Native American collections in archives, libraries, and museums at the University of California, Berkeley

Working group report | 15 March 2019

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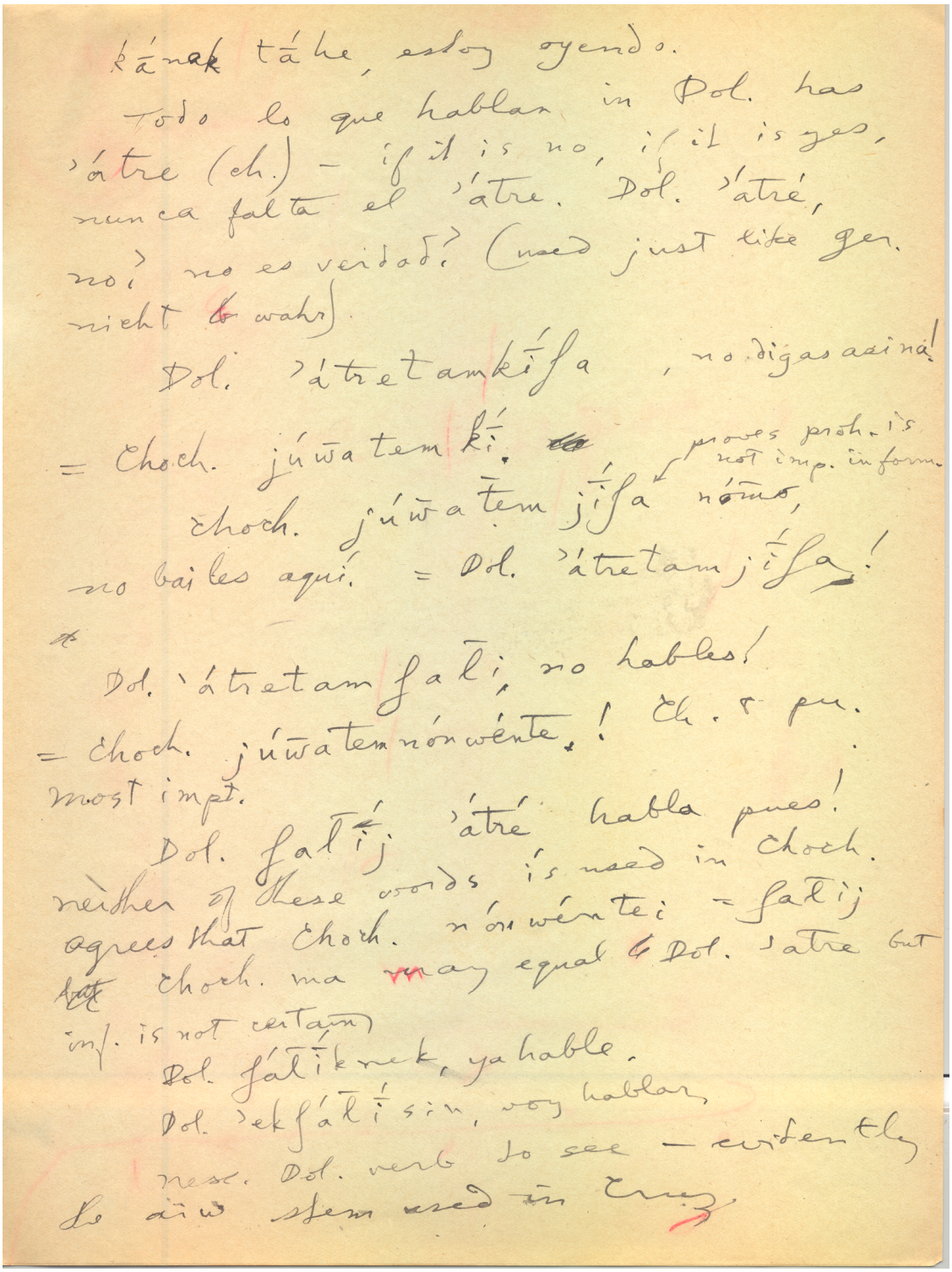


Figure 1: Chochenyo fieldnotes from Angela Colos and José Guzman (Figure 4), working with J. P. Harrington, 1920s (SCOIL, Harrington.010.001); see §2.2, p. 26. Chochenyo is the Indigenous language of the San Francisco Bay Area; this page includes words from the San Francisco ("Doloreño") dialect.

Land acknowledgement

The University of California, Berkeley occupies the ancestral and unceded land of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe, the successors of the historic and sovereign Verona Band of Alameda County. This land was and continues to be of great importance to the Ohlone people. Every member of the UC Berkeley community has benefitted and continues to benefit from the use and occupation of this land, since the institution's founding in 1868. Consistent with campus values of community and diversity, we have a responsibility to acknowledge and make visible UC Berkeley's relationship to Native peoples.

The Indigenous language of this land is Chochenyo.

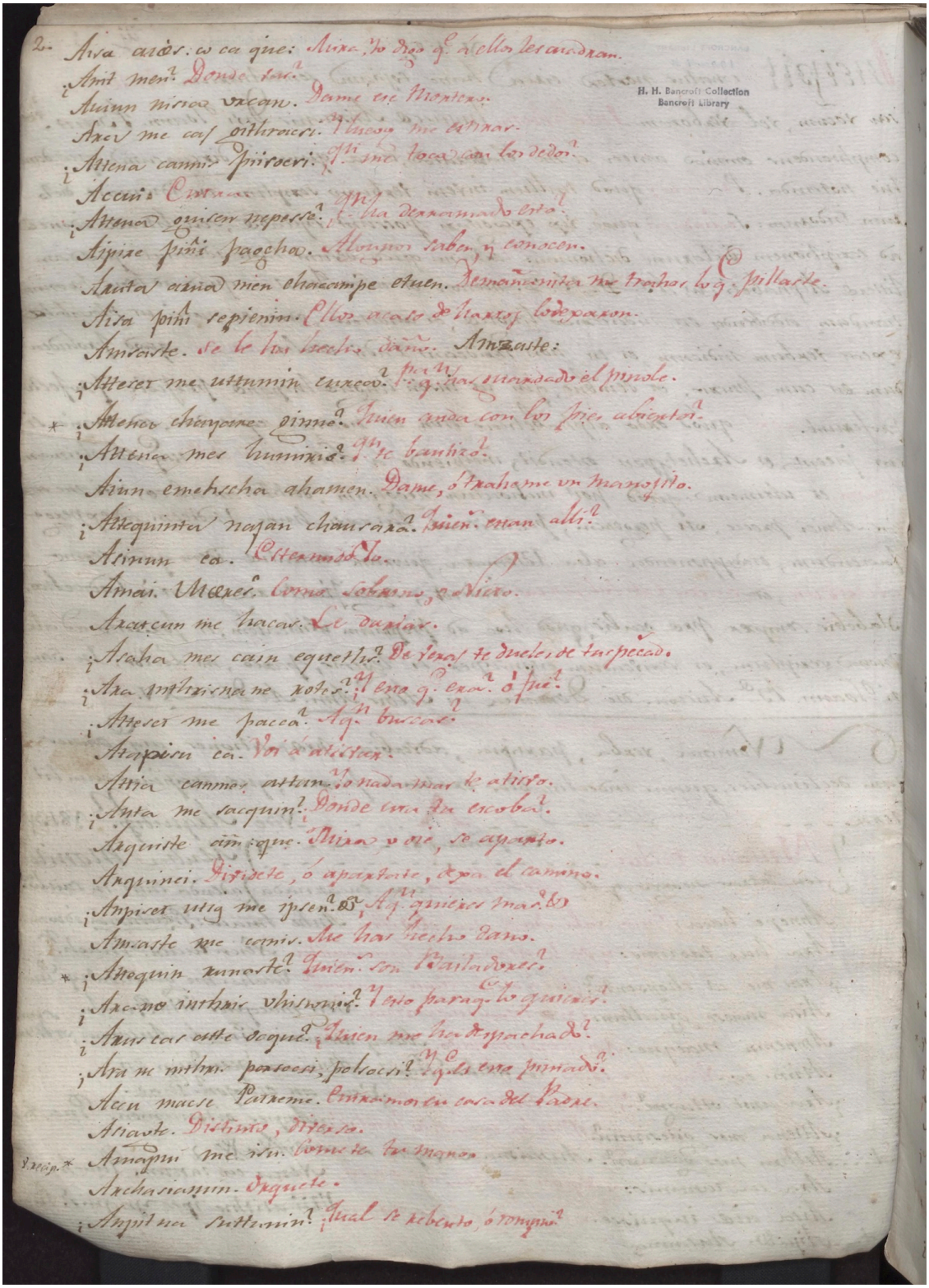


Figure 2: Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta's 1815 Mutsun phrase book (*Alphab[eticu]s rivulus*, BANC MSS C-C 19); see §3.1.2, p. 42. Mutsun is the Indigenous language of the region of San Juan Bautista.

Contents

Land acknowledgement **3**

Figures **7**

Abbreviations & basket designs **9**

Executive summary **11**

1 Introduction **13**
1.1 California Indian Tribal Forum & UC Berkeley Working Group 13
1.2 Campus archives, libraries, and museums 14
1.3 Working group process 15

2 Historical and academic background **17**
2.1 Settler colonialism 17
2.2 Assimilation, collection, and salvage 21
2.3 Immersion research and Indigenous narrative 28
2.4 Collaboration and Indigenous agency 34
2.5 Summary 37

3 UC Berkeley repositories **39**
3.1 The Bancroft Library 39
3.2 Ethnic Studies Library 44
3.3 Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology 44
3.4 Survey of California and Other Indian Languages 48
3.5 Other repositories 50

4 Ethics, curation, and collaboration **53**
4.1 Professional ethics 53
4.2 Cultural heritage and intellectual property 56
4.3 Berkeley initiatives 57

5 Charting a path forward **69**
5.1 Confronting Indigenous erasure 69
5.2 Understanding historical trauma 72
5.3 Truth and reconciliation 74
5.4 Recommendations 74

Appendix: Working group charge **84**

Index nominum **85**

Figure sources **88**

References **89**



Figure 3: Maria Marta *Zaputimeu* (Ventureño Chumash), basket made for presentation to a Mexican general, 1822 (PAHMA #1-22478). On this basket see Nuttall (1924), Timbrook (2014), and Brown et al. (2018); it was purchased in a Mexico City shop by Zelia Nuttall in 1920. Inscribed around the interior rim: *Me hizo An Maria Marta neofita de la mision de el serafico doctor San Buenaventura* "I was made by Ana Maria Marta, neophyte of the mission of the seraphic doctor San Buenaventura." (The image above has some rough edges due to digital processing.)

Figures

1 Chochenyo fieldnotes from Angela Colos and José Guzman, 1920s 2
2 Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta's 1815 Mutsun phrase book 4
3 Presentation basket by Maria Marta *Zaputimeu*, 1822 6
4 José Guzman, 1930s 10
5 Occupation of Alcatraz Island, 1969–1971 12
6 José Cardero, drawing of the Carmel Mission, 1791–1792 18
7 Charles Christian Nahl, "A road scene in California," ca. 1856 19
8 Thomas Houseworth *&* Co., "Hydraulic Mining" 20
9 School girls at the Hoopa Valley Indian Boarding School, 1901 21
10 California Room, UC Museum of Anthropology, 1911 22
11 Indigenous California languages 23
12 Maggie Hostler, ca. 1923; Elizabeth Cordova Dollar, 1925 25
13 Domingo, Weitchpec, Calif., 1906 27
14 Lila O'Neale and Nellie Cooper, 1929 28
15 A. L. Kroeber and Robert Spott, 1939 29
16 Lucy Young, 1922 30
17 Ted Couro; Margaret Langdon 31
18 Elizabeth Wilson and Haruo Aoki, 1960 33
19 Haruo Aoki with Angel Sobotta and Beth Piatote, 2017 33
20 Elk-antler spoon made by Frank G. Gist, Jr., 1995 34
21 Amah Mutsun Tribal Band members and Berkeley students process soil samples 35
22 2017 Yurok Language Institute 36
23 Fritz Wikersheim, drawing of an Indian rancheria, ca. 1845–1851 41
24 Golden Feather Mining Claim, No. 14, Feather River, Butte County, 1891 41
25 Transcription of O'odham language spoken by Miguel Garcia, 1919 42
26 Mural, Alcohol Recovery Center, Colorado River Indian Tribes 43
27 Wax cylinders 45
28 Unfinished rawhide parfleche collected in 1901–1902 46
29 Ceramic jar by Paqua Naho 47
30 Children's construction-paper Valentines, Tesuque Pueblo, 1930s 48
31 Transcription of Southern Sierra Miwok elicitation with Chris Brown, 1956 . . . 49
32 Willis Linn Jepson's field book 17, with botanical and geographical detail, 1907 . 51
33 Breath of Life participants, Survey of California and Other Indian Languages, 2016 58
34 Nancy Steele and Julian Lang studying Hearst Museum baskets, 2018 58
35 Navajo women weaving blankets, Canyon de Chelly, 1873 59
36 Bancroft Library curator Theresa Salazar with Berkeley students, 2015 60
37 Russell Means, 1973 61
38 Matachines, Picuris Pueblo, 1996 62
39 Beth Piatote's *Antíkoni*, 2018 63
40 Cupeño material in three Berkeley repositories 65
41 California Language Archive map interface 67
42 Hearst Museum Portal 67
43 Quirina Geary, Leanne Hinton, and Natasha Warner, 2016 68

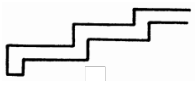
44 David Muench, "The Central California coast" 70
45 Isabel Meadows and her brother Tom, Carmel, 1933 70
46 "Yana house built by Ishi" outside the Museum of Anthropology, 1912 71
47 Andrew A. Galvan with Breath of Life participants, 2014 72
48 Berkeley Indigenous collections reach far beyond California 77
49 Guide to the Indigenous Materials at the American Philosophical Society 79
50 Coiled basket made by Louisa Keyser (Datsolalee) 81
51 Children participating in a Rumsen-language performance, Breath of Life, 2016 83



Abbreviations

The following abbreviations appear in footnotes and Figure captions:

BANC	The Bancroft Library (in catalog identifiers)
PAHMA	Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology
SCOIL	Survey of California and Other Indian Languages



Basket designs

The basket designs on these pages have these names in the Karuk language (Bright 1957):

8 *xúrip* "vertical stripe"
9 *vakayxára* "long worm"
16 *anachfíthih* "crow foot"
38 *apsunyúfiv* "snake nose"
52 *asvufám'as* "Kenek rock"
68 *tatáktak* "bar pattern"
83 *eethvásih* "slug back"
84 *eeníkvit* "lumber cut"
87 *uutiháhiich* "flint-like"

Illustrations are from O'Neale (1932).



Figure 4: José Guzman, one of the last speakers of Chochenyo (Figure 1) before its contemporary revival, photograph by C. Hart Merriam, 1930s (PAHMA #15-23206).

Executive summary

In this report, we discuss relationships among Indigenous people, the State and University of California, and Berkeley's Native American collections. Ethical and moral considerations that emerge from the history of Berkeley's research and collecting projects are an important aspect of our assessment.

Here we summarize our recommendations (§5.4). Items 1-7 are outside the scope of our work, but are essential if policy changes for archives, libraries, and museums are to make a difference.

1. Acknowledge Native American historical trauma. (See p. 74.)
2. Acknowledge, respect, and support the sovereignty of tribal nations. (See p. 75.)
3. Acknowledge different systems of information management. (See p. 75.)
4. Improve the campus climate for Native Americans. (See p. 75.)
5. Improve the classroom climate for Native Americans. (See p. 75.)
6. Improve the NAGPRA climate. (See p. 75.)
7. Clarify research policy for Native American contexts. (See p. 76.)

Recommendations 8-10 are within the purview of our charge.

8. Appoint a central campus Tribal Liaison Officer. (See p. 76.)
9. Take concrete steps to improve accessibility of digitized and undigitized Native American materials in campus archives, libraries, and museums. (See p. 78.)
10. Take concrete steps to empower Native American individuals, communities, and tribes to participate in the curation, and assert cultural ownership, of materials in campus archives, libraries, and museums. (See p. 80.)

Our recommendations include the creation of two new important campus positions, with support for both positions and additional funded actions.

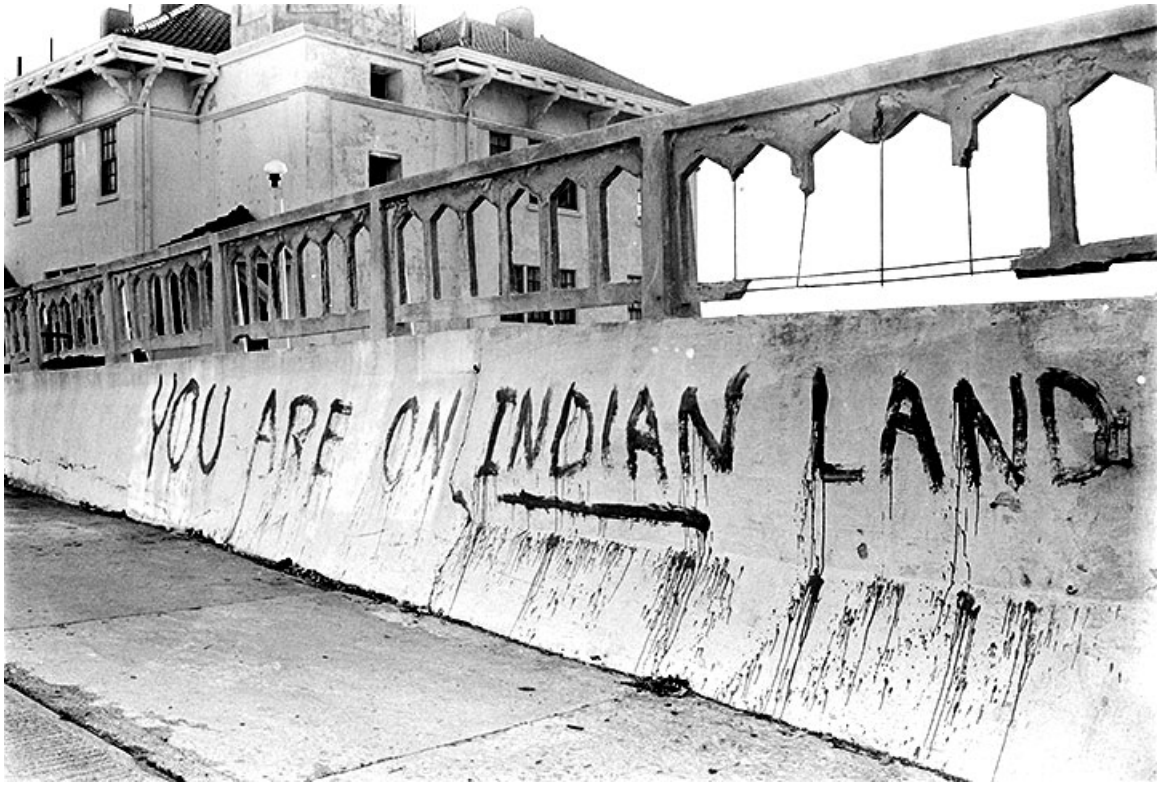


Figure 5: Occupation of Alcatraz Island, 1969–1971, photograph by Michelle Vignes (BANC PIC 2003.108); see §4.3, p. 61.

1 Introduction

> [W]hen you hold captive the Dead, you enslave the living.
> The talons of the State wrap ′round the bones of the departed
> And dig deep into the flesh of those who remain.
> — Beth Piatote, *Antíkoni* (2018)

1.1 California Indian Tribal Forum & UC Berkeley Working Group

A California Indian Tribal Forum was held at UC Berkeley on April 13-14, 2017, to discuss relations between the campus administration and California Indian tribes and "the disposition, management, and use of Native American tangible and intangible cultural heritage and human remains on campus."[1]

The background to the Tribal Forum partly had to do with material subject to the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), but one event concerned online access to material in Berkeley archives. Early in this decade, the Department of Anthropology asked (and arranged funding for) The Bancroft Library to scan an important collection, the Ethnological Documents of the Department and Museum of Anthropology, including over 50,000 manuscript pages (§3.1.2). When this multifaceted three-year digitization project was completed in January 2016, the scans were posted online. In March 2016, a Berkeley researcher who collaborates with Native tribes and community members in Owens Valley expressed important concerns about certain culturally and personally sensitive material within the collection.[2] The full collection of Ethnological Documents scans was taken down within 24 hours; it is still inaccessible online. This episode highlighted the complexity of curating cultural heritage materials in Berkeley collections, the need for clear, visible policies for efficient take-down in relation to these materials, and the importance of listening to and working with Native communities.

A report from the Tribal Forum was conveyed to the Chancellor in August 2017 and shared more widely with campus leaders in November 2017. It details the proceedings of the Tribal Forum and makes several important recommendations. These concern relations between UC Berkeley and California Indian people generally; the return of human remains and objects subject to NAGPRA, as well as funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony, and the use of and access to other Native American materials cared for in campus archives, libraries, and museums.[3]

In a campus memo of March 23, 2018, Chancellor Christ made two announcements:

1. The campus NAGPRA process would change in certain specified ways.
2. Vice Chancellor for Research Katz would appoint a working group to discuss and make recommendations relating to "collections that are not necessarily NAGPRA-sensitive."

1 We quote from the UC Berkeley Tribal Forum Report's Executive Summary; the full report remains confidential. As it indicates, not all campus and tribal stakeholders were present at the Tribal Forum. However challenging it may be logistically, broader consultation will be essential going forward.

2 These concerns were later expressed directly by a tribal government, requesting that certain material not be reposted.

3 For the UC Policy and Procedures on Curation and Repatriation of Human Remains and Cultural Items, see `https://policy.ucop.edu/doc/2500489/HumanCulturalRemains`.

We were asked to join the working group as members and friends of the Berkeley community with experience in archives, libraries, and museums. As we understand it, our charge is to reflect on the Tribal Forum Report and to recommend policy actions regarding UC Berkeley holdings that are associated with Native American tribes, community members, and stakeholders.[4] This includes the Indigenous people of Alaska, Hawai'i and other Pacific islands, and the contiguous 48 states.[5] Our purview does not include one very important area, the NAGPRA process, which is governed by federal law and UC system-wide policy.[6] Because NAGPRA governs requests for physical repatriation, we also did not address physical repatriation policy.

Because our charge has been misunderstood at higher levels of the administration and reported misleadingly to the Regents and in the press, we must be explicit about a crucial point. The Office of the President provided "information about the University's management and treatment of human remains and cultural items subject to the federal and California Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Acts" in a memo to the Regents' Academic and Student Affairs Committee for its meeting on September 26, 2018.[7] Under the heading "Efforts to Strengthen the University's NAGPRA Activities," this UCOP memo mentioned our group's work as follows:

> [T]o consider suggested policy and procedural changes and make recommendations, the campus also appointed a Native American Museum and Library Stakeholder Outreach Working Group, comprised of a variety of stakeholders, including faculty, staff, and members of Native American descendant communities.

As indicated above, and contrary to what this statement implies in context, we do not understand our charge to include the NAGPRA process. In principle, however, we endorse a broad understanding of the spirit of NAGPRA to the effect that the Indigenous people of the US (whether or not they belong to federally recognized tribal nations) have the right to manage their cultural heritage, including sacred and culturally patrimonial objects, practices, and knowledge.[8]

1.2 Campus archives, libraries, and museums

Four campus repositories curate the core materials discussed throughout our work:

- The Bancroft Library (part of the University Library); see §3.1, §4.3.2, and §4.3.4
- Ethnic Studies Library (in the Department of Ethnic Studies); see §3.2
- Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology; see §3.3 and §4.3.3–4.3.4
- Survey of California and Other Indian Languages (in the Department of Linguistics); see §3.4, §4.3.1, and §4.3.4

Other repositories also care for Native American materials; see §3.5.

4 For the language of our charge see the Appendix, p. 84.

5 We use the terms "Indigenous" and "Native" equivalently, referring to all indigenous people of the US, and the terms "(American) Indian" and "Native American," referring to Indigenous people of the contiguous 48 states.

6 We were also asked to "provide an oversight function for our units to respond collectively to the [Tribal Forum] report's recommendations regarding collections." On a narrow construal we include this below; on a broader construal, this was not a realistic task for our small and short-term working group.

7 See `https://regents.universityofcalifornia.edu/regmeet/sept18/a3.pdf`.

8 Though the circumstances and sometimes the legal contexts of Indigenous people elsewhere in the world are similar, we focus here on the Indigenous people of the US because they, unlike people in other countries, live under US settler colonialism (§2.1). In our view this creates a distinctive ethical obligation.

1.3 Working group process

We met weekly in September, October, and November 2018. We had conversations about UC Berkeley's archival, library, and museum collections, digitization and digital access, levels of access, ethical principles of collection management, ownership rights for tangible and intangible cultural heritage, technical infrastructure, and other topics. Our work included three site visits:

- California Indian Museum & Cultural Center, Santa Rosa
- Ethnic Studies Library, Department of Ethnic Studies, UC Berkeley
- Survey of California and Other Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, UC Berkeley

We met with the following people (in small groups), who generously shared their knowledge and a range of perspectives, and to whom we express our deep gratitude:

- Prof. Cutcha Risling Baldy (Hupa, Yurok, Karuk; Native American Studies, Humboldt State University)
- Dr. Michael Black (Head of Research and Information, Hearst Museum)
- Prof. Olivia Chilcote (Luiseño, San Luis Rey Band of Mission Indians; American Indian Studies, San Diego State University)
- Mary Elings (Assistant Director & Head of Technical Services, The Bancroft Library)
- Quirina Geary (Amah Mutsun)
- Robert Geary (Elem Pomo)
- Prof. Christine Hastorf (Anthropology, UC Berkeley; Director, Archaeological Research Facility)
- Dr. Chris Hoffman (Informatics Services, Research IT, UC Berkeley)
- Deborah Morillo (yaktitʸutitʸu yaktiłhini, Northern Chumash Tribe of San Luis Obispo County and Region)
- Theresa Salazar (Curator, Western Americana, The Bancroft Library)
- Prof. Tsim D. Schneider (Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria; Anthropology, UC Santa Cruz)
- Dr. Carolyn Smith (Karuk; Native American Studies, UC Berkeley)
- Ronald Sprouse (IT Specialist, Linguistics, UC Berkeley)
- Prof. Laurie Wilkie (Chair, Anthropology, UC Berkeley)

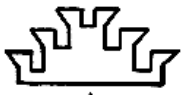
Individual members of our working group also benefited from conversations with colleagues:

- Prof. James Clifford (History of Consciousness, emeritus, UC Santa Cruz)
- Prof. Leanne Hinton (Linguistics, emerita, UC Berkeley)
- Prof. Sharon Inkelas (Linguistics, UC Berkeley)
- Dr. Ira Jacknis (Senior Research Anthropologist, emeritus, Hearst Museum)
- Jordan Jacobs (Head of Cultural Policy and Repatriation, Hearst Museum)
- Julia Nee (PhD student, Linguistics)
- Zachary O'Hagan (PhD student, Linguistics)
- Prof. Beth Piatote (Nez Perce; Native American Studies, UC Berkeley)

None of our interlocutors is responsible for the conclusions we express here.

There are many other people — Indigenous cultural leaders, representatives of tribal nations, campus stakeholders, and scholars at Berkeley and elsewhere — whom we wish we had had time to talk with. In particular, we acknowledge that there are many more Berkeley voices (faculty, researchers, staff, and students) to be heard. We hope the next steps will include them. We also wish we had had more time for each of the conversations we did have. If the campus adopts our recommendations, many additional conversations with stakeholders throughout California, UC, and UC Berkeley will be needed in the coming years.

The historical facts, present circumstances, and future possibilities that we have considered are complex and not easily distilled in a simple narrative.[9] We have tried to respect the complexities without losing sight of the moral clarity and ethical grounding that must underpin the next stages of relations between UC Berkeley and the Indigenous people of the land it occupies.



9 If anything, this report, as J. R. R. Tolkien (1965:6) wrote about *The Lord of the Rings*, "is too short."

2 Historical and academic background

> They took everything and ground it down to dust as fine as gunpowder, they fired their guns into the air in victory and the strays flew out into the nothingness of histories written wrong and meant to be forgotten. Stray bullets and consequences are landing on our unsuspecting bodies even now.
> — Tommy Orange, *There There* (2018)

To appreciate Berkeley's Native American collections, their cultural, historical, and intellectual origins, and our ethical and moral duties as curators, we consider a historical review critical. We have tried to write frankly about some very difficult matters.

2.1 Settler colonialism

California and the US are settler colonialist states (Denoon 1979, Wolfe 1999, Verancini 2010). They were formed by the systematic displacement and killing of their Indigenous inhabitants, as Europeans took and occupied other people's land. In California this began with the Spanish military conquest and missionization of Alta California (from 1769), and the 1812 Russian colony at Fort Ross. Throughout the areas affected, the Spanish invasion and missionization were highly destructive for Native people. Massacres like Alférez Moraga's 1810 destruction of the North Bay Suisun Sespesuya village are well documented (Bancroft 1885:91), while mission practices as a whole are lucidly characterized by Shoup (Milliken et al. 2009:298):

> [T]he mission labor system ... was a combination of slavery and spiritual debt peonage where surpluses were coercively extracted ... within the context of a rigidly hierarchical caste system where colonial domination, racism, sexism, violence, and military force were constants. ... [T]he ruling class of military officers and priests ... benefited from the labor of tens of thousands of Indian slaves/peons who were born, lived, worked and died in the missions, presidios and pueblos of early California.

The Indigenous people in these labor camps were subject to branding, flogging, hobbling, stocks, and rape. Thousands died of malnutrition, syphilis, dysentery, typhus, and other diseases as they worked for the priests and military.[10]

California underwent many transformations after the end of Spanish rule in 1821, in the period of independent Mexican rule (1821–1846) and during the US period beginning in 1846. Despite differences between the Spanish and US colonial systems, however, it is important to emphasize continuity; forced labor, kidnapping, rape, and torture of Native people began under Spanish rule and continued in the Mexican and US periods. Many individual Euro-Americans spanned multiple periods. For example, the Swiss colonist John Sutter came to California in 1839, established his inhumane practices (pp. 20, 69 below) under the Mexican government, and continued them under US rule.

10 For relevant discussion see Castillo (1979), Jackson (1994), Jackson and Castillo (1995), Milliken (1995), Sandos (2004), Lightfoot (2005b), Milliken et al. (2009), Haas (2014), and Panich and Schneider (2014).



Figure 6: José Cardero, drawing of the Carmel Mission, 1791–1792 (Robert B. Honeyman, Jr. Collection, BANC PIC 1963.002:1309- -FR). The Indigenous language of the Carmel and Monterey area is Rumsen, spoken by Isabel Meadows (Figure 45), whose great-grandfather Amadeo Yeucharom was living at the Carmel Mission when Cardero visited with the Malaspina expedition (Laverty 2010:14).

The US invasion began in 1846 with the murderous campaign of Capt. John Frémont, later California's military governor and one of its first US Senators. Around April 5 of that year, along the Sacramento River near what is now Redding, his troops killed "as many as 1,000 California Indian men, women, and children in what may have been one of the largest but least-known massacres in US history" (Madley 2016:48). As they continued their expedition in northern California and Oregon, Frémont's men had orders "to shoot Indians on sight." After statehood in 1850, genocide became a state-sponsored policy. As Governor Peter H. Burnett put it in 1851, "A war of extermination will continue to be waged . . . until the Indian race becomes extinct." We have found it hard to know which events to mention here in a dismal history of brutality and dehumanization.[11]

Burnett's war encompassed mass killing, rape, the abduction and sale of women and children, the burning of villages, and the destruction of natural resources. Beheading and mutilation were encouraged by government bounties for Indian body parts. Atrocities were carried out by government forces, or by individual settlers or militias with state backing or acquiescence. From November 1858 through April 1859, for example, in the area of Round Valley in Mendocino County, more than 500 Native people were killed in a "loosely organized regional campaign" (Madley 2016:265). Typically these massacres (e.g., 40 people killed on January 1, 1859) took place when animals went missing. Local landowner Serranus Hastings (who later endowed and served as dean of the UC Hastings College of Law) gave California Governor John Weller a petition requesting militia support against the Yuki Indians in the area. As the "Eel River Rangers" operated in 1859–1860, their captain wrote regular reports to Weller. This militia killed 62 Yuki and other Indians in the first month, and by the time they disbanded they had killed at least 283 men and many women and children; their bill to the state was $11,143.43.

Somewhat farther north, in Humboldt County at the end of February 1860, 300-500 Native people were killed in coordinated attacks on four Wiyot villages by a vigilante group that wanted state funding to help them "exterminate the Indians from the face of the earth." Bret Harte, then

11 See Lindsay (2012) and Madley (2016) for the details below, and for careful discussion of the law of genocide; see also Kroeber and Heizer (1968), Norton (1979), Rawls (1984), Heizer (1993), and Trafzer and Hyer (1999). In referring to "the actual genocide of a vibrant civilization," Burnett's successor Jerry Brown was the first California governor to acknowledge state-sponsored genocide of Indigenous people.



Figure 7: Charles Christian Nahl, "A road scene in California," ca. 1856, featuring Indians presumably being driven from their land by miners (BANC PIC 1963.002:0117- -B); cf. Madley (2016:101).

working for the *Northern Californian* in what is now Arcata, wrote about the worst of these Wiyot massacres in heart-wrenching terms (Carranco 1966:108):

> When the bodies were landed at [Arcata], a more shocking and revolting spectacle never was exhibited. . . . Old women, wrinkled and decrepit, lay weltering in blood, their brains dashed out and dabbled with their long gray hair. Infants scarce a span long, with their faces cloven with hatchets and their bodies ghastly with wounds.

Nobody was punished for any of the attacks.

Miners were especially destructive, killing Native people and poisoning their environment. In a typical 1852 incident on the Klamath River, miners killed 30-40 Karuk or Shasta Indians, shooting all the men and some women in two villages that they also destroyed. In the mining town of Yreka a few miles inland, government support for genocide was advocated in an 1853 *Yreka Herald* editorial: "we hope that the Government will render such aid as will enable the citizens of the north to carry on a war of extermination until the last Redskin of these tribes has been killed." And even where mining did not occur, it had devastating downstream impacts (cf. Figure 8). For example, an 1865 report from Hoopa Valley (US Office of Indian Affairs 1865:285) describes how upstream mining affected Yurok and Hupa life on the lower Klamath and Trinity Rivers:

> [T]he muddy waters [are] despoiled . . . by the impurities from the sluice-boxes of the miners at the head of the stream. In this consists one of the greatest calamities inflicted upon the Indians of recent years. Their salmon fishing is destroyed to a very great extent, and with it one of their chief means of subsistence. Those who saw the Klamath and Trinity rivers in early days say that during the summer months they ran as clear as crystal, and thronged with salmon from the sea; now they are muddy streams and almost deserted by this fish.

Another element of the California genocide was Indian slavery. While this practice predated the US invasion, it was eventually licensed by California law. To mention some notorious examples:



Figure 8: Thomas Houseworth *&* Co., "Hydraulic Mining — Washing down the Bank into the Sluice," undated stereograph (Bancroft Library, 1980.042:2).

John Sutter was described in 1845 as keeping 600–800 Indian slaves who ate from troughs with their hands; Anglo-American colonists around Clear Lake in the late 1840s are amply documented as torturing, raping, and murdering their Indian slaves; and by 1850, a new Indian labor law led to slave markets around California.[12] According to Madley (2016:161), "California's system of Indian servitude [was] directly linked to murderous kidnapping raids and massacres, the forcible removal of children from their tribes, and frequently lethal working conditions . . . ."

Overall, state policies and actions between 1846 and 1873, abetted by private crimes, reduced the California Indian population from about 150,000 to about 30,000. Throughout the state, survivors fled, hid their Indian identities, or lived with White people, abandoning land, homes, families, languages, and cultural practices.[13]

Near the end of this period, the Organic Act of 1868 created the University of California — a different facet of the settler colonialist project. In creating a new society on Indigenous land, the settlers established the kinds of cultural and educational institutions they were used to. The Organic Act was signed by Governor Henry H. Haight, who argued on racist grounds against ratifying the 15th Amendment to the US Constitution. "If this amendment is adopted," he told the Legislature, "the most degraded Digger Indian within our borders becomes at once an elector, and so far, a ruler. His vote would count for as much as that of the most intelligent white man in the State." The California Legislature rejected the 15th Amendment in 1870.[14]

In its first decades, the University of California was supported by benefactors who had profited

12 Indian slavery had been banned in name, but the law let government officials seize Indian people who were "loitering" or "vagrant" and lease them to the highest bidder, who could then keep and work them without pay.

13 See Bauer (2014) on avenues for Indian survival, especially participation in the wage labor market.

14 See Bottoms (2013:78-88). According to Governor Haight, "[i]t is for the good of the Mongolian and Indian and African that suffrage should be confined to the white race." California did not ratify the 15th Amendment until 1962.



Figure 9: School girls at the Hoopa Valley Indian Boarding School, photograph by Pliny Earle Goddard, 1901 (PAHMA #15-3044).

from the Gold Rush and other uses of California natural resources, that is, from the displacement and killing of Native people. Directly or indirectly, the capital that endowed the university came from the exploitation of Indigenous people and their cultural and natural resources.[15] To be sure, related histories are found in many American universities (Beckert et al. 2011, Wilder 2013). At Cal, what is distinctive is how recently our institution was built on the backs, and with the blood, of our state's Indigenous people.

2.2 Assimilation, collection, and salvage

The era of killing eventually ended, when Native Americans no longer occupied land desired by White Americans.[16] At the end of the 19th century, the Native experience shifted to a period of "assimilation." This was defined above all by two government policies: forced removal of children to attend boarding schools (beginning in 1884), where they would be punished for speaking their languages or engaging in traditional cultural practices, and would instead be taught to join the wage economy and engage in Euro-American cultural practices (Figure 9); and partitioning communal reservation land for individuals (via the 1887 Dawes Act). Both policies were driven by a desire to convert Indians from their traditional practices into those better suited to American capitalism and liberal democracy — to "kill the Indian ... and save the man," in the notorious words of the Carlisle Indian School superintendent (`https://goo.gl/YkLQd7`).

Yet "the end of bloodshed did not mean the end of violence," as Piatote (2013:2) has written:

> Indian economies, lands, kinship systems, languages, cultural practices, and family relations — in short, all that constituted the Indian home — became the primary site of struggle.

15 Cf. Clifford (2013:168): "To say this is not to assert an automatic, or functional, complicity between anthropology and predatory capitalism, but rather to open a discussion of the institutional, structural constraints within and against which the humanistic work of the founders [of Anthropology at the University of California] was pursued."

16 See Treuer (2019) for a compelling account of Native American history since 1890.



Figure 10: California Room, UC Museum of Anthropology, 1911 (PAHMA #15-5398).

> The battle, although not the stakes, moved from the indigenous homeland . . . to the familial space of the Indian home . . . .

There is a link between the ideology of assimilation, put into action by the US and California, and the retrospective or "salvage" (Gruber 1970) orientation of early academic research on Native American people. Native cultures, it was assumed, would soon vanish.

For many outside researchers, what was most striking about Native California was the immense diversity of its Indigenous languages and cultures (Kroeber 1908). California has more linguistic diversity than any comparable area in the western hemisphere, with over 90 Indigenous languages belonging to 21 of the 61 North American language families (Golla 2011); see Figure 11. Our state's cultural complexity is similarly profound (Heizer 1978, Lightfoot and Parrish 2009).

In 1901, with the establishment of linguistics and anthropology departments, the University of California initiated a broad research program relating to Native American people.[17] University researchers entered Indigenous communities to record information and collect artifacts relating to their cultures and languages. Academic leaders at Berkeley included Benjamin Ide Wheeler, the linguist and UC President who headed the Department of Linguistics; his student Pliny Earle Goddard, who wrote the first American PhD thesis in linguistics (published in 1905, on the Hupa language of northwestern California) and taught linguistics and anthropology at Cal; and A. L. Kroeber, a student of Franz Boas (sometimes called the "father" of American anthropology) who came to California in 1900 and became a major international figure in his own right (Kroeber 1923, 1925, 1939, 1976). These scholars, their colleagues, and their students changed and created disciplines, making academic reputations on the basis of work with Indigenous people.

17 The Department of Linguistics was disbanded within a decade after a turf battle with Anthropology over the best academic home for language documentation. It was not reinstated until 1953.

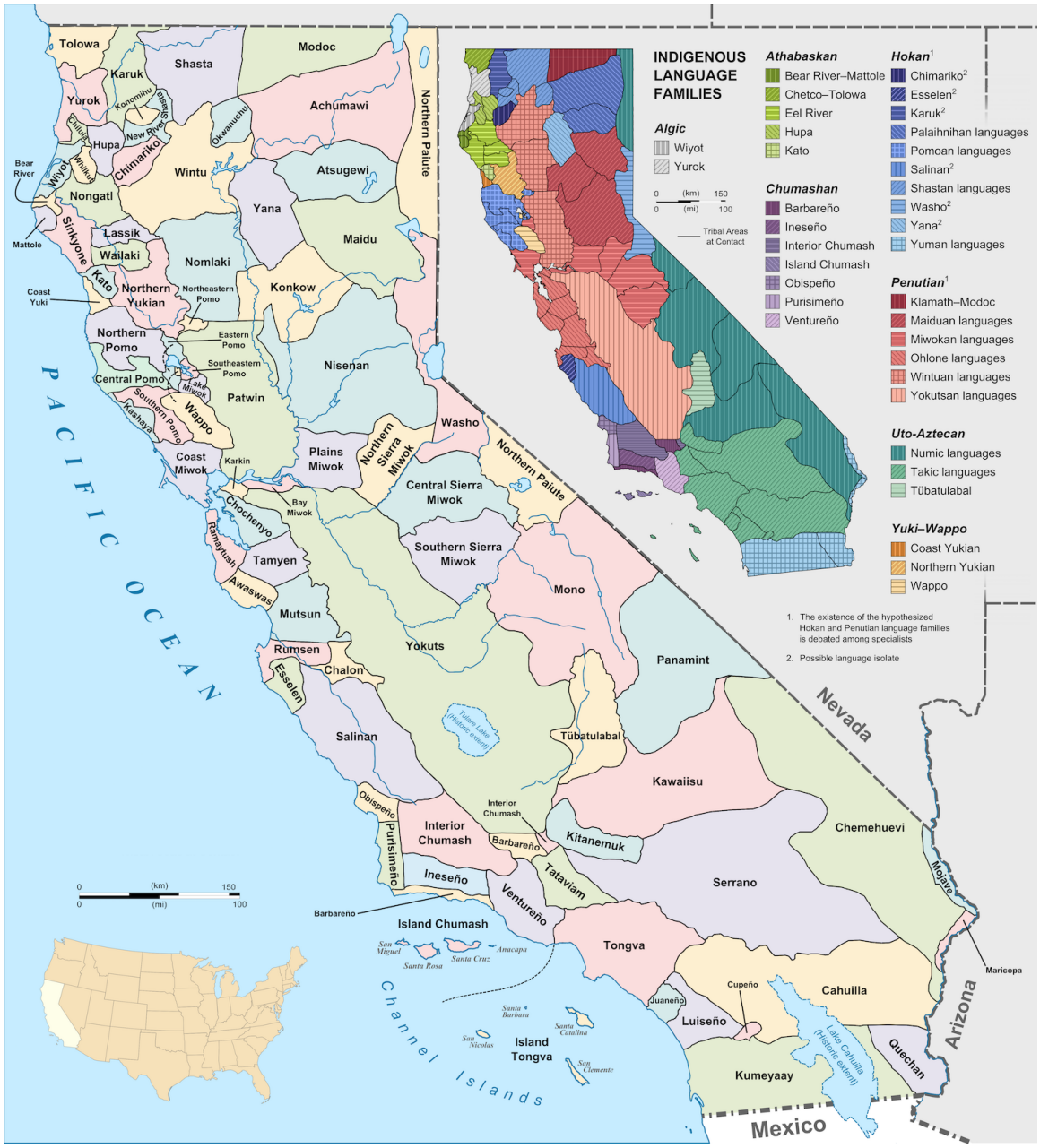


Figure 11: Indigenous California languages (map by Hannah Haynie and Maziar Toosarvandani, SCOIL, 2011, colorized with an inset summary by an anonymous Wikipedia user). Note that Yokuts, depicted here as a single language in the Central Valley, is in fact probably about ten or a dozen distinct languages; Kumiai (Kumeyaay on the map) is six languages (Miller 2018).

The collection of indigenous objects and knowledge was part of a broader 18th- and 19th-century western project to collect the vernacular and the indigenous. Christen (2018:403) emphasizes the colonial context of some of this work:

> The origins of modern archives are intimately linked to colonial logics of vanishing races, imperial projects of collection, and colonial nation-making strategies. . . . The archive was simultaneously a physical place to store Indigenous materials and a political representation of policies of displacement and destruction of Indigenous cultural practices, languages, and ways of life.

The broader project was realized in institutions around the world, like the Smithsonian Institution and the Victoria and Albert Museum; and by exhibitions like the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, whose anthropological displays were organized by Boas and Frederic Ward Putnam, later the first head of Berkeley's Anthropology Department (Bancroft 1893, Boas 1893). At Berkeley, the new Department and Museum of Anthropology (Figure 10) were to be organized around "expeditions, explorations, and researches" that would yield "collections."[18]

During the salvage research period, anthropology and linguistics were retrospective in their orientation and extractive in their practice. What *were* (not *are*) Native cultures and languages? How can they be preserved in museums for science, in formaldehyde as it were[19] (not in situ for living communities)? As Boas wrote in 1901, encouraging the establishment of linguistics and ethnography at a growing University of California, a researcher should go to "the foot of Mount Shasta to collect a language which is spoken at the present time by eight individuals only."[20]

Boas and his students were progressive in rejecting racism and evolutionism, and insisting that Native American cultures and languages are as complex, and as worthy of appreciation and study, as those of any people. Anthropology, he wrote, can "impress us with the relative value of all forms of culture" (1904:524).[21] Yet the salvage approach they practiced had deleterious effects.

Informed by a belief that all California Indian tribes were "on the verge of extinction" (in Boas's phrase), UC researchers collected objects and information about Indigenous languages, stories, and cultural practices from before the European invasions. The effects of those invasions — Native experiences of genocide, survival, and resistance — were regularly elided. For example, among dozens of Yurok-language texts Kroeber recorded or transcribed in the first decade of the 20th century, only one concerned a historical event. Contemporary ethnographic photographs, too, sometimes highlighted traditional styles and cultural features as reported by Indigenous people or imagined by outsiders; in Figure 12, compare the romanticized photograph by Curtis with Merriam's photograph of people he had grown up among.[22]

18 Phoebe Apperson Hearst et al., "Suggestions for the organization of a Department of Anthropology," September 1901 (Bancroft Library, CU-1, Carton 38, Folder 31; Farrell and Hull 2001). For a range of perspectives on the early period in Berkeley anthropology, see Thoreson (1975), Golla (1984), Jacknis (1993, 1996, 2000, 2002b), and Kroeber and Kroeber (2003). The complexities and contradictions of this period are explored with particular clarity by Platt (2011) and Clifford (2013: chapter 4, "Ishi's Story").

19 Or literally, in some cases (Starn 2004).

20 Letter to Zelia Nuttall, 11 April 1901 (Bancroft Library, CU-5, Series 1, Carton 6, Folder 97; Farrell and Hull 2001).

21 See Epps et al. (2017) for an appreciation of Boas's humanistic legacy.

22 In the 1960s, Elizabeth Dollar (Figure 12, right) worked with Robert Oswalt to document her life experiences and the Southern Pomo language. The resulting materials have been archived in the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages (`http://cla.berkeley.edu/list.php?pplid=250`).



Figure 12: LEFT, Maggie Hostler (Hupa) in ceremonial dress with her child, photograph by Edward S. Curtis (1907-1930: plate 450), ca. 1923; RIGHT, Elizabeth Cordova Dollar (Dry Creek Rancheria) and her children Ruth, Gilbert, and Lena, photograph by C. Hart Merriam, 1925 (BANC PIC 1978.008).

Seaburg (1994:19-23) identifies six key assumptions of salvage ethnography:

1. "Traditional Indian languages and cultures are fast disappearing forever."
2. "These traditional cultures need to be recorded, collected, and preserved for the sake of science before it is too late."
3. "Only the old Indian traditions have value — the older, the more valued."
4. "Native people were not encouraged to interpret their own cultures."[23]
5. "Indian consultants were viewed as culture-bearers .... [They] were seldom seen as socially and historically situated individuals."
6. "The goal ... was the reconstruction of an ideal pre-contact or aboriginal culture."

Such work had the admirable goal of countering racist talk about "primitive" societies by showing the complexity and diversity of Native cultures, but it neglected actual Indigenous lives. As Karuk scholar Julian Lang (1991:xx) has written, Kroeber "never introduced us to the living people."

Academic histories of this period tend to ignore the agency of Indigenous people. But many of the earlier ethnographic and linguistic documents now housed in Berkeley archives record the knowledge of people who chose to speak with researchers. This work could have a coercive flavor,

23 It might be more accurate to say "Native laypeople." A distinctive aspect of Boas's practice was his training of Native anthropologists such as Ella Deloria (Yankton Lakota; Deloria 1932, Boas and Deloria 1941, Deloria 1988), William Jones (Meskwaki; Jones 1904), and Archie Phinney (Nez Perce; Phinney 1934), including a collaborative relationship with George Hunt (Tlingit; Boas and Hunt 1902, 1906) that has been the subject of extensive discussion from very different perspectives (see, e.g., Briggs and Bauman 1999, Darnell 2001). See also §2.3.

especially if researchers controlled critical resources. But even so, Indian people were not all just passive "objects" of study — they made choices about what to communicate, and why.

For example, Yurok elder Domingo (Figure 13) made a series of sound recordings with Kroeber between 1906 and 1909, including mostly songs and traditional narratives. One set of recordings was an account of traditional fishing, gathering, and hunting rights. Domingo ended with a thoughtful defense of Indigenous land rights:

Kwelekw weet skewok kee 'nekch'o'	This is what I want to tell you . . . .
Nuemee sku'y soo nee megetohlkwee' k'ee hlkehl.	This land is very well *megetohl*.
Kelew poy 'ee ma 'ap sonowo'w.	You (White people) got to be in charge.
Nee yegolue' kwelekw neemee ho megetohlkwee'.	You said it (this land) wasn't *megetohl*.
K'ee reeek'ew tue' neekee ko'see megetohl.	But on this river every place is *megetohl*.
Neekee chyue 'ok'w 'wewolek'	Everything has a name . . . .
Weet soo ho megetohl.	That's how it was *megetohl*.

Here he highlights a revealing difference between English, which distinguishes *owning* from *taking care of*, and Yurok, where these two senses are conveyed by a single verb *megetohl(kwee')*.[24]

Many Indigenous people chose to work with outsiders to record languages, stories, and cultural practices for their own people, in the face of the destruction wrought by Euro-Americans. Angela Colos and José Guzman — the last first-language speakers of Chochenyo — worked in the 1920s with linguist J. P. Harrington on the documentation of their language.[25] Chochenyo language activist Vincent Medina has passionately described their decision:

> [They] worked frantically to record, speak, and protect Chochenyo, the language spoken in the East Bay since time immemorial, which was on the brink of death . . . . They made a conscious decision to keep speaking Chochenyo and to fight against time as though in defiance of gravity. They knew they were the only ones who could protect our language . . . . They weren't going out without a fight.

Miranda (2013:28) writes similarly about Isabel Meadows (Figure 45, p. 70), whose work with Harrington on the Rumsen language yielded thousands of manuscript pages in the 1930s:

> [I]n between the language lessons and Coyote stories Harrington was after, Isabel snuck in the stories *she* wanted to salvage: her own private project, a memorial, and a charmstone of hope for future generations . . . . I regard the fieldnotes that J. P. Harrington took while working with Isabel Meadows as her body of work: her engagement in the creative use of words, literacy, and empowerment on behalf of her community.

Materials assembled by academic researchers are traditionally regarded as their intellectual work (e.g., the "A. L. Kroeber Papers"), but there is every reason to see them also as the creative cultural and intellectual work of Indigenous interlocutors finding new ways to preserve their knowledge.

24 This Hearst Museum wax cylinder recording (#14-481) is accessible by request in the California Language Archive (`http://cla.berkeley.edu/item.php?bndlid=13302`); a transcript is in the A. L. Kroeber Papers (BANC MSS C-B 925, carton 12, folder 26, Yurok notebook 74, pp. 2-13).

25 Notes from this work (324 pages in all) are preserved in the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages; see Figures 1 and 4, pp. 2 and 10. The following quotation from Vincent Medina is from a 2017 interview on the radio program "Making Contact" (`https://www.radioproject.org/2017/09/language-life-land-sacred/`).



Figure 13: Domingo, photograph by A. L. Kroeber, Weitchpec, Calif., 1906 (PAHMA #15-2713)



Figure 14: Lila O'Neale (left) and Nellie Cooper (Yurok, right), Klamath River near Bluff Creek, photograph by Martha Thomas, 1929 (Bancroft Library, CU-23, Carton 1, Folder 7; in Farrell and Hull 2001).

2.3 Immersion research and Indigenous narrative

Beginning in the decades after the First World War, research practices shifted away from salvage and survey models. More immersive research might instead explore the narratives of interest to Indigenous people, their current perspectives, and their individual and historical experiences. If self-assertion in the salvage era took place despite researchers — even as resistance — newer practices meant that Native research partners and teachers had some freedom to assert agency in university-based projects. We will begin with three examples from anthropology.

1. Lila O'Neale's 1932 Berkeley PhD dissertation focused on the interests, techniques, and aesthetic judgments of the Karuk and Yurok basket weavers she got to know in fieldwork on the Klamath River; see Figure 14. It is about their individual perspectives on their own and each other's work, and the work of earlier weavers whose baskets had been collected for our Museum of Anthropology. As a consequence of her engagement with artists' perspectives, "the impact of her work is still felt" in the study of Native American art (Schevill 1986:132).[26] A decade later, her examination of O'odham color terms with Juan Dolores (O'Neale and Dolores 1943) is remarkable for being ahead of its time, a quarter-century

26 See also Harrison (1948), Schevill (1992), Cadge (2000), Gordon (2002), Jacknis (2004), and Smith (2016). O'Neale's later ethnographic and archaeological work was largely in Latin America. After receiving her PhD, at a time when there were no women faculty in Anthropology, O'Neale taught in Berkeley's Department of Household Art, eventually as Professor and Chair of the department; she was also Associate Curator of Textiles and at times acting head of the Museum of Anthropology. See Barber (1994) on the significance — and the traditional marginalization — of textile analysis in archaeology.



Figure 15: A. L. Kroeber (left) and Robert Spott (Yurok, right), 1939 (PAHMA #15-19477).

before other anthropologists and linguists used color to ask about linguistic relativity; for foregrounding Indigenous experience and perspective; and for co-authoring with a Native American collaborator.[27]

2. Kroeber himself, returning to Yurok in the 1930s after two decades, also had a new style. In this period came a book of narratives co-authored with Robert Spott (Spott and Kroeber 1942), a Yurok friend who worked with Kroeber's students in Berkeley and often visited his family at home; see Figure 15. Spott seems to have viewed his work with Kroeber as a way of recording language and cultural practices for future Yurok generations, and teaching White people to do better (Kroeber 1954, Buckley 1989). In their co-authored book Kroeber always had the last word through his commentary, but it is clear from his seven field notebooks with Spott that the choice of subjects and the analytic structure guiding their collaboration was due to Spott, grappling with the interpretation of his culture.[28]

3. In 1935, the State Emergency Relief Administration sponsored an ethnography project run

27 O'Neale's fieldnotes and research papers are archived in The Bancroft Library (CU-23.1; BANC MSS 2013/185). Her Tohono O'odham collaborator Dolores worked for the UC Museum of Anthropology intermittently from 1912 to 1936, and as a full-time preparator from 1937 to 1948 (Kroeber 1949).

28 These notebooks from 1933, 1939, and 1940 are part of the A. L. Kroeber Papers (BANC MSS C-B 925, Carton 12, Folders 34-40). Kroeber's daughter Ursula K. Le Guin (2004:19) recalled Spott's visits: "There is a photograph of my father and Robert, one listening, the other telling, with lifted hand and faraway gaze. They are sitting on those fireplace stones [an outdoor fireplace Spott built]. Robert and Alfred talked together sometimes in English sometimes in Yurok. It was perhaps unusual for the daughter of a first-generation German immigrant from New York to hear him talking Yurok, but I didn't know that."

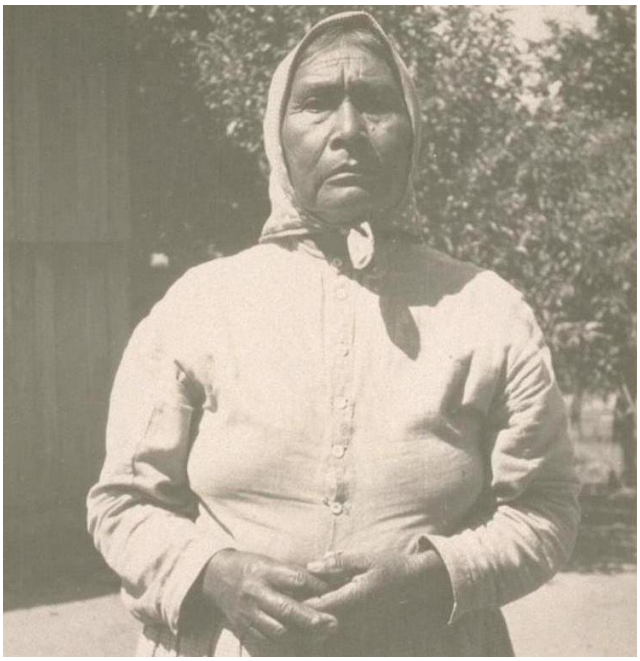


Figure 16: Lucy Young, 1922 (C. Hart Merriam Collection, BANC PIC 1978.008).

by Kroeber and graduate student Frank Essene. In this project, Native people in eastern and northern California were hired to interview elders in their communities.[29] One such elder was Lucy Young (Lassik / Wailaki, Figure 16), who explained her wishes as follows:

> If you could only know the truth of how the Indian has been treated since the first white man came into this part of the country, it would make any ordinary man shake and shudder. I would like to tell you the whole story from 1846 up to the present date. I am afraid it would not be allowed to be put in print.

As Bauer (2016:9) writes, "California Indians asked scholars to tell more complicated histories of cultural encounters between Indigenous People and Europeans." Young's life history was also recorded in a collaboration with Edith Murphey (Young and Murphey 1941). In 1862, she recounts, soldiers killed her father and brother:

> We had young man cousin, got shot side of head, crease him, all covered his blood, everything. We helpum to water. Wash off. No die. That night all our women come to camp. I ask mother: "You see my father, big brother?" "Yes," she say, "both two of um dead." I want to go see. Mother say "No."
>
> Young woman been stole by white people, come back. Shot through lights and liver. Front skin hang down like apron. She tie up with cotton dress. Never die, neither. Little boy, knee-pan shot off. Young man shot through thigh. Only two man of all our tribe left — that battle.
>
> White people want our land, want destroy us. Break and burn all our basket, break our pounding rock. Destroy our ropes. No snares, no deerskin, flint knife, nothing.

29 The resulting material — about 4,500 pages in 90 notebooks — is part of the Ethnological Documents collection (BANC FILM 2216: 42-50, 204); see §3.1.2, p. 42. The following quotation is from reel 204:23, p. 1757.



Figure 17: LEFT, Ted Couro, Mesa Grande Band of Diegueno Mission Indians; RIGHT, Margaret Langdon, UC San Diego (Shipek 1975; [Anonymous] 2006).

Young's life then included a harrowing escape with her mother and sister; forced servitude and whippings in settler homes; the kidnapping of her sister (whom she never saw again) while in US custody; witnessing the shooting and cremation of 40 Indigenous prisoners at Fort Seward; and eventually decades with children and a happy marriage. She concludes:

> We get old age pension, buy li'l place here in Round Valley, keep our horses, keep cow, keep chickens, dogs, cats too. We live good.
>
> I hear people tell 'bout what Inyan do early days to white man. Nobody ever tell it what white man do to Inyan. That's reason I tell it. That's history. That's truth. I seen it myself.

In both anthropology and linguistics, a new interest in the dynamics of cultural and linguistic contact ("acculturation") sometimes led to research on the specific sociohistorical experiences of Native people. For example, Elizabeth Colson's *Autobiographies of three Pomo women* (first published in 1956) is a sensitive presentation of life histories told to her as a student in 1939–1941.[30] She explains that the narratives are simply presented as told (in response to questions she chose), but Sarris (1993:79-114) has insightfully explored the narrators' agency in choosing what to convey and how to convey it.

Within linguistics, two students in the Department of Linguistics, newly re-established in 1953, show the possibilities of a more immersive way of working.

4. Margaret Langdon came to Berkeley as an undergaduate in the late 1950s. Her 1966 PhD dissertation was a grammar of the Mesa Grande 'Iipay (Kumiai) language of San Diego County (Langdon 1970); over a career at UC San Diego she was the leading academic authority on Kumiai, and the Yuman language family to which it belongs. Some of her major work on Kumiai was co-authored with her friends and language teachers Ted Couro and

30 Primarily an Africanist, Colson joined the Berkeley Anthropology faculty in 1964, where she had a distinguished career as "the finest ethnographer of the last three generations" (Royce 2017:142); see also Werbner (2018).

Christina Hutchison — e.g., Couro et al. (1973) and Couro and Langdon (1975), the latter of which emerged from Kumiai language classes Couro taught with Langdon's chalkboard assistance (DeWyze 1997); see Figure 17. Langdon's papers, and sound recordings Native people made with her, are in The Bancroft Library (§3.1.2) and the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages (`http://cla.berkeley.edu/list.php?collid=10070`).

5. Haruo Aoki came to Berkeley in 1958 as a graduate student. His 1965 PhD dissertation was a grammar of the Nez Perce language of the northwest Plateau (Aoki 1970), on which he also published a book of texts and a 1,304-page dictionary (Aoki 1979, 1994) after joining the faculty of Berkeley's Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures. One of his main fieldwork consultants was Elizabeth P. Wilson; see Figure 18.

   Aoki (2014:183) has described the start of his work with Wilson in 1960:

   > As I was finishing my breakfast [in a cafe in Kooskia, Idaho], a woman who was sitting in a corner booth stood up .... "Have you found someone to teach you our language?"
   >
   > "No, I haven't."
   >
   > "All right, you follow me."

   He was then guided some miles to a red house outside town:

   > A tall, thin Nez Perce woman came out and said hello. She was Elizabeth P. Wilson, eighty years old. Vera Blackeagle was the name of the woman who had guided me here. The old lady told me to call her Aunt Liz because that is what everyone called her. Vera explained what I hoped to do and Mrs. Wilson turned to me and said "Say *ha-ha-ts*."
   >
   > I detected that this *h* sound was produced deep in the throat with considerable friction, not unlike the *ch* in *chutzpah* or *Bach*. Immediately I realized that using the frictionless *h* of the English language would result in speaking Nez Perce "with a white man's accent," and this might be the reason for her choice of this test word. So I repeated the word after her, adding a little more friction than the model. This was the Nez Perce word for grizzly bear. Aunt Liz turned to Vera and said, "He has fine ears. I can teach him."

   Wilson was an engaged participant who chose and partly directed this work. Today, the fieldnotes and sound recordings that Aoki made with Nez Perce people in the 1960s (§3.4) are critical tools for language revitalization. Nez Perce scholars work actively with these materials and have collaborated with Aoki for decades; see Figure 19.

In short, in the 1930s and later, Native research collaborators actively directed aspects of their work with outsiders. In this context a revealing comment comes from George Foster, who began anthropological fieldwork in Round Valley as a Berkeley graduate student in 1937 (Foster 1944). Over sixty years later (Foster 2000), he reported the words of Yuki elder Eben Tillotsen:

> He said, "I want you to make sure you get this right because my children and grandchildren are going to know about this only if they read what you write." I thought he had a very far-reaching view of the role of the anthropologist.

This anecdote reveals a key point. Tillotsen had the insight to see that his work with an outsider was for the future benefit of his community, even where the anthropologist could not envision



Figure 18: Elizabeth Wilson and Haruo Aoki in 1960, working on Nez Perce (Aoki 2014:243).



Figure 19: Haruo Aoki being honored in 2017 with a blanket from Nez Perce scholars Angel Sobotta (Lewis-Clark State College, left) and Beth Piatote (UC Berkeley); photograph by Melani King.

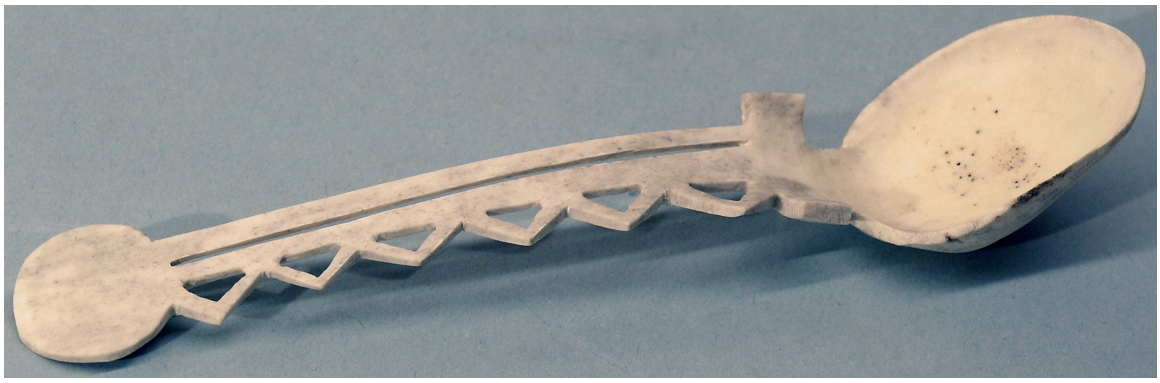


Figure 20: Frank G. Gist, Jr. (Yurok), elk-antler spoon, commissioned by the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, 1995 (#1-259278).

such a possibility. There is no evidence that academic researchers before the 1960s imagined that their "data" would serve Indigenous goals of cultural and linguistic survival and restoration, but some of their collaborators saw this all along.

2.4 Collaboration and Indigenous agency

Academic practice began to change again in the second half of the 20th century, partly in response to Indigenous criticism at a time of national turmoil, including the formation of the American Indian Movement (1968) and the occupation of Alcatraz (1969–1971) and Wounded Knee (1973). The first critiques came to anthropology, as in Deloria's (1969:99) provocative question from a Native perspective: "Why should we continue to be the private zoos for anthropologists?"

In response, the field of anthropology has become more mindful of its duty to Native collaborators and communities.[31] This includes not just attending to community goals, but building capacity and diversifying disciplinary perspectives by training Indigenous anthropologists (e.g., Smith 2016). Movements toward "decolonization" (Harrison 1991, Smith 1999) have begun to change the field in many ways. A representative example of collaborative work at Berkeley was the Hearst Museum exhibit "The Carver's Art of the Indians of Northwestern California" (1995–1996), curated by George Blake (Hupa/Yurok), Frank G. Gist, Jr. (Yurok), and Ira Jacknis (Hearst Museum); see Figure 20.[32]

Collaborations between tribal researchers and Berkeley faculty and students have also emerged around natural resources. One example is the Karuk–UC Berkeley Collaborative, founded in 2008 by Ron Reed (Karuk Tribe) and Tom Carlson and Jennifer Sowerwine (UC Berkeley), whose goal is to foster synergistic collaborations that enhance the eco-cultural revitalization of the people and landscapes within Karuk ancestral lands, including health revitalization and food security, upslope landscape revitalization, the integration of Traditional Ecological Knowledge into school curricula, and other activities.[33] A second example is the UC Berkeley–Owens Valley Paiute

31 For other critiques see, e.g., Lévi-Strauss (1966), Gough (1968), Hymes (1972), and Officer and McKinley (1973).

32 See `https://archive.org/details/cuhm_000001` for a video overview of the exhibit, and Jacknis (1995) for an associated publication.

33 See `https://nature.berkeley.edu/karuk-collaborative/`.



Figure 21: Amah Mutsun Tribal Band members and Berkeley undergraduates process soil samples at Wilder Ranch State Park (Lightfoot 2016).

Project, associated with a College Writing class taught by Patricia Steenland and supported by the campus American Cultures program and The Bancroft Library, in which students work with Paiute elders and campus archival resources to learn about Indigenous water management and the appropriation of Owens Valley water and help repatriate Native cultural knowledge (§4.3.2). A third example is a pro bono project in which Berkeley Law students contribute legal research to the Karuk Tribe's natural and cultural resource preservation work.[34]

In archaeology as well, Berkeley researchers today exemplify a new collaborative paradigm. Kent Lightfoot (e.g., 2005a, 2005b) and others have worked for years with California Indian communities on projects that respond to Indigenous interests, co-authoring with Native scholars and training Indigenous students.[35] This can include examining interactions with Euro-Americans in the historical period, highlighting Indigenous survival and self-assertion, and providing tools that help tribal communities manage their cultural, environmental, and historical resources; see Figure 21.

Discussing a collaborative project involving UC Berkeley, the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians of the Stewarts Point Rancheria, and the California Department of Parks and Recreation, Gonzalez et al. (2006:391-392) write about Native communities as "shareholders":

> As archaeologists we must question how our research contributes to community goals and be flexible and willing to cope with criticism. Collaboration with Indigenous communities must be a central part of our research, and we should endeavor to incorporate community interests into all aspects of our research, from its inception to its methodologies and interpretations.

34 See `https://www.law.berkeley.edu/experiential/pro-bono-program/slps/current-slps-projects/karuk-berkeley-collaborative-legal/`.

35 See Lightfoot and Parrish (2009), Lightfoot et al. (2013), Lightfoot and Lopez (2013), Schneider (2010), and Marek-Martinez (2016).



Figure 22: At the 2017 Yurok Language Institute, sponsored by the Yurok Tribe, participants included language teachers, learners, and program staff, as well as a Berkeley faculty member. Here, participants watched a Yurok-language video of *ʼaawokw* Aileen Figueroa describing baskets.

> By doing this we can help to empower the communities that we are ethically accountable to, create more inclusive histories of the past, and contribute to an Indigenized archaeology.

The same ethical principles are now accepted in linguistics.[36] In this field, preoccupied with the Chomskyan revolution, the necessary ethical shifts did not really begin until the 1980s. A key public moment was a 1991 Linguistic Society of America symposium "Endangered Languages," organized by Kenneth Hale, who had argued for over two decades in favor of Indigenous voices in linguistics (Hale 1972, Hale and Alvarez 1972). At the symposium, Krauss (1992:10) concluded:

> Obviously we must do some serious rethinking of our priorities, lest linguistics go down in history as the only science that presided obliviously over the disappearance of 90% of the very field to which it is dedicated.[37]

In the years since his warning, Berkeley linguists have taken the lead in promoting language revitalization and capacity building in Native American communities (Hinton and Hale 2001, Hinton 2013, Hinton et al. 2018). In addition to state-wide work with the Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival (a Native-run non-profit organization), Berkeley faculty and students in 2019 maintain active collaborations on revitalization for ten Native American languages: Chiwere, Chochenyo, Crow, Hupa, Karuk, Konkow, Lakota, Nez Perce, Northern Pomo, and Yurok (Figures 19, 22). Some of these are short-term projects; others are long-lasting.[38] The

36 See, e.g., Rice (2006), Czaykowska-Higgins (2009), Leonard and Haynes (2010), Dobrin and Schwartz (2016), and Gerdts (2017); see also §4.1.1 below.

37 Seifart et al. (2018:e325) suggest that Krauss's "guestimate that 90% of all languages would be lost or moribund by 2100 seems not unreasonable for many parts of the world, if on the pessimistic side for others."

38 As examples, see `http://linguistics.berkeley.edu/~karuk/` for Karuk, see `https://www.konkow.org/` for Konkow, and see `http://corpus.linguistics.berkeley.edu/~yurok/` for Yurok.

last two decades have seen five PhD dissertations by Indigenous linguists and language educators studying language learning, restoration, and revitalization.[39] And a Designated Emphasis in Indigenous Language Revitalization, for doctoral students in any program (e.g., Anthropology, Education, Ethnic Studies, Linguistics), institutionalizes campus commitments in this growing area of engaged scholarly practice (Bahr 2018).

2.5 Summary

In anthropology, archaeology, linguistics, and beyond, Berkeley leads in sponsoring respectful collaborations with Native communities. Still, historical contradictions abound:

- UC Berkeley is the "crown jewel of public higher education" (in Walter Hewlett's phrase), a site for diversity, social change, beneficial research, and eclectic creativity.[40] Yet not so long ago, it was founded by colonizers who had invaded Native land, for the education of their children, with capital derived from appropriation and genocide.

- Early 20th-century researchers devoted years of study to reconstructing Native practices, beliefs, stories, and languages as they might have existed before European contacts. A. L. Kroeber's *Handbook of the Indians of California* assembled what he had learned in a magisterial work that only he could have written. Yet a reader will look there in vain for an account of Native interactions with White people, experiences of displacement or killing, or sociocultural impacts of the European invasions. This was purposeful (Kroeber 1925:vi):

  > I have omitted all . . . accounts of the relations of the natives with the whites and of the events befalling them after such contact was established. It is not that this subject is unimportant or uninteresting, but that I am not in position to treat it adequately. It is also a matter that has comparatively slight relation to the aboriginal civilization.

  This disclaimer comes from a scholar who worked extensively with elderly people who had lived through the second half of the 19th century. No outsider was ever better positioned to describe how Indigenous Californians experienced the destruction and transformation of those decades — what they suffered, how they survived, and how they asserted themselves and continued their lives in new ways.[41] By depicting California Indians not *as they were* but *as they had formerly been* (in the outsiders' view), early researchers instead helped form a broader social perception that Indian cultures had vanished.

- After Robert Spott (p. 29 above) met Kroeber, he recounted "how it felt to be looked at like you were a bug. That is what the anthropologist did" (Fryer 1995:169). Yet he decided

39 See Romero (2003), Sims (2004), Leonard (2007), Crawley (2008), and Begay (2017). Other PhD dissertations on Native American languages during this time are by Ahlers (1999) and Haynes (2010) on language revitalization, and by Buszard-Welcher (2003), Weigel (2005), Wood (2007), Escamilla (2012), Spence (2013) and Sandy (2017) on current language usage and speech. Outside the US, Berkeley linguists are very active in collaborative language revitalization projects in Mexico, Peru, and Brazil.

40 See `https://www.berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/2007/09/10_hewlett-text.shtml`.

41 In work published posthumously, Kroeber (1962:58) wrote that "no student working with living Indians could escape the shattering that their society underwent and listening to tales of their deprivations and spoilation." Asked why he had not documented these, he is said to have explained that he "could not stand all the tears" (Buckley 1989:440).

to work with Kroeber, because he "wanted the story of his people written"; they became friends and wrote a book together (Spott and Kroeber 1942).

- When Lucy Young (p. 30 above) was young, her father and brother were killed by soldiers; her sister was abducted and never returned; 40 men from her community were executed near her; and she herself was indentured and whipped. Yet late in life she worked enthusiastically with outsiders (e.g., Essene 1942), and people in her community, to document her experiences and preserve her knowledge.

The details are complex; each participant in each interaction had a distinct sociohistorically situated perspective. But throughout the 20th century, Native people had reasons for working with outside researchers: to tell the world who they were, and what they experienced; and to preserve their knowledge, possessions, and voices for their communities and descendants. These gifts to the future should be used as they were meant to be.

We do not judge the choices made by those who came before us, working in very different times, but we cannot turn away from the consequences of their choices. At the same time, the legacy of the early 20th-century salvage period and its successors is multifaceted; as we said above, it is not easily reduced to a single narrative. In assessing the salvage enterprise from an anthropologist's perspective, Darnell (2018:12-13) emphasizes the value of what Boas and his students recorded:

> Despite the devastating impact of forced assimilation by government- and church-run residential schools, however, contemporary communities are drawing on these documents . . . to bring back traditional forms, especially through the language revitalization programs that are active in many communities. The knowledge . . . is therefore available for contemporary use in new and still evolving ways.

Longtime Yurok cultural activist Joy Sundberg spoke in a similar vein (Platt 2011:46):

> I don't put Kroeber or any of those anthropologists down, because there's lots of things that would not have been documented if it hadn't been for him to come up and interview these people.

And over twenty years ago, Hinton (1996:16) wrote from the perspective of a linguist involved in language documentation and revitalization:

> There is no one in the world who has more at stake and is ultimately more concerned with the quality of our work than the members of the speech communities themselves. The work of Harrington, Merriam, Kroeber, Barrett, and others has never been respected as thoroughly by linguists or treated with such passionate gratitude by them as it is today by Native Californians.

As inheritors of a complex legacy, our mission today is to make this vision possible — to ensure that the materials we are honored to curate are available to the Native communities they came from, and are cared for in respectful ways determined by those communities.



3 UC Berkeley repositories

> Tell the lies now and maybe later
> your descendants will dig
> for the truth in libraries,
> fieldnotes, museums,
> wax cylinder recordings,
> newspaper reports of massacres
> and relocations, clues you left behind
> when you forgot
> to lie
> lie lie lie.
>
> — Deborah A. Miranda, "Lies My Ancestors Told For Me" (in Miranda 2013)

The bulk of Berkeley's Native American archival (non-published) and museum collections can be found in four repositories.

3.1 The Bancroft Library

3.1.1 Overview

The Bancroft Library is UC Berkeley's primary special collections library. It holds more than 690,000 volumes; 175,000,000 manuscript items; 9,000,000 photographs and other pictorial materials; 25,000 maps; and more than 3,000,000 digital files. It houses the largest American collection of Egyptian papyrus texts, significant collections of medieval European manuscripts, major collections documenting the history of books and printing, the papers of Mark Twain and other American authors, the University Archives, and hundreds of other important collections. Its collections cover a broad range, but the primary mission of The Bancroft Library is to preserve primary resources that enable the writing of successive histories of western North America.

The Bancroft Library is thus a major center for research in Native American studies as well as in the related disciplines of anthropology, archaeology, linguistics, and western American history. Its holdings, which document prehistory to the present, include significant collections of original manuscripts, pictorial materials, video and audio recordings in addition to printed sources. They have supported research in all the fields mentioned for more than a century. The collections contain extensive holdings from the period of European exploration and travel and are especially rich in the Spanish colonial, the Mexican, and more recent US periods in the West, with extensive material relating to Native American encounter and contact.

The most significant component of the collection focuses on the Native American cultures of California, documented in part in the extensive records of the Department of Anthropology and its faculty, and the records of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology prior to 1958. Bancroft also holds important collections on the peoples of the Plains, the Far West, Alaska, Mexico, and Central America, as well as Pacific island cultures. Topics covered extensively include Native western American languages and linguistics, art and architecture, basketry, land claims and

boundaries, religion, myths, and folktales. The principal collections comprise professional and personal archives (manuscripts, diaries, correspondence, field and laboratory notebooks, reports, maps, correspondence, oral histories, pictorial materials, etc.). Though largely in English, there is also substantial documentation in Spanish and the languages of the indigenous peoples of North and Central America. In addition, The Bancroft Library includes an extensive collection of publications, both books and periodicals related to Native Americans. The collection includes both a rare book collection and a collection of secondary materials.

Native American archival (manuscript, pictorial, and map) materials in The Bancroft Library include approximately 1500 collections/items. It is likely that a few hundred collections are not counted in this number because their catalog records do not include "Indians of North America" under the subject headings; California mission records from the original Hubert Howe Bancroft collection are an example. Approximately 900 collections or items within this group of holdings contain material specific to California Indians. Many of these collections are not cataloged at the item level.

These include the following:

- **750 manuscript items and collections** (individual collections range up to 213 cartons). Manuscript items include mission records collected by Hubert Howe Bancroft, materials collected by Alphonse Pinart, settler letters and diaries, correspondence and reports from War Department officials, and anthropological records with extensive fieldnotes documenting languages, stories, customs, and traditions of Native American peoples. Another rich component of the Bancroft holdings are materials related to UC Berkeley's Department of Anthropology, including the Records of the Department, Ethnological Documents, and the papers of Berkeley anthropologists including A. L. Kroeber, Robert H. Lowie, Robert F. Heizer, and others. Bancroft also has the papers of anthropologists from other institutions. Other materials from the 20th century include oral histories (e.g., the Oral History Center's recent Rosie the Riveter project), and 20th-century records of Native Americans including the California League for American Indians and the Intertribal Friendship House's American Indian Community History Center Project. The Bancroft Library also holds considerable material related to the indigenous peoples of Mexico, Central America and a few scattered collections related to South America.
- **150 pictorial items and collections** (many individual collections include thousands of items each). Pictorial collections range from framed artwork of Native American subjects, photographs of mining scenes, Modoc War portraits, photographs found within the many government surveys, such as the Geological Surveys and Railroad surveys, E. S. Curtis's photogravure portraits *The North American Indian* (Figure 12), anthropological pictorial documentation such as that done on a large scale by C. Hart Merriam (Figures 12, 16, 45), and Ira Nowinski's 21st-century photographic project documenting Native Americans in California (Figure 26). There are also images of Native Americans included in the archives of individual photographers, albums of individuals, etc., where their presence is not reflected in cataloging records or other collection descriptions. See Figures 23-24.
- About **60 maps and map collections** (collections range from a dozen to >100 maps). These are mainly collections of print maps annotated by anthropologists or early surveyors, often supplemented with hand-drawn maps; a couple are drawn by Native people.



Figure 23: Fritz Wikersheim, watercolor and pencil drawing of an Indian rancheria on the banks of the Feather River, ca. 1845–1851 (Robert B. Honeyman, Jr. Collection, BANC PIC 1963.002:1304:24--ALB).



Figure 24: Golden Feather Mining Claim, No. 14, Feather River, Butte County; photograph by Carleton Watkins, 1891 (BANC PIC 19xx.197 Set 1:14--ffALB).

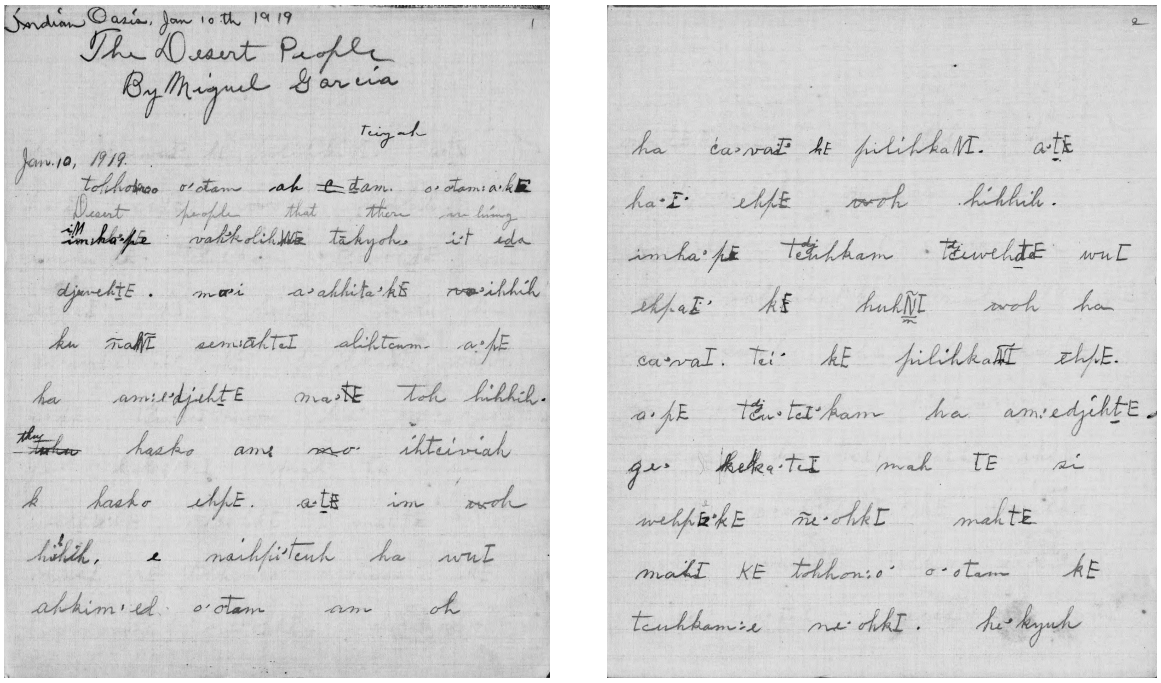


Figure 25: Two pages of transcription of O'odham language spoken by Miguel Garcia, working with Juan Dolores (Tohono O'odham), 1919 (Ethnological Documents collection, BANC FILM 2216: 134.1.14).

3.1.2 Representative collections

- The linguistic materials of **Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta**, a missionary at San Juan Bautista (1808–1833) and four other central California missions (1833–1840), are housed in The Bancroft Library. Based on Arroyo's interactions with Indigenous people in the missions, they include detailed vocabulary and grammatical information about eleven California languages belonging to eight different language families (Fountain 2013). For a few languages his material represents our only surviving information; they are not otherwise documented. Arroyo's extensive documentation of Mutsun has been critical in recent language revitalization (Warner et al. 2006, 2016). The most important linguistic manuscripts are digitized and online: a 94-page Mutsun phrase book (BANC MSS C-C 19), a 172-page notebook (BANC MSS C-C 60), and two notebook volumes titled *Lengua de California* (BANC MSS C-C 63a); see Figure 2, p. 4.

- The **Ethnological Documents of the Department and Museum of Anthropology** are composed of 216 separate collections of varying size, mainly from 1875 to 1958. It contains 93 boxes and 14 oversize folders (36 linear feet), including over 50,000 pages of manuscripts and fieldnotes, and thousands of plates and photographs. The collection also has card files, news clippings, genealogical tables, charts, maps, drawings, photographs, and some original microfilm. The overall coverage is global, but with an emphasis on Native Americans of California and the western US (Jacknis 2002a). The collection is available on several hundred microfilm reels, with an online finding aid (`https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt1199q7hq/`). See Figure 25 for an example.



Figure 26: Mural, Alcohol Recovery Center, Colorado River Indian Tribes; former Colorado River Relocation Center, Poston, Ariz.; photograph by Ira Nowinski (BANC PIC 2006.079).

- The **Ira Nowinski California Native American Photograph Archive** contains some 30,000 photographic digital files created from 2006 to 2012, and 4,770 color prints (`https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8mp57rn/`). Nowinski chose the prints to represent the broader project, a survey of California Native groups with emphasis on gatherings that demonstrate the preservation and revival of traditional cultures. Photos document tribal ceremonies and activities such as dancing, singing, and preparing food; regalia; baskets and other examples of material culture; ceremonial structures; regional environments; and other subjects. Included are many individual and group portraits, as well as documentation of the Alcatraz Island occupation 40th Anniversary, Indigenous Peoples Day (American Indian Movement), and other significant events. See Figure 26.[42]

- The **Margaret Langdon Papers**, donated after Langdon's death in 2005, document her life-long work with Kumiai and other Yuman languages of southern California, Arizona, and Baja California (§2.3; Figure 17). The collection contains 29 cartons and 63 boxes (48.85 linear feet) of material in all, notably including not only her own fieldnotes (from four decades of research) but 70 folders with original notes or unique copies of field materials given to her by other linguists. Vocabulary, grammatical patterns, and texts from over a dozen Native American languages are included. An online finding aid was prepared in 2013 (`https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8kd1zx0/`).

42 Nowinski has described the background to Figure 26 (`https://goo.gl/FMQcLq`): "I was invited by the director of the Mojave Museum on the Colorado River Indian Tribes Reservation . . . [T]here were many buildings still standing from the [Japanese American] internment and the resulting photographs feature these buildings in states of disrepair."

3.2 Ethnic Studies Library

The Ethnic Studies Library is the library of the Department of Ethnic Studies. It was established in 1997 by merging the Asian American Studies Library, the Chicano Studies Library, and the Native American Studies Library. Since the founding of the Department in 1969, the collections of these libraries grew from student interest in collecting and preserving a perspective by and for racialized communities that they saw as lacking or marginalized in other campus libraries. The specialized ethnic studies books and serials, archival collections, posters, and audio collections from those three libraries live on in a centralized space on the ground floor of Stephens Hall. The library consists of four collections: Asian American Studies Collection; Chicano Studies Collection; Native American Studies Collection; Comparative Ethnic Studies Collection. Three full-time Ethnic Studies Librarians provide specialized reference and instruction for the department and larger campus community, and take recommendations on purchasing books in the field of Ethnic Studies. They and other library staff regularly host events, such as book readings and student meetings.

The Native American Studies Collection houses archives that range from slides from the 1978 Longest Walk to numerous sound recordings from American Indian Movement meetings. The library also houses a complete set of the California Indian Library Collections (CILC). CILC was created in 1988 with the goal of returning unique cultural materials to California's Native Americans and also making the collections available to all citizens through local libraries. CILC materials consist of sound recordings, photographs, books, journal articles, and unpublished manuscripts and fieldnotes, many of which were gathered by Berkeley researchers in the early years of the last century.[43] Also included in the Native American Studies Collection is an extensive vertical file covering subjects on tribes across the US.

3.3 Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology

3.3.1 Overview

Founded in 1901, the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology is dedicated to the study of cultures from yesterday and today, both near and far. Today, the Museum contains an estimated 3.8 million objects from California and around the world, as well as extensive documents, photographs and film recordings. With its vision to build a fuller understanding of all cultures based on respect, interest, and empathy, the Museum continues a legacy of enrichment and education, and functions as a research unit for UC Berkeley by supporting scholarly discovery and community-based research.

The North American Collection is the Hearst Museum's largest, consisting of more than 500,000 catalog records. Almost 400,000 of these are archaeological, as the Museum cares for archaeological material from Mexico, Canada, and most of the United States. Of these archaeological collections, the Museum's emphasis is in the western US with representative collections from all California counties, as well as large collections from Nevada and the American southwest. The Museum's earliest — and some of the most significant — collections were excavated under

43 See `http://eslibrary.berkeley.edu/NASsites/california-indian-library-collections`.

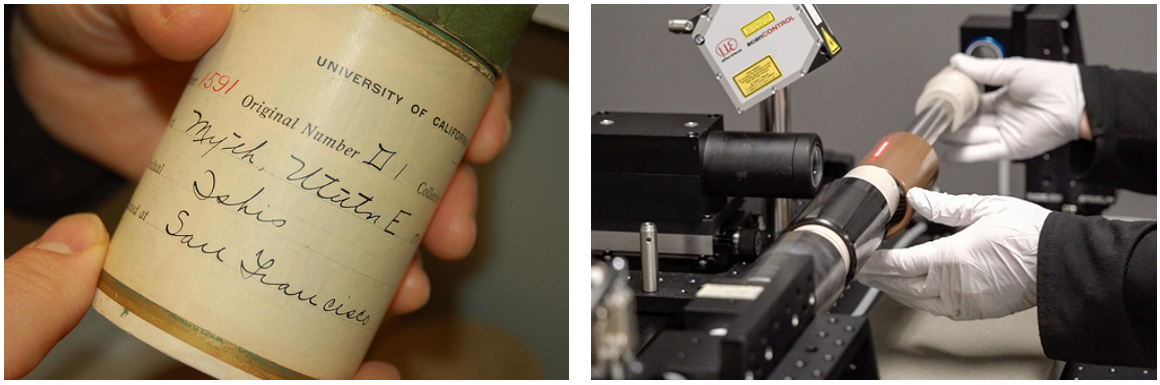


Figure 27: LEFT, Wax cylinder record from Ishi's Story of Wood Duck, in Yahi, 1911 (PAHMA #14-1591, `http://cla.berkeley.edu/item/14636`); RIGHT, Setting up cylinders to scan, Digital Imaging Laboratory, UC Berkeley Library, 2018 (photograph by Jami Smith, Hoban 2018).

the direction and patronage of Phoebe A. Hearst herself. Other major collections from northern and central California, including the Bay Area, were excavated by Berkeley faculty and students in advance of the mid-20th-century dams and road projects that destroyed many of California's archaeological sites. As a result, approximately 10% of the Museum's archaeological objects are held for federal agencies.

The Hearst Museum holds the largest, most representative, and best documented collection representing Native Californian peoples. The foundation was laid by curator and museum director A. L. Kroeber between 1901 and 1916. Until the present day, the museum has continued to document the region's Native cultures. The institution is especially well known for its collection of more than 8,000 baskets, with particular strengths in the Klamath River region (Hupa, Karuk, Yurok) and the Pomo. Beyond California, the Museum's most important Native collections from the rest of North America come from Alaska, the Southwest, and the Plains. The largest and most significant of these was donated to the University in 1897 by the Alaska Commercial Company — ca. 2,400 Eskimo, Northern Athabaskan, and Tlingit and Haida objects.

Native Californian peoples, and those from Native America more generally, are also extensively represented in the Museum's media collections of still photography (ca. 6,000 prints and negatives), sound recordings (3,132 wax cylinders and ca. 250 sound tapes), and films (ca. 400,000 feet, ca. 1960-65), the great bulk of them from Native California. Related collections include hundreds of oil paintings, watercolors, and prints depicting Native Americans from California, the Southwest, Plains, and Alaska. Among the Native drawings and paintings are Pueblo watercolors (1930s) and Northwest Coast silk-screen prints (1970-80s).

Today, these holdings are cared for by the Hearst Museum's dedicated staff, through ongoing consultation with Indigenous communities. While the Museum is proud to serve the Native American linguists, teachers, and cultural and religious authorities who make frequent use of its collections of photographs, sound recordings, and archaeological and ethnographic material, the Museum also values community involvement as a cornerstone of its day-to-day operations. These dynamic relationships include community-based exhibitions of objects, support of ceremonial events and performances, educational programs for Indigenous youth, and repatriation of collections in compliance with federal law.



Figure 28: Unfinished rawhide parfleche collected by Francis La Flesche (Omaha) for the Museum of Anthropology in 1901–1902 (PAHMA #2-5232); see §3.3.2, p. 46.

3.3.2 Representative collections

- The Museum preserves 3,132 **wax cylinder recordings** made in the first decades of the 20th century (including about 400 duplicates). Culturally and geographically, the scope is diverse, with an emphasis on Native California (Keeling 1991). This collection contains the only known sound recordings of at least eight languages; 71 different Native American languages and song cultures are represented in all. Very long texts recorded on multiple cylinders include Ishi's Story of Wood Duck on 51 cylinders (2 hours 14 minutes).[44] The entire Hearst cylinder collection was recently scanned using non-invasive optical methods pioneered at the Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory and implemented at the University Library's Digital Imaging Laboratory. New sound files for all cylinders, superior to existing analog transfers, are available on request in the California Language Archive and are already in use in Indigenous communities.[45] See Figure 27.

- The Museum cares for 119 Omaha and Osage objects collected by **Francis La Flesche** at the request of Phoebe Apperson Hearst, a friend of La Flesche's close friend and colleague Alice Fletcher (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911); see Dobkins (1992) for discussion. La Flesche, a Native (Omaha) anthropologist, bought — in many cases commissioned —

44 Ishi was the Yahi man who lived in the Museum of Anthropology from 1911 until his 1916 death, and worked with anthropologists and linguists to document his language and culture. His life and legacy have been discussed from many perspectives (Kroeber 1961, Vizenor 1994, Kroeber and Kroeber 2003, Starn 2004, Clifford 2013).

45 This project was funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Science Foundation, and UC Berkeley; for an NSF *Science Nation* video overview see `https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H6AqEppqUDA`. A related project, using the same technology developed at Berkeley, has also allowed repatriation of Passamaquoddy recordings made in 1890 (Kim 2019).



Figure 29: Ceramic jar by Paqua Naho (Hopi, 1890–1955), donated by Norman Hinds to the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology (#2-17048).

these objects for the Museum with funds provided by Hearst in 1902. His correspondence with Kroeber (Dobkins 1992:81) clearly shows a desire to assemble a "complete collection" and his difficulty of doing so in the context of settler colonialism. The extant collection includes clothing, weapons, and a variety of domestic objects; see Figure 28.

- The Museum curates the **American Indian Film Project**, likely the largest US collection of research footage on North American Indians. Samuel A. Barrett, Berkeley's first PhD recipient in anthropology (1908), collected most of this material during a National Science Foundation funded project between 1960 and 1965. The project yielded 362,569 feet of film from many tribes in the American West. Barrett worked closely with tribal groups to ensure accurate portrayals of traditional practices, and consulted them when writing scripts for his voice-over narration. The resulting documentation is of great value to anyone interested in these practices.[46]

- A significant collection was assembled in the 1930s by **Norman Hinds**, a Berkeley geologist who specialized in geomorphology, especially of the Grand Canyon area. Hinds was closely involved with Native people of the Southwest, advocating on their behalf for water rights and representing them in negotiations with the government; he was an initiated member of Tesuque Pueblo (near Santa Fe) and a member of its tribal council. This collection contains about 300 objects from most of the Pueblos (and elsewhere): pottery,

46 Barrett's (1961:155) own description of the project makes clear that his assumptions remained those of the salvage paradigm: he sought to record "these vestigial remains of Indian cultures. It was too late to hope to recapture the total culture, but enough could be recorded to give a fair idea of olden times, before the impact of white contact and the resultant acculturation had completely changed everything."



Figure 30: Children's construction-paper Valentines, Tesuque Pueblo, 1930s (PAHMA #2-17079a-h).

baskets, blankets, katsinas, rattles and drums, toys, wood carvings, and paintings. The paintings include children's art from Tesuque and watercolors created as commercial fine art; the pottery includes a series of objects demonstrating the construction of Hopi pottery as well as works by leading artists such as San Ildefonso's Maria Martinez and Santa Clara's Margaret Tafoya. See Figures 29–30.

3.4 Survey of California and Other Indian Languages

3.4.1 Overview

The Survey of California Indian Languages was created in 1953 as a research unit within the Department of Linguistics; to reflect its broader scope it is now the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages ("the Survey").[47] In addition to sponsoring research on indigenous languages in California and throughout the western hemisphere, the Survey houses an archive of material related to these languages. This includes field notebooks, lexical file slips, working notes, and unpublished manuscripts (over 300 linear feet in all). The Survey also archives sound recordings, mostly created since the 1950s. A few early recordings are on wax cylinders and wire, but the bulk of the sound recordings are on magnetic tape, on portable digital media, and (recently) in born-digital formats. All accessioned sound recordings are digitized, as are many paper items.

The California Language Archive (CLA, `http://cla.berkeley.edu/`) is the catalog of material archived in the Survey and its online portal for digital content. It indexes items on over 450 languages of the western hemisphere. As of late 2018, the CLA includes 19,075 items (each indexing a physical folder or box, a digital file bundle, or both), with 32,479 digital files (1,733 are PDF documents; the remainder are almost all sound or video recordings). The CLA is a member of the Digital Endangered Languages and Musics Archives Network (`http://www.delaman.org`), an international archive consortium, and contributes to the Open Languages Archive Community (`http://www.language-archives.org`), a clearing house of language-archive metadata. Online material is either immediate open-access, on-request (for specified educational, personal, or research purposes), or restricted (access by permission of the donor or donor's designee).

47 Campus financial support (∼$84,000 annually in today's dollars) was originally provided. The Dean of the College of Letters & Sciences wrote (to UC President Sproul on May 5, 1952) that "'time is of the essence' because of the approaching disappearance of Indians who have any familiarity at all with their parent dialects or languages. The project is of great importance, not merely linguistically, but also from the point of view of California history."

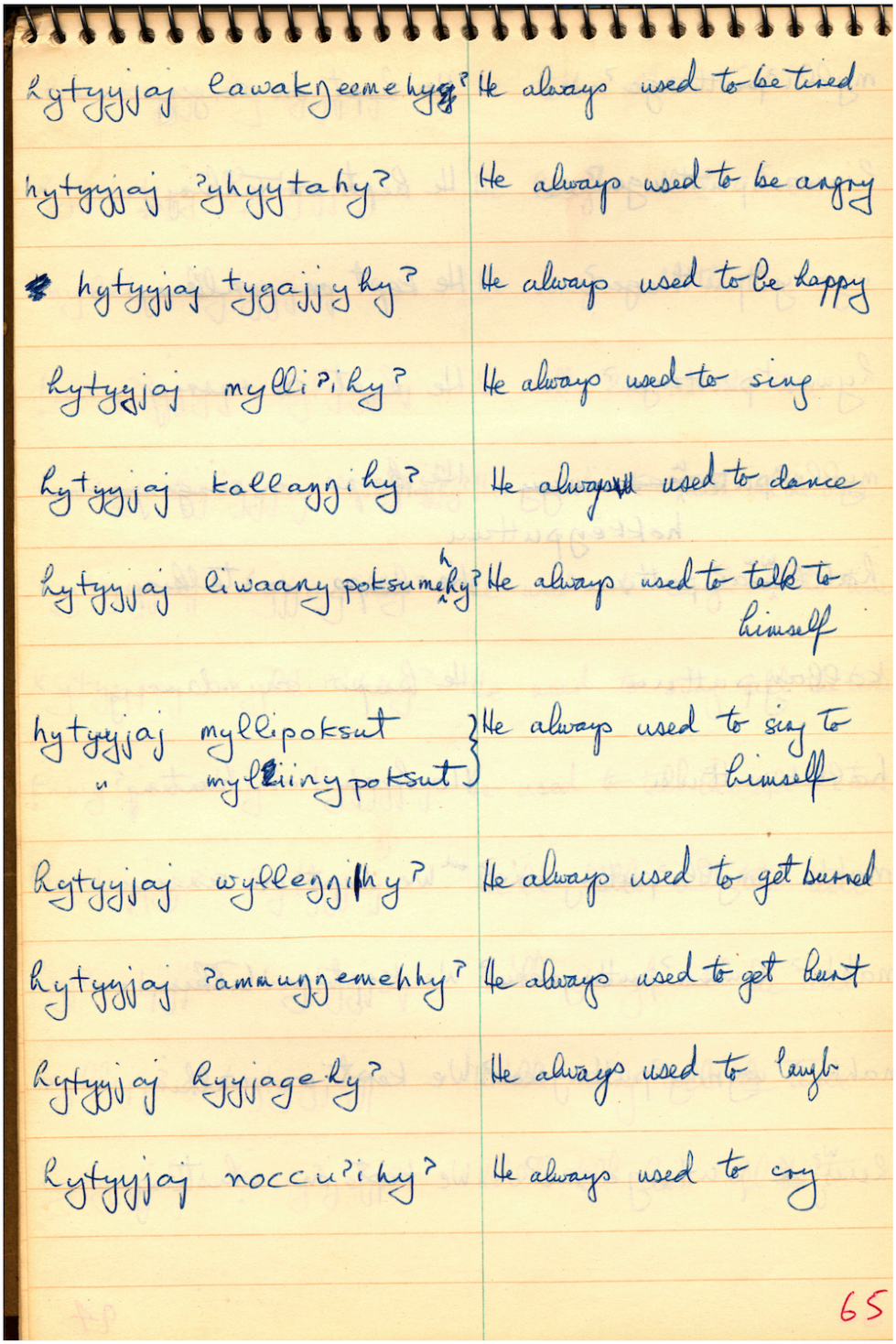


Figure 31: Transcription of Southern Sierra Miwok morphosyntactic elicitation with Chris Brown, working with Sylvia Broadbent, 1956 (SCOIL, Broadbent.002.006).

3.4.2 Representative collections

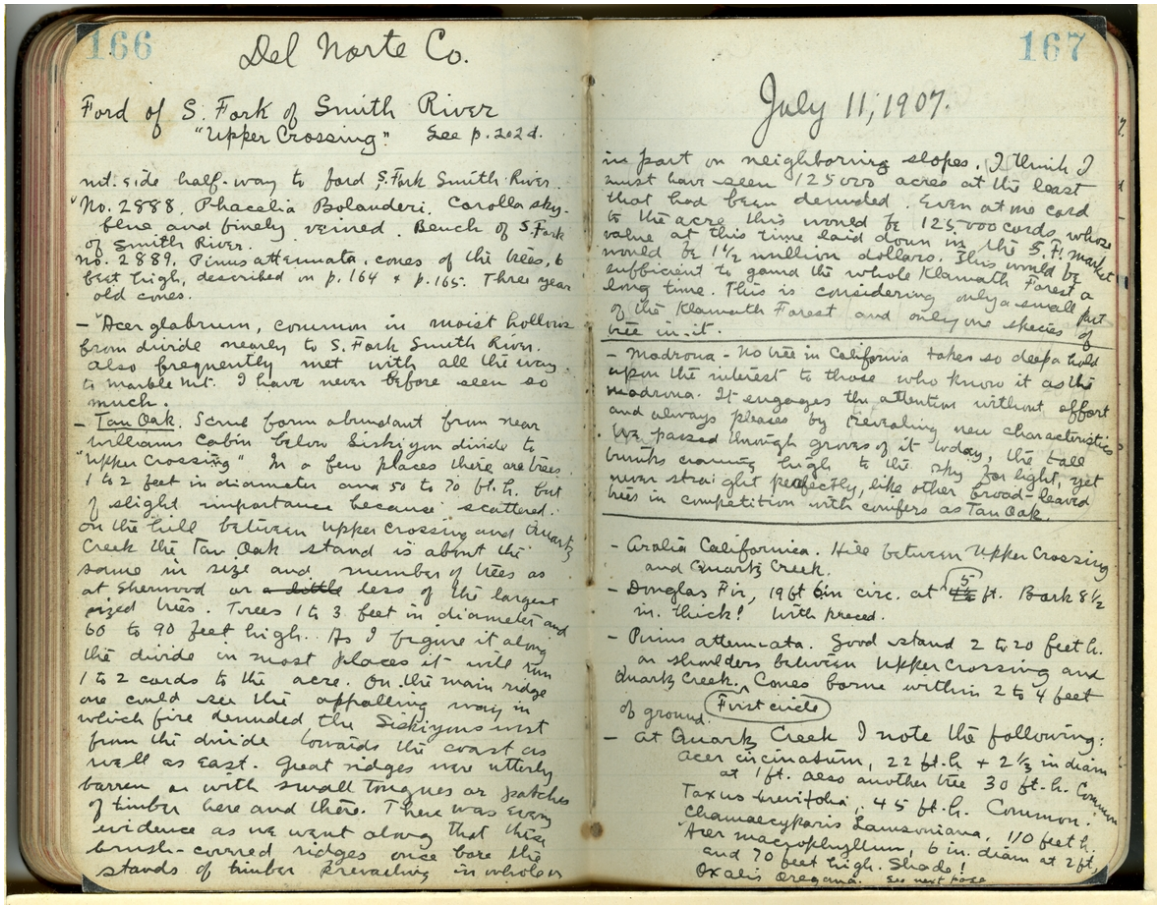
- The **Sylvia M. Broadbent Papers on the Southern Sierra Miwok Language** (`http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.7297/X2D21VHD`) document Broadbent's careful work on Southern Sierra Miwok (1955–1961); also included are fieldnotes on Northern Sierra Miwok, Chukchansi (Yokuts), and Mutsun (Ohlone), and ethnographic notes on Miwok and Pomo. Her publications on Southern Sierra Miwok languages include a grammar of Southern Sierra Miwok (Broadbent 1964) and a dictionary of Central Sierra Miwok (Freeland and Broadbent 1960). The Survey of California and Other Indian Languages also curates 62 sound recordings from Broadbent, (mostly Southern Sierra Miwok, but also Chukchansi and Northern Sierra Miwok). See Figure 31.
- The **Haruo Aoki Papers on the Nez Perce Language** document Aoki's linguistic work on Nez Perce from 1960 through 1972; see §2.3. The collection is in 11 boxes (4.88 linear feet) with 171 catalog items, including 13 field notebooks and an extensive corpus of derivative and secondary materials. The Survey of California and Other Indian Languages also curates sound recordings from Aoki: 23 Nez Perce recordings (stories and vocabulary) and 18 recordings of vocabulary in the closely related Northern Sahaptin language. There is an online finding aid (`http://cla.berkeley.edu/collection/11101`).
- The collection **Kawaiisu language lessons** includes material donated by a community language revitalization and teaching program in southern California. Most of its 51 catalog items include audio CDs and print materials created between 2004 and 2007. Sound files and paper materials are digitized and online (`http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.7297/X2WH2N5N`), according to the preferences of the Kawaiisu people who created them.

3.5 Other repositories

In addition to libraries housing ordinary books, journals, etc., we should mention two other kinds of campus repository with significant Native American materials.

1. There are campus libraries and museums that do not focus on cultural, ethnographic, or linguistic materials but are likely to have items pertaining to Native American cultures. Among them are the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology (fieldnotes, photographs, and maps as well as biological specimens), the UC Botanical Garden (>16,000 accessions), and the University and Jepson Herbaria. Their collections include specimens from Native American contexts that may sometimes be associated with information about their use or relevance for local communities. Tribal natural resource specialists may be interested in the detailed, localized descriptions in sources such as Jepson's field notebooks (Figure 32).
2. Anthropological and archaeological reports, papers, and other limited-distribution items are published by the Archaeological Research Facility and the George and Mary Foster Anthropology Library.[48] Among them are the following in AnthroHub (`http://anthrohub.lib.berkeley.edu/` and eScholarship (`https://escholarship.org/uc/arf`):

48 Omitted below are four Archaeological Research Facility series whose publications virtually all pertain to projects outside the US: Field Reports, Laboratory Reports, McCown Archaeobotany Laboratory Reports, and Then Dig.


166 Del Norte Co.

Ford of S. Fork of Smith River
"Upper Crossing" See p. 2024.

nd. side half-way to ford S. Fork Smith River.
"No. 2888. Phacelia Bolanderi. Corolla sky-blue and finely veined. Bench of S. Fork of Smith River.
no. 2889. Pinus attenuata, cones of the trees, 6 feet high, described on p. 164 & p. 165. Three year old cones.
– Acer glabrum, common in moist hollows from divide nearly to S. Fork Smith River. also frequently met with all the way to marble mt. I have never before seen so much.
– Tan Oak. Scrub form abundant from near Williams Cabin below Siskiyou divide to "Upper Crossing" In a few places there are trees 1 to 2 feet in diameter and 50 to 70 ft. h. but of slight importance because scattered. On the hill between upper crossing and Quartz Creek the Tan Oak stand is about the same in size and number of trees as at Sherwood or ~~a little~~ less of the largest sized trees. Trees 1 to 3 feet in diameter and 60 to 90 feet high. As I figure it along the divide in most places it will run 1 to 2 cords to the acre. On the main ridge one could see the appalling way in which fire denuded the Siskiyous west from the divide towards the coast as well as east. Great ridges now utterly barren or with small tongues or patches of timber here and there. There was every evidence as we went along that these brush-covered ridges once bore the stands of timber prevailing in wholes

167

July 11, 1907.

in part on neighboring slopes. I think I must have seen 125 000 acres at the least that had been denuded. Even at no cord to the acre this would be 125 000 cords whose value at this time laid down in the S. F. market would be 1½ million dollars. This would be sufficient to game the whole Klamath Forest a long time. This is considering only a small part of the Klamath Forest and only one species of tree in it.

– Madrona - No tree in California takes so deep a hold upon the interest of those who know it as the madrona. It engages the attention without effort and always pleases by revealing new characteristics as I passed through groves of it today, the tall trunks crowned high in the sky for light, yet never straight perfectly, like other broad-leaved trees in competition with conifers as Tan Oak.

– Aralia California. Here between Upper Crossing and Quartz Creek.
– Douglas Fir, 196 ft 6in circ. at ~~4~~ 5 ft. Bark 8½ in. thick! With preced.
– Pinus attenuata. Good stand 2 to 20 feet h. on shoulders between Upper Crossing and Quartz Creek. Cones borne within 2 to 4 feet of ground. First circle
– at Quartz Creek I note the following:
Acer circinatum, 22 ft. h + 2½ in diam at 1 ft. also another tree 30 ft. h. Common
Taxus brevifolia, 45 ft. h. Common.
Chamaecyparis Lawsoniana, 110 feet h. and 70 feet high. Shade!
Acer macrophyllum, 6 in. diam at 2 ft.
Oxalis oregana. See next page

Figure 32: Willis Linn Jepson's field book 17, with botanical and geographical detail, 1907 (University and Jepson Herbaria).

- Archaeological X-ray Fluorescence Reports, >400 items
- Contributions of the UC Archaeological Research Facility, 69 volumes (some access restricted to campus IP addresses)
- Publications of the UC Archaeological Research Facility, 21 volumes
- Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers and Special Series, 59 volumes
- UC Anthropological Records, 28 volumes
- UC Archaeological Survey, 75 volumes
- UC Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnography, 50 volumes

These include ethnographic, linguistic, and archaeological reports, scientific analyses, etc., from around the world. Representative titles include the following:

- Pliny Earle Goddard, "Hupa texts" (Goddard 1904)
- Constance DuBois, "Religion of the Luiseño Indians of southern California" (DuBois 1908)
- Sam Blowsnake & Paul Radin, "The autobiography of a Winnebago Indian" (Blowsnake and Radin 1920)
- E. W. Gifford, "Californian bone artifacts" (Gifford 1940)

- Robert F. Heizer, *Collected documents on the causes and events in the Bloody Island Massacre of 1850* (Heizer 1973)
- Kent G. Lightfoot *&* Sara L. Gonzalez, *Metini village: An archaeological study of sustained colonialism in northern California* (Lightfoot and Gonzalez 2018)

We note that some items in AnthroHub identify the locations of excavated human remains (Heizer and Cook 1953), Native cemeteries (Waterman 1920), or ceremonial sites (Kroeber and Gifford 1949). These items are published and sometimes widely distributed (e.g., Waterman's 1920 *Yurok geography* has been reprinted and is sold throughout northwest California), but it may be desirable, as resources permit, to scrutinize all such cases with an eye to removing online publications that contain information that could facilitate looting or unnecessary site visits (which may damage land or a community's sense of privacy).



4 Ethics, curation, and collaboration

> We are blessed with distinct and melodious tongues.
> Our languages are treasures of stories, songs, ceremonies, and memories.
> May each of us remember to share our stories with one another,
> because it is only through stories that we live full lives.
> — Luci Tapahonso, "A Blessing" (Tapahonso 2008:45)

Our working group, UC Berkeley, and the University of California are grappling with issues that are widely discussed. Foundational principles are recognized in conventions such as the 2007 UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People, which states (`https://goo.gl/uKkMB8`, Article 11):

> Indigenous peoples have the right to ... maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures ... States shall provide redress through effective mechanisms, which may include restitution, developed in conjunction with indigenous peoples, with respect to their cultural, intellectual, religious and spiritual property taken without their free, prior and informed consent or in violation of their laws, traditions and customs.

The UN has also proclaimed 2019 as the Year of Indigenous Languages.[49] The UNESCO "action plan" for the Year of Indigenous Languages includes the following points:

- Language is a core component of human rights and fundamental freedoms and is essential to realizing sustainable development, good governance, peace and reconciliation. A person's freedom to use his or her chosen language is a prerequisite to freedom of thought, freedom of opinion and expression, access to education and information, employment and other values enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- Each indigenous language represents a unique system and framework for understanding the world. Elaborate vocabularies are constructed around topics of particular ecological, economic or sociocultural importance. ... [T]he disappearance of a language implies a huge negative impact upon the indigenous culture concerned, as well as on global cultural diversity. Unique ways of knowing and experiencing the world may disappear forever.

More generally, the 2003 UNESCO *Convention pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel* requires that state parties safeguard intangible cultural heritage present in their territories. This includes "practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills — as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith," as manifested in oral traditions, language, performing arts, social practices, knowledge, and traditional craftsmanship.[50]

4.1 Professional ethics

The professional organizations of archivists, anthropologists, archaeologists, and linguists focus attention on the ethics of work with Indigenous communities.

49 See `https://en.iyil2019.org/` and `https://en.iyil2019.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/N1804802.pdf`.

50 See `https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention`.

4.1.1 Scholarly practice

Modern ethical codes emphasize the importance of informed consent from, and attentiveness to the interests of, all research participants. For example, the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and the Commonwealth makes the following important point:

> [Anthropologists] have no special entitlement to study all phenomena; and the advancement of knowledge and the pursuit of information are not in themselves sufficient justifications for overriding the values and ignoring the interests of those studied . . . .[51]

The 2012 Principles of Professional Responsibility of the American Anthropological Association stipulate the following:

> Anthropologists have an obligation to ensure that research participants have freely granted consent, and must avoid conducting research in circumstances in which consent may not be truly voluntary or informed. In the event that the research changes in ways that will directly affect the participants, anthropologists must revisit and renegotiate consent.[52]

The Canadian Archaeological Association (CAA) has likewise adopted a Statement of Principles for Ethical Conduct Pertaining to Aboriginal Peoples.[53] This states that CAA members "agree to abide by the following principles" (among others):

- To acknowledge that Aboriginal people have a fundamental interest in the protection and management of the archaeological record, its interpretation and presentation.
- To negotiate and respect protocols, developed in consultation with Aboriginal communities, relating to the conduct of archaeological activities dealing with Aboriginal culture.

And the 2009 Ethics Statement of the Linguistic Society of America asserts:

> [L]inguists should strive to determine what will be constructive for all those involved in a research encounter, taking into account the community's cultural norms and values. . . . In all cases where the community has an investment in language research, the aims of an investigation should be clearly discussed with the community and community involvement sought from the earliest stages of project planning.[54]

Our sense is that most Berkeley research conforms to disciplinary norms for respectful consultation and community involvement. Needless to say, research and collecting around 1900 took place in a very different academic milieu.[55] Going forward, it is essential for campus archives, libraries, and museums to respect the moral rights of the communities, descendants, and tribal nations of those who created and shared what we curate.

51 See `https://www.theasa.org/downloads/ethics/Ethical_guidelines.pdf`.
52 See `http://ethics.americananthro.org/category/statement/`.
53 See `https://goo.gl/KFcgtV`.
54 See `https://www.linguisticsociety.org/sites/default/files/Ethics_Statement.pdf` and n. 36 above.
55 For example, museum and private collectors were competing in a boom market for Native California baskets (Washburn 1984, Smith-Ferri 1998, Bibby 2012, Schwed and Garfinkel 2016).

4.1.2 Archival practice

Questions of cultural sensitivity and ownership are actively discussed by archivists, librarians, and museum specialists today. Globally, the Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Protocols for Libraries, Archives and Information Services (1995, revised in 2005 and 2010) have been especially influential.[56] In the US, the Society of American Archivists has endorsed the Protocols for Native American Archival Materials, originally formulated in 2007 by the First Archivist Circle, as an "external standard."[57] An important element of these protocols is stated under the heading "Culturally Sensitive Materials":

> Most archives and libraries hold information of a confidential, sensitive, or sacred nature. The amount of this material may constitute a small percentage of the entire collection. For Native American communities the public release of or access to specialized information or knowledge — gathered with and without informed consent — can cause irreparable harm. Instances abound of misrepresentation and exploitation of sacred and secret information. Each community will understand and use the term "culturally sensitive" differently, although there are broad areas of common agreement for Native Americans about this issue.

The American Philosophical Society (APS) — the oldest US archive and library with a Native American focus — has been a leader in articulating culturally sensitive principles governing its Indigenous collections. In 2017, it published new Protocols for the Treatment of Indigenous Materials to which other archives may now look for guidance.[58] A central proviso is the following (together with processes for determining which items are categorized as culturally sensitive):

> If an item is categorized as "culturally sensitive," the materials may be viewed by any person with a legitimate need within the APS library. However, APS will not reproduce the materials or give permission for the materials to be published in either print or digital media, or in any other format, except with the consent of tribal representatives of the tribe from which the materials originate. . . . APS will advise the person requesting reproduction or publication of the materials [of] the necessity of obtaining tribal consent.

"Culturally sensitive" material is defined as follows by the APS and the First Archivist Circle:

- APS: "any indigenous material that depicts a tribal spiritual or religious place (e.g., kiva or Midewiwin map), object (e.g., Iroquois masks), belief or activity (e.g., Cherokee sacred formulae). A spiritual or religious activity may include prayers, ceremonies, burials, songs, dancing, healings, and medicine rituals. The definition of 'culturally sensitive' may include any other definition provided in writing by a specific tribe with respect to any indigenous materials held by APS depicting that tribe's culture or from which the materials originate."
- First Archivist Circle: "[t]angible and intangible property and knowledge which pertains to the distinct values, beliefs, and ways of living for a culture. It often includes property and knowledge that is not intended to be shared outside the community of origin or outside of specific groups within a community."

56 See `http://atsilirn.aiatsis.gov.au/protocols.php` and `https://goo.gl/RPokKg`.
57 See `http://www2.nau.edu/libnap-p/protocols.html` and `https://goo.gl/KhKUfa`.
58 See `https://goo.gl/gDsQTb`; Carpenter (2019) presents an important discussion of the APS Protocols.

In working with Indigenous communities, Christen (2018:410-411) suggests an archival practice she calls ETHICS (Engage, Talk, Help, Invest, Create, Support):

- Engage: "Projects should begin with engagement with all stakeholders: tribal nations representatives, community members, library staff, IT staff, and graphic designers, for example. Do not start with technologists . . . "
- Talk: "Start by talking face-to-face with all interested parties. And then talk some more, and talk a little bit more . . . If you work at a non-Indigenous library, museum, university, or institution, go to the communities you want to engage, attend their public meetings, and do not have all your interactions in a university setting. Power rests in places."
- Help: "it is important to help people at every step to determine the specific needs for certain tasks."
- Invest: "when partnering with communities who have been displaced and whose resources and knowledge have been used and abused by researchers, it is important to take the time to build relationships by investing in resources."
- Create: "Instead of asking Indigenous peoples to bend to your technology, be willing to bend the technology to their needs, goals, and priorities."
- Support: "Provide ongoing and uninterrupted support for tribal partners including (but not limited to) technical and educational opportunities."

We concur with these ideas, and note that Berkeley repositories have endeavored to implement them over the last two decades (see §4.3).

4.2 Cultural heritage and intellectual property

Information management, access to knowledge, and intellectual property are complex subjects, both over the *longue durée* (Hesse 2002) and cross-culturally. In Western scholarly and scientific traditions, open access to knowledge is often taken as a public good. In non-Western settings, including Native American contexts, researchers may encounter other systems of information management. Christen (2011:189) describes the following differences:

> A commonly held understanding of the public good as being equivalent to unabridged access to public domain materials often blinds collecting institutions to non-Western systems of information management and circulation that work from and mobilize different understandings of "public," "private," and the like. . . . Paying attention to [non-Western] systems makes it more difficult to maintain a generic sense of the "public" — as a category for information distribution — or "open access" — as a universal goal. Instead, emphasizing these systems highlights how relational networks position and obligate people to interact with and maintain cultural materials and knowledge within their community kin base. Indigenous systems of knowledge production, circulation, and access do not resonate with liberal notions of autonomous subjects acting to attain universal knowledge within a generic public domain of ideas; to the contrary, they stretch the definition of "public" and how it can be imagined.

She and other theorists stress the need for archives, libraries, and museums to treat information as a cultural rather than a universal category, so "recognizing indigenous systems as on par with accepted Western institutional models."[59]

59 See Christen (2011:190); see also, e.g., Kreps (2003), Samuelson (2006) and Lonetree (2012).

Copyright laws generally protect specific expressions of knowledge, not the underlying knowledge itself. The Protocols for Native American Archival Materials (§4.1.2 above) highlight gaps:

> Existing copyright legislation does not address issues of significance to Native American communities such as: community ownership of works and management of rights; community interests in public disclosure of religious or sensitive information; protection of older or ancient works (e.g., rock art); the antiquity and accumulative nature of traditional knowledge; and the protection of oral traditions, songs, and other culturally sensitive intangible property.

Another way of framing the discussion is as follows. It can be said that University of California archives, libraries, and museums, as units of a public university, curate their collections in trust for the people of California. Yet in the US, Indigenous tribes are sovereign nations. Our review in §§2.2-2.4 shows that Indigenous people who shared their knowledge with Berkeley researchers, or donated or sold objects to our repositories, sometimes did so for the future benefit of their families, communities, and tribes. It is usually impossible to determine intentions in individual cases, but in general we think it is appropriate to think of our role in this way. We curate Native American intangible and tangible cultural heritage in trust for the people of sovereign tribal nations as well as for the other peoples of California that the University serves. Thus, in managing Native American collections, dual trust relationships exist — both to the people of California and to the people of Indigenous nations. It is right for the latter to assert their cultural ownership over what we keep in trust for them, and to guide our curation of it.

4.3 Berkeley initiatives

4.3.1 Breath of Life

In 1996, what is now called the Breath of Life Archival Institute was launched at Berkeley under the leadership of Leanne Hinton. This is a partnership between the Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival and the Department of Linguistics, in collaboration with The Bancroft Library, the Berkeley Language Center, and the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology. At this biennial week-long event, Native Californians visit a variety of campus archives, learn some linguistics basics (e.g., phonetic writing, syntax, and word formation), and study archival material on their languages. Native participants determine their goals and work with linguistics faculty and graduate students and library and museum staff to interpret archival materials ranging from the late 1700s to the early 2000s; see Figures 33-34.

The Breath of Life program has had a major impact in California language revitalization and linguistics. This includes collaborative work on the revitalization of Mutsun (Warner et al. 2006, 2016), Wailaki (Begay 2017, Scott-Goforth 2017), and other languages; choices made by linguists to write pedagogical grammars rather than traditional analyses (Henry-Rodriguez 2012, Garrett 2014), and by Native Californians to get academic training in linguistics; and new speakers and learners of Chochenyo (Medina 2014), Rumsen (Trevino 2015), and other languages.[60]

60 On the Breath of Life model see Hinton (2001) and Baldwin et al. (2018). Programs inspired by the Berkeley program have been held at the Smithsonian Institution, the University of British Columbia, the University of Oklahoma, and the University of Washington.



Figure 33: 2016 Breath of Life Archival Institute participants in the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages (photograph © Scott Braley).



Figure 34: Karuk language and cultural leaders Nancy Steele and Julian Lang at the 2018 Breath of Life Archival Institute, studying Karuk baskets curated by the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology (photograph © Scott Braley).



Figure 35: Navajo women weaving blankets, Canyon de Chelly, N.M, albumen stereograph, 1873 (BANC PIC 1905.17116:26), included in the 2000 exhibition "Images of Native Americans."

4.3.2 The Bancroft Library

At The Bancroft Library, the amount of informed curatorial work needed to identify, collect, and prepare material for Breath of Life participants is substantial. This material is not cataloged by language or tribe; much of it is fragile and must be handled carefully. Locating, physically preparing, and in some cases didacticizing this material for novices to the Library (creating descriptions, indices, etc.) before it can be used effectively is a labor-intensive intellectual effort in itself.

Since the turn of the century, The Bancroft Library has also increasingly foregrounded Native American materials in its exhibitions, collected materials representing Native American points of view and efforts (i.e., Native Americans organizing themselves and telling their own stories), and presented Native Americans among (rather than isolated from) and interacting with other vibrant present-day communities that make up the American West. For example:

- The 2000 exhibition "Images of Native Americans" included rare books, photographs (e.g., Figure 35), illustrations, and other archival and manuscript materials reflecting European interpretations of Native Americans, scientific and anthropological research, military surveys, literary and political observations, and artistic and popular culture representations.[61]
- Another half-dozen Bancroft exhibitions, beginning in 2002 and continuing through the current "Facing West" show in the Bancroft Gallery (Figure 37, p. 61), have featured Native

61 See `http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/Exhibits/nativeamericans/portrayals.html`. The exhibit received a 2003 exhibition award from the Rare Books and Manuscripts Section of the American Library Association.



Figure 36: Bancroft Library curator Theresa Salazar with Berkeley students in Patricia Steenland's class "Researching Water in the West," 2015 (Cockrell 2015).

American materials and presented Native Californian communities among other regional cultures in telling particular stories about the history of this region.

- The Bancroft Library supports teaching on Native American subjects. An example is Patricia Steenland's class "Researching Water in the West," involving a substantial research and teaching contribution from curator Theresa Salazar (Salazar 2014, Cockrell 2015, Steenland 2015, [Anonymous] 2015). Students in this class have worked with Paiute elders and Bancroft resources to understand land and water management systems before Euro-American appropriation, as well as later history. They have learned about issues related to Native American land and water rights and collaborated with Native people from Owens Valley around the rich documentation curated in The Bancroft Library. See Figure 36.

  From this class came an exhibit in 2013–2014, "Water and Culture: Recovering Owens Valley Paiute History," which examined Owens Valley Paiute water achievements, losses, and contributions to settler society, and expropriation by the City of Los Angeles. Featuring photographs, journals, and maps, this exhibit highlighted early historical records of Paiute irrigation systems and their place in Paiute cultural landscapes. Berkeley student Jenna Cavelle won the 2012 Judith Lee Stronach Baccalaureate Prize with this project.

Recent additions to Bancroft collections illustrate the shift of focus from material about Native Americans of the past to documentation of Native Americans in contemporary society and materials created by and with the Native American community. In addition to the Ira Nowinski California Native American Photograph Archive (§3.1.2 above), these include:

- the records and pictorial materials of the American Indian Community History Center

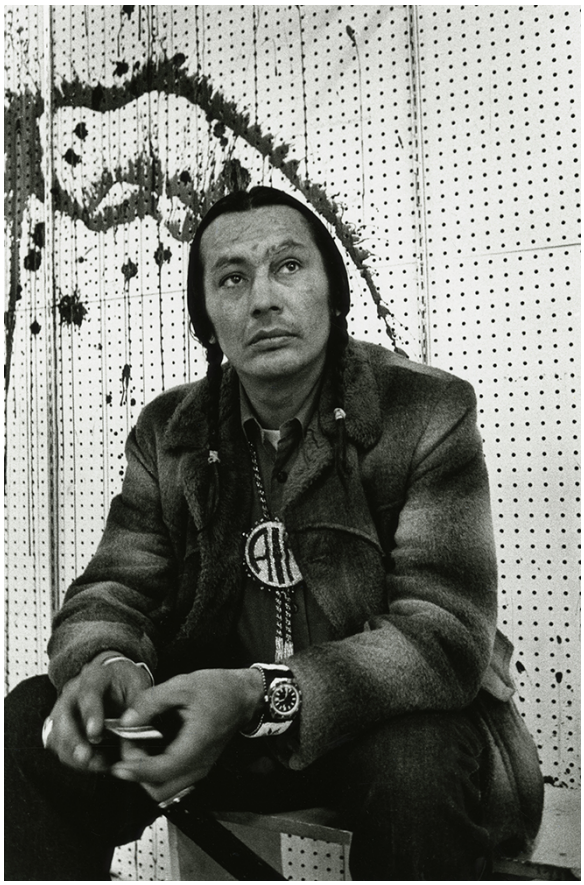


Figure 37: Russell Means (Oglala Lakota), photograph by Michelle Vignes, 1973 (BANC PIC 2003.108, Box 29:1), included in the exhibit "Facing West: Camera Portraits from the Bancroft Collection."

from 1945 to 2000, with 9 cartons of written records and over 15,000 photographs documenting the San Francisco Bay Area urban Indian community and related organizations, events and activities, with an emphasis on the Intertribal Friendship House in Oakland;

- thousands of photographs by Michelle Vignes, who worked closely with activists during the occupation of Alcatraz in 1969–1971 (Figure 5, p. 12) and the American Indian Movement occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973 (Figure 37); and
- about 325 photographs by the New Mexican photographer and ethnographer Miguel Gandert. His work explores Indo-Hispano culture and Mestizo cultural identity (Gandert 1994, 2000, Lamadrid and Gandert 2003) and is described by Weber (2017):

> [H]e has immersed himself in the lives and communities of many, from AIDS victims along the U.S.-Mexico border, to boxers and wrestlers, to *penitentes* involved in religious rituals of Indo-Hispano origin.

Gandert (2008) himself has written about the *matachines* dance shown in Figure 38:

> The dance of the Matachines is a metaphor for the profound. It is the confluence where Europe and the native peoples were able to mediate the conflict and this dance has evolved into a symbolic ritual of the cultural hybridity of the region. This *mestizaje* is



Figure 38: Matachines, Picuris Pueblo, photograph by Miguel Gandert, 1996. This photograph is at the High Museum of Art, Atlanta (#2005.77), and is not part of the Bancroft collection (BANC PIC 2015.056), which is still being processed.

> negotiated in the Matachines as an expression of our Indo-Hispano culture.
>
> Because the fiesta is shared between Native-American and Hispano communities in Nuevo Mexico and along the Camino Real, it is a binational as well as bicultural celebration. The dance ignores both national and cultural borders.

New collections such as these — especially the pictorial materials — add significant breadth and depth to campus Native American resources.

4.3.3 Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology

Recognizing Native American tribes and individuals as among its core stakeholders, and emphasizing close collaboration as instrumental to many of its program areas, the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology actively fosters ongoing relationships with Indigenous communities as part of its daily operations. Native American individuals, delegations, and educators from communities with cultural connections to the materials in the Museum's care are among the most frequent to access its collections. These resources hold great and specific scholarly, educational, artistic, cultural and spiritual significance for tribal members; the Museum regularly fields research questions and hosts visits from Native American communities.

Led by the Cultural Policy and Repatriation Division and the Office of the Director, but involving the unified approach of all staff, Museum initiatives take the form of collections visits and consultations, community-based exhibitions of objects, support for ceremonial events and per-



Figure 39: Berkeley PhD student Fantasia Painter played the title role in Beth Piatote's *Antíkoni*, staged in the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, 2018 (photograph by Irene Yi, Brice 2018).

formances, educational programs for Indigenous youth, and the repatriation of collections in compliance with federal law. For example:

- In 2013 the Museum developed its dedicated Native American Advisory Council (NAAC). Meeting four times a year, and made up of tribal officials, scholars, museum professionals, and artists from tribes throughout California and Nevada, the NAAC advises the Museum on matters ranging from exhibitions, education, public programming, cultural policy, and traditional care. The NAAC has provided guidance on outreach to tribal members as co-curators in exhibitions, on the restriction of access to sensitive images on the Hearst Museum Portal, and on the invitation to hundreds of tribes to participate in the 2016 collections move — which many enthusiastically accepted. Now, in coordination with the NAAC, the Hearst Museum is finalizing its Protocols on the Care of Culturally Sensitive Collections, which formalize the Museum's policies concerning traditional care, access and research on certain materials, and enshrine the Museum's commitment to serve and collaborate with all tribes, whether or not they are recognized by the federal government.

- In November 2018, the Hearst Museum hosted the world premier of a play by Berkeley faculty member Beth Piatote (Nez Perce); see Figure 39. A retelling of Sophocles' *Antigone* set in a museum with significant Native American collections (including human remains), Piatote's *Antíkoni* asks us to think about what the living owe the dead, and the damage to communities whose ancestors' bodies and cultural heritage are in archives and museums.

- For several years the Hearst Museum has co-sponsored the Native American Museum

Studies Institute; this year's institute will be held on the Berkeley campus in June 2019.[62] The goal of this four-day workshop is "to increase the capacity of tribal community members to repatriate, conserve, and revitalize tribal cultural heritage, foster tribal representations and partnerships, and educate tribal and non-tribal communities through museum development and exhibits."

- The Museum has been closely involved in Save the West Berkeley Shellmound and Village Site, and related efforts to protect the site (at what is now 4th Street) from destruction. The Museum has hosted several visits for the Indigenous coalition participating in this work. The Museum cares for materials from this shellmound (Wallace and Lathrap 1975), so it worked with the group to make sure they had as much information as possible to defend their position. Some of this work included providing expert testimony at city and state-capital meetings, attending rallies, and providing a venue for organizational meetings.

4.3.4 Online access

Material related to Native American people and environments that can be found in Berkeley's archives, libraries, and museums is diverse in nature and immense in scope, as the survey in §3 highlights. It includes thousands of collections, originating as long ago as the eighteenth century and as recently as 2018, created in a range of very different contexts.

An additional challenge is that related material is divided among repositories for historical or curatorial reasons. For example, as shown in Figure 40, researchers interested in Cupeño cultural and linguistic documentation will find valuable resources in The Bancroft Library, the Hearst Museum, and the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages.[63]

In some cases, the relations between items in different repositories are very specific. For instance, wax cylinder recordings are in the Hearst Museum and contemporary transcripts are in The Bancroft Library. This is shown for Yurok in Table 1 (p. 66): 23 sets of Hearst recordings correlate with Bancroft transcripts. It would obviously be desirable to be able to read a transcript while listening to a recording.

Information about the largest Berkeley collections is available online via several web portals with distinct locations, features, and organizing principles:

- For The Bancroft Library, Miles and David (2016) created an online guide to Native California materials (`https://guides.lib.berkeley.edu/IndigenousCABancroft`). This is substantial, but incomplete. Researchers must also depend on librarians and library catalogs, which may not indicate the tribal or language associations of the individual items or collections they include.
- The California Language Archive (`http://cla.berkeley.edu/`) indexes material held by the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages, as well as many sound recordings held by the Hearst Museum, and provides online content. See Figure 41 (p. 67) and §3.4.

62 The primary sponsor is UC Berkeley's Joseph A. Myers Center for Research on Native American Issues; see `https://crnai.berkeley.edu/training/museum-studies`.

63 Cupeño is the Indigenous language of the area around the headwaters of San Luis Rey River at the foot of Hot Springs Mountain (San Diego County); in 1903, Cupeño people were forced to relocate 75 miles downriver to Pala.

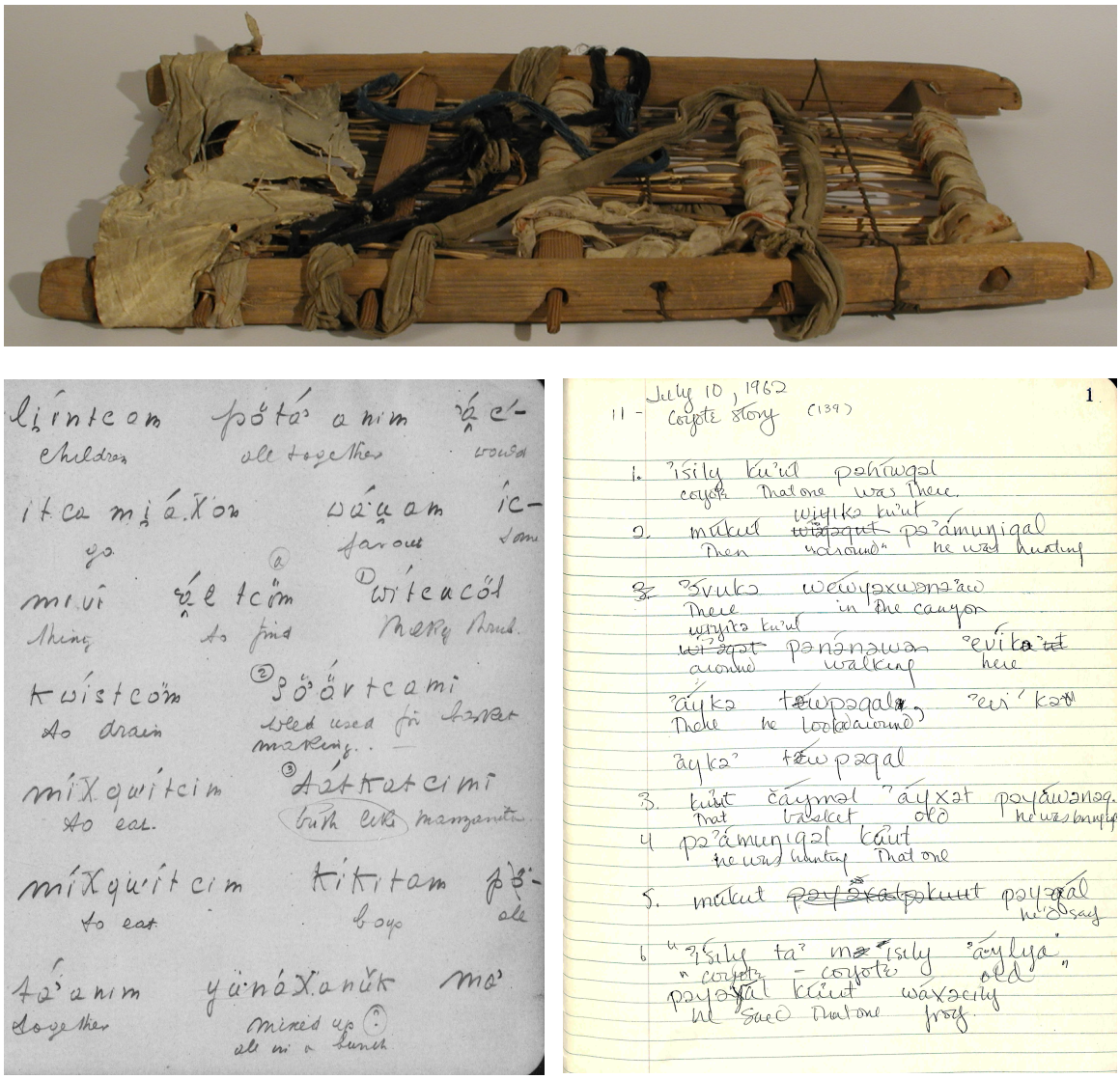


Figure 40: Cupeño material in three Berkeley repositories: TOP, a *paxal* "cradleboard" collected by T. T. Waterman in 1908, in the Hearst Museum (#1-14433); LEFT, transcription of a Cupeño story told by Salvadora Valenzuela, working with Paul-Louis Faye in 1921, in The Bancroft Library (BANC FILM 2216: 82.13.1); RIGHT, transcription of a Cupeño story told by Roscinda Nolasquez (Brigandi 1987), working with Jane H. Hill in 1962, in the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages (HillJ.001.003). The earlier story, like much that is preserved in Faye's notes, is unpublished. Nolasquez's work with Hill resulted in two major publications (Hill and Nolasquez 1973, Hill 2005) and includes sound recordings that are available for cultural and linguistic revitalization (`http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.7297/X2N877Q5`).

YEAR	TEXT	SPEAKER	SHORT TITLE OR DESCRIPTION	TRANSCRIPT
1902	24-548	Susie	Menstruation medicine	K 42.42–47
1906	24-834	Domingo	Wohpekuemew's flute song (story)	K 74.64–65
	24-864-872	Stone	Weitchpec deerskin dance medicine	K 67.73–91
1907	24-974-975	Billy Werk	Origin of several deerskin dances	W 83.1–4
	24-977	Billy Werk	The dentalia leave from Pekwtuehl	K 73.14–19; W 82.1-8
	24-980	Billy Werk	A formula for salmon	W 84.5–7, 16–18
	24-985	Domingo	Buzzard's medicine	K 75.19–31
	24-987	Domingo	Hunting lands near Weitchpec	K 74.2–13
	24-995	Juanita	Brush dance medicine (33 minutes)	K 76 & 77
	24-1001	Dave Durban	Death purification medicine (37 minutes)	K 79.2–25; W 84.19–32
	24-1004	Lucky	Deer medicine	K 80.25–27
	24-1006	Billy Werk	Medicine spoken in passing Ayohl	W 82.9
	24-1007	Pecwan Doctor	Gambling with K'e Pueloyoh	W 84.16–22
	24-1009	Pecwan Doctor	Origin of menarche	K 75.9–18
	24-1010	Pecwan Doctor	Information about menarche	W 84.8–12
	24-1012	Pecwan Doctor	Man-money and woman-money	W 84.13–15
	24-1015	Pecwan Jim	Upriver coyote	K 74.35–50; W 82.25–32
	24-1016	Pecwan Jim	Sweathouse wood myth	K 74.51–55
	24-1021	Pecwan Jim	Medicine for dentalia	K 78.17–20; W 85.2–3, 8–11
	24-1027	Captain Spott	Myth of rock at Klamath mouth	K 83.23–26
	24-1028	Captain Spott	Myth of rock once a woman	W 83.27–30; W 84.1–4
	24-1031	Captain Spott	The obsidian cliff at 'O Schegep	K 75.1–8
	24-1034	Old K'erep	Destruction of Stone Lagoon village	K 78.2–16

Table 1: Correlations between Hearst Museum wax cylinder recordings and Bancroft Library manuscript transcripts for Yurok. Each text is a set of cylinder recordings, accessible on request in the California Language Archive; transcripts (cited by notebook number and page) are from K = A. L. Kroeber and W = T. T. Waterman (Bancroft Library, A. L. Kroeber Papers and Ethnological Documents).

- For the Hearst Museum, a new Collections Portal designed to serve individuals and communities associated with the Museum's diverse collections includes 100% of its cataloged holdings (`https://portal.hearstmuseum.berkeley.edu/`). Users can search by object type or name, time period, maker or artist, culture area or tribe, and many other facets; see Figure 42. If appropriate, images are often available for specific objects. If an object is deemed culturally sensitive after consultation (e.g., charmstones), the image is not displayed. The Portal also includes streaming audio and video as appropriate.

As the UC Berkeley Tribal Forum Report emphasizes, a more complete inventory is a real need. A single online portal would ideally aggregate information from all campus repositories with Native American materials.

For now, despite a learning curve for the web portals described above, our online materials are

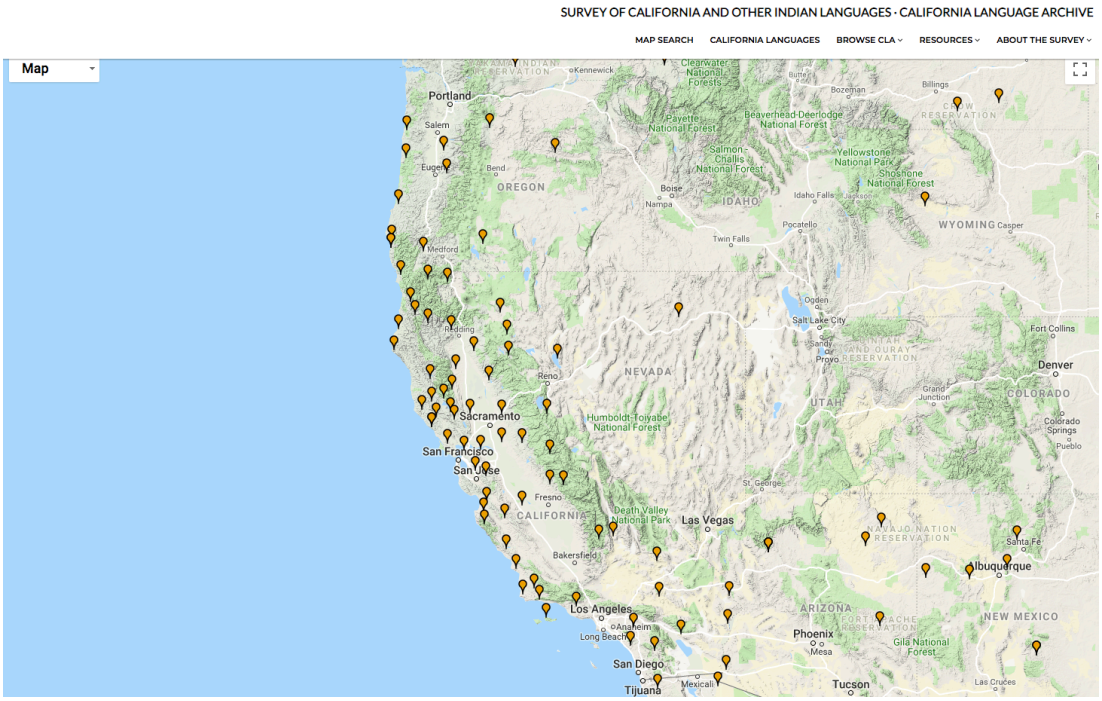


Figure 41: California Language Archive map interface (showing California; 1 pin per language).

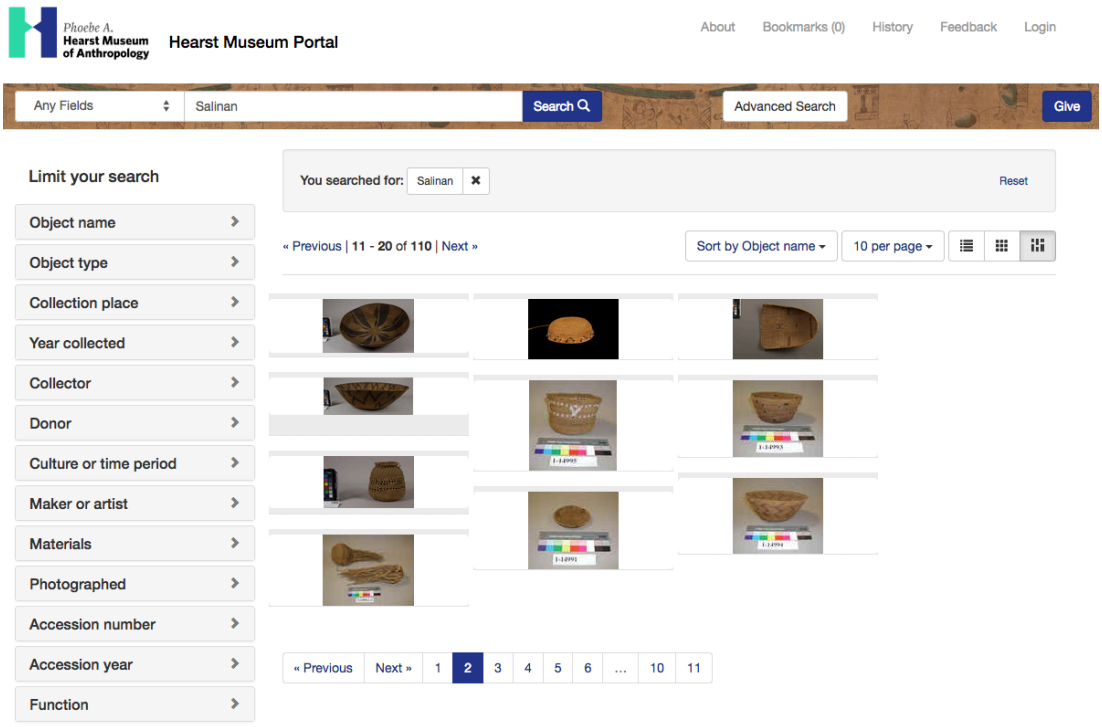


Figure 42: Hearst Museum Portal, one page of search results for "Salinan" (featuring baskets).



Figure 43: Quirina Geary (Amah Mutsun, left), Leanne Hinton (UC Berkeley, center), and Natasha Warner (University of Arizona) celebrating the publication of a Mutsun dictionary (Warner et al. 2016) based on archival material at The Bancroft Library (Figure 2 and §3.1.2) and the Smithsonian Institution. Geary and Warner's collaboration began at Berkeley's Breath of Life Archival Institute in 1997.

in constant use by heritage communities, tribal scholars, and descendants and family members of the Indigenous people whose voices, words, and knowledge appear in our collections.

5 Charting a path forward

> Trapped voices,
> frozen
> under sea ice of English,
> buckle,
> surging to be heard.
> — Nora Marks Dauenhauer, "Listening for Native Voices" (1984, in Dauenhauer 1988)

5.1 Confronting Indigenous erasure

Today, the elision or erasure of Indigenous people is active even in liberal sensibilities. Consider two recent examples, each reflecting the best intentions of inclusive-minded influential figures who would surely be distressed to understand how their choices land:

- A November 2018 *New York Times* portfolio "California: State of Change" (Mosley 2018) was an open-hearted celebration of the diversity of California, beautifully illustrated from a century of *Times* photos. It shows rural and urban Californians; African, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, and Latinx Americans; surfers and farm workers; the ordinary and the famous (Cesar Chavez, Dorothy Dandridge, Angela Davis, Steve Jobs, JFK, Coretta Scott King, Harvey Milk, Ronald and Nancy Reagan). There is not one photo of a Native Californian. Instead, a final ethereal picture of the mist-filled Santa Lucia Mountains south of Big Sur (Figure 44) invites us to imagine a primal California without people. Yet this is where Esselen people lived and spoke their language before the Spanish invasion (Figure 45; Shaul 1995, Breschini and Haversat 2004), and it is where they still live (Laverty 2010).

- Governor Newsom's Inaugural Address on January 7, 2019, was an inspiring paean to the "story of a dream" — the possibilities of California.[64] In it, he said:

  > There is a story we tell about our history, from Sutter's Mill to Steve Jobs's garage, about how this is the place where anything is possible.

  Through their creativity and determination, we are meant to think, Sutter at one end of California history and Jobs at the other made something out of nothing. But "our history" did not begin with the Gold Rush and concomitant erasure of Indigenous lives, unless "we" do not include Indigenous people.

  We noted on p. 20 above, too, that John Sutter practiced Indian slavery in his New Helvetia settlement. As he himself later recalled, it was "common … to seize Indian women and children and sell them"; his blacksmith said it was "customary for Capt Sutter to buy and sell Indian boys and girls." In 1847, Sutter joined an armed party in the upper Sacramento Valley; they killed twenty Indians in response to a complaint about a "not very warlike" tribe that "never disturb[s] the settlements in any other way than by driving off and killing their cattle and other stock".[65] These actions made Sutter's Mill possible.

64 See `https://www.gov.ca.gov/2019/01/07/newsom-inaugural-address/`.

65 For these quotations see Madley (2016:52), Hurtado (2016:116), and the *California Star*, 20 March 1847, p. 2.



Figure 44: David Muench, "The Central California coast" (Santa Lucia Mountains; Mosley 2018).



Figure 45: Isabel (Onasimo) Meadows and her brother Tom (Tommassino), Carmel, 1933 (C. Hart Merriam Collection, BANC PIC 1978.008). They spoke Rumsen, the Indigenous language of Carmel and Monterey; she was also an important source of information about Esselen.



Figure 46: "Yana house built by Ishi" outside the Museum of Anthropology, 1912 (PAHMA #15-5422).

Indigenous erasure was made possible by government policies and the choices of earlier scholars and archivists. It is manifest, as it were, at UC Berkeley:

- Nothing tells campus visitors that they are on Indigenous land, or Indigenous people that this is their home. No Native American languages are taught at UC Berkeley.[66] Native students have no campus space of their own.
- No campus building is named after an Indigenous person. Within Dwinelle Hall there is Ishi Court (Figure 47), but this may call to mind an imagined association between Native people and open spaces, rather than built structures. At the Museum of Anthropology in 1912, the "Yana house built by Ishi" was also outside, unlike other exhibits; see Figure 46.
- The Survey of California and Other Indian Languages, our state's primary instrument for Native language research and linguistic archiving, has zero permanent budget.[67]
- In The Bancroft Library, whose staff are committed to serving Indigenous researchers and have supported the Breath of Life Archival Institute since its inception, Native California collections are cared for by the curators for Western Americana, Latin Americana, and Pictorial Collections — in the curatorial bailiwick of Euro-American history. There are no dedicated funds for an archivist or curator specializing in Native American materials.
- Despite a dedicated staff, the best intentions, and its incomparable collections, the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology lacks the funding or space for significant long-term collaboratively curated exhibits that would highlight the artistic creativity, diversity, and sophistication of Native Californians. Elsewhere on the west coast, the Burke Museum

66 Our language requirement is unfriendly to Native students: it refers to "foreign" languages, and can be satisfied only by coursework or one of a set of standardized exams that do not include Indigenous languages (`https://ls.berkeley.edu/foreign-language`). Harvard is ahead of us (Berger and McCafferty 2019); and Stanford students can take Cherokee, Hawaiian, and Lakota as well as Nahuatl and Quechua.

67 The Survey's only current operating budget (for supplies and a Graduate Student Researcher) consists of the income from the endowed chair of the faculty Director.



Figure 47: Andrew A. Galvan (Ohlone, Bay Miwok, Plains Miwok, Patwin) with Breath of Life Archival Institute participants, 2014, Ishi Court, Dwinelle Hall (photograph © Scott Braley).

(University of Washington) and the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology occupy spaces that make them international treasures in celebrating the Indigenous people of the Pacific Northwest. The modest Hearst Museum gallery, albeit newly renovated, sits in stark contrast to the beautiful new downtown home of the UC Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive, signaling that the Berkeley campus prioritizes modern and contemporary non-Native art.

We know that erasure and neglect are not intended, and that resources are scarce. Yet something must change if the Berkeley campus is to become a welcoming home for Indigenous people.

5.2 Understanding historical trauma

A few years ago, an Indigenous language activist was on campus to donate documentary material for her California language. Hers is a unique collection, hundreds of hours of video featuring first-language speakers conversing with one another and with a fluent second-language speaker, ready to be archived in the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages. As she signed the donation form, transferring ownership to the Regents of the University of California, she was sobbing.

Why? Her documentary corpus would be safe; she would control access to benefit her community; it would be fine to change her mind. Perhaps the moment was as traumatic as it was reassuring because she knew her cultural heritage would be safer in the colonizer's archive than in any facility available to her own under-resourced tribe. Preserving her language meant surrendering it to the people who destroyed it. Here, in a microcosm, was the history of trails of tears, displacements and reservations, treaties written with power and signed by the powerless, choices made with no choice.[68]

68 This account is the experience of one member of our working group.

The parents and grandparents of today's Indigenous cultural leaders were forced to go to boarding schools (Figure 9, p. 21). There they were dressed in settlers' clothes and punished for speaking their languages or practicing their cultures. To avoid abuse and violence, they hid themselves in public; they used the settlers' language. For love of their children, they may have felt they had to teach them only English and the ways of English speakers. Their parents and grandparents in turn lived through the era of invasion and genocide, witnessing barbarism we can hardly imagine. In every Indian community, today, stories of terror go back only a few generations.

These are not just stories of the past, but lived experiences with present relevance. Psychologists, social workers, therapists, and others have documented the effects of historical trauma among European Holocaust survivors and families (Jacobs 2011), the African American descendants of slaves (Eyerman 2001), and Native Americans (Brave Heart and DeBruyn 1998, Whitbeck et al. 2004, Sotero 2006, Brown-Rice 2013). Resulting from "a legacy of chronic trauma and unresolved grief across generations" (Brave Heart and DeBruyn 1998:60), historical trauma is associated with higher rates of alcoholism, child abuse, domestic violence, homicide, and suicide in Indigenous communities. We would highlight two areas.

In education, some of the legacy of boarding schools lives on in prejudice, racism, and educational asymmetries. A recent newspaper piece on failures in the US Indian education system (Green and Waldman 2018) focused attention in a compelling way:

> The faint scars on [a girl's] arms testify to a difficult life on the Fort Peck Indian Reservation: the physical and emotional abuse at home, the bullying at school, the self-harm that sent her rotating through mental health facilities and plunged her to a remedial program from the honor roll.

School is often a positive experience in liberal Euro-American society. Educational institutions have a different, negative history for many Native people: boarding schools are where languages and cultural practices were excised; universities are where researchers took ancestral remains and sacred objects; and schools today continue to be sites of trauma. Brown-Rice (2013:119-120) observes that Native American children are "one of the most overrepresented groups in the care of child protective services" and that "fewer Native Americans have a high school education than the total U.S. population . . . ."

The reality of historical trauma can also be seen in the lived experiences of Indigenous women. On May 5, 2018, the US observed a National Day of Awareness for Missing and Murdered Native Women and Girls.[69] For Native Californians, Indigenous women's experiences of violence (including sexual violence) go straight back to experiences of the missions in the 18th and early 19th centuries and of White settlers later in the 19th (§2.1). More broadly, according to Amnesty International, government statistics show that:

> Native American and Alaska Native women are more than 2.5 times more likely to be raped or sexually assaulted than other women in the USA. Some Indigenous women interviewed by Amnesty International said they didn't know anyone in their community who had not experienced sexual violence. . . . According to the US Department of Justice, in at least 86

69 See `https://goo.gl/aHjfG7` (US Department of Justice).

> per cent of the reported cases of rape or sexual assault against American Indian and Alaska Native women, survivors report that the perpetrators are non-Native men.[70]

The fact of historical trauma makes it essential for UC Berkeley to acknowledge the emotional component and context of its relationships with Native communities.

5.3 Truth and reconciliation

What the US, California, and their settlers perpetrated in the 19th century was an abomination, "a stain on all of European American civilization" (Foster 2003:98), not unlike US slavery, the European Holocaust, the Khmer Rouge genocide, and other state atrocities. This is inescapable fact, which our state, university, and campus must recognize.

Government boarding schools of the past in particular, and other policies that had the goal of assimilation, continue to cast a pall over the present relationship of Native people with our state-sponsored school. And whatever the circumstances were in very different times, a legacy of extractive research contributes to a damaged relationship between our state's flagship university campus and our state's first people.

No change in archival practices will heal the relationship between UC Berkeley and California Indian people. No change in archival practices alone will make it possible for California Indian people to assert the rights they should enjoy in relation to cultural heritage material housed in campus archives, libraries, and museums.

In the spirit of restorative justice and truth and reconciliation, we think it is important for UC Berkeley to acknowledge its participation in a system that damaged and extracted Indigenous people's cultural heritage, to listen to those who have been harmed, and to take actions to help repair the harm.[71] These actions will include policy changes affecting campus archives, libraries, and museums, but they will have many other components beyond the purview of our working group. Since all these actions will require funding, only some will be feasible now, while others will necessarily be deferred. It is important that the campus articulate both achievable short-term plans and intended long-term goals in pursuit of a healed relationship.

5.4 Recommendations

To begin the healing process, campus leaders should do the following:

1. **Acknowledge Native American historical trauma.** Address the painful relationship between UC Berkeley and Indigenous California communities: acknowledge that settler colonialism was the context in which we first collected materials from Native American

70 See `https://www.amnestyusa.org/reports/maze-of-injustice/`.

71 The South African situation is one where reconciliation and restorative approaches are widely discussed (Cole 2009, 2012, Tutu and Tutu 2014); Cole (2015) explicitly connects the South African and Californian contexts. Cf. also Coates (2014) on reparations for slavery: "we must imagine a new country. Reparations — by which I mean the full acceptance of our collective biography and its consequences — is the price we must pay to see ourselves squarely."

people, and remains the context in which we possess, curate, and provide access to these materials; acknowledge the ongoing historical trauma that resulted from actions of the US, California, and the University of California; listen to the voices of Indigenous people who have been harmed; and apologize for appropriating cultural, ethnographic, linguistic, and personal materials from Native American people without collaboration and consent.

Within our working group, there were different perspectives as to whether the needed process should be led by the Berkeley Chancellor, UC President, or California Governor. It is UC as a whole, which was a century ago (only) the Berkeley campus, that now has overall responsibility; but many Native Americans see Berkeley as a particular locus of challenge and trauma. Relevant Berkeley campus units (e.g., The Bancroft Library, the Hearst Museum, and the Anthropology and Linguistics Departments) should participate in this process.

We emphasize that this painful process will have to involve active listening and genuine hearing in addition to apology and concrete action.

2. **Acknowledge, respect, and support the sovereignty of tribal nations.** The University of California and UC Berkeley should be proactive in establishing and maintaining government-to-government relations with sovereign tribal nations.

3. **Acknowledge different systems of information management.** Acknowledge that there is a basic difference between the Western view that information should be public, with the public good served by open access, and the view in many Indigenous communities that the public good is served by a distributed system of information curation. Neither view should be assumed to have priority a priori in the case of Native American materials.

To create an improved context for Native people who visit, work at, and study at Berkeley, the Academic Senate and campus administration should also consider the following:

4. **Improve the campus climate for Native Americans.** Indigenous people should feel welcome at Berkeley: they should see in the campus's self-presentation that we occupy Indigenous land, honor California's Native people, and include Indigenous students, staff, and faculty. Students should be recruited actively, and made welcome when they arrive.[72]

5. **Improve the classroom climate for Native Americans.** We heard in our conversations that Indigenous students can feel unsupported, stereotyped, and singled out in classrooms (where there may be no other Indigenous students). The Division of Equity *&* Inclusion provides information about current campus programs on inclusive practices for faculty, graduate students, and campus multicultural education generally.[73] We suggest enriching these programs with perspectives from Indigenous students, staff, and faculty, and doing appropriate outreach to ensure that they reach a wide audience.

6. **Improve the NAGPRA climate.** It is beyond our purview to offer specific comments or suggestions regarding NAGPRA. But perceptions of NAGPRA policies and processes — whether grounded in present reality or out of date in 2019 — have an immense impact on

72 Actions under this heading could include support for the Native American graduate and undergraduate programs and for the Myers Center.

73 See `https://diversity.berkeley.edu/initiatives/campus-climate`.

Native perceptions of Berkeley. It is essential for NAGPRA policies and processes to be transparent and responsive in ways that Native communities appreciate.[74]

7. **Clarify research policy for Native American contexts.** Research policies are rightly in the purview of individual faculty and the Academic Senate, not our working group. Still, many faculty and students do research and teaching that relate to Native American tribes and individuals. Such research is a source of concern in Indigenous communities. We strongly recommend that the Senate (perhaps in collaboration with the campus administration) develop a set of research policies and recommended scholarly practices that are intended to guide all campus research with Native American materials. This should include some Native American input to the campus IRB process.

Finally, some actions are squarely within our scope. These are our key recommendations as they pertain to campus archives, libraries, and museums:

8. **Appoint a central campus Tribal Liaison Officer.**[75] This new position would doubtless evolve over time, but it should probably include the following elements:

    - involvement in some of the activities mentioned in 1-7 above, to help represent Indigenous perspectives, and coordination of some of the actions in 9-10 below;
    - outreach to tribal nations and Native communities, especially in California, to inform them about materials of possible interest in campus archives, libraries, and museums;
    - assistance to Native visitors seeking materials in campus archives, libraries, and museums, so they do not have to navigate many different campus units on their own, and so they feel comfortable that their interests are served on campus; and
    - participation in the campus NAGPRA process.

    The Tribal Liaison Officer should be supported (with funding) in certain key ways:

    - We recommend the formation of an advisory board of at least half a dozen members, including representatives of California tribal nations and Native cultural leaders (who may or may not be enrolled members of tribal nations), to be chaired by the Tribal Liaison Officer.[76] This board would provide policy advice relating to Native American archive, library, and museum collections and access. Funding should be provided to compensate board members for their work and occasional travel to Berkeley.
    - The Tribal Liaison Officer should have sufficient staff support to succeed, and enough administrative authority to ensure that busy campus units follow through on desired actions.
    - We recommend that some funding be provided to permit hiring students, including Native students, to do associated work.

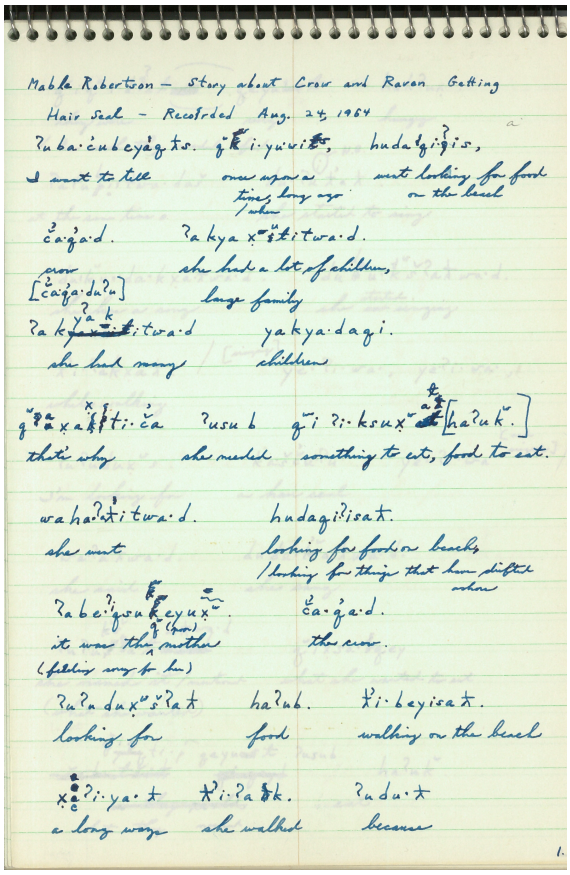
    The Tribal Liaison Officer should have a PhD in a relevant field or significant experience in academic-tribal relations, ideally in California.

74 Whatever the present reality, the UC Berkeley Tribal Forum Report shows clearly that relationships between the campus and Native communities have not yet been repaired.

75 This corresponds to the second recommendation of the UC Berkeley Tribal Forum Report.

76 We heard from multiple stakeholders that there can be disconnects between tribal political leaders and cultural leaders; it is important to have broad representation in any advisory board.





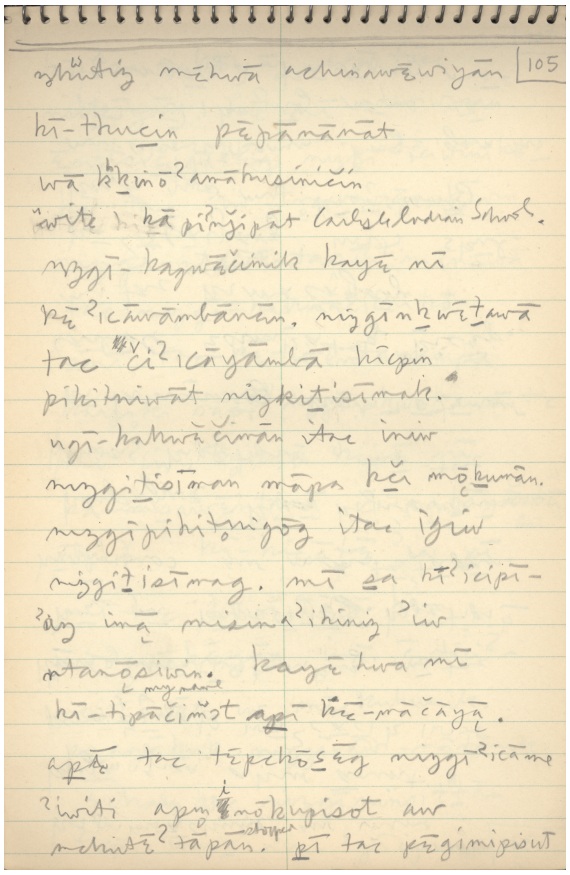


Figure 48: Berkeley Indigenous collections reach far beyond California: TOP, Hawaiian *ipu holo'i lima* (finger bowl), collected by Phoebe Apperson Hearst before 1906 (PAHMA #11-1235); LEFT, Mabel Robertson's "Story about Crow and Raven Getting Hair Seal," in the Makah language of Neah Bay, Wash., working with William H. Jacobsen, 1964 (SCOIL, `http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.7297/X2668B4F`); RIGHT, Andrew Medler's description of the Carlisle Indian School, in the Ottawa language, working with Leonard Bloomfield, Ann Arbor, 1938 (SCOIL, `http://cla.berkeley.edu/item/22640`).

9. **Take concrete steps to improve accessibility of digitized and undigitized Native American materials in campus archives, libraries, and museums.**[77] We recommend a mix of short-term and longer-term actions. The short-term actions could be undertaken in 2019–2020 while planning for the future. The overall cost will be substantial and will require new campus funding (rather than re-use of existing funds in repositories that are already stretched as thin as possible on every side).

    - SHORT-TERM ACTIONS: Several actions are feasible now and would not cost more than $100,000 in all. This work could be supervised in archives, libraries, and museums (e.g., by the Native American Studies Librarian in the Ethnic Studies Library) or by the Tribal Liaison Officer.

        a. Low-hanging digitization opportunities:
            i. Ethnic Studies Library: Scan the 44-volume finding guide of the California Indian Library Collection (with OCR processing) and put it online.
            ii. Bancroft Library: Digitize the microfilm copies of the A. L. Kroeber Papers (187 reels) and the Robert Fleming Heizer Papers (173 reels), and the microfilmed portions of the Robert Harry Lowie papers, and put them online at the folder level (except folders that include sensitive information such as genealogies and locations of North American archaeological sites).
            iii. Bancroft Library: Put the digitized copy of the Ethnological Documents of the Department and Museum of Anthropology online at the folder level (except folders that include sensitive information such as genealogies and locations of North American archaeological sites, or whose content tribes have already identified as culturally sensitive and inappropriate for online access).

        Digitized Native American material should be accompanied by a clear statement that it is part of the cultural heritage of Indigenous people, and a clear description of the process by which users who are uncomfortable with online content can express concerns or objections (potentially leading to labeling, access restrictions, or take-down as described under recommendation 10 below).

        b. Hire a Graduate Student Researcher for a year or so to create a (print and online) guide to California Indian materials that are currently cataloged and accessible in the repositories discussed above. The print version might have two facing pages per cultural or linguistic group, with accessible explanations of the most important resources, and pointers to digital resources and catalog entries. The Bancroft Library guide by Miles and David (2016) would make a good starting point.

        c. It should be someone's responsibility — e.g., the duty of the Tribal Liaison Officer — to send regular communications to tribal nations and communities regarding cultural heritage material of interest to them at UC Berkeley. This is already Hearst Museum practice for NAGPRA-relevant material, but it should be a broader duty of the campus for all cultural and linguistic heritage material.

77 This corresponds to the first recommendation of the UC Berkeley Tribal Forum Report.

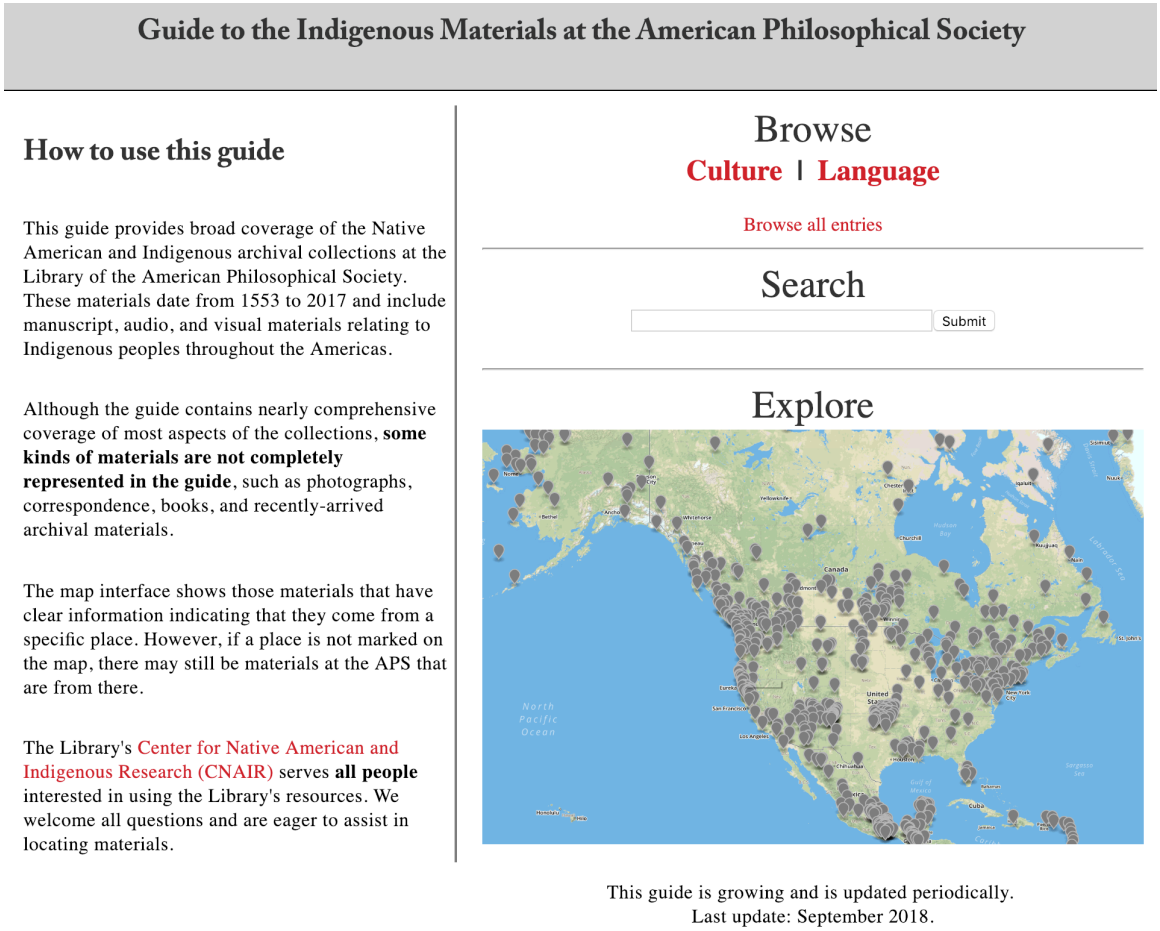


Figure 49: Guide to the Indigenous Materials at the American Philosophical Society.

- MEDIUM-TERM ACTION: Allocate funds for a two-year project to create a web portal that dynamically aggregates available (already cataloged) information about all campus repositories that hold Native American materials, and displays it in a user-friendly, culturally appropriate way.[78] Such a project will have challenges to overcome, but these should be surmountable given campus IT resources. This infrastructure will provide a platform in which inventories and associated metadata can be improved in the years to come. One useful model to consider in designing such a portal is the Guide to the Indigenous Materials at the American Philosophical Society (Figure 49).[79] Local models also exist in the California Language Archive and the Hearst Museum Collections Portal; what is needed is an integrated resource that suits the needs of Native American communities. A crucial step will be outreach, perhaps coordinated with the Tribal Liaison Officer, in Indigenous communities and in meetings

78 We estimate a start-up cost of $200,000 with a subsequent annual cost of $25,000 for IT management, upgrades, etc.

79 A much smaller model might be the Plateau Peoples' Web Portal: `https://plateauportal.libraries.wsu.edu` (Christen 2011, 2018).

such as the California Indian Conference.

- LONG-TERM ACTIONS: To make Berkeley's Native American materials fully accessible to the Indigenous people for whom we are curating them, a truly massive cataloging project is needed. This would have two main components:
  a. Survey campus repositories other than those we have mainly discussed (Pacific Film Archive, University and Jepson Herbaria, etc.) to identify materials they curate that pertain to Native American people or environments.
  b. Provide folder-level descriptions for all Native American material in The Bancroft Library. As indicated in §3.1, such a project will take years — over a decade, probably, since even relatively well-described collections like the A. L. Kroeber Papers or the Ethnological Documents include only basic folder-level information. Ideal descriptions might name people interviewed and languages, places, and cultural areas documented in each field notebook, folder of papers, etc. The goal is for Native people interested in specific communities, individuals, and tribes to be able to locate what they need in our collections.

  To accomplish this kind of work, the campus should hire a Native American archival program coordinator or cultural resource specialist, mainly working in The Bancroft Library but with a dotted-line relationship to the Native American Studies Librarian in the Ethnic Studies Library. Archival or library training seems crucial, as does expertise in a Native American area. Perhaps this person would spend two-thirds of their time in The Bancroft Library and one-third supporting work in other campus repositories. In any case they should have a high-level understanding of all campus collections. Despite many challenges, this work is important and should be a long-term campus priority, including necessary staff support in campus repositories.

As a related point, we note that the campus currently provides relatively little support for Native cultural and linguistic revitalization and reclamation efforts. For example, the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages has no secure budget; despite some limited but welcome campus help, the biennial Breath of Life Archival Institute is also largely funded by donated time and outside grants.

10. **Take concrete steps to empower Native American individuals, communities, and tribes to participate in the curation, and assert cultural ownership, of materials in campus archives, libraries, and museums.**[80] The role of Native people as co-curators or consultants on campus materials, not simply users, should be respected. There are two key issues. First, Native people from the communities of origin of materials we curate know far more than we do about their cultural and historical context and significance, and even provenance. Collection documentation is poorer without their input, as Carpenter (2019:2) points out:

> Archivists are also coming to recognize that many Native community members' expertise regarding materials that came from their respective communities is unique from

80 This corresponds to the sixth recommendation of the UC Berkeley Tribal Forum Report.



Figure 50: Coiled basket by Louisa Keyser (Datsolalee; Washo), ca. 1896–1898 (PAHMA #1-72860).

> and more extensive than the expertise that academic scholars might bring to these materials. Therefore, equitable and respectful inclusion of this expertise in the improvement of archival description is not just a matter of respect but also of practical benefit to archival institutions seeking to represent their collections more accurately, appropriately, and meaningfully.

Second, by virtue of their cultural ownership of what we curate in trust for them (§4.2), Native people have the right to identify contexts and conditions of use, including specific items or collections that should never be accessible online.

We make the following specific suggestions, for actions the Tribal Liaison Officer would perhaps help see to fruition:

- Invest in a system of tribal archive, library, and museum fellowships. These would provide small grants, including an honorarium and the cost of travel and other expenses, for Native people to spend time on campus helping archivists, librarians, and museum staff improve metadata and other aspects of our Indigenous collections. For example, a team of Washo cultural and language experts might spend a week using campus collections that interest them and might also help us improve our cataloging and descriptions of Washo material (cf. Figure 50).
- Develop a set of culturally appropriate California Traditional Knowledge Labels.[81] The creators of the Traditional Knowledge Labels concept describe them as:

81 See `http://localcontexts.org/tk-labels/` and Christen (2015); this would expand and systematize a practice already employed by the Hearst Museum. It would be important that these labels be developed in consultation with

> . . . a tool for Indigenous communities to add existing local protocols for access and use to recorded cultural heritage that is digitally circulating outside community contexts. The TK Labels offer an educative and informational strategy to help non-community users of this cultural heritage understand its importance and significance to the communities from where it derives and continues to have meaning.

A couple of examples follow:

- TK Culturally Sensitive: "This Label should be used when you would like external users to know that this material has special sensitivities around it and should be treated with great care. These sensitivities could include: that it has only recently been reconnected with the community from which it originates, that the community is currently vetting and spending time with the material, and/or that the material is culturally valued and needs to be kept safe. This Label could also be used to indicate that there are cultural sensitivities around this material arising from legacies of colonialism, for instance, the use of derogatory language or descriptive errors within the content and/or content descriptions."
- TK Outreach: "This label should be used when you would only like your cultural materials used for educational outreach activities. Outreach activities means to share works outside the community in order to increase and raise awareness and education about your family, clan and/or community. Sites for outreach activities can include schools, universities, libraries, archives, museums, online forums and small learning groups."

Campus repositories (or the Tribal Liaison Officer) would invite Indigenous tribes, cultural leaders, and cultural heritage curators to identify specific material that would benefit from labeling (physically, in catalog metadata, and in any online presentation). Users are then responsible for assessing whether their intended use is appropriate.

- Develop campus-wide principles for restricting online access in certain cases. Digitization and online availability can be a great boon. In some cases, however, culturally or personally sensitive materials should only be available in specific situations or to specific people. At present, different repositories have different approaches to this issue; a single campus-wide approach should be developed and implemented, based on ethical and technical considerations and the preferences of Native communities.[82]
- As the limiting case of access restriction, there should be a clear campus-wide take-down policy for Native American heritage materials. All such policies should include a reasonable time period for review of the issue at hand, and a process by which online access can be reinstated if and when it is appropriate.

The last three suggestions — Traditional Knowledge Labels, online access restrictions, and an online take-down process — represent three approaches to annotating or limiting access to material that may be sensitive.

California tribal communities, that they be well-defined and not too numerous, and that there be a clear process for proposing and approving them in specific cases.

82 One possibility, currently in use in the California Language Archive, is that access options include (a) open access for anyone who agrees to general terms of use, (b) on-request access for those who register and describe their non-commercial purpose, and (c) restricted access by permission of the appropriate cultural heritage authority.



Figure 51: Children participating in a Rumsen-language performance at the 2016 Breath of Life Archival Institute, Dwinelle Hall (photograph © Scott Braley).

Some of our recommendations are connected and should proceed in a certain order. In particular, an interim campus take-down policy should be developed (and publicized by repositories) before the low-hanging digitization actions recommended on p. 78 are undertaken.

We expect the details to change, and new ideas to emerge, in an iterative process involving consultation with Native communities throughout California over the coming years. We strongly encourage campus leaders to accept — and fund — a process that focuses the voices of stakeholders throughout California.

Appendix: Working group charge

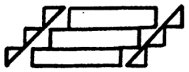
On July 25, 2018, our working group received the following charge from the Vice Chancellor for Research:

The Native American Museum and Library Working Group is comprised of campus leaders who represent our libraries, museums, and academic interests.

The working group is charged with reflecting on the Tribal Forum Report and recommending, by November 1, 2018, what policy changes should be made for how we use and care for items across UC Berkeley collections of specific legal, cultural, or spiritual interest to Native American tribes and stakeholders.

In addition, this working group will be asked to review specific concerns put forward in the Tribal Forum Report, and provide an oversight function for our units to respond collectively to the report's recommendations regarding collections.

It will be essential for this working group to consult with a diverse representation of Native North American communities, as well as UC Berkeley staff and researchers who have a personal or academic interest in issues germane to the Native American community. The importance of having these diverse perspectives represented cannot be understated. The working group may empanel subgroups to include internal and external constituencies as it may deem necessary.



Index nominum

This index includes all adult people, tribal groups, languages, and language groups named above, except the people we consulted in our work (named on p. 15), the authors of research cited in our text, and the "California: State of Change" photographic subjects mentioned on p. 69.

Amah Mutsun Tribal Band 35
Aoki, Haruo 32, 33, 50
Arroyo de la Cuesta, Felipe 4, 42
Athabascan 45
Bancroft, Hubert Howe 40
Barrett, Samuel A. 38, 47
Bay Miwok 72
Boas, Franz 22, 24
Blackeagle, Vera 32
Blake, George 34
Bloomfield, Leonard 77
Braley, Scott 58, 72, 83
Broadbent, Sylvia 49, 50
Brown, Chris 49
Brown, Jerry 18
Burnett, Peter H. 18
Cardero, José 18
Carlson, Tom 34
Cavelle, Jenna 60
Central Sierra Miwok 50
Chiwere 36
Chochenyo 2, 3, 10, 26, 36, 57
Christ, Carol T. 13
Chukchansi 50
Colorado River Indian Tribes 43
Colos, Angela 2, 26
Colson, Elizabeth 31
Cooper, Nellie 28
Couro, Ted 31, 32
Crow 36
Cupeño 64, 65
Curtis, Edward S. 24, 25, 40
Dauenhauer, Nora Marks 69
Deloria, Ella 25
Dollar, Elizabeth Cordova 24, 25
Doloreño 2
Dolores, Juan 28, 29, 42
Domingo 26, 27
Dry Creek Rancheria 25
Eskimo 45
Esselen 69
Essene, Frank 30
Faye, Paul-Louis 65
Figueroa, Aileen 36
Fletcher, Alice 46
Foster, George 32
Frémont, John 18
Galvan, Andrew A. 72
Gandert, Miguel 61, 62
Garcia, Miguel 42
Geary, Quirina 68
Gist, Frank G., Jr. 34
Goddard, Pliny Earle 21, 22
Guzman, José 2, 10, 26
Haida 45
Haight, Henry H. 20
Harrington, J. P. 2, 26, 38
Harte, Bret 18
Hastings, Serranus 18
Hawaiian 77
Haynie, Hannah 23
Hearst, Phoebe Apperson 45, 46, 77
Heizer, Robert F. 40
Hewlett, Walter 37
Hill, Jane H. 65
Hinds, Norman 47
Hinton, Leanne 57, 68
Hopi 47, 48
Hostler, Maggie 25
Hunt, George 25
Hupa 19, 22, 25, 34, 45
Hutchison, Christina 32
Ishi 24, 45, 71
Jacknis, Ira 34
Jacobsen, William H. 77
Jepson, Willis Linn 50, 51
Jones, William 25
Karuk (Tribe) 6, 19, 25, 28, 34, 35, 36, 45, 58
Kashia Band of Pomo Indians of the Stewarts Point Rancheria 35
Katz, Randy H. 13
Kawaiisu 50
Keyser, Louisa (Datsolalee) 81
Konkow 36
Kroeber, A. L. 22, 27, 29, 30, 37, 38, 40, 45, 47, 66
Kumiai 23, 31, 32, 43
La Flesche, Francis 46
Lakota 25, 36, 61

Lang, Julian 25, 58
Langdon, Margaret 31, 43
Lassik 30
Le Guin, Ursula K. 29
Lightfoot, Kent 35
Lowie, Robert H. 40
Makah 77
Martinez, Maria 48
Meadows, Isabel 18, 26, 70
Meadows, Tom 70
Medina, Vincent 26
Medler, Andrew 77
Means, Russell 61
Merriam, C. Hart 10, 24, 25, 30, 38, 40, 70
Mesa Grande Band of Diegueno Mission Indians 31
Mesa Grande Ïipay 31
Meskwaki 25
Miranda, Deborah A. 39
Miwok 50
Mono 68
Moraga, Alférez 17
Muench, David 70
Murphey, Edith 30
Mutsun 4, 42, 50, 57, 68
Muwekma Ohlone Tribe 3
Nahl, Charles Christian 19
Naho, Paqua 47
Navajo 59
Newsom, Gavin 69
Nez Perce 25, 32, 33, 36, 50, 63
Nolasquez, Roscinda 65
Northern Pomo 36
Northern Sahaptin 50
Northern Sierra Miwok 50
Nowinski, Ira 40, 43
Nuttall, Zelia 6, 24
Oglala Lakota 61
Ohlone 3, 50, 72
Omaha 46
O'Neale, Lila 28, 29
O'odham 28, 42
Orange, Tommy 17
Ottawa 77
Owens Valley Paiute 13, 34, 35, 60
Painter, Fantasia 63
Patwin 72
Phinney, Archie 25
Piatote, Beth 13, 63
Picuris Pueblo 62
Pinart, Alphonse 40
Plains Miwok 72
Pomo 31, 45, 50
Pueblo de San Ildefonso 48
Putnam, Frederic Ward 24
Reed, Ron 34
Robertson, Mabel 77
Rumsen 18, 57, 70, 83
Salazar, Theresa 60
Santa Clara Pueblo 48
Shasta 19
Smith, Jami 45
Sobotta, Angel 33
Sophocles 63
Southern Pomo 24
Southern Sierra Miwok 49, 50
Sowerwine, Jennifer 34
Spott, Robert 29, 37
Sproul, Robert Gordon 48
Steele, Nancy 58
Steenland, Patricia 35, 60
Suisun 17
Sundberg, Joy 38
Sutter, John 17, 20, 69
Tafoya, Margaret 48
Tapahonso, Luci 53
Tesuque Pueblo 47, 48
Thomas, Martha 28
Tillotsen, Eben 32
Tlingit 25, 45
Tohono O'odham 29, 42
Tolkien, J. R. R. 16
Toosarvandani, Maziar 23
Twain, Mark 39
Valenzuela, Salvadora 65
Ventureño Chumash 6
Verona Band of Alameda County 3
Vignes, Michelle 12, 61
Wailaki 30, 57
Warner, Natasha 68
Washo 81
Waterman, T. T. 65, 66
Weller, John 18
Wheeler, Benjamin Ide 22
Wikersheim, Friz 41
Wilson, Elizabeth P. 32, 33
Wiyot 18, 19
Yahi 45
Yana 71
Yankton Lakota 25
Yeucharom, Amadeo 18
Yi, Irene 63

Yokuts 23, 50
Young, Lucy 30, 31, 38
Yuki 18, 32
Yuman 31, 43
Yurok 19, 24, 26, 28, 29, 34, 36, 38, 45, 66
Zanolini, Sarah 60
Zaputimeu, Maria Marta 6

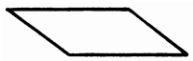


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