

# Counting Context: C. E. Kelsey's 1906 Census of Nonreservation Indians in Northern California

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In 1906 C. E. (Charles Edwin) Kelsey completed his "Schedule Showing Non-reservation Indians in Northern California."<sup>1</sup> It was the first census of its kind. Its report on the 11,755 landless Indians north of the Tehachapi Mountains, the ridge of peaks that separates Northern and Southern California, indicated many more than had been reported in the US Census of 1900 or was known to the Office of Indian Affairs. In 1954 anthropologists Alfred Kroeber and Robert Heizer used Kelsey's census to prepare for the hearings on California before the Indian Claims Commission, which compelled Kroeber to increase his earlier population estimates by 20 to 25 percent.<sup>2</sup> To make the data more widely available, Heizer published the census in 1971, adding an introduction that discussed its value and began to place it in time.<sup>3</sup> With few published lists of names of Indians living in California before 1900 available, Kelsey's census is an essential early source for population study, tribal enrollment work, and genealogical research.

Kelsey's manuscript census bears no introduction explaining its purpose or describing his methodology. However, he prepared two other manuscripts during the same period that he collected his census data: "Report on the Condition of the California Indians" and "Some Numerals from the California

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Indian Languages.”<sup>4</sup> This triptych represents the bulk of Kelsey’s known written work. Examined as a group, the report and numerals bring overlooked context to the census. This article fleshes out the documentary and policy context of Kelsey’s census to explain its structure and function. It also identifies errors introduced to Kelsey’s population totals by Kroeber, Heizer, and Sherburne Cook. The mistakes increased Kelsey’s totals by about 10 percent.

## BACKGROUND ON THE INDIANS OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

By the early 1900s the history of the Indians of California was already unique. Prior to outside contact several hundred thousand Natives had densely populated California. Under Spanish and Mexican rule many thousands were lost from the disease, disruption, and forced labor brought by the Catholic missions, which were established along the coast as far north as Sonoma. The gold rush of 1849 brought massive streams of outsiders who overran much more of the state. Over the following decades Natives were murdered, killed by disease, or driven from their lands and livelihoods by miners and settlers.

Unlike much of the western United States, the federal government did not quiet Native title to most of the land of California. In 1851–1852 eighteen treaties with Indians were signed that might have settled their claims to the land, but the Senate refused to ratify them. Instead of resolving land ownership issues and reserving lands via treaty, the United States government established reservations for the Indians by executive action. But some reservations were blocked and others were moved or liquidated when the land became attractive to whites. A series of executive orders and a congressional act in 1891 led to the creation of small, scattered reservations of varying quality for Indians in Southern California. In Northern California there were only three reservations in 1900, at Hoopa Valley, Round Valley, and Tule River; the number of Indians living outside their borders was uncertain. The uncounted, nonreservation Indians had virtually no legal rights, protections, or government support.

Formed by women in and around San Jose in 1894, the Northern California Indian Association (NCIA) found the situation of these Indians deplorable. The NCIA initially supported missionary work among Indians living on government land in the northern reaches of California. Assisting Indian bands elsewhere in Northern California proved much more difficult because they lacked secure land tenure. The NCIA could not afford to set up shop and then start over whenever the Indians might be evicted. In 1902 the association bought land at Manchester in Mendocino County for some of them, but this was expensive. It could not afford to buy land for all the homeless Indians it found. Instead, it decided to press the government to provide relief to them.

The NCIA laid the groundwork for its campaign by doing research. Seeking relevant government reports from the Indian Office, the NCIA was told that there were none, so it collected its own data in the field and prepared reports of its findings. C. E. Kelsey was probably one of the association's principal investigators. Born in Wisconsin in 1861, he moved to San Jose in 1901, opened a law practice, and joined the NCIA. Soon he was elected secretary and a director.<sup>5</sup>

When President Theodore Roosevelt visited San Jose in 1903, the NCIA presented him with a memorial concerning the nonreservation Indians of Northern California that outlined their history and described their conditions. Because the government had sold much of the land taken from the Indians, the memorial proposed that the government buy back some land for them. Eight months later the NCIA petitioned Congress to give "our landless Indians . . . small tracts of land in severalty where they now reside; that their own lands be given them wherever possible, and that a sufficient sum be appropriated to purchase these tracts wherever there is no Government land available."<sup>6</sup>

The "land in severalty," or allotments, proposed by the NCIA, were meant to be small parcels, not large farms, so that the Indians would continue working as laborers. This would prevent a repeat of what Kelsey called "the follies of the middle west," where the government had tried to make Indians into farmers. Giving the Indians land where they currently lived would keep them scattered and "break down the old communal ideas which prevail in the little isolated settlements." If they were relocated to land that remained open elsewhere in California, Kelsey believed they would be a source of expense to the government for years to come. Concentrating the Indians on reservations would leave them without sufficient work. Allotting land would have the benefit of making "reservations for the California Indians forever impossible," according to Kelsey.<sup>7</sup>

Rather than provide money for land purchases as the NCIA wished, Congress responded by authorizing an investigation of the condition of the Indians in Northern California in 1905. Even this lesser achievement took two years of petitioning by the association, though it represented the first step in bringing federal aid to the Indians.<sup>8</sup>

## KELSEY'S APPOINTMENT AS SPECIAL AGENT FOR THE CALIFORNIA INDIANS, 1905-06

In July 1905 the secretary of the interior appointed Kelsey "to investigate . . . existing conditions of the California Indians and to report to Congress at the next session some plan to improve the same."<sup>9</sup> With the next session of

Congress scheduled to open in December 1905, Kelsey's appointment was for just three months; thus, Kelsey produced his census, report, and numerals as government investigator over a short period and under a tight deadline. Kelsey had written in 1904 that the investigation "is an undertaking of considerable magnitude and will take a year, if it is done with any thoroughness at all. The physical hardships are enormous and can be appreciated only by one who has tried it." Looking back years later, he doubted "if anyone in Congress or out had any idea of the difficulties of making such an investigation in that time. California is a large State. Its Indians are mostly back in the mountains where transportation facilities are wanting. The Indians were sullen and suspicious. Nobody knew much about them, least of all their neighbors."<sup>10</sup>

Accepting the appointment and feeling the clock ticking, Kelsey anxiously wrote Washington to "expedite a little the issuance of instructions and my assignment to duty, as the time is short. In the northern counties of Humboldt, Del Norte, Trinity and Siskiyou the rains begin as early as September and in the Sierra counties the snow [sic] begins as early as October. The trails then become impassible, and the utmost expedition is necessary in order to complete the work this season. A few days now may save weeks later and also save much expense in traveling."<sup>11</sup> Days later and still without orders, Kelsey sent additional letters inquiring about work on Sundays, procedures for claiming expenses, and other housekeeping matters.

Kelsey's instructions were already in the mail; he received them on August 6. He was to conduct an investigation of conditions of the California Indians, "especially with reference to the homeless Indians in Central and Northern California." Acknowledging his familiarity with the situation, the commissioner of Indian affairs gave only general instructions:

The plan outlined by the Northern California Indian Association, namely: the purchase of lands by the Government for minute allotments to these Indians in the localities where they reside, upon which they can build homes for themselves, is believed to be the most effective, if not the only way, in which any great number can be afforded permanent relief. You should, therefore, visit the various Indian villages and investigate with reference to the feasibility and approximate cost of carrying this plan into execution; at the same time studying [sic] their special needs and the possibilities for improvement in each locality, and reporting the results of your investigations to this Office at the earliest practicable date, accompanied by your recommendation.

Because additional instructions extending the area of his work might be issued, the commissioner also advised him to "take advantage of every opportunity to thoroughly familiarize yourself with the entire Indian situation in California."<sup>12</sup>

At Christmas Kelsey received instructions also to investigate conditions on the Indian reservations in Southern California.

Kelsey reported his plans to the commissioner on August 8, the day he entered on duty. He would make considerable use of the US land offices, commencing by examining plat maps at the San Francisco office before going to the land office in Eureka. From there he would visit Indian settlements in the northern counties before the rains began in September. After that he would visit the higher settlements in the Sierras before the snows started in October; because the southern Sierras were higher he would start with them. The counties east of the Sierras would follow. They were fairly open in winter, though passes through the ranges that separated various districts were apt to be blocked by snow. Continuing from there, he would visit settlements on the lower flanks of the Sierras, then the northern coast counties of Mendocino, Sonoma and Lake, the Central Valley, and finally the southern coast counties. "This will make rather a zig-zag route, but it is the only way in which it is possible to go over the entire field before the Congress meets." He thought he would return to his headquarters—and home—in San Jose two or three times, and could do so without losing time.<sup>13</sup>

Kelsey received several extensions to the initial three-month authorization. Barely a month into his appointment he wrote the commissioner, "Congress meets in December and I understand the Civil Service Commission has so far authorized my official existence for three months only, an authorization which I think will need extension. I will necessarily have to make my investigation less complete than the situation really demands. I shall do everything in my power to have my report as complete as possible in the limited time allowed."<sup>14</sup> In September his appointment was extended three months. In late December, having been instructed to also report on reservation Indians in Southern California, he sought a further extension of one month.

Even Kelsey had underestimated the effort involved in making the investigation. "The work necessary to secure complete and accurate data has proved to be much greater than was anticipated, and has required the services of your special agent practically day and night during the whole time," he wrote in his report. While he "availed himself of all information offered from any and every source," Kelsey relied primarily on his personal inspections of "almost every Indian settlement between the Oregon line and the Mexican border." In 1905 Kelsey traveled at least four thousand miles "by stage, on horseback, by rail and in all ways." By the end of his appointment he had logged twelve thousand miles visiting Indian settlements; because most were not near railroad lines, "it proved impossible to hurry the inquiry beyond the speed of a horse." Kelsey calculated that the deadline given him worked out to less than three days per county.<sup>15</sup>

After multiple extensions of his appointment, Kelsey worked in the field without interruption until March 8 or 9, 1906, when he was called to Washington to present his findings. When she received the summoning telegram, Kelsey's wife desperately tried to locate him in the field—she last knew him to be in Fresno County, where he was “about to start on an inspecting trip to an obscure Indian land in the mountains . . . she telegraphed to two places but he had gone where there was no such means of communication.”<sup>16</sup> The NCIA paid a man to go out on horseback in search of Kelsey, which must have done the trick. Kelsey traveled to Washington, appeared before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, and submitted his “Report on the Condition of the California Indians” to the commissioner of Indian affairs on March 21.<sup>17</sup> He may have drafted the report in a notebook during the train trip. The report was immediately published by the Carlisle Indian School at the request of the Indian Office, and at its annual meeting that fall the NCIA ordered five thousand copies of it printed.

The report chronicled the history of the Indians of California, described their current conditions, and made recommendations. By necessity the report was a relatively brief overview, and undoubtedly Kelsey wrote it with an eye to those he saw as most in need and in line with the NCIA's policy proposals. The report has been criticized for denying the integral relationships between Indians and whites and downplaying the importance of lands communally owned by Indians because they did not fit Kelsey's agenda. Years later Kelsey wrote, “The wonder is that I was able to do as well as I did. In light of later knowledge this report of March 21, 1906 is surprisingly accurate and complete, although it lacked a good deal of both accuracy and completeness.”<sup>18</sup>

Within months the report did the job on which the NCIA had set its sights, triggering the first of two congressional appropriations totaling \$150,000 to purchase land for the nonreservation Indians of Northern California. Since then Kelsey's report has become a frequently cited classic in modern California Indian history. In 1920 Representative John Raker had Congress print the entire document. Introducing it, he said, “I do not know of any better presentation . . . than the report of Mr. C. E. Kelsey, special agent for California Indians.” The Commonwealth Club's landmark 1926 report on the Indians of California stated that, “the Kelsey report of 1906 clearly sets forth the facts relative to many of the Reservations.” In 1979 the report was published by Robert Heizer as one of several key documents tracing federal attempts to address the sufferings of the California Indians. More recently, it was described by Karl and Clifton Kroeber as “a comprehensive account of the terrible effects of anti-Indian prejudice that reveals the origins and development of a 150-year-long history of abuse and mistreatment of Native Californians” and

"the most complete, best informed, and cogently specific contemporary account of the miserable circumstances of California Indians at the time."<sup>19</sup>

## KELSEY'S CENSUS OF NONRESERVATION INDIANS IN NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

Any assistance intended for the homeless Indians of California necessitated knowing their number. In his manuscript report Kelsey asserted that there were a little more than 16,500 Indians in the state, of which 5,200 were living on reservations, primarily in Southern California, leaving about 11,300 nonreservation Indians in the state. To support the numbers, on March 31 Kelsey submitted a "family census" of Indians north of Tehachapi, excluding those living on reservations. It reported 11,755 individuals in 3,386 families. Probably due to deadline pressure, the numbers in Kelsey's manuscript report did not match those in his manuscript census. Published versions of his report revised the numbers to 17,000 Indians statewide and 11,800 off-reservation, which corresponded to the census figures.<sup>20</sup> This harmonization of report and census attests to their intimate relationship. Indeed, there are several mentions of the census in the report. Yet they were submitted separately and contained different types of information that to this day tend to be consulted separately.

Kelsey's census is arranged first by county, thereunder by district or settlement, and then by language stock. For each family the census lists the name of the head of household, the number of dependents in the household, whether they were Indian or of mixed blood, and whether they owned land. Some of the specific locations are difficult to identify today, and there are no dates indicating when he collected data about a particular community.

Other than naming only the head of each household, few entries in the Kelsey census are generalized. There are twenty-two "other Indians whose existence is certified to by the Chief" of the Markleeville Band, forty estimated in Furnace Creek and Death Valley, "about 10 families" counted as fifty individuals in Mussel Slough, Kings County, and occasional mentions of two or three families and handfuls of "old people" in specific settlements. While not including residents of the Indian reservations at Hoopa Valley, Round Valley, and Tule River, Kelsey included Indians at Jackson Reservation on "land held by the U.S. as a reservation," and at Independence on "Old Fort Independence Military Reserve."

The census only covers thirty-six counties in Northern California, omitting most of the counties closest to San Francisco Bay (see fig. 1). The unenumerated counties tended to have small Indian populations.<sup>21</sup> For nine counties that Kelsey could not visit because he did not have time, he gave figures "from



the census,” while three other counties “report no Indian settlements.” He specifically mentioned forty-eight northern counties; two other counties are not listed. To account for individuals he might have missed, he added four hundred Indians “estimated as not enumerated.” Kelsey allocated all the estimates—the general family entries, nine counties not visited, and four hundred not enumerated—to the group without land.

For each of the forty-eight counties, two summary pages list the number of nonreservation Indians without land, the number owning land, and the number of mixed-blood Natives. The total of these three groups was 11,755 in 3,386

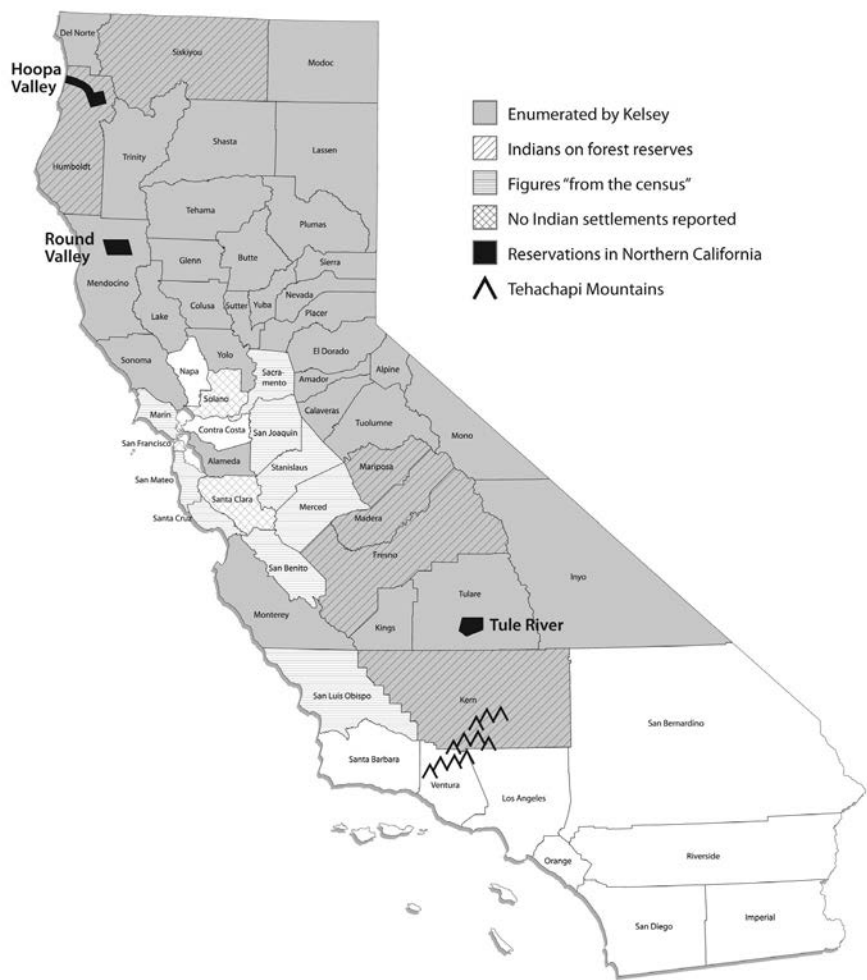


FIGURE 1. Northern California counties in the Kelsey census. Graphic by Gary Ashcava, 2013.



households (table 1). A third page tabulates Indians on the forest reserves in Northern California; for each of six counties, it provides the number of Indians and mixed bloods (table 2). These three pages of the original manuscript are reproduced in appendix 1.

TABLE 1. NONRESERVATION POPULATION TOTALS IN THE KELSEY CENSUS

Nonreservation Indians	Heads of households	Individuals
Without land	2,302	7,928
Owning land	885	3,015
Mixed bloods	199	812
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,386</b>	<b>11,755</b>

TABLE 2. FOREST RESERVE POPULATION TOTALS IN THE KELSEY CENSUS

Forest Reserve Indians	Heads of households	Individuals
Indians	306	1,181
Mixed bloods	23	125
<b>Total</b>	<b>329</b>	<b>1,306</b>

A census was not specified in the legislation authorizing the investigation, nor was it a requirement in his initial instructions. Kelsey must have conceived of the census as an important product of his investigation, and designed it to support one of the actions he recommended in his report: to provide to the nonreservation Indians of Northern California "land in lieu of any claims they may have against the Government, moral or otherwise; that the land shall be of good quality with proper water supply, and shall be located in the neighborhoods in which the Indians wish to live; that this land shall be given under some such plan as . . . each family being assigned not exceeding ten acres of land, or such smaller tract as the conditions may warrant."<sup>22</sup> The census was structured by location, language, household, and land ownership status to guide the purchase of land for those lacking it.

The breakdown of Indians living on the forest reserves is also explained in his report. These Indians had no title to that land, and it was unclear whether forest reserve land could legally be allotted to them. Because forest reserve officials did not object to their presence, Kelsey did not think any action on their behalf was necessary for the time being. Thus the separate forest reserve tally could be subtracted from the total without land on the previous two pages to determine the final number of Indian households in need of land.<sup>23</sup>

We know little of the methodology Kelsey used in compiling his census, and most of that comes from his report. He reported visiting nearly every Indian settlement, though he only enumerated thirty-six counties, and he did not usually count people of mixed blood who were more than half white because he stated this in his report. Because he did not have time to make a "hut to hut

canvass," he depended on "third persons in a large measure for information." Among non-Indians, he found that storekeepers who did business with local Indians were most knowledgeable, though it is not clear whether Kelsey used these sources only to locate Indian settlements or to collect actual census data. Though acknowledging that he did not count every Indian, he did not explain how he settled on four hundred as the estimate of those missed.<sup>24</sup>

Kelsey did not develop his methodology from scratch. Rather, it was anchored in the research done by the NCIA before it petitioned Congress. Years later Kelsey wrote that his investigation "was necessarily hurried and incomplete and would have been impossible but for the data possessed by the Northern California Indian Association." His report of 1906 repeated many of the themes of the NCIA's 1903 memorial and petition, and it specifically mentioned a decrease in population "in the last three years." This was a clear reference to the population schedule appended to the NCIA's petition to Congress.<sup>25</sup>

The NCIA's "Schedule showing the location and numbers of the various bands of non-reservation Indians of Northern California, as accurately as the Northern California Indian Association is able to ascertain them at present," was completed in 1903. Rather than listing people's names, it provided only the number of Indians in each settlement and their linguistic stock. The schedule reported 13,733 Indians living in 418 settlements in 47 Northern California counties, excluding those living on reservations, and estimated that "there are at least 1,000 more not yet located." Data from the US census of 1900 are used for one county, which is not included in the 13,733 total, and it did not mention two other counties.<sup>26</sup>

In 1903 the NCIA's schedule was eye-opening because it indicated far more Indians outside reservations in Northern California than the Census Bureau and Office of Indian Affairs had reported. According to the US Census of 1900, the total number of Indians in the state, including those on reservations, was 15,377, with 3,724 Indians in Southern California and 11,653 in the north. For all of California in 1903, the Office of Indian Affairs reported 15,325 Indians, with 5,954 of them on reservations or otherwise under its jurisdiction and another 9,371 not under the supervision of an Indian agent. The latter number covered all of California, yet was only about two-thirds of the number the NCIA reported in Northern California alone.<sup>27</sup>

To compile his census, Kelsey could consult the NCIA's population schedule to locate Indian settlements and make initial determinations of language stock. When he traveled to the area he could revise and expand on the earlier data by listing each head of household by name, counting the number of people in each household, verifying their language, and indicating whether they owned land.

## KELSEY'S "SOME NUMERALS FROM THE CALIFORNIA INDIAN LANGUAGES"

Both the 1903 NCIA schedule and 1906 Kelsey census indicate the linguistic stock of Indians at each settlement. The 1903 schedule used the language families designated by John Wesley Powell, while just a few years later Kelsey used those of Stephen Powers. Kelsey followed the scholarship behind these different language classification systems. He admired ethnologists, assembled a personal library of anthropological works, and had a lifelong interest in Indian languages. Growing up in Wisconsin, he recorded long lists of Menominee and Oneida words, and a family story has him wooing his future wife by making her an Oneida phrase book. Kelsey continued to document linguistic information after the census was done. In 1909, for example, he wrote about collecting numerals from "an Indian of the old coast tribe in the Usal country" that were "unmistakably Yukian" yet diverged from the Yukian counts he had previously collected.<sup>28</sup>

This is where the third document by Kelsey, "Some numerals from the California Indian languages," comes into play. A typical entry indicates the name of the informant, his or her language stock, town, county, and date of collection. The informant's pronunciation of numbers from one to ten or twenty, and some larger multiples of ten is usually recorded using the Webster dictionary method of phonetic recording. On the vocabulary page Kelsey indicates that vowels are "generally as in the continental languages" and consonants are "generally as in English." Most of the informants were Indian, but a few were white. There are 116 number lists, or vocabularies, in the manuscript, but they represent fewer individuals because a handful appear to have been interviewed more than once.<sup>29</sup>

The date on which Kelsey visited each informant to collect a vocabulary helps to document his activities and travels. Some of the vocabulary data were collected in autumn 1903, shortly before the NCIA printed its 1903 population schedule. Data from individuals in settlements in Del Norte, Humboldt, Mendocino, and Sonoma Counties were collected by Kelsey in these months, and their locations match Indian settlements listed in the 1903 NCIA schedule. There are virtually no extant records of the NCIA's field research in preparation for its petition to Congress, but these vocabularies bear witness to Kelsey's likely role as a field-worker for the NCIA during this time.

While Kelsey collected a few vocabularies in 1903 and in August and September 1906, most are dated from August 1905 to March 1906, the period during which Kelsey was compiling his census, and many vocabulary informants are enumerated in the census. Kelsey interviewed the informants to record their words for and pronunciation of numbers, and he probably sought

census data from them. The vocabularies indicate some of the specific locations he visited and the date he was there, information that is absent from the Kelsey census. In some cases the location/date pairings could help resolve an issue raised by Khal Schneider, who questioned whether some communities listed in the census were temporary camps or year-round rancherias.<sup>30</sup>

Looking at these vocabularies, we can see that Kelsey visited his first informant as special agent at Bucksport, Humboldt County, on August 12, 1905, and his last in Dunlap and Eshom Valley, Fresno County (or possibly Tulare County), on March 9, 1906. He was in Southern California from at least January 25 to February 22, briefly dipped into Santa Barbara and Monterey Counties, and then spent early March in the southern Central Valley.

Using this information, we can compare the actual locations Kelsey visited to the travel plans he provided to the commissioner when he entered on duty. It appears that Kelsey generally conformed to his initial plans, starting in the northern counties, then the Sierras, the eastern side of that range, the Sierra foothills, the northern coast counties, and the Central Valley. The southern coast counties were last on his itinerary, and Kelsey's time ran out before he reached them. Though the congressional session extended into summer, he was called to Washington in early March, when he was in the southern Central Valley. He collected only one vocabulary in the southern coast counties, from a woman in Milpitas, Monterey County, on February 24, and none from the middle counties of the Central Valley. Indeed, Monterey County was the only southern coast county to be included in the Kelsey census, and few of the core Central Valley counties were enumerated.

The vocabularies Kelsey collected are recognized as an ethnographic source today, and his interpretation and application of the language data to the census was solid. Discussing the census years later, Alfred Kroeber observed that "many times the Indians would not know their ethnic affiliation in white man's terms, but Kelsey showed practical intelligence in correctly converting their local designations into the 'stocks' which Stephen Powers had introduced."<sup>31</sup>

While collecting language data was not Kelsey's primary aim, neither was it an avocational exercise. As he explained to Kroeber, "I have no present intention of pursuing linguistic studies, but have found it of practical value to know the stock of the Indians I am talking to, and this can usually be done by the numerals." In his report Kelsey referred to more than twenty different linguistic stocks in California, "as distinct from each other as the Chippewas are from the Sioux," and stressed that "different stock or races of Indians ordinarily cannot be put together." Kelsey saw the language information as having practical value for planning land purchases for particular bands.<sup>32</sup>

## ERRORS MADE BY KELSEY IN THE CENSUS

Scholars have not seriously questioned the overall list of families in the thirty-six counties in Kelsey's census. In 1920 an Indian Office worker in California stated that Kelsey "made as good a census as one man, in the limited time given him, could make." Kroeber believed that "Kelsey's lone-handed enumeration" was more reliable than the census data from Indian reservations in California, which were far smaller and easier to canvass. Kroeber wrote that Kelsey "went directly to the Indians, and only to the Indians, for his data. He had a purpose, and the Indians would be coöperative, even if not too optimistic, at the possibility of getting land. He worked singlehanded but consistently, and face to face." More recently, population scholar Sherburne Cook concluded, "it is clear from the context of the report . . . that Kelsey made a conscientious effort during nine months to locate every person who claimed Indian descent. We can also lend complete credit to his reliability as a witness." Even so, Cook continued, "his totals must be regarded as minimal" because scattered or isolated individuals may have avoided Kelsey or been unreachable by him.<sup>33</sup>

Kroeber found only one point where Kelsey's figures were weak, "the delicate one of 'mixed bloods.' I am confident that by 1905 these constituted more than the 7 percent of the total Indian population that he allows (the 1910 census allows nearly 30 percent), and that Kelsey knew it. But inquiry into paternity is not easy to press, and it would have been of only secondary relevance to the purpose of his engagement." Indeed, Kelsey reported that the number of mixed blood Natives is "much fewer" than expected.<sup>34</sup>

Kelsey himself acknowledged errors. He wrote in 1911, "Congress required that report be made at that session and I was not commissioned until September. Hence the census was very hurriedly gathered and is far from correct, especially as to Shasta and Siskiyou counties. As to some counties I have been able to correct the census, with an average gain of about 20%, but the data for this is scattered through my notebooks and I have never had time or opportunity to get it together."<sup>35</sup> It is difficult to itemize these errors of omission because Kelsey's notebooks and other papers did not survive. It may be possible to identify some Indians omitted from the census by comparing the US census of 1900 to Kelsey's census, though Kelsey's census is the more complete of the two. Any other extant lists of Indians from this period might also be compared to the census, but such lists are uncommon and fragmentary.

The only mistakes easily identified now are those made apparent by a close reading of the original census manuscript. Recently Khal Schneider noted a number of errors concerning particular individuals. He found that Willie Williams at Guidiville Rancheria was erroneously listed by Kelsey as owning land. He also discovered that John Thompson and John Arnold were both

listed twice, once in Echo in Mendocino County and again at Cloverdale in Sonoma County.<sup>36</sup>

While errors in the enumeration of specific individuals are difficult to identify, mistakes in tallies and calculations are more obvious. Kelsey made mistakes in some of his household counts and total counts. Two of many such errors serve as examples: in his manuscript census Kelsey counted “Ida Howdy & 2 children” in Oleta, Amador County, as four people rather than three; and “Pete Mike” in Happy Camp, Siskiyou County, as two people instead of one. Further, at the next level on the original manuscript census Kelsey’s penned page totals show mistakes in adding up the household counts. Kelsey’s total of Indians without land in Alameda County is handwritten as forty-two, but the actual total of the typed household count numbers is forty-one.<sup>37</sup>

Aside from these overt errors, there are several aspects of Kelsey’s original census that are problematic. The most puzzling involves the numbers he tapped for the nine counties he did not visit, which are mostly incorrect. His total for these counties was 340; Kelsey stated only that they were “from the census.” We can assume that Kelsey had access to the US census data because the NCIA’s 1903 population schedule cited the US census of 1900 for one county and used the proper number (table 3).<sup>38</sup>

TABLE 3. NORTHERN CALIFORNIA COUNTIES NOT ENUMERATED BY KELSEY:  
KELSEY CENSUS VS. 1900 CENSUS

County	Kelsey census, 1906	US census, 1900
Marin	25	25
Merced	25	4
Sacramento	50	24
San Benito	40	36
San Joaquin	30	1
San Luis Obispo	70	1
San Mateo	15	1
Santa Cruz	60	67
Stanislaus	25	25
San Francisco	No Indian settlements	15
Santa Clara	No Indian settlements	9
Solano	No Indian settlements	2
Contra Costa	Not mentioned	8
Napa	Not mentioned	18
<b>Total</b>	<b>340</b>	<b>236</b>

However, using data from the US Census of 1900, the population report published by the Census Office in 1901 listed 184 in the nine unvisited counties. Moreover Kelsey specifically reported no Indians in three other counties, yet in the Census Office publication twenty-six Indians are listed for these counties. The two counties he forgot to mention accounted for twenty-six more.

The reason for this error is unknown. It could be that Kelsey's figures do not match the 1900 census because he used unpublished data supplied by census officials. Perhaps those officials provided more recent information, or had additional data identifying whether individuals were of California Indian descent. His reference to three counties that "report no Indian settlements" may indicate that Kelsey inquired about Indian *settlements* rather than scattered individuals. He may have written to officials in the counties, rather than federal officials, in hopes of getting the most current information available or excluding Indians who were not of California descent.

Kelsey chose not to use data from the NCIA's 1903 population schedule for the counties he could not visit in 1905–06. He may have felt compelled to use government sources upon becoming a government employee and reporting to a government agency, even though the NCIA considered the 1900 census figures to be "very unreliable." The population did change in those three years between the NCIA schedule and Kelsey's census; his report cites a drop of 1,100 in the entire Indian population of Northern California over that period. Perhaps he did not trust all of the NCIA's data, which probably were not collected by him alone. Moreover, the numbers for many locations in the NCIA schedule are in increments of five, suggesting that the schedule may be a mixture of informed estimates and actual counts.<sup>39</sup>

In another area, some confusion stems from the three summary pages of Kelsey's census. It is not clearly stated whether the Indians on the forest reserves in Northern California, listed as 1,306 on page 3, are included in the 11,755 listed by county on pages 1 and 2 (table 4). Confusion about the forest reserve count begins with the Indian Office's annual report for 1906, where two sections cite the total population differently. The narrative refers to a nonreservation northern population of "some 11,800," while several hundred pages later the population table lists 13,061 as "not under an agent" and notes that, "of these, 1,306 are on forest reserves." If the forest reserve population is added to 11,755, the total is 13,061. Basically, in the first spot the Indian Office used the total listed on the first two pages of the census, and in the second it added the third page totals to those on the first two.<sup>40</sup>



TABLE 4. POPULATION TOTALS FOR THE FOREST RESERVE COUNTIES  
ENUMERATED BY KELSEY

Counties with forest reserves	Total nonreservation Indians (pages 1–2)	Total on forest reserves (page 3)
Fresno	497	80
Humboldt	565	188
Kern	403	169
Mariposa	183	49
Madera	492	288
Siskiyou	731	532
Total	2,871	1,306

Handwritten annotations on Kelsey’s original typescript census demonstrate that the forest reserve population was included in the 11,755 total. In addition to population subtotals inked on each page in what is probably Kelsey’s hand, swaths of names throughout the manuscript were designated in handwriting as “forest reserve,” and these individuals were counted in the totals on the first two pages. Furthermore, both Kelsey’s 1906 report and his final report in 1913 cited a total of about 11,800 nonreservation Indians in 1906; the latter states that “the non-reservation Indian population of the State was estimated at about 12,000, nearly all north of Tehachapi,” in the report of his initial investigation.<sup>41</sup>

## ERRORS TO KELSEY’S CENSUS INTRODUCED BY KROEBER, HEIZER, AND COOK

Over the decades several scholars who used Kelsey’s census for population work introduced errors into the totals that have been published and carried into the present. In a 1957 article Kroeber used Kelsey’s census to revise his estimate of the California Indian population in 1910. However, Kroeber mistakenly interpreted Kelsey’s census numbers to total 13,361, rather than 11,755. A summary table in his article made several errors apparent.<sup>42</sup> First, the total number of Indians on the forest reserves was off by one hundred (1,206 instead of 1,306). Second, he added the Indians on forest reserves to Kelsey’s total of 11,755, not realizing that Kelsey had already included the forest reserve Indians in that total. Third, Kroeber’s table added the total “reported in U.S. Census” for the nine counties not visited (340) a second time and then added sixty more “estimated by enumerator as missed.” The errant 340 and 60 total 400, which was the number Kelsey estimated as not counted. Kelsey had already included both the nine counties not visited and the 400 Indians estimated as missed in his 11,755 total. As a result of these

mistakes, Kroeber erroneously inflated Kelsey's population total by 1,606 (about 14 percent).

In 1971, Robert Heizer published Kelsey's census so that it would be more widely available. In his introduction, Heizer asserted that "the Kelsey census is given here exactly in the form in which it appears in the original. . . . no editorial alteration has been made."<sup>43</sup> Yet the publication was not completely faithful to the original typescript. To be sure, some mistakes in Kelsey's household counts were corrected and these were usually—but not always—marked by square brackets, but not all the household count errors were fixed. Typographical errors occurred throughout the publication. The demarcation between Tulare and Tuolumne Counties was missing. "Topsy" in Big Sandy, Fresno County, was listed as "Topay." "Jack" on Jackson Reservation, Amador County, was omitted, as was "Jeff & 3 children" in Stony Ford, Colusa County. These are just a few examples of many small mistakes that resulted from lax proofreading. Other changes were more purposeful and damaging.

First, Heizer rearranged the order of counties to make them alphabetical. More critically, Heizer also moved the numbers for the nine counties not enumerated (340) and the four hundred estimated as not enumerated from the last page of the original census typescript (page 191) and placed them after the table of Indians on the forest reserves (page 3). Following this he added a new summary table, not present in Kelsey's original census manuscript, in which the total population was wrongly reported as 13,361 rather than 11,755. This summary table precisely matched the table in Kroeber's 1957 article, including the error in arithmetic involving the forest reserve Indians. Furthermore, the text for this new summary table referred to sixty individuals "estimated as missed by Kelsey." This reference to Kelsey in the third person cried out as an unauthorized alteration of Kelsey's original manuscript. Finally, the publication also took a slight liberty by stating that the data for the nine counties not visited were taken from the "1900 census," because Kelsey referred more vaguely to "the census" as his source.

For his 1976 book on the California Indian population Sherburne Cook used the version of Kelsey's census published by Heizer. Cook discovered the errors introduced by the rogue summary created by Kroeber and perpetuated by Heizer, but attributed them to Kelsey. He also found the discrepancy between Kelsey's numbers for the nine counties he did not visit and the US census of 1900. Cook recalculated the total number of nonreservation Indians in Northern California as 12,767 rather than 11,755, which was an excess of 1,012 (about 9 percent). Cook reached this number by totaling the figures for the thirty-six counties Kelsey visited (12,183), and then adding the 1900 census figures for the nine counties Kelsey did not visit (184) and Kelsey's estimate of those not counted (400).<sup>44</sup>

Cook's calculation for the thirty-six counties visited (12,183) bears scrutiny. He arrived at this number by adding the numbers on the forest reserves (1,306) to the county totals on the first two pages. We know that this is a mistake. In obvious errors, Cook listed 501 Indians in Mono County while Kelsey reported 451. Cook also added wrong, totaling the numbers for the thirty-six counties as 12,183. It is actually 12,371. Subtract the 1,306 on the forest reserves and the 50 erroneously added to Mono County and the total is 11,015. This is the total number of Indians in the thirty-six counties enumerated by Kelsey and listed in Kelsey's census summary, before Kelsey added the nine counties not visited (340) and those he estimated as not enumerated (400). Cook's publications, according to Albert Hurtado, "comprise the largest and most important corpus of writing on California Indian demography."<sup>45</sup> As perhaps the most authoritative analysis of the topic, it is important to correct errors perpetuated and introduced by Cook's works so that they are not carried forward.

Ultimately, the count most faithful to Kelsey's work may be the one he presented in his final report, which he submitted shortly before his termination by the Indian Office in 1913. He wrote, "One of the first things undertaken by me after my second appointment was to correct the census of Indians in California, and I have been able to get accurate figures as to most counties. The latest figures show 19,839 Indians in California, of whom 1944 are on reservations in Northern California and 3,416 on reservations in Southern California, leaving a non-reservation Indian population of 14,479."<sup>46</sup> In this light, Kroeber's and Heizer's mistakes are perhaps less egregious because they err on the side of enlarging Kelsey's 1906 totals, thus closing in on Kelsey's last count of the nonreservation Indians in Northern California.

## CONCLUSION

Framed by C. E. Kelsey's report and vocabularies, it is evident that his census of nonreservation Indians in Northern California was compiled as the blueprint for implementing a policy proposed in his report as a US government investigator. His chief recommendation was to purchase small parcels of land to be used as home sites for the numerous Indians in Northern California who did not own land and were not living in the forest reserves.

Kelsey made some errors in the census and admitted missing some Indians. Since its compilation, scholars who used the census accidentally introduced significant errors to Kelsey's population totals. Correcting these mistakes and contextualizing the circumstances around the creation of the census is made

possible by examining the original census manuscript alongside other documents that Kelsey produced in tandem with the census.

Kelsey's census has stood the test of time and remains an essential primary source on California Indians in the twentieth century. In addition to being a document that anchors tribal enrollment and federal recognition work, it offers ongoing opportunities for historical scholarship. One might analyze Indian names, family size and structure, as Heizer has suggested. Population numbers could be compared to federal rancheria lands subsequently bought to gauge the effectiveness of the land purchases. Relating the Kelsey census to the US censuses of 1900 and 1910 might reveal a variety of interesting aspects of census work and California Indian demography. For all such work, a solid understanding of Kelsey's census is an essential foundation.

## NOTES

1. The record copy of Kelsey's census, a 191-page typescript on legal-size paper with Kelsey's handwritten annotations, may be found in file 5340-1909-034, California Special, Central Classified Files, 1907–1939 (entry 121), Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Record Group 75), National Archives, Washington, DC (hereafter CS-CCF). Kelsey gave carbon copies of his census to A. L. Kroeber and C. Hart Merriam. Kroeber's copy is cataloged as manuscript number 59, Ethnological Documents of the Department of Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, BANC FILM 2216, reel 55–59, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Merriam's copy is probably manuscript number 445, Collection of Manuscripts from the Archaeological Archives of the Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley. Kelsey also kept at least one carbon copy of his census, which he loaned to H. G. Wilson in 1911 (C. E. Kelsey to H. G. Wilson, July 10, 1911, file Administration Indians—C. E. Kelsey, box 79, Administrative Files, 1895–1923, Greenville School and Agency, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Record Group 75), National Archives, San Bruno, California). This copy may have been split up by Kelsey when he left government service; Kelsey stated in his final report, "I have a census which can be divided up in the same manner," referring to sending his maps and other data to the Indian agents in California who would assume responsibility for various counties in the state (C. E. Kelsey to Commissioner, July 25, 1913, 26, file 773-1913-101, CS-CCF). The Kelsey census file listed in the Robert Fleming Heizer Papers (BANC FILM 2106, reel 160, frames 248–332, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley) does not contain a copy of Kelsey's census and instead contains data summarized from it. Photocopies are often available at CILC (California Indian Library Collections) libraries in California.

2. A. L. Kroeber, "California Indian Population about 1910," in *Ethnographic Interpretations 1–6* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957): 218–25.

3. The information in this paragraph is taken from Heizer's "Editor's Introduction," in C. E. Kelsey, *Census of Non-Reservation California Indians, 1905–1906*, ed. Robert F. Heizer (Berkeley: Archaeological Research Facility, Department of Anthropology, University of California, 1971), i–v.

4. C. E. Kelsey, "Report on the Condition of the California Indians," March 21, 1906, file 3017-1906, Indian Division Letters Received (entry 653), Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior (Record Group 48), National Archives, College Park, Maryland (hereafter Kelsey Report); C. E. Kelsey, "Some Numerals from the California Indian Languages," 1903–06, manuscript number 60,

Ethnological Documents of the Department and Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, BANC FILM 2216, reel 60–61, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

5. For more about the NCIA and Kelsey see Valerie Sherer Mathes, “Women’s National Indian Association Work Continues in the North,” in *Divinely Guided: The California Work of the Women’s National Indian Association*, chapter 6 (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2012), 127–52; and Larisa K. Miller, “Primary Sources on C. E. Kelsey and the Northern California Indian Association,” *Journal of Western Archives* 4, no. 1, article 8 (2013), <http://digitalcommons.usu.edu/westernarchives/vol4/iss1/8/>.

6. *Memorial of the Northern California Indian Association*, 58th Congress, 2d session, 1904, S. Doc. 131, 3.

7. C. E. Kelsey to George C. Perkins, March 30, 1904, enclosed in Kelsey to Matthew K. Sniffen, April 1, 1904, reel 17, *Indian Rights Association Papers, 1868–1968* [microfilm] (Glen Rock, NJ: Microfilming Corp. of America, 1974).

8. For a detailed account of the NCIA’s legislative campaign see Larisa K. Miller, “The Secret Treaties with California’s Indians,” *Prologue* 45, no. 3/4 (Fall/Winter 2013): 36–43.

9. *Indian Department Appropriations*, Public Law 212, U.S. Statutes at Large 33 (1905): 1058.

10. C. E. Kelsey to T. R. Bard, March 10, 1904, box 7E, Thomas R. Bard Papers, The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA; C. E. Kelsey to Commissioner, July 25, 1913, 2, file 773-1913-101, CS-CCF.

11. C. E. Kelsey to Commissioner, August 1, 1905, 1905-62100, Letters Received, 1881–1907 (entry 91), Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Record Group 75), National Archives, Washington, DC (hereafter LR).

12. C. F. Larrabee to C. E. Kelsey, July 21, 1905, enclosed in Larrabee to Secretary of the Interior, July 21, 1905, 7698-1905, Indian Division Letters Received (entry 653), Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior (Record Group 48), National Archives, College Park, MD.

13. C. E. Kelsey to Commissioner, August 8, 1905, 1905-64787, and August 3, 1905, 1905-63060, LR.

14. C. E. Kelsey to Commissioner, September 17, 1905, 1905-76262, LR.

15. Kelsey Report, 1, 2, 22; *Annual Report of the National Indian Association* (Philadelphia: National Indian Association, December 1905), 23, in *American Indian Periodicals in the Princeton University Library* [microfiche] (New York: Clearwater Publishing Company, 1981–).

16. Anna F. Taber to F. E. Leupp, March 9, 1906, 1906-23383, LR.

17. C. E. Kelsey to Commissioner, March 21, 1906, 1906-26452, Registers of Letters Received, 1881–1907 (National Archives Microfilm Publication P2186), Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Record Group 75), National Archives, Washington, DC, reel 136. The typescript “Report on the Condition of the California Indians” consists of pages 1–44 plus page 29-1/2 and title page (for complete citation see n. 4). Small runs of the report were published, including: (1) *Report of the Special Agent for California Indians to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 21, 1906* (Carlisle, PA: Indian School Print, 1906); (2) *Report of the Special Agent for California Indians to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Marcusi, 1906), Robert Fleming Heizer Papers, BANC FILM 2106 (Originals: BANC MSS 78/17c), The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, reel 160; (3) House Committee on Indian Affairs, *Indian Tribes of California, Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 66th Congress, 2d session, March 23, 1920, 116–31; (4) C. E. Kelsey, *Report of Special Agent for California Indians, in Federal Concern About the Conditions of California Indians: Eight Documents*, ed. Robert F. Heizer (Socorro, NM: Ballena, 1979).

18. Khal Schneider, “Citizen Lives: California Indian Country, 1855–1940” (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2006), 243–44; C. E. Kelsey to Commissioner, July 25, 1913, 2, file 773-1913-101, CS-CCF.

19. Subcommittee of the House Committee on Indian Affairs, *Indian Tribes of California Hearings*, 66th Congress, 2d session, March 23, 1920, 56–57, 77; L. A. Barrett, “Land and Economic Conditions of the California Indians,” *Transactions of the Commonwealth Club of California* 21, 1926, 119; *Federal Concern about the Conditions of California Indians*, ed. Heizer; “Editors’ Introduction,” and “Introduction to Part One,” in *Isi in Three Centuries*, ed. Karl Kroeber and Clifton Kroeber (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), xviii, 4.

20. In addition to these differences, the number on the forest reserves is 1,194 in the original manuscript (see page 21), but 1,181 in the publications. No change was made in the publications concerning the decrease of 1,100 in Northern California cited in the manuscript (see page 27).

21. In 1903 the NCIA found these counties to have a total of 575 Indians, for an average of just forty-one individuals per county. Of the unenumerated counties only Sacramento County contained more than one hundred Indians in 1903. *Memorial of the Northern California Indian Association*, 4–9.

22. Kelsey Report, 42.

23. *Ibid.*, 21.

24. *Ibid.*, 1, 2, 23, 26–27.

25. C. E. Kelsey to Commissioner, July 25, 1913, 2, file 773-1913-101, CS-CCF; Kelsey Report, 27.

26. *Memorial of the Northern California Indian Association*, 4–9; C. E. Kelsey and Mrs. T. C. Edwards, “The Northern California Indian Association” (San Jose, CA, December 24, 1903), no. 344, reel 132, in *Indian Rights Association Papers, 1868–1968* [microfilm] (Glen Rock, NJ: Microfilming Corp. of America, 1974). The schedule in the congressional petition does not mention the estimated one thousand Indians not counted, but it is in the version printed by the NCIA under authorship of Kelsey and Edwards.

27. Census Office, *Census Reports*, vol. 1, *Twelfth Census of the United States taken in the Year 1900: Population*, part 1 (Washington: United States Census Office, 1901), 531; US Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1903, part 1, 58th Congress, 2d session, H. Doc. 5, Serial 4645 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1904), 508.

28. J. W. Powell, “Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico,” in *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Smithsonian Institution for the Years 1885–1886* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1891), 7–142; Heizer, “Editor’s Introduction,” in C. E. Kelsey, *Census of Non-Reservation California Indians*, ii; C. E. Kelsey to Alfred L. Kroeber, March 6, 1909, box 14, Records of the Department of Anthropology, CU-23, University Archives, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

29. C. E. Kelsey, “Some Numerals from the California Indian Languages,” 1903–06, manuscript number 60, Ethnological Documents of the Department and Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, BANC FILM 2216, reel 60–61, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; Heizer, “Editor’s Introduction,” in C. E. Kelsey, *Census of Non-Reservation California Indians*, ii. A second copy of the “Numerals” manuscript is in the Robert Fleming Heizer Papers, BANC FILM 2106, reel 160, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Photocopies of it are often available at CILC (California Indian Library Collections) libraries in California.

30. Schneider, “Citizen Lives,” 371n.

31. Kroeber, “California Indian Population about 1910,” 220–21.

32. C. E. Kelsey to A. L. Kroeber, February 20, 1904, A. L. Kroeber Papers, BANC FILM 2049, reel 32, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; Kelsey Report, 3, 36.

33. Malcolm McDowell, “Report on the Landless Indians of California,” December 31, 1919, Appendix F, *Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1920*, volume II, Indian Affairs (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1920), 57; Kroeber, “California

Indian Population about 1910," 220–21; Sherburne F. Cook, *The Population of the California Indians, 1769–1970* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 66.

34. Kroeber, "California Indian Population about 1910," 220–21; Kelsey Report, 26.

35. C. E. Kelsey to H. G. Wilson, July 10, 1911, file Administration Indians—C. E. Kelsey, box 79, Administrative Files, 1895–1923, Greenville School and Agency, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Record Group 75), National Archives, San Bruno, CA.

36. Schneider, "Citizen Lives," 283, 371n.

37. At least one other person has noticed an error with Kelsey's county-level totals on the summary pages. An unattributed note added to the file regarding Kelsey's census in Robert Heizer's papers remarks on discrepancies between "some of my totals and those on the summary sheet of the census, I checked a few of the smaller counties and think the errors are in their count." Note, Robert Fleming Heizer Papers, reel 160, frame 252, BANC FILM 2106, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

38. Census Office, *Census Reports*, vol. 1, *Twelfth Census of the United States taken in the Year 1900: Population*, part 1 (Washington, United States Census Office, 1901), 531. The schedule created by the NCIA in 1903 reported 505 individuals in the nine counties not visited by Kelsey. It is probably just coincidence that the average of the 1903 NCIA number and the 1900 US census number is 344, very close to the 340 Kelsey reported for them in 1906.

39. *Memorial of the Northern California Indian Association*, 14; Kelsey Report, 27.

40. US Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1906*, 59th Congress, 2d session, H. Doc. 5, Serial 5296 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), 126, 481.

41. C. E. Kelsey to Commissioner, July 25, 1913, 3, file 773-1913-101, CS-CCF.

42. Kroeber, "California Indian Population about 1910," 219. It appears that Kroeber and subsequent population scholars were unaware of the NCIA's population schedule of 1903 because none mention it. If they did know of it and chose not to use it, they do not discuss their reasons.

43. Heizer, "Editor's Introduction," in C. E. Kelsey, *Census of Non-Reservation California Indians*, iii.

44. Cook, *The Population of the California Indians*, 66–70.

45. Albert L. Hurtado, "California Indian Demography, Sherburne F. Cook, and the Revision of American History," *Pacific Historical Review* 58, no. 3 (August 1989): 323.

46. C. E. Kelsey to Commissioner, July 25, 1913, 6–7, file 773-1913-101, CS-CCF.



## APPENDIX

*C. E. Kelsey, Schedule Showing Non-reservation Indians in Northern California, 1905–06, pages 1–3. Manuscript courtesy of the National Archives.*

# Summary of Indian Census.

## Non-reservation Indians of California, 1905-1906.

County.	Without land.		Owning land.		Mixed bloods.	
	Heads of families.	Number.	Heads of families.	Number.	Heads of families.	Number.
Alameda	18	42			1	1
Alpine	28	113	13	42		
Amador	39	130	10	34	4	19
Butte	62	202	26	80	8	44
Calaveras	28	94	1	7		4
Colusa	42	124	1	8		
Del Norte	58	186	15	47	8	30
El Dorado	51	217	5	9	11	32
Fresno	117	363	29	110	4	24
Glenn	23	54			2	8
Humboldt	108	339	54	170		6
Inyo	232	766	65	240	3	21
Kern	71	364			5	39
Kings	28	85	4	13		
Lake	67	233	69	263	3	15
Lassen	30	74	80	302	1	2
Madera	104	427	9	30	11	35
Marin	6	25				
Mariposa	39	126	2	3	16	54
Mendocino	172	618	64	213	2	9
Merced	6	25				
Modoc	45	158	138	508		
Mono	110	415	6	31		5
Monterey	16	55	1	1	9	21
Nevada	27	75				1
Placer	28	98	2	7		
Plumas	110	201	70	220	8	58
Sacramento	11	50				
San Benito	8	40				
	1684	5749	684	2338	96	425

County.	Without land.		Owning land.		Mixed bloods.	
	Heads of families.	Number.	Heads of families.	Number.	Heads of families.	Number.
San Joaquin	8	30				
San Luis Obispo	17	70				
San Mateo	3	15				
Santa Cruz	16	60				
Shasta	113	350	141	412	21	90
Sierra	5	13	2	5		
Siskiyou	132	475	22	114	24	142
Sonoma	98	378	1	7		1
Stanislaus	5	25				
Sutter	2	7				
Tehama	24	67	3	15	18	36
Trinity	23	55	22	85	39	106
Tulare	12	35	6	20	1	6
Tuolumne	32	115	2	13		
Yolo	17	34	2	6		
Yuba	11	50			1	3
Estimated as not enumerated,	100	400				
Totals sheet 1	618	2179	201	677	103	384
	1684	5749	684	2338	96	428
Grand total	2302	7928	885	3015	199	812

Without land 2302 7928

Owning land 885 3015  
3187 10943

Adding mixed-bloods 812  
3386 11755

7928  
3015  
10943  
1011  
11953

Indians on the Forest Reserves in Northern California.

Counties.	Indians.		Mixed bloods.	
	Heads of families.	Number.	Heads of families.	Number.
Fresno	26	69	3	11
Humboldt	43	188		
Kern	41	169		
Mariposa	14	49		
Madera	64	276	5	12
Siskiyou	118	430	15	102
Totals	306	1181	23	125