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Reflections on *Bad Indians* and Archives

William J. Bauer Jr.

Historians rely on archives. One historian writes, “The paradox of archives is that there, among the relics of the dead, the past seems most vital and alive.”¹ For Indigenous people and histories, though, archives are complex, complicated, and colonized spaces. Non-Indigenous people produced most of the sources that exist within archives. Social, political, economic, cultural, and colonial processes created archives.² Churches maintain archives to record, for example, the activities of Franciscan missionaries in California. The state of California has an archive that holds the records of, among other things, state militias that hunted down Indigenous people. The United States keeps a national archive that preserves records of how the Bureau of Indian Affairs surveilled and recorded the lives of Indigenous people. Historians visit these flawed spaces and use these imperfect sources to write histories about Indigenous people. These histories have portrayed Indigenous people as vanishing and racially degraded. In *Bad Indians*, Deborah Miranda uses, reconsiders, and undermines these archives.

This essay will address three points. First, the essay will discuss the varied archives and sources Miranda utilized for *Bad Indians*. Second, it will examine how Miranda used those sources and archives, often reimagining what she finds in the archive in the manner of African American studies scholar Saidiya Hartman.³ Last, it will show how the stories in *Bad Indians* challenge the archive. Miranda employs what Māori scholar Alice Te Punga Somerville describes as the “always assumed” approach to research.⁴ Miranda highlights acts of colonial violence, especially against Indigenous women, that appear in the archive. For Miranda, the archive is not the home to “relics of the dead” but to family and kin.

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ARCHIVES AND SOURCES

Bad Indians rests on a diverse body of sources and archives. Miranda relies on the archives most familiar to historians. She consults the repositories that house written sources, usually produced by European and American invaders of Indigenous lands. As with anyone writing about the history of Indigenous people and the California missions, Miranda consulted the writings of Father Junípero Serra, the founder of the California Missions. Spanish missionaries such as Serra viewed California Indians as children who possessed “brutal appetites.”⁵ Missionaries believed that their duty required them to uplift California Indians. Miranda also dives deeply into the baptismal records that recorded the births, deaths, and baptisms of her ancestors and other California Indians. Spanish officials kept a copious amount of information about some of the highlights of a person’s life. The Early California Population Project, which digitized these sources, found more than 101,000 baptisms, 27,000 marriages, and 71,000 burials in the records of the California missions.⁶

Miranda then analyzed the records of anthropologists, notably John Peabody Harrington. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, anthropologists traveled to California Indian country (and some California Indians traveled to museums and anthropology departments) to document what they considered to be vanishing peoples and cultures. Anthropologists recorded, among other things, songs, creation stories, and fishing methods.⁷ In the 1910s, Harrington began working with Chumash elders, such as Fernando Librado, and later expanded his network to include other California Indians, such as Ohlone elder Isabel Meadows. Librado, the more well known of the two, was born in 1839 on Santa Cruz Island; Mexican priests baptized him at Mission San Buenaventura. His conversations with Harrington provided insights into Chumash oral traditions and life in Spanish and Mexican California.⁸ Meadows was less well known. Born in 1846 on the eve of the Bear Flag Revolt, Meadows grew up in Carmel Valley. In the 1930s, she began working with Harrington and accompanied him to Washington, DC, where she passed away.⁹

The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) also provided source material for the book. Historians have made the trek to the National Archives branches in Washington, DC, and San Bruno, California, and consulted Record Group 75. If the BIA and the Department of Interior did anything, they kept many records about California Indians and other Indigenous people. Record Group 75 contains tons (literally) of sources that made California Indians legible to the nation-state, including censuses, health reports, and boarding school applications.¹⁰ The BIA records document the biopolitics of the federal government, transforming Indigenous people into populations.¹¹ Miranda considers Isabel Meadows’ application for enrollment. In 1928, the California Indian Jurisdictional Act enabled “California Indians” to sue the United States over land claims and directed the Secretary of the Interior to create a roll of California Indians who were residing in the state on June 1, 1852, and their descendants living in the state. Miranda tracked down Meadows’ census application, marked with her thumbprint.¹²

Miranda utilizes newspaper articles. For example, she turned to the *San Francisco Bulletin*, *Sacramento Daily Democratic State Journal*, and *Sacramento Union* from the 1850s and 1860s. Mid-nineteenth-century California newspapers described the murder, rape, and enslavement of California Indians.¹³ Miranda shares images from newspapers as well as the text. She includes drawing of a young California Indian woman from the 1850s, pictures of a California mission, and the “burning of the Digger effigy.”¹⁴

Miranda also encountered a public history archive. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Americans in southern California shaped their built environment to promote a Spanish fantasy past. Throughout southern California, people preserved and restored missions to attract tourists and emigrants to southern California. However, the Spanish fantasy past consigned Indigenous people to the past.¹⁵ Miranda reflected on a visit to Mission Dolores in San Francisco, where she encountered a mother and her daughter preparing for the notorious fourth grade mission project. Miranda gleefully introduced herself to the family as a living “member of the Ohlone Costanoan Esselen Nation.”¹⁶

Miranda relied on a family archive as well as that of institutions. She points the attention back on her family members who shared cassette tapes of stories, biographical information written on the back of letters, diaries, and ruminations on learning languages. Madgel, Deborah’s late mother, curated this archive. “Deep gratitude to Madgel E. Miranda,” Deborah wrote, “for her years of genealogical sleuthing, her passion for detail, her unconditional love, and a legacy of treasures left behind.”¹⁷ Madgel hunted down the death record of their ancestor Guadalupe Robles.¹⁸ Miranda’s pictorial and visual archive also stands out. The photograph of Tom Miranda Sr., Al Miranda Sr., and Al Miranda Jr. stood out, because I remember that in the early 1980s I so wanted one of those generic football jersey/T-shirts that Al Miranda Jr. was wearing.¹⁹

Historians have taken these archives and sources at face value. They have depended upon and repeated the language contained within the archive and sources that depicted Indigenous people as vanishing or racially degraded.²⁰ In California, historians have consulted these archives, and the largely non-Indigenous sources contained within have produced two kinds of stories about California Indians—the so-called vanishing Indian or, to quote Miranda, “godless, dirty, stupid, primitive, ugly, passive, drunken, immoral, lazy, weak-willed people who might make good workers if properly trained and motivated.”²¹ These sources and archives, then, required a different set of stories.

USE OF ARCHIVES AND SOURCES

To retell California Indian stories, Miranda uses archives and sources in creative ways. Miranda engages in what African American studies scholar Saidiya Hartman calls “critical fabulation,” seeking to “imagine what cannot be verified.”²² *Bad Indians* itself is an archive, as Miranda shares photographs of some of the primary sources that she found. For example, Miranda includes a photograph of an excerpted interview between Isabel Meadows and John P. Harrington in which Meadows describes how

Vicenta Gutierrez, a California Indian woman, endured the sexual advances of Father Real. Miranda offers her analysis and interpretation of Meadows' interview, but by including the sources, Miranda empowers the reader to conduct their own analysis of the primary source.²³

Miranda rewrites what she found in the archive. Miranda takes Father Serra's writings and imagines them from a California Indian perspective. In Miranda's hands, Serra reflects on how Spanish soldiers captured Indigenous women and how Indigenous men attempted to protect their wives, daughters and relatives.²⁴ Miranda revises those newspaper articles that documented the destruction of Indigenous lives and homes. For example, Miranda retells a story of how Americans turned dogs onto Indigenous men and women who harvested clover.²⁵

Miranda explores John P. Harrington and other salvage anthropologists who wanted to capture what they considered to be the last vestiges of a dying culture and people. She creates a fictional anthropologist's field notes, concluding that "it makes me happy to look back over the day and know that I am getting the language before the last of them that speak it are gone."²⁶ Miranda also paraphrases the letters between a doctor in Santa Barbara and Harrington, in which the doctor treats Juan Justo, known as the last living Chumash, for a leg infection. The doctor, though, spends more time measuring Justo's skull, sharing the information with the Smithsonian Institute, and photographing Justo in the nude.²⁷ Finally, Miranda features a collage of California Indian reflections on Harrington's writings about Coyote and his views on the "vanishing" California Indian. Miranda adds to the archive, featuring the words of Indigenous people considering Harrington, describing him as "crazy like a fox" and gathering Harrington's materials.²⁸ Rather than repeat what one finds in the ethnographic archive, Miranda critiques the methods and viewpoints of anthropologists. Miranda reminds readers that anthropologists often viewed Indigenous people as specimens, not humans.

Miranda engages a reader's senses and feelings. Miranda urges readers to consider the smells, sounds, tastes, and touch as well as the sights found in the archive.²⁹ Readers hear the "scoop and slap" of preparing clay.³⁰ Then, there are the bells—those damned mission bells. Miranda conflated the "voice of the bell" and the "voice of the padres." The bells "keen[ed]." The bells take on human forms, directing people to work, to eat, to sleep. In sporadic moments, the bells "hung silent," and in their absence the people might leave the mission to gather sardines.³¹

Miranda also employs what Dian Million calls "felt theory," writing about her emotions in researching the archive.³² "Constructing this book has been hard, listening to those stories seep out of old government documents, Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) forms, field notes, the diaries of explorers and priests, the occasional writings and testimony from Indians, family stories, photographs, newspaper articles; it's been painful, dreaming of destruction, starved children, bones that cry."³³ Miranda imagines the emotions of the people she meets in the archives. She writes a letter to Vicenta Gutierrez, imagining how Vicenta felt and what she did after a priest sexually abused her.³⁴ Miranda continues this line of analysis by conceiving of Isabel Meadows' "anger," when telling Vicenta's story to Harrington.³⁵

Throughout *Bad Indians*, Miranda points the reader to spaces where the archive cannot gain access. Miranda told about Indigenous people from the mission spending time on the beach, outside the gaze of the archive and the Spanish missionaries, where “daughters normally sequestered in the *monjerio* leaned against their mothers contentedly.”³⁶ There is no way to gain this kind of knowledge and understanding from the archive. Yet, Miranda imagines this intimate but likely incident. *Bad Indians* reminded me of my experiences attempting to mesh oral histories of hop picking with the archival record of hop picking. BIA records were replete with statements such as “the Indians are out picking hops,” but that was as far as the sources would go. They failed to discuss what it was like to pick hops or what people did when the workday ended. Oral histories provided a path to follow. I interviewed one person who told a story of how, when the workday was over, her father would play the grass game (a traditional hand game) well into the night, and how she would lay on her father’s back while he played and fall asleep, much like the women depicted in *Bad Indians*.³⁷

STORIES MIRANDA PULLS FROM THE SOURCES AND ARCHIVES

Bad Indians retells stories about California Indians and their history, challenging the archives that produced them. Miranda employs what Māori scholar Alice Te Punga Somerville describes as the “always assumed” approach to research. Rather than enter the archive believing that Indigenous people are absent, Somerville asks scholars to always assume an Indigenous presence.³⁸ Miranda reminds the reader that Indigenous people purposefully contributed to the archive. In her inquiry into Isabel Meadows, who provided information to John P. Harrington, she reflected that “Isabel herself knew the power of story and believed in our survival—in the future, there would be Indian women who would need this story!”³⁹

Miranda creatively reimagines the archive and the sources therein. In the process, Miranda challenges the standard California story of vanishing or degraded California Indians. Miranda highlights how the archive documents and perpetuates violence against Indigenous people, especially Indigenous women. The Spanish mission is less a bucolic setting and more an institution bent on the destruction of Indigenous people. Spanish soldiers emerge from fields to capture Indigenous women for their “unbridled lust.”⁴⁰ Miranda continues with a letter she writes to Vicenta, who was raped by a Spanish priest.⁴¹ Spaniards introduced new items to inflict pain on Indigenous bodies, such as the cat o’ nine tails, corma, (a hobbling device formed of two pieces of wood hung together), and cudgel. Miranda links the mission itself to the tools of discipline, describing it as a “Massive Conversion Factory centered around a furnace constructed of flesh, bones, blood, grief, and pristine lands and watersheds, and dependent on a continuing fresh supply of human beings.”⁴² Miranda contemplates the violence perpetuated on the bodies of *’aqi* (the Chumash term for two-spirit people), who were “stripped bare, whipped, made to sweep the plaza for days, pointed at, cursed.”⁴³

Miranda’s focus on colonial violence challenges previous histories of the California missions and Gold Rush. In the 1980s, California Indian activists protested the

canonization of Father Junípero Serra, declaring that the missions were institutions of genocide and detailing the atrocities committed against California Indians by Spanish missionaries. Some scholars leapt to Serra's defense. They claimed that the missionaries' violent actions toward California Indians resembled how a parent might spank a child.⁴⁴ Similar stories exist about the California gold rush. Historians have depicted it as a story of progressive capitalist and democratic development in California.⁴⁵ Other scholars have gone out of their way to claim that genocide did not occur in California, notwithstanding the claims of Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars.⁴⁶

Miranda instructs readers on how the archive and those who produced it invaded Indigenous lives. If the Bureau of Indian Affairs did one thing, it created a lot of documents about Indigenous people: books of daily reports about reservation activities, letters about students attending off-reservation boarding schools, and complaints about allegedly criminal behavior. In the National Archives in San Bruno, I found a document in the Court of Indian Offenses file. My great-grandmother was arrested on the charge of fornication. I discuss this document with my American Indian history students to lead them to think about surveillance of Indigenous peoples' lives and bodies. Miranda's approach should motivate students and readers to think about those two issues—*how* and *why* was she arrested?

Miranda's use of the "always assumed" approach of Indigenous people in the archive allows her to explore new and different stories. For example, she finds that California Indians were "routed," that their experiences and connection to land depended as much on mobility as stasis.⁴⁷ Miranda finds not stationary California Indians but mobile California Indians. The oral histories with her grandfather Tom Miranda reveals a man on the move. He worked in Merced, logged in the mountains outside of King City, and woke up beside a strange woman in Kansas.⁴⁸

Miranda reminds us that when California Indian scholars venture into the archive, we are not looking for and at "the relics of the past," as the historian wrote. We look for and find our relatives and ancestors. *Bad Indians* is a book about relationships: Miranda pushes us to consider the intimacies and relationships between Indigenous scholars and the archive—of the relationships we create with those we find in that archive.

At its core, *Bad Indians* is a family history. Miranda traces her ancestors who lived at the missions, who survived the era of Mexican secularization and the California gold rush—the endurance of Indigenous people in the Bay Area. Further, she contemplates her relationships to the people who produced sources about California Indians. Miranda acknowledges her relationship with Harrington, who died the day before she was born.⁴⁹ Similarly, I found reference to a folder of land allotment papers at the National Archives in San Bruno that involved my great-grandfather Charles Wright. I did not know what to expect, but I was stunned when I pulled the folder, a thick stack of papers dealing with his life during the Great Depression, from 1929 to his death in 1941. By this time, he was quite elderly and had health problems—a reported stroke left him partially incapacitated. The file deals with him scrounging money to pay off debts, selling land allotments in which he had an interest, the activities of his children (including my grandmother, who was alive at the time I found these sources), and the distribution of his property and land allotments after his passing. I made

copies of this file and gave them to my aunts and my father. My Aunt Betty, Charles' granddaughter, remarked that the documents read "sad." I could see that. I gave a copy to my grandmother to read. When I visited her again, we chatted about what was included in there. One of the things she identified with was a set of receipts from Biggar Mercantile Company, the local store. She remembered some of the things listed on the receipts and why the family purchased them. Charles often bought tobacco and would sit on his front steps, talk with other Concow men who visited, and smoke either rolled-up cigarettes (yes, papers were on the shopping list) or his pipe. My grandmother remembered it was her job to clean the pipe. One time, her sister, Eva, broke the glass chimney on the family's kerosene lamp, necessitating a September 21, 1931, purchase of a lamp chimney for thirty-five cents.

Finally, the present is always present in *Bad Indians*. When discussing sexual violence against Indigenous women in the Spanish missions, Miranda reminds the reader that this kind of sexual violence exists today. She cites the galling statistic that 34 percent of Indigenous women will experience some form of sexual violence in their lifetime.⁵⁰ Miranda's connections have only become more potent in recent years. Indigenous leaders in Canada and the United States have raised the issue of missing and murdered Indigenous women, especially after the growth of extractive industries on the Plains.⁵¹

In *Bad Indians*, Deborah Miranda influenced how scholars, students, and Indigenous people engage in study of the archive. Miranda uses the same archives and sources as previous historians—the writings of Spanish missionaries, Bureau of Indian Affairs censuses, and newspaper articles—but offers scholars new methods to interpret those archives. She reimagines what one finds in the archive, reframing the writings of Spanish missionaries, the musings of newspaper writers, and anthropologists' field notes. Miranda uncovers a California story of, yes, colonial violence, but also one of Indigenous relationships and mobility. In the end, the archive tells a story—not of the destruction of Indigenous people but of Indigenous survival. *Bad Indians* certainly does not shy away from acts of violence, both historical and contemporary, yet the violence that remade North America is not the complete story. California Indians survived and thrived. A *Los Angeles Times* newspaper headline, "Bad' Indian Goes on Rampage at Santa Ynez," helped inspire the book's title. The article reported that on August 2, 1909, Juan Miranda used a .44-caliber Winchester in a standoff against a constable and a game warden. The officers, though, "subdued and arrested" the "bad Indian."⁵² Deborah Miranda uses the newspaper story to dissect the meaning of "bad Indians." Readers of the *Los Angeles Times* might associate "bad Indians" with, as the story alluded, "firewater" and resisting the police. Miranda, though, praises the people historically considered "bad Indians," those who resisted Spanish, Mexican, and American settler colonialism. The "bad Indians" who refused to plow mission fields, who participated in Deer Dances, who endured beatings with the cat o' nine tails, who resisted the sexual advances of priests, and who rose up against colonial authorities.⁵³ These "bad" Indians inspire different stories of California Indian history.

NOTES

1. Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2011), xix.

2. Crystal Fraser and Zoe Todd, "Decolonial Sensibilities: Indigenous Research and Engaging with Archives in Contemporary Colonial Canada," *Decolonising Archives* (L'Internationale Books, 2016), 32–40.

3. Saidiya Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," *Small Axe* 26 (vol. 12, no. 2) (June 2008): 12.

4. Alice Te Punga Somerville, "I Do Still Have a Letter': Our Sea of Archives," in *Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies*, eds. Chris Andersen and Jean M. O'Brien (London: Routledge, 2017), 124.

5. Douglas Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

6. Steven W. Hackel, ed., *Early California Population Project Database: Guide for Users* (San Marino: Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, 2006), 3.

7. Deborah A. Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2013), 104–5. For the history of salvage anthropology in California, see Karl Kroeber and Clifton Kroeber, eds., *Isbi in Three Centuries* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008). For California Indians traveling to the Bay Area to work with and for anthropologists, see William Bauer, "Well, Mr. Kroeber: California Indians and the Work of Anthropology" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Western History Association, Lake Tahoe, California, October 2010).

8. John R. Johnson, "The Trail to Fernando," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 4, no. 1 (1982): 132–38; Travis Hudson, ed., *Breath of the Sun: Life in Early California as Told by a Chumash Indian, Fernando Librado, to John P. Harrington* (Banning: Malki Museum Press, 1980).

9. Miranda, *Bad Indians*, 27.

10. For legibility, see James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

11. Mark Rifkin, "Making People into Populations: The Racial Limits of Tribal Sovereignty," in *Theorizing Native Studies*, eds. Audra Simpson and Andrea Smith (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 149–87.

12. Miranda, *Bad Indians*, 28.

13. See also Clifford Trafzer and Joel Hyer, eds., *Exterminate Them! Written Accounts of the Murder, Rape, and Enslavement of Native Americans during the California Gold Rush* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999).

14. Miranda, *Bad Indians*, 16, 44, 51.

15. See, for example, Phoebe S. Kropp, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

16. Miranda, *Bad Indians*, xviii–xix.

17. *Ibid.*, x.

18. *Ibid.*, 82.

19. *Ibid.*, 78.

20. As a teaching method, I ask graduate students to read Robert Utley's *The Last Days of the Sioux Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966). As we discuss the book, I highlight for students how Utley calls the ghost dance a "craze," often without quotation marks. The language—calling the ghost dance a "craze"—is found in the primary sources and then becomes Utley's language and beliefs about the religious movement. I then ask students to read Jeffrey Ostler's *The Plains Sioux and US Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), which used the same sources as Utley, but came to different conclusions.

21. Miranda, *Bad Indians*, xvi.
22. Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," 12.
23. Miranda, *Bad Indians*, 22 with analysis 23–26.
24. *Ibid.*, 3.
25. *Ibid.*, 59–60.
26. *Ibid.*, 101.
27. *Ibid.*, 102–3.
28. *Ibid.*, 104.
29. See, for example, Mark M. Smith, "Making Sense of U.S. History," *The American Historian* (February 2016) and Sarah Keyes, "'Like a Roaring Lion': The Overland Trail as a Sonic Conquest," *Journal of American History* 96, no. 1 (June 2009): 19–43.
30. Miranda, *Bad Indians*, 7.
31. *Ibid.*, 9.
32. Dian Million, "Felt Theory: An Indigenous Feminist Approach to Affect and History," *Wicazo Sa Review* 24, no. 2 (Fall 2009): 53–76.
33. Miranda, *Bad Indians*, xx.
34. *Ibid.*, 23–24.
35. *Ibid.*, 24–25.
36. *Ibid.*, 10.
37. William J. Bauer Jr., *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here: Work, Community, and Memory on California's Round Valley Reservation, 1850–1941* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).
38. Te Punga Somerville, "'I Do Still Have a Letter': Our Sea of Archives," 124.
39. Miranda, *Bad Indians*, 28.
40. *Ibid.*, 3.
41. *Ibid.*, 22–26.
42. *Ibid.*, 15.
43. *Ibid.*, 31. Miranda expands on this story in "Extermination of the Joyas: Gendercide in Spanish California," *GLQ* 16, nos. 1–2 (2010): 253–84.
44. For an overview on the protest against Junípero Serra, see James A. Sandos, "Junípero Serra's Canonization and the Historical Record," *American Historical Review* 93, no. 5 (December 1988): 1253–69; Rupert and Jeannette Costo, *Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1987). For more positive perspectives on the missions and Serra, see Francis F. Guest, "An Inquiry into the Role of the Discipline in California Mission Life," *Southern California Quarterly* 71, no. 1 (1989): 1–68.
45. Glen Gendzel, "Pioneers and Padres: Competing Mythologies in Northern and Southern California, 1850–1930," *Western Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 55–79.
46. For the debate on genocide in California, see Jack Norton, *Genocide in Northwestern California* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1979); Lynwood Carranco and Estle Beard, *Genocide and Vendetta: The Round Valley Wars of Northern California* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981); Brendan Lindsay, *Murder State: California's Native American Genocide, 1846–1873* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846–1873* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017). For a counterargument, see Gary Clayton Anderson, *Ethnic Cleansing and the Indian: The Crime That Should Haunt America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), esp. 192–218. For a recent critique of Anderson's treatment of the California Indian genocide, see Jeffrey Ostler, "Denial of Genocide

in the California Gold Rush: The Case of Gary Clayton Anderson,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 45, no. 2 (2021): 81–102.

47. Mishuana Goeman, “Land as Life: Unsettling the Logics of Containment,” in *Native Studies Keywords*, eds. Stephanie Teves, Andrea Smith, and Michelle Raheja (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015), 72; Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), 3.

48. Miranda, *Bad Indians*, 84, 87, 90.

49. *Ibid.*, 105.

50. *Ibid.*, 23, 26.

51. Joanne Barker, “Confluence: Water as an Analytic of Indigenous Feminism,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 43, no. 3 (2019): 27.

52. Miranda, *Bad Indians*, 78.

53. *Ibid.*