bill, terminating 41 California reservations with a single blow. Complementing termination was the federal government's transfer of Native Americans from reservations to the nation's cities, thus further promoting assimilation. The Bureau of Indian Affairs opened field relocation offices in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oakland, and San Jose. Finally, in the 1960s, the policies of termination and relocation were replaced by a policy of self-determination, a continuance of federal relationships with the tribes, and handover of responsibility for administering federal programs to tribal governments.

The long and tragic decline in Indian population was reversed in the twentieth century, and the number of persons of Indian ancestry in the state began to rise steadily. The growth in population was due to natural increase and to migration to California of Indians from other states, aided by the relocation program of the federal government. In 1965 the number of Indians living in California had risen to 75,000, less than 10 percent of whom were living on the remaining 82 federal reservations. Only three reservations, at Hoopa Valley, Fort Yuma, and Bishop, had more than 500 residents. During the 1970s the Indian population in the state more than doubled, and in 1980 the Census Bureau reported that California, with more than 198,000 Indians, had the largest Indian population of any state in the nation.

Throughout the twentieth century, both the United States and the state of California demonstrated awakenings of conscience in their treatment of Indian people. California abolished all legal distinctions between persons of Indian ancestry and other citizens and led the states in making Indians fully eligible to receive the benefits of the public schools, welfare assistance, old-age and survivor payments, and other public services. In spite of these gains, the Indians of California remained the state's most economically depressed minority group. The rate of unemployment among California Indians was more than three times as high as the rate for whites and somewhat above the rate for blacks. More than 40 percent of all rural and reservation Indians in the state had not gone beyond the eighth grade, and the school dropout rate for Indians was three times that of the general population.

During the 1960s, California Indians increased their level of political involvement and established several pantribal organizations. The American Indian Historical Society, organized in 1964 by Cahuilla tribal chair Rupert Costo, established an active publication program and called for the revision of textbooks that contained negative stereotypes of Indians. In 1967 concern over the inadequacy of primary and secondary education for Indian youth led to the formation of the California Indian Education Association, and on many college campuses Native American Studies departments were formed. Four years later a unique Native American institution of higher learning opened its doors in Yolo County. D-Q University, drawing "upon the strength of Native American culture," began offering a full range of academic courses on campus and providing educational programs on reservations throughout the state.

The occupation of Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay by a group called Indians of All Tribes from 1969 to 1971 ushered in a period of increased activism among California Indians. The occupiers of Alcatraz hoped to establish an Indian culture center and to encourage Indians everywhere to bolder and more effective action. As Adam Fortunate Eagle, one of the participants, later explained: "The purpose of

Pomo basketmaker Elsie Allen (1899–1990) practiced and preserved aspects of traditional California Indian culture. (*Photo by Scott M. Patterson, courtesy of Victoria D. Patterson.*)

occupying Alcatraz was to start an Indian movement and call attention to Indian problems." Meanwhile, in northeastern California, members of the Achumawi (Pit River) tribe engaged in sit-ins and took legal action to regain forest lands acquired by the Pacific Gas and Electric Company. "The Earth is our mother," the Achumawis proclaimed, "and we cannot sell her." In the northwestern part of the state, Yurok Indian fishermen clashed with law enforcement officers over fishing rights along the Klamath River. In 1978 and 1979, Chumash Indians in the Santa Barbara area occupied the site of a proposed supertanker terminal to protest the destruction of what they called *Humqaq* or *Tolakwe,* the "Western Gate," through which they believed all new life came into the world and the spirits of the dead departed. "If that place were destroyed tomorrow," said Chumash spiritual leader Kote Lotah, "I feel so strongly about it, I would want to die today so that I could pass through the Western Gate."

California Indians also demonstrated a growing interest in the preservation and revival of their native cultures. This resurgence of interest produced some remarkable results. In 1974 the Cupeño, whose plight had spurred the Sequoya League to action