

## CIVIL RIGHTS IN CALIFORNIA IN THE 1850'S--A CASE HISTORY

Robert F. Heizer  
University of California, Berkeley

The fact of the legally and socially disadvantaged position into which American Indians have been forced since the time of the founding of the Republic is well known. The California Indians were, along with the land of California, acquired by the United States in 1850 with the admission of California to the Union. The story of the treatment of the Indians has been told many times, and reference here to the works of S. F. Cook (1943) and E. E. Dale (1949) will be sufficient to guide the reader. That some moral commitment existed to pursue legal means in dealing with the California Indians when taking lands occupied by them is shown by the fact that John A. Sutter, then acting as sub-Indian Agent, and James W. Marshall, discoverer of gold at Coloma in January, 1848, entered into a treaty or lease with the Yalesumne tribe, who held Weber Creek and the south fork of the American River, on February 22, 1848. The lease was not approved by Governor Mason on the grounds that the American government did not recognize the right of Indians to lease, rent or sell their lands, and the area under consideration was to be regarded as public domain from the moment the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which followed the Mexican War went into effect (Olson 1948). In 1851 President Polk appointed three commissioners who were instructed to make treaties with the Indians of California. Their work resulted in the famous 18 treaties which the U.S. Congress refused to ratify, largely as a result of the energetic efforts of the California senators (Heizer and Anderson n.d.) who were acting upon the recommendation of the California Assembly (California Assembly Journal Feb. 16, 1852:202-205) and whose report contains the following remarks:

The character and habits of the Indian and white populations are totally different. They are by nature unsuited for the society of each other. There is a feeling of hostility between them, which is the growth of centuries. The Indian is naturally prone to steal and otherwise depredate upon the white population, and the white man in retaliation takes the life of the Indian; and thus there is produced a continual state of hostility between them. All experience has demonstrated the fact that close contiguity to the white man is not the place for the Indian. This fact is clearly evinced by the history of that unfortunate race from the foundation of our Government to the present time.

Further information on racial bias during the first decades of the American period in California may be found in papers by Forbes (1959, 1963) and H. H. Bancroft's California Inter Pocula.

The California Legislature from 1850 on enacted a number of statutes which were aimed at restricting the action and free status of non-whites. Possibly some of this legislation was considered essential in a state populated by numbers of southern whites, but which was admitted to the Union as a free state prohibiting slavery. The three most important of these statutes were: that which prohibited Indians and Negroes from giving testimony in court in any action in which a white person was a party; the act providing that any Indian, on the word of a white citizen, could be brought into court and be declared a vagrant, after which the Indian could then be put up to auction and his services as a laborer sold to the highest bidder for not more

than four months; and the act allowing any adult or Indian child, with the consent of his parents, to be legally bound over to a citizen for a period of service which could be many years. This act, apparently never repealed to this day, is known as the "Indenture Law" and was passed in 1850. As evidence that it was put to practical use we cite a bundle of 114 Indian indentures, involving 181 persons (most of them children) dating between August 5, 1860 and November 1863 which are in the Humboldt County courthouse at Eureka (Merriam n.d.).

The legal case which is the subject of this article is recorded in Reports of Cases Determined in the Supreme Court of the State of California (H. P. Hepburn, reporter. Vol. 4:399-402. Bancroft-Whitney Co., San Francisco 1906). From the record it can be easily determined that George W. Hall was convicted of murder on the testimony of Chinese witnesses. Who Hall murdered we do not know. The conviction was appealed, and the original judgment reversed (with the single dissenting opinion of Justice Wells) by arguing that since the American Indians are of Asiatic origin, they are not really different from Chinese, and that it was the intent of the Legislature in framing Section 394 of the Civil Practice Act in 1850 to exclude Chinese from testifying as witnesses against whites. The argument is an ethnological one; the reversal of the conviction was in conformity with the Californian racial attitudes existing in 1854. In California, one hundred years ago, we can conclude, it was more desirable to release a Caucasian convicted of murder through the testimony of witnesses than it was to permit any exception to legalized racial discrimination. Here is the opinion of the Supreme Court of the State of California quoted in full:

THE PEOPLE v. HALL. OCT. 1, 1854

THE PEOPLE, Respondent, v. GEORGE W. HALL, Appellant

Section 394 of the Civil Practice Act provides, "No Indian or Negro shall be allowed to testify as a witness in any action in which a White person is a party."

Section 14 of the Criminal Act provides, "No Black, or Mulatto person, or Indian shall be allowed to give evidence in favor of, or against a White man."

Held, that the words, Indian, Negro, Black and White, are generic terms, designating race. That, therefore, Chinese and all other people not white, are included in the prohibition from being witnesses against Whites.

Mr. Ch. J. Murray delivered the opinion of the Court, Mr. J. HEYDENFELDT concurred.

The appellant, a free white citizen of this State, was convicted of murder upon the testimony of Chinese witnesses.

The point involved in this case, is the admissibility of such evidence.

The 394th section of the Act Concerning Civil Cases, provides that no Indian or Negro shall be allowed to testify as a witness in any action or proceeding in which a White person is a party.

The 14th section of the Act of April 16th, 1850, regulating Criminal Proceedings, provides that "No Black, or Mulatto person, or Indian, shall be allowed to give evidence in favor of, or against a white man."

The true point at which we are anxious to arrive, is the legal signification of the words, "Black, Mulatto, Indian and White person," and whether the Legislature adopted them as generic terms, or intended to limit their application to specific types of the human species.

Before considering this question, it is proper to remark the difference between the two sections of our Statute, already quoted, the latter being more broad and comprehensive in its exclusion, by use of the word "Black," instead of Negro.

Conceding, however, for the present, that the word "Black," as used in the 14th section, and "Negro," in 394th, are convertible terms, and that the former was intended to include the latter, let us proceed to inquire who are excluded from testifying as witnesses under the term "Indian."

When Columbus first landed upon the shores of this continent, in his attempt to discover a western passage to the Indies, he imagined that he had accomplished the object of his expedition, and that the Island of San Salvador was one of those Islands of the Chinese sea, lying near the extremity of India, which had been described by navigators.

Acting upon this hypothesis, and also perhaps from the similarity of features and physical conformation, he gave the Islanders the name of Indians, which appellation was universally adopted, and extended to the aboriginals of the New World, as well as of Asia.

From that time, down to a very recent period, the American Indians and the Mongolian, or Asiatic, were regarded as the same type of human species.

In order to arrive at a correct understanding of the intention of our Legislature, it will be necessary to go back to the early history of legislation on this subject, our Statute being only a transcript of those of older States.

At the period from which this legislation dates, those portions of Asia which include India proper, the Eastern Archipelago, and the countries washed by the Chinese waters, as far as then known, were denominated the Indies, from which the inhabitants had derived the generic name of Indians.

Ethnology, at that time, was unknown as a distinct science, or if known, had not reached that high point of perfection which it has since attained by the scientific inquiries and discoveries of the master minds of the last half century. Few speculations had been made with regard to the moral or physical differences between the different races of mankind. These were general in their character and limited to those visible and palpable variations which could not escape the attention of the most common observer.

The general, or perhaps universal opinion of that day was, that there were but three distinct types of the human species, which, in their turn, were subdivided into varieties or tribes. This opinion is still held by

many scientific writers, and is supported by Cuvier, one of the most eminent naturalists of modern times.

Many ingenious speculations have been resorted to for the purpose of sustaining this opinion. It has been supposed, and not without plausibility, that this continent was first peopled by Asiatics, who crossed Behring's Straits, and from thence found their way down to the more fruitful climates of Mexico and South America. Almost every tribe has some tradition of coming from the North, and many of them, that their ancestors came from some remote country beyond the ocean.

From the eastern portions of Kamtschatka, the Aleutian Islands form a long and continuous group, extending eastward to that portion of the North American Continent inhabited by the Esquimaux. They appear to be a continuation of the lofty volcanic ranges which traverse the two continents, and are inhabited by a race who resemble, in a remarkable degree, in language and appearance, both the inhabitants of Kamtschatka (who are admitted to be of the Mongolian type,) and the Esquimaux, who again, in turn, resemble other tribes of American Indians. The similarity of the skull and pelvis, and the general configuration of the two races; the remarkable resemblance in eyes, beard, hair, and other peculiarities, together with the contiguity of the two Continents, might well have led to the belief that this country was first peopled by the Asiatics, and that the difference between the different tribes and the parent stock was such as would necessarily arise from the circumstances of climate, pursuits, and other physical causes, and was no greater than that existing between the Arab and the European, both of whom were supposed to belong to the Caucasian race.

Although the discoveries of eminent Archeologists, and the researches of modern Geologists, have given to this Continent an antiquity of thousands of years anterior to the evidence of man's existence, and the light of modern science may have shown conclusively that it was not peopled by the inhabitants of Asia, but that the Aborigines are a distinct type, and as such claim a distinct origin, still, this would not, in any degree, alter the meaning of the term, and render that specific which was before generic.

We have adverted to these speculations for the purpose of showing that the name of Indian, from the time of Columbus to the present day, has been used to designate, not alone the North American Indian, but the whole of the Mongolian race, and that the name, though first applied probably through mistake, was afterwards continued as appropriate on account of the supposed common origin.

That this was the common opinion in the early history of American legislation, cannot be disputed, and, therefore, all legislation upon the subject must have borne relation to that opinion.

Can, then, the use of the word "Indian," because at the present day it may be sometimes regarded as a specific, and not as a generic term, alter this conclusion? We think not; because at the origin of the legislation we are considering, it was used and admitted in its common and ordinary acceptation, as a generic term, distinguishing the great Mongolian race, and as such, its meaning then became fixed by law, and in construing Statutes the legal meaning of words must be preserved.

Again: the words of the Act must be construed in pari materia. It will not be disputed that "White" and "Negro," are generic terms, and refer to two of the great types of mankind. If these, as well as the word "Indian," are not to be regarded as generic terms, including the two great races which they were intended to designate, but only specific, and applying to those Whites and Negroes who were inhabitants of this Continent at the time of the passage of the Act, the most anomalous consequences would ensue. The European white man who comes here would not be shielded from the testimony of the degraded and demoralized caste, while the Negro, fresh from the coast of Africa, or the Indian of Patagonia, the Kanaka, South Sea Islander, or New Hollander, would be admitted, upon their arrival, to testify against white citizens in our courts of law.

To argue such a proposition would be an insult to the good sense of the Legislature.

The evident intention of the Act was to throw around the citizen a protection for life and property, which could only be secured by removing him above the corrupting influences of degraded castes.

It can hardly be supposed that any Legislature would attempt this by excluding domestic Negroes and Indians, who not unfrequently have correct notions of their obligations to society, and turning loose upon the community the more degraded tribes of the same species, who have nothing in common with us, in language, country or laws.

We have, thus far, considered this subject on the hypothesis that the 14th section of the Act Regulating Criminal Proceedings, and the 394th section of the Practice Act, were the same.

As before remarked, there is a wide difference between the two. The word "Black" may include all Negroes, but the term "Negro" does not include all Black persons.

By the use of this term in this connection, we understand it to mean the opposite of "White," and that it should be taken as contradistinguished from all White persons.

In using the words, "No Black, or Mulatto person, or Indian shall be allowed to give evidence for or against a White person," the Legislature, if any intention can be ascribed to it, adopted the most comprehensive terms to embrace every known class or shade of color, as the apparent design was to protect the White person from the influence of all testimony other than that of persons of the same caste. The use of these terms must, by every sound rule of construction, exclude every one who is not of white blood.

The Act of Congress in defining what description of aliens may become naturalized citizens, provides that every "free white citizen," &c. &c. In speaking of this subject, Chancellor Kent says, that "the Act confines the description to "white" citizens, and that it is a matter of doubt, whether, under this provision, any of the tawny races of Asia can be admitted to the privileges of citizenship." 2 Kent's Com. 72.

We are not disposed to leave this question in any doubt. The word "White" has a distinct signification, which ex vi termini, excludes black, yellow, and all other colors. It will be observed, by reference to the

first section of the second article of the constitution of this State, that none but white males can become electors, except in the case of Indians, who may be admitted by special Act of the Legislature. On examination of the constitutional debates, it will be found that not a little difficulty existed in selecting these precise words, which were finally agreed upon as the most comprehensive that could be suggested to exclude all inferior races.

If the term "White," as used in the Constitution, was not understood in its generic sense as including the Caucasian race, and necessarily excluding all others, where was the necessity of providing for the admission of Indians to the privilege of voting, by special legislation.

We are of the opinion that the words "White," "Negro," "Mulatto," "Indian," and "Black person," wherever they occur in our Constitution and laws, must be taken in their generic sense, and that, even admitting the Indian of this Continent is not of the Mongolian type, that the words "Black person," in the 14th section must be taken as contradistinguished from White, and necessarily excludes all races other than the Caucasian.

We have carefully considered all the consequences resulting from a different rule of construction, and are satisfied that even in a doubtful case we would be impelled to this decision on grounds of public policy.

The same rule which would admit them to testify, would admit them to all the equal rights of citizenship, and we might soon see them at the polls, in the jury box, upon the bench, and in our legislative halls.

This is not a speculation which exists in the excited and overheated imagination of the patriot and statesman, but it is an actual and present danger.

The anomalous spectacle of a distinct people, living in our community, recognizing no laws of this State except through necessity, bringing with them their prejudices and national feuds, in which they indulge in open violation of law; whose mendacity is proverbial; a race of people whom nature has marked as inferior, and who are incapable of progress or intellectual development beyond a certain point, as their history has shown; differing in language, opinions, color, and physical conformation; between whom and ourselves nature has placed an impassable difference, is now presented, and for them is claimed, not only the right to swear away the life of a citizen, but the further privilege of participating with us in administering the affairs of our Government.

These facts were before the Legislature that framed this Act, and have been known as matters of public history to every subsequent Legislature.

There can be no doubt as to the intention of the Legislature, and that if it has ever been anticipated that this class of people were not embraced in the prohibition, then such specific words would have been employed as would have put the matter beyond any possible controversy.

For these reasons, we are of opinion that the testimony was inadmissible.

The judgment is reversed and the cause remanded.

Mr. Justice Wells dissented, as follows:

From the opinion of the Chief Justice, I must most respectfully dissent.

A casual search of the literature which might have been available in California in 1854 and quoted in support of the argument that the American Indians are classifiable as Mongoloids, and that the American Indians are derived from an Asiatic homeland, has shown that there were many published works which affirm this. Fr. Joseph de Acosta in 1589 (Beals 1957; Jarch 1959) seems to have been the first to advance this argument in detail. T. Gage in 1648 (Thompson 1958), and J. Josselyn in 1672 (Wauchope 1962:8) followed. In the eighteenth century Thomas Jefferson (1907, Vol. II:127-Vol. XIII:246-248) and Pfefferkorn (Ives 1956) accepted this view, and in the first half of the nineteenth century one could cite perhaps fifty authors adhered to this theory. By way of example only, we refer to Mitchill (1810), Pickering (1848), Latham (1850), van Amringe (1848), McIntosh (1843), Smit (1810), Prichard (1845). By way of more general background on the development in Spanish and Anglo-Americans of racial attitudes toward Indians, the reader will find the studies of Hanke (1959), Pearce (1953), Stanton (1960) and Willson (1959) helpful and enlightening. For surveys of early theories on the origin of American Indians see Stanton (1960), Hrdlicka (1912), Alford (1949), Stewart and Newman (1951), Wauchope (1962).

#### REFERENCES

- ALLEN, D. C.  
1949 The legend of Noah: renaissance of rationalism in art, science and letters. Urbana, Illinois.
- van AMRINGE, M. N. F.  
1848 The natural history of man. New York.
- BEALS, R. L.  
1957 Father Acosta on the first peopling of the New World. *America Antiquity* 23:182-183.
- COOK, S. F.  
1943 The conflict between the California Indian and white civilization: I-IV. *Ibero-Americana*, University of California, Berkeley pp. 21-24.
- DALE, E. E.  
1949 The Indians of the Southwest; a century of development under the United States. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.
- FORBES, J. D.  
1959 Racial bias in gold rush history. *Southwest Museum Masterkey* 33:13-21.  
1963 The historian and the Indian: racial bias in American history *The Americas* 19:349-362.

- HANKE, L.  
1959 Aristotle and the American Indians. Chicago, H. Regnery Co.
- HEIZER, R. F. and G. E. ANDERSON  
n.d. History and analysis of the eighteen unratified California Indian Treaties of 1851. Manuscript.
- HRDLICKA, A.  
1912 Historical notes on the origin of the American Aborigines. American Anthropologist XIV:5-8.
- IVES, R. L.  
1956 An early speculation concerning the Asiatic origin of the American Indian. American Antiquity 21:420-421.
- JARCHO, S.  
1959 Origin of the American Indians as suggested by Fray Joseph de Acosta (1589). Isis 50:430-438.
- JEFFERSON, T.  
1907 The writings of Thomas Jefferson. Washington, D.C., Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association.
- LATHAM, R. G.  
1850 The natural history of the varieties of man. London.
- MERRIAM, C. H.  
n.d. Indian indentures. Manuscript of 8 pages containing abstracts of 114 Humboldt County Indian indentures.
- McINTOSH, J.  
1843 Origin of the American Indians. New York.
- MITCHILL, S. L.  
1820 The original inhabitants of America shown to be the same family and lineage with those of Asia, by a process of reasoning not hitherto advanced. Archaeologia Americana, Trans. and Coll. of the Am. Antiquarian Soc. 1:225-232.
- OLSON, C.  
1948 The Sutter-Marshall lease with the Yalesumney Indians for the monopoly of the gold-bearing lands. San Francisco, Book Club of California, Letters of the Gold Discovery, No. 2.
- PEARCE, R. H.  
1953 The savages of America; a study of the Indian and the idea of civilization. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press.
- PICKERING, C.  
1848 The races of man. Publs. of the U.S. Exploration Expedition.
- PRICHARD, J. C.  
1845 The natural history of man. London, H. Bailliere.
- SMITH, S. S.  
1810 An essay on the causes of the variety of complexion and figure in the human species. New Brunswick, N.J., J. Simpson and Co.
- STANTON, W.  
1960 The leopard's spots. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

- STEWART, T. D. and M. NEWMAN  
1951 An historical resumé of the concept of differences in racial types. *American Anthropologist* 53:19-36.
- THOMPSON, J. E. S.  
1958 The first peopling of the New World. *American Antiquity* 24:184.
- WAUCHOPE, R.  
1962 *Lost tribes and sunken continents*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- WILLSON, L.  
1959 Thoreau: student of anthropology. *American Anthropologist* 61:279-289.