley district owned tracts of from 5 to 160 acres which they treated as community property: "The title to this land is a sort of community title and it is so assessed, the tax being paid by contribution from the different families, and where they have some agricultural land it is used somewhat in common, or divided into small plots so that each family has the use of same, the houses being grouped in a sort of village." Special Indian Agent to CIA, 13 August 1912, "M1 to 178, July 1, 1912-November 23, 1912" folder, box 24, Round Valley Papers.

17. For general discussions of allotment at Round Valley, see the reservation's annual reports in the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* for 1893 and 1894, and Horace Johnson's

discussion of allotment in his letter to the CIA on 19 October 1908, LB 6, box 3, Round Valley Papers. For the amount of land allotted to specific individuals, see "General Land Office Record of Patents for Allotments (1895)" in box 153, Round Valley Papers. This record also shows that some Indians received less than the standard five or ten acres. Most, though not all, of those who received smaller parcels were women.

18. The Dawes Act of 1887 entitled Indian family heads to 160-acre allotments and allowed single adults and orphan minors to qualify for allotments of 40 acres. (In practice, these figures were often prorated.) Alice Fletcher, an anthropologist and allotting agent on the Omaha, Winnebago, and Nez Percé reservations, was among those who noted that this provided little protection for Indian women who were abandoned by their husbands. In response to such pressure, Congress amended the Dawes Act in 1891 to give "80 acres to every man, woman and child, irrespective of age or relation." However, the allotment of the Round Valley Reservation in 1894 shows that this equitable principle was not always followed in practice. Lawson, "Fractionated Estate," 3-4, 8; Janiewski, "Learning to Live," 173-74. For a useful discussion of the problems such gendered assumptions created for divorced Ute women after allotment, see Katherine M. B. Osburn, "Dear Friend and Ex-Husband: Marriage, Divorce, and Women's Property Rights on the Southern Ute Reservation, 1887-1930" in *Negotiators of Change*, 157-75.

19. Horace Johnson to T. B. Wilson, 18 June 1912, in "M501-524 (June 10, 1912-June 19, 1912)," box 23, "Incoming Correspondence from Others than the Commissioner, 1903-1914," Round Valley Papers.

20. For example, in a 1911 letter to the CIA, Round Valley superintendent T. B. Wilson noted that "The Office has held that the act of allotment which makes Indians citizens also legalizes the marriage if it were not otherwise legal." See letter dated 6 March 1911, in LB 9, box 4, Round Valley Papers.

21. General T. J. Morgan's speech on "The New Indian School Policy," delivered on 17 December 1889 to the Indian Rights Association in Philadelphia, in box 30, Round Valley Papers. "Supplemental Report on Indian Education" included in the 1889 *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*.

22. In addition to some of the articles cited in note 2, see Margaret Connell Szasz, "'Poor Richard' Meets the Native American: Schooling for Young Indian Women in Eighteenth-Century Connecticut," *Pacific Historical Review* 49 (1980): 215-35; Robert A. Trennert, "Victorian Morality and the Supervision of Indian Women Working in Phoenix, 1906-1930," *Journal of Social History* 2, no. 1 (1988): 113-28; and Robert A. Trennert, "Educating Indian Girls at Non-reservation Boarding Schools, 1878-1920," *Western Historical Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (1982): 271-90. Although most scholars have focused on the fact that Native American children were educated to Euro-American gender norms, it should be emphasized these "norms" were in fact middle-class ideals. Christine Stansell has shown that gender ideals among working-class men and women often differed dramatically from those advocated by middle-class reformers. Meanwhile, as Robert Griswold has noted, rising divorce rates in the West during the late nineteenth century suggest that many white middle-class couples were also falling short of the domestic ideal. See Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977), and Robert L. Griswold, *Family and Divorce in California, 1850-1890: Victorian Illusions and Everyday Realities* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1982).

23. Carl Schurz, "Present Aspects of the Indian Problem," in *Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the "Friends of the Indian," 1880-1900*, ed. Francis Paul Prucha (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), 20.

24. In 1891 the U.S. Congress passed a law making education—which often meant boarding school—mandatory for Indian children. The commissioner of Indian affairs explained the intent behind the law as follows: "Ordinarily the parent should be regarded as the natural guardian and custodian of his child. . . . When, however, it becomes evident that the parent is unwilling or unable to do this, and that the child, in consequence, is wellnigh certain to grow up idle, vicious, or helpless, a menace or a burden to the public, it becomes not only the right of the Government as a matter of self-protection, but its duty toward the child and toward the community, which is

to be blessed or cursed by the child's activities, to see to it that he shall have in his youth that training that shall save him from vice and fit him for citizenship." 1891 *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 67.

25. Todd Benson describes this episode in "The Consequences of Reservation Life." In the article he does not place this incident in the context of gender concerns or link Sheldon's moral strictness directly to the burning of the school. However, in a subsequent conversation, Benson confirmed that the conclusion drawn here is warranted.

26. See the 1885, 1887, and 1890 annual reports of the Round Valley agent, included in the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* for those years.

27. For discussions of the school "curriculum," see, for instance, Harry Liston's letter to the CIA, 26 December 1900, LB 1, box 2, and U. L. Clardy's letter to the CIA, 26 February 1910, LB 7, box 4, Round Valley Papers. The records of the Round Valley school also contain lists of students assigned to various work "brigades" during the 1890s.

28. Harry Liston to the CIA, 26 December 1900, LB 1, box 2, Round Valley Papers.

29. Letters from Horace Johnson to the CIA on 18 March 1905, LB 3, box 2; 15 December 1905 and 26 March 1906, both LB 4, box 3; and 25 January 1909, LB 6, box 3, Round Valley Papers.

30. T. B. Wilson's letter to the CIA, 27 February 1912, LB 10, box 4; Harry Liston's letter to the CIA, 18 December 1902, LB 2, box 2; U. L. Clardy's letter to the CIA, 3 November 1909, LB 7, box 4, Round Valley Papers.

31. Annual report of the Round Valley agent included in the 1897 *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*; letter from Judson Lifchild, the reservation physician, to CIA on 3 January 1904, LB 2, box 2, Round Valley Papers; letter from Harry Liston to the CIA on 31 August 1899, LB 1, box 2, Round Valley Papers. See also the monthly school report forms found in box 32, Round Valley Papers.

32. Hurtado, in *Indian Survival*, mentions the kidnapping of Indian children in the post-gold rush years. For a first-person account, see Edith V. A. Murphey, "Out of the Past: A True Indian Story Told by Lucy Young of Round Valley Indian Reservation," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (1941): 349-64. One indication of the concern Indian parents felt for their children at the boarding school is the number of letters they sent to the Round Valley superintendent inquiring about their offspring. Examples can be found in box 24, Round Valley Papers. Also Superintendent Harry Liston noted that he had met the "opposition of either the father or mother or both in nearly every instance when the child was to be taken any considerable distance from home." Liston to CIA, 10 October 1901, LB 1, box 2, Round Valley Papers.

33. For quotes in this and the following paragraph, see the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1893, 54-55.

34. The cover page of each of the Round Valley field matrons' monthly and quarterly reports lists their duties. See also the discussion of field matrons in the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1893 and 1894. The role of female reformers and field matrons is discussed in Rebecca Herring, "Their Work Was Never Done: Women Missionaries on the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 64, no. 1 (1986): 68-83; Martha C. Knack, "Philene T. Hall, Bureau of Indian Affairs Field Matron: Planned Cultural Change of Washakie Shoshone Women," *Prologue* 22, no. 2 (1990): 151-67; Valerie Sherer Mathes, "Nineteenth Century Women and Reform: The Women's National Indian Association," *American Indian Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (1990): 1-18; Lisa E. Emmerich, "'Right in the Midst of My Own People': Native American Women and the Field Matron Program," *American Indian Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (Spring 1991): 201-216; Lisa E. Emmerich, "'Civilization' and Transculturation: The Field Matron Program and Crosscultural Contact," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 15, no. 4 (1991): 33-41; and Lisa E. Emmerich, "Marguerite LaFlesche Diddock, Office of Indian Affairs Field Matron," *Great Plains Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (1993): 162-71.

35. Five field matrons associated with the Round Valley Agency left some record of their work in the agency papers. Carrie C. Moses, a fifty-one-year-old Wisconsin widow, came to the Round Valley Reservation in 1897 and stayed two years. Linnian Tindall, a married woman in her late

thirties, was based far to the south near Lakeport, California, in 1908 and 1909. Emma J. Alexander was also based near Lakeport in 1914 and 1915. In 1914, Mary E. Tabor worked at the Upper Lake Indian Day School, and Ella S. Brown was affiliated with the Manchester Indian Day School. This paper relies primarily on the reports of Moses and Tindall, since those are the most extensive. For biographical information on the field matrons, see "Record of Employees, 1883-1920," box 147, Round Valley Papers.

36. Carrie Moses, monthly field matron report for November 1897; Linnian Tindall, monthly field matron report for May 1908; both in box 35, Round Valley Papers.

37. Linnian Tindall, monthly field matron reports for February and November 1909, box 35, Round Valley Papers.

38. Carrie Moses, monthly field matron reports for March and April 1898; Linnian Tindall, monthly field matron report for April 1909; both in box 35, Round Valley Papers.

39. Linnian Tindall, monthly field matron reports for May and November 1908, and quarterly field matron report for quarter ending 31 March 1909, box 35, Round Valley Papers.

40. Cover page of all field matron reports, listing duties; Carrie Moses, field matron report for quarter ending 31 December 1897; Linnian Tindall, field matron reports for year ending 30 June 1909 and quarter ending 30 September 1909; all in box 35, Round Valley Papers.

41. Carrie Moses, field matron report for quarter ending 31 March 1898, and report covering 18 June to 30 June 1898, box 35, Round Valley Papers.

42. Carrie Moses, field matron report for quarter ending 30 June 1898, box 35, Round Valley Papers; Emma Alexander, field matron report for quarter ending 30 September 1914, box 41, Round Valley Papers.

43. Linnian Tindall, monthly field matron report for November 1908, box 35, Round Valley Papers; letter from Horace Johnson to CIA, 21 November 1908, LB 6, box 3, Round Valley Papers.

44. Horace Johnson to CIA, 20 October 1903 and 3 November 1903, both in LB 2, box 2, Round Valley Papers. Although the Round Valley Reservation initially contained over 100,000 acres, Congress in 1890 set aside almost two-thirds of that land for sale to whites. Much of the remaining land was not considered tillable, so in 1894, 5,408 acres of valley land were divided among 604 Indians. (All allottees subsequently received between 50 and 70 acres of mountainous land, suitable only for stock raising.) For details on allotment at Round Valley, see the annual reports of the Round Valley agent included in the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* for 1893 and 1894, as well as Horace Johnson's discussion of the allotment process in his letter to the CIA on 19 October 1908, LB 6, box 3, Round Valley Papers.

45. Cover page of field matron reports listing their duties; Linnian Tindall, field matron report for quarter ending 30 June 1908, and monthly field matron reports for October and June 1908; all in box 35, Round Valley Papers.

46. Linnian Tindall, monthly field matron reports for September 1908 and January 1909, box 35, Round Valley Papers.

47. Annual report of the Round Valley agent included in the 1897 *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*; Thomas Downs, special U.S. agent in charge, to the CIA, 16 April 1909, LB 7, box 4, Round Valley Papers.

48. Thomas Downs to CIA, 16 April 1909; U. L. Clardy to CIA, 14 August 1909; both in LB 7, box 4, Round Valley Papers.

49. Horace Johnson to CIA, 1 April 1907, LB 5, box 3, Round Valley Papers, and Horace Johnson to CIA, 11 July 1910, LB 8, box 4, Round Valley Papers. See also Horace Johnson to the CIA, 12 August 1907 and 23 September 1907, both LB 5, box 3, Round Valley Papers.

50. Lawson, "Fractionated Estate," 15-16.

51. Thomas Downs to CIA, 16 April 1909, LB 7, box 4, Round Valley Papers.

52. In this case, an Indian named Jim Henley was legally married to Lucy Moore. They separated—but never secured a divorce—and Henley began living with Lizzie Martin. Henley and Martin also separated, and Martin moved in with another man. However, she and her granddaughter cared for Henley during his final illness and he died in her home. Johnson ruled

that Martin rather than Moore was Henley's heir. Wilson's decisions in similar cases suggests that he would have ruled for Moore, even though Henley and Moore had been separated for more than a decade. See Horace Johnson to CIA, 27 July 1907, LB 5, box 3, Round Valley Papers.

53. Lawson, "Fractionated Estate," 16. T. B. Wilson to CIA, 10 March 1913 and 31 May 1913, both in LB 11, box 5, Round Valley Papers.

54. T. B. Wilson to the CIA, 5 September 1911, LB 9, box 4, Round Valley Papers.

55. T. B. Wilson to CIA, 10 August 1911, LB 9, and 1 July 1912, LB 10, both in box 4, Round Valley Papers. Wilson notes in the first letter that he has been directed by the Office of Indian Affairs "to take vigorous action to break up the practice of Indians living together without being legally married."

56. For the case of Belle Wilsey, see T. B. Wilson to CIA, 11 May 1911, in LB 9, box 4, Round Valley Papers; and T. B. Wilson to CIA, 16 February 1912 and 26 April 1912, both in LB 10, box 4, Round Valley Papers.

57. For Wilson's perspective on the case of Minnie Card-Scott, see T. B. Wilson to CIA, 3 September 1912, and 10 September 1912, both in LB 10, box 4, Round Valley Papers; T. B. Wilson to CIA, 26 November 1912, and 17 March 1913, both in LB 11, box 5, Round Valley Papers.

58. Minnie Card Scott's affidavit is quoted in a report filed by the Reverends Frederick G. Collett and Beryl Bishop Collett, who were field secretaries for a California reform group known as the Indian Board of Cooperation. See "Report of Field Secretaries from Jan. 1st to March 20th, 1914," in "Round Valley" folder, box 11, Dorrington Papers.

59. Wilson's 19 March 1914 letter to the Office of Indian Affairs is quoted in Special Agent Colonel L. A. Dorrington's report summarizing his investigation of the Reverend F. G. Collett. The report can be found in "F. G. Collett-2," box 2, Dorrington Papers. Wilson mentions the Indians' attempts to petition for a public school on the reservation in his annual report dated 1 July 1914 contained in LB 13, box 5, Round Valley Papers. Also see folders on the Colletts in box 2 of the Dorrington Papers and folder marked "(School) General" in box 11 of the Dorrington Papers.

60. T. B. Wilson to CIA, 24 April 1912, LB 10, box 4, Round Valley Papers.

61. Telegram from T. B. Wilson to CIA, 20 November 1910, LB 8, box 4, Round Valley Papers. Also see Allen, *Pomo Basketmaking*, 10-11.

62. T. B. Wilson to CIA, 29 May 1911 and 7 July 1911, both in LB 9; and 27 November 1911, LB 10; all in box 4, Round Valley Papers.

63. T. B. Wilson quotes from Dr. Wellstead's letter in his own letter defending himself. Wilson to the CIA, 16 July 1912, LB 10, box 4, Round Valley Papers.

64. Telegram from T. B. Wilson to the CIA, 30 January 1914; letters from T. B. Wilson to the CIA, 30 January 1914, 3 February 1914, and 4 February 1914; all in LB 12, box 5, Round Valley Papers.

65. T. B. Wilson discusses various aspects of the reservation revolt in four letters to the CIA, all found in LB 13, box 5, Round Valley Papers: 18 February 1914; 13 March 1914; 1 August 1914; and 6 August 1914. See also documents contained in the "Round Valley" folder, box 11, Dorrington Papers. Special Agent Colonel L. A. Dorrington describes the episode in some detail in his report on Reverend Collett in "F. G. Collett-2," box 2, Dorrington Papers. Copies of the petitions signed by the Indians and Wilson's response to the report of Special Agent Christie (who also investigated the incident) can be found in "Wilson, T. B." folder, box 52, Round Valley Papers. None of the affidavits could be found in the Round Valley Papers, although they are frequently referred to in the documents above.

66. "Round Valley General Report," filed by C. H. Asbury to the CIA on 1 May 1914, in "Round Valley" folder, box 10, Dorrington Papers. In addition to the three complaints listed in the text, the petitions charged that Wilson leased land to favorites without open and competitive bids and that he permitted the deterioration of cattle and range conditions. However, the special agents sent out to investigate the episode mentioned these complaints only in passing, suggesting that they were secondary.

67. In 1907, Superintendent Horace Johnson consulted the district attorney about taking action against Alex Frazier and the woman with whom he was then living, Frankie Brown. Although

Frazier was widowed, Brown had simply "deserted" her husband of thirteen years. Johnson concluded that he could do little and eventually dropped the case; however, it seems likely that Wilson pursued it as part of his marriage crackdown. See Horace Johnson to CIA, 1 April 1907, LB 5, box 3, Round Valley Papers. Beulah Smith's letter of resignation is in the "Wilson, T. B." folder, box 52, Round Valley Papers. Not all of the Indians who helped spearhead the revolt had tangled with Wilson over gender and family issues; several were former agency employees who had been fired by the superintendent for other reasons. However, the large number of activists who had had such run-ins highlights the salience of these issues.

68. In addition to the documents cited in note 59, see "Report of Indian Employees, 1910-12," box 36, Round Valley Papers; and efficiency report on Neafus in "Round Valley" folder, box 11, Dorrington Papers.

69. Telegrams from T. B. Wilson to CIA, 13 March 1914; letters from Wilson to CIA, 13 March 1914 and 19 March 1914; all in LB 12, box 5, Round Valley Papers. Letters from Wilson to CIA dated 14 May 1914 and 19 June 1914, both in LB 13, box 5, Round Valley Papers.

70. T. B. Wilson to CIA, 9 September 1914 and 14 September 1914, both in LB 13, box 5, Round Valley Papers.

71. "Inspection Report" by L. A. Dorrington dated 11-28 November 1919, in "Round Valley" folder, box 11, Dorrington Papers.

72. In *A Final Promise*, Frederick Hoxie argues convincingly that white reformers and policymakers initially hoped to bring Indian citizens into American society on a plane equal to whites but gradually abandoned this objective in favor of incorporating Indians into society's bottom ranks. However, Hoxie bases his argument entirely on political and ideological changes at the national level. The Round Valley case suggests that Indian resistance at the community level also contributed to the reorientation of the assimilation campaign.

73. Ella S. Brown, field matron report for quarter ended 31 December 1914, box 41, Round Valley Papers.