GREENER NEW MEXICO | INVESTORS VS. CLIMATE CHANGE | RACISM IN SPORTS

High Country News

For people who care about the West

A History of Violence

From the Catholic missions to the gold rush and beyond, Indigenous educators fight for a more accurate history in California's classrooms

By Allison Herrera

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Gregg Castro, a Salinan tribal member who helped start the California Indian History Curriculum Coalition, and author Allison Herrera at Morro Rock, an important site for California tribes.
COURTESY OF ALLISON HERRERA

On the cover

***St. Antonio de Padua*, a painting by Charles Rollo Peters. The mission, established by Father Junipero Serra in 1771 on land occupied by the Salinan Tribe, was the third of 21 Franciscan missions built in California.**
ST. ANTONIO DE PADUA / CHARLES ROLLO PETERS, BANC PIC 1919.002–FR. COURTESY OF THE BANCROFT LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Editor's note

Unsettling the West

In this issue of *High Country News*, we examine the myths of the American West — specifically California. *Merriam-Webster* defines the word "myth" as a "traditional story of ostensibly historical events that serves to unfold part of the world view of a people or explain a practice, belief, or natural phenomenon." School textbooks are often as rich a source of American mythology as they are of Greek or Roman tales. I'm not talking about the stories of Proteus or the Golden Fleece. I mean the American creation myth: the story of settlement made possible by men like Columbus and Cortés, who violently seeded a nation where institutions like the Cleveland Indians and Covington Catholic High School thrive.

I am interested in the United States' creation stories, the blueprints that allow citizens to forget or ignore the thousands of years of history that existed before the word "America" even existed. The countless languages, cultures and communities that flourished in the Western Hemisphere, the stories that were told, the relationships, the people, their lives — these comprise a whole world that many contemporary readers are unlikely to understand in any tangible way — save for a passage from a half-remembered school textbook.

In this spirit, we bring you Allison Herrera's cover story, "California History, Retold," a fascinating journey into the state's school curriculum. From the establishment of the Spanish Catholic missions in the 18th century to 1960s school-board politics and back again, Herrera invites readers to draw a line from Spain's first brutal incursions in California to the modern lawmakers unable to change an educational system that most people agree is broken. But even this doesn't quite do justice to Herrera's story; it unsettles the American West — exposing its myths, its roots, its violence.

Consider another article in this issue, an investigation by Kalen Goodluck into an ugly modern manifestation of North American mythologies. Searching through news articles, federal reports and court documents, Goodluck found 52 incidents of racial harassment directed at Native American athletes, coaches and fans from 2008 to 2018. The U.S. has seen a rise in hate crimes in the last three years, but as Goodluck reveals, bigotry has been a constant in Indian Country.

Together, these stories speak to the myths that govern American politics, policies and behaviors, the systems in place that make anti-Indigenous sentiments acceptable, even enjoyable, to some. Both stories speak to justice and accountability — and the idea that readers can, with the right tools, begin to think and act critically when faced with institutional racism, whether it appears in sports, or education, or anywhere. No doubt you have seen inequities in textbooks or at football games. But identifying them is only part of our responsibility. We must also ask why they exist in the first place.

—Tristan Ahtone, tribal affairs editor

THE LATEST

Backstory

During the government shutdown of 2018, former Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke signed **a deal to slice a road through a wilderness area in the Izembek National Wildlife Refuge**. The 12-mile road was conceived as a "medical access" route for 1,000-person King Cove, as well as a way to access a nearby airport and speed up shipping for the fish-processing plant of King Cove. The brainchild of Alaska Sen. Lisa Murkowski, R, the project joined her many other attempts to develop the state's protected lands under the watch of an industry-friendly administration. Environmental groups opposed the plan and warned of the damage it would do to grizzlies and migratory birds ("In Alaska, wildlands lose out to roads and drill rigs," *HCN*, 3/19/18).

Followup

A federal judge struck down Zinke's land trade for the Izembek road at the end of March. The Obama administration, after an environmental assessment, had refused a similar project years before, and the judge ruled that the new iteration failed to justify reversing the original decision. David C. Raskin of Friends of Alaska National Wildlife Refuges called the ruling "yet another blow to Interior's aggressive policy of giving away public lands to serve special interests at the expense of the American people."

ELENA SAAVEDRA BUCKLEY

KRISTINE SOWL, USFWS

Pictured in 2014, the jaguar known as El Jefe frequents Arizona's Santa Rita Mountains. After being blocked for years, a mining permit has been issued in the big cat's habitat. UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA/USFWS

Trump administration rubber-stamps Arizona copper mine

Proposed more than a dozen years ago, the Rosemont copper mine in Arizona's Santa Rita Mountains received years of warnings from various federal agencies regarding its potential damage to rare water systems, endangered species and their habitats and Native American cultural sites. As recently as 2017, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency called the environmental harm "substantial and unacceptable." But under President Trump's administration, the mine moved quickly through the regulatory process, receiving its Clean Water Act permits in March. The project is ready to break ground. Coalitions of conservation and tribal groups entered separate lawsuits to prevent that from happening.

NICK BOWLIN

Read more online: hcne.ws/copper

$119 billion

Projected cost of storm damage to California property annually by 2100, without aggressive reduction of carbon emissions

$150 billion

Projected cost of an extreme storm

A recent U.S. Geological Survey study suggests that sea-level rise poses a far more dire and immediate threat to California's coastline than previously thought. Researchers built a model that shows the interaction between storm strength, environmental changes like erosion and estuary loss, population trends and property data. Taken together, the implications are grim. Even moderate sea-level rise combined with a strong storm could cause enough damage to surpass the worst environmental disasters in California's history. Vital ports, large chunks of San Francisco Bay, and other coastal population centers are underprotected and need to take on drastic climate-adaptation projects, the researchers said. NICK BOWLIN

Read more online: hcne.ws/coast

"While Pumpkin Hollow will bring jobs to the community, most of the payouts from this project will benefit people far away from the town of Yerington, while the town is left with some of the more devastating and lasting consequences from mining."

—Ian Bigly, mining justice organizer for the nonprofit The Progressive Leadership Alliance of Nevada, speaking about Nevada Copper — whose biggest investor is Russian billionaire Vladimir Iorich — and its plan to open a new copper mine later this year. PAIGE BLANKENBUEHLER

Read more online: hcne.ws/nevada-mine

A silver lining to sage grouse rollbacks?

In March, the Interior Department weakened public-land sage grouse policies established in 2015. In all, the net effect is a reduction in the protection of sage grouse habitat from oil and gas development, but several Western states, notably Colorado, Nevada and Oregon, used the process to implement conservation policies that match or in some cases exceed the previous federal standard. John Swartout, Colorado's former sage grouse policy chief, said Colorado can now use its own "stronger" mitigation policies. This was not how the Obama-era policies, seen as a landmark conservation compromise by competing Western interests, were supposed to work. The goal was to protect crucial habitat and avoid piecemeal protections that vary from state to state.

NICK BOWLIN *Read more online:* hcne.ws/grouse

Bigfoot isn't real, but we really need him

To podcast producer Laura Krantz, Bigfoot means much more than the furry figure. "I spent the last two years chasing a shadow, suspending disbelief to imagine a world wild enough to hold something as extraordinary as Bigfoot," she writes in her essay. "I didn't expect to find the idea of Bigfoot so integral to what it means to be human."

Read more online: hcne.ws/bigfoot

Laura Krantz spent two years searching for Bigfoot as part of her podcast, *Wild Thing*. JAKE HOLSCHUH/FOXTOPUS INK

Trending

EXCLUSIVE: The Forrest Fenn treasure has been found

On April 1, we played our annual trick on *HCN* readers by tapping into the story of the infamous Forrest Fenn treasure. "Denny Burfurdunk, a middle-aged snowplow operator with a red ZZ Top beard, noticed something unusual as he was pushing one of the great piles of snow and debris onto the shoulder," Paige Blankenbuehler wrote. Burfurdunk allegedly stumbled across an ornate chest, but he may not have gotten what he expected. The booty included copies of Jewell's *Spirit* and Joan Baez's *Diamonds and Rust*. "And finally, under the cracked plastic of a Neil Diamond 1970 live *Gold* CD was a signed copy of an unpublished manuscript by Forrest Fenn himself."

HCN STAFF: "APRIL FOOLS"

You say

COLORADO DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION: "Thanks for the April 1 belly laugh! Chuckles heard throughout the DOT corridors!"

RICK COLLINS: "This is the best April Fools' post I've seen in a long time. Well done."

JON STILLMAN: "Can't wait for today to be over."

MATT THOMAS: "Maybe they'll fix the roads with it?!"

Read more online: hcne.ws/fools and Facebook.com/highcountrynews

Send letters to editor@hcn.org or
Editor, HCN, P.O. Box 1090, Paonia, CO 81428.

WHAT ABOUT THE REAL CRIMINALS?

Reading Paige Blankenbuehler's excellent exposé about the plight of the Devils Hole pupfish ("Scene of the Crime," *HCN,* 4/15/19), I couldn't stop thinking about how arbitrary and weighted toward the wealthy the American legal system is. Here you had an admittedly foolish young man who broke into a natural hot springs and accidentally killed a rare fish. For that transgression, the contrite man was sentenced to a year in prison and a $14,000 fine and was permanently banned from federal lands. Wouldn't some form of restorative justice be in order here? Sentence the young man to 80 hours of service rehabilitating the land, not a year in prison. For generations on the Oregon coast, timber corporations have ravaged tens of thousands of acres of rare coastal rainforest, buried salmon spawning grounds, poisoned the forest, local organic farms and residents with herbicides, and have done it all legally. For these practices, the likes of the Koch Brothers, unlike the young man in Nevada, pay exactly zero in restitution and are instead protected from justice by the complicit state Legislature in Salem. I'd like to think that the crimes committed by big industry against the planet are so great that they are simply beyond human conception and the law, but money's symbiotic relationship with the government is a more obvious explanation.

Michael Edwards
Lincoln City, Oregon

CURIOUS CRITTERS

I want to thank you for publishing Beth Pratt's piece, "We shouldn't celebrate the killing of a mountain lion" (*HCN*, 4/15/19). Mainstream media seems to always sensationalize these sorts of events and never goes back to give readers the rest of the story. Someone in my area picked up on this "danger" and wrote a hysterical piece for our local paper. As someone who has run the local foothills for decades (making sure I'm aware of my surroundings), it totally amazes me how little people understand about the natural world. Especially when supposed wildlife "experts" tell the community to haze animals to make sure they keep their "natural fear" of people. Fear is something that is learned, not genetically built into a creature. The critters I've encountered over the years show a natural curiosity — like most human children.

Sally Cuffin
Littleton, Colorado

MATT WUERKER/THE CARTOONIST GROUP

THE WHOLE RODEO THING

"Life on the gay rodeo circuit" (*HCN*, 3/18/19) brought back a memory: My wife and I were spending the night at the Fort Lauderdale Airport Hilton before flying home early the next day. As it happened, the Hilton was the host hotel for the big annual event of the Florida Gay Rodeo Association. As we were getting on the elevator with two other straight couples, one of the men, referring to the boot-and-hat crowd in the lobby, said, with very evident disdain in his voice, "You know what all THAT is, don't you?" My reply: "Yes. But we used to live in Wyoming, so we're really OK with the whole rodeo thing."

Andrew Melnykovych
Louisville, Kentucky

GOOD WILL AND HEARTBREAK

It broke my heart to read Gladys Connolly's letter to the editor (*HCN*, 3/18/19) about Raksha Vasudevan's essay, "Mountain biking is my act of resistance." Vasudevan's essay was so vulnerable and open. I, like Ms. Connolly, was surprised by the intensity of her fear. However, I experienced the essay as a window into a world I don't know. She is a young woman, an immigrant, a person of color and a mountain biker in Colorado. Ms. Connolly and I share few of those perspectives. My final takeaway was universal: People of color, immigrants, get the same high off nature that I do! Ms. Connolly seems intelligent and compassionate, which is why her letter broke my heart. I felt she was denying Vasudevan's experience of racism even though she knows nothing about it. In doing so, she was denying Vasudevan's lived experience. How can we heal our country, my heart says, when even the intelligent and compassionate cannot listen without getting defensive? I think that there should be a new rule of good manners among people of good will. Just as you would not tell a young woman who is crying from a miscarriage that she will soon have other children, you should not tell a person who has experienced racism that their feelings are excessive and wrong. The emotion and intensity may seem too much to you. However, it does a double injury: First comes the injury of racism, and then the injury of denial of experience.

Katie Larsell
Portland, Oregon

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Strict new emissions standards in the Energy Transition Act will force the closure of San Juan Generating Station by 2022. ECOFLIGHT

A fossil-fueled state leans green

New Mexico's Energy Transition Act decarbonizes the state's power grid

BY JONATHAN THOMPSON

On March 23, New Mexico Gov. Michelle Lujan Grisham, D, signed into law the Energy Transition Act, a complex bill that will move the state toward cleaner electricity generation, clear the way for the state's biggest utility to shutter one of the West's largest coal-fired power plants in 2022, and provide mechanisms for a just transition for economically affected communities.

The bill has the support of the state's biggest utility — Public Service Company of New Mexico, or PNM — as well as environmental groups such as the Natural Resources Defense Council, Western Resource Advocates and the San Juan Citizens Alliance. National media are hailing it as a mini-Green New Deal.

Here's a breakdown of what the bill does — and doesn't — do:

Perhaps most significantly, the bill mandates that New Mexico electricity providers get 80% of their electricity from renewable sources by 2040, and 100 percent from carbon-free sources by 2045. Those are ambitious goals that will result in huge cuts in greenhouse gas emissions in a state that currently gets half its electricity from coal and a third from natural gas.

That said, it's important to remember that "carbon-free" and "renewable" are not synonyms. The 20% of carbon-free electricity can include nuclear, since no greenhouse gases are emitted during fission, as well as coal and natural gas equipped with carbon capture and sequestration technologies. Carbon capture is prohibitively expensive — and unproven — but nuclear power is readily available from Palo Verde Generating Station in Arizona, where PNM currently gets about 18% of its power.

Also, "electricity" and "energy" are two distinct concepts — a common source of confusion. This bill applies only to electricity consumed by New Mexicans and has no direct bearing on the state's burgeoning oil or natural gas production. Meanwhile, the Four Corners Power Plant, located in New Mexico but owned by Arizona Public Service, can continue to burn coal under the renewable standards as long as the electricity is exported to other states. But PNM plans to divest its 13% ownership in Four Corners Power Plant in 2031, leaving the plant on shakier economic ground.

The bill helps pave the way for the planned closure of San Juan Generating Station, located just north of the Navajo Nation in northwestern New Mexico.

The station's owner, PNM, announced two years ago that it would likely shut down the plant in 2022 because it was no longer economically viable. Many aspects of this bill are a direct reaction to the pending closure, particularly the sections that allow the utility to take out "energy transition bonds" to cover costs associated with abandonment. Those bonds will be paid off by ratepayers, but not taxpayers.

This has irked New Energy Economy, a Santa Fe-based group that has been pushing PNM to clean up its act for years. The group, a critic of the bill, would rather see PNM's investors shoulder the cost of the bonds. After all, the investors are the ones who have profited handsomely off the power plant for nearly half a century, even as it pumped millions of tons of climate-warming gases into the air, along with acid rain-forming sulfur dioxide, health-harming particulates, mercury, arsenic and other toxic materials.

While the bill does not specifically force the plant's closure, it does mandate the creation of standards that limit carbon dioxide emissions from large coal-burning plants to about half of what coal emits per megawatt-hour — effectively killing any possibility of keeping the generating station operating.

The energy transition bonds will help fund a just transition away from coal. Some 450 jobs — about one-fourth of them held by Native Americans — will be lost when the San Juan Generating Station and the associated San Juan Mine close, together with an estimated $356 million in economic activity annually.

The bill allocates up to $30 million for reclamation costs, and up to $40 million to help displaced workers and affected communities, to be shared by the Energy Transition Indian Affairs Fund, Economic Development Assistance Fund and Displaced Worker Assistance Fund. The Indian Affairs Fund will be spent according to a plan developed by the state, in consultation with area tribal governments and with input from affected communities, and the economic development fund will help local officials diversify the local economy. The bill also requires PNM to replace a portion of the area's lost generation capacity, in the process creating jobs and tax revenue.

The bill allocates up to $30 million for reclamation costs, and up to $40 million to help displaced workers and affected communities.

The new bill has some missing elements. There's no provision for making amends to the people who have lived near the plant for years and suffered ill health, such as high asthma rates, as a result. It won't stop Four Corners Power Plant, located just 10 miles from San Juan Generating Station, from belching out pollution (though it does provide for a just transition away from that plant if it closes by 2031), and it doesn't address the massive climate impact from oil and gas development or transportation. The act is merely an official acknowledgment that coal is dying, and that coal communities could die, too, without help.

Nevertheless, the Energy Transition Act is remarkable in that it promises to totally decarbonize electricity in a state that has leaned heavily on fossil fuel for decades, while also lending a hand to communities that would otherwise be left behind. It is a good template, or at least a decent sketch, for a national Green New Deal. □

Jonathan Thompson is a contributing editor at *High Country News*. He is the author of *River of Lost Souls: The Science, Politics and Greed Behind the Gold King Mine Disaster*. @jonnypeace

Can capitalism curb climate change?

Investors are pushing companies to reckon with their environmental impacts

BY CARL SEGERSTROM

Imagine a Walmart semi-truck rolling down the interstate with its back doors open, plasma-screen televisions tumbling out onto the highway, crashing through windshields and causing chaos. "It would be ridiculous," said Jonas Kron, a senior vice president for Trillium Asset Management, a socially responsible investment firm. Company ownership would demand better trucking practices, and the company would respond.

Methane leaking from oil and natural gas operations is the same sort of thing, Kron says — only on a multimillion-dollar level that also contributes to climate change. That's why his firm has pushed EOG Resources, the oil and gas company formerly known as Enron, to get a handle on its methane emissions.

Trillium's efforts are part of a broader wave of concerned shareholders trying to use the tools of capitalism to hold fossil fuel companies accountable for climate change. But as climate action gains traction, an unexpected corner of the Trump administration is threatening the efforts of Trillium and other environmentally aware investors and shareholders.

Investor resistance has a long history. During the Vietnam War, activist shareholders pushed Dow Chemical Company to stop producing napalm; throughout the 1980s investors pressured companies to divest in apartheid South Africa; and last year, shareholders forced McDonald's to ditch polystyrene foam packaging and Costco to limit antibiotics in the meat it sells.

Investors typically rely on three approaches to drive change: the carrot, the stick and the ax. The carrot is a dialogue between shareholders and companies. For instance, if investors are worried that a company's coal assets will diminish in value as other energy sources become cheaper and momentum for carbon-capping legislation increases, they can suggest ways the company can remain competitive.

If that doesn't work, investors can turn to the metaphorical sticks — nonbinding resolutions voted on at annual shareholder meetings that push a company in a particular direction. Boston-based Trillium first used the stick on EOG in 2014, urging the company to monitor and mitigate methane leakage in its oil and gas operations, which range from southern Texas to North Dakota and also extend around the world. Only 28 percent of shareholders voted for the resolution, but it got the ball rolling, and in late 2018 the company and Trillium reached an agreement on monitoring, reporting and mitigation programs for methane emissions.

That agreement occurred despite a major hurdle thrown up by the Trump administration last year, when, at EOG's request, the Securities and Exchange Commission blocked Trillium's resolution from going to a vote. Other such rulings followed. Last November, the shareholder advocacy group As You Sow filed resolutions urging Wells Fargo and Goldman Sachs to align their investments with Paris Climate Agreement benchmarks for reducing greenhouse gas emissions. Both banking institutions fund fossil fuel projects and received failing grades in a Rainforest Action Network survey of the climate impacts of the banking industry.

The corporations resisted and appealed to the SEC, which shut down resolutions on the grounds that shareholders were trying to micromanage operations by forcing companies to adhere to climate change targets. "In the past, the SEC has recognized that shareholders should be able to raise these important issues," said Danielle Fugere, the president of As You Sow. And Obama-era SEC rulings allowed similar shareholder resolutions to go forward. But since Trump took office, the SEC has consistently ruled in the corporations' favor. In February, ExxonMobil asked the SEC to nix a climate-oriented shareholder resolution, and a ruling is pending.

That could leave investors no choice but to pull out the ax: divestment. The divestment movement claims to have pulled more than $8.5 trillion out of fossil fuel companies. And even while Goldman Sachs seeks to avoid a reckoning for its carbon impacts, company analysts cite the divestment movement as a reason for fossil fuel companies to reduce emissions.

From dismantling regulations to pushing oil and gas leases in previously protected habitat, the Trump administration has shown its allegiance to fossil fuel interests. By protecting corporate executives and boards from answering to investors for their climate impacts, the administration is making it as comfortable as possible for fossil fuel companies and their financiers to continue to sow climate chaos.

Nevertheless, as the EOG case demonstrates, even with the administration on their side, some corporations are bending to their shareholders' will. Shareholder activism "isn't the straw that is going to break the camel's back," when it comes to adapting to and mitigating climate change, said Kron. "But we're trying to stack as many straws as possible on the camel." □

Carl Segerstrom is an assistant editor at *High Country News*, covering Alaska, the Pacific Northwest and the Northern Rockies from Spokane, Washington. @carlschirps

In 2012, activists protested the lack of transparency from the Securities and Exchange Commission over rules governing the fossil fuel industry. Now, the SEC is blocking shareholders from asking companies to plan for climate change. BILL CLARK/CQ ROLL CALL VIA AP IMAGES

A popular basketball court on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota. Though sports are at the center of Indigenous communities, teams often face targeted racial bullying from competitors. KALEN GOODLUCK

Hostile team spirit

Native American athletes and fans face ongoing racism

BY KALEN GOODLUCK

Some of the students were crying as they got back on to the bus. In early 2015, Justin Poor Bear, now 39, chaperoned dozens of Native students to see a Rapid City Rush ice hockey game in South Dakota. The trip was part of an after-school program at American Horse School on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. "It's not your fault," Poor Bear told the kids as he drove home. During the third period, the chaperones alleged that a white man poured beer on two of the students and called them racist slurs, a claim that could not be proven in court. Poor Bear was angry: He remembered experiencing the same kind of treatment during his high school basketball games in the '90s.

"When you first hear the words, 'Go back to the rez, prairie nigger,' or name calling, it's a shock moment," said Poor Bear. "Then you realize they're referring to us." His basketball coach would tell the team: Don't engage.

Rural towns are often highly supportive of their high school sports teams, and reservation athletics are no different. But racism has been rising in U.S. sports for the past four years, according to the Institute of Diversity and Ethics in Sport at the University of Central Florida, and Native American athletes and fans are often subjected to racist bullying at sport events. In fact, for Native Americans, this treatment has been the rule, not the exception, for many years.

From 2008 to 2018, there have been at least 52 reported incidents across the U.S. of racial harassment directed at Native American athletes, coaches and fans, according to data compiled from news articles, federal reports and court documents by *High Country News*. Reported incidents ranged from racist vandalism and tweets, to banners that read, "Hey Indians, get ready for a Trail of Tears Part 2," a reference to the 19th century death march endured by tribal citizens who were illegally and forcibly relocated to Oklahoma by the U.S. government. Other instances include players being called names like "prairie nigger," "wagon burners" and "dirty Indians." Nearly all 52 reported incidents involved high school sports, but there were also four university game cases and even a fast food restaurant sign that read, " 'KC Chiefs' Will Scalp the Redskins Feed Them Whiskey Send — 2 — Reservation." Nineteen incidents occurred at basketball games; 20 happened at football games.

Of the 52 incidents, 26 resulted in remedial actions, including 15 apologies to the Native victims. At times, multiple responses were taken, including nine disciplinary actions — a team suspension, a few school investigations, an academic suspension, volunteer positions revoked at school, an athletic team meeting, a juvenile detention sentence and a disorderly conduct charge. But in the remaining 26 incidents, no remedial or disciplinary action was taken.

"In places we think of as 'Indian Country,' and especially adjacent border towns, Indigenous athletes do experience escalated rates of harassment," said Barbara Perry, director of the Centre on Hate, Bias and Extremism at the University of Ontario Institute of Technology, who spent years studying hate crimes against Indigenous people in the U.S. and Canada. This harassment level may also extend, Perry said, to schools outside Indian Country with Native mascots. In a 2012 report to the Oregon State Board of Education, the state superintendent wrote that the use of Native American mascots "promotes discrimination, pupil harassment, and stereotyping" against Native American students in school and during sports events.

At a hearing in Fort Pierre, South Dakota, held by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights last year, Vice Chairman of the Crow Creek Sioux Tribe Barry Thompson testified on racism against Native American athletes. A former basketball coach himself, he recalled an episode that occurred when his team travelled to Miller, South Dakota, in 2002. Throughout the game, Thompson said, a handful of grandparents from the other team made derogatory comments to him and his players, including the epithet "prairie nigger." After the game, while his team ate at a Dairy Queen, a group of boys rolled up in a car and began yelling at them. As the players left, the other boys fired a shotgun into the air over their heads.

Broadly speaking, professional athletes are more likely to experience racism in the form of hiring opportunities than in overt public actions, according to Richard Lapchick, founder and director of the Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sport. "This stands in stark contrast to Native Americans, who are confronted with racist names and mascots in many sports across the country."

According to psychology studies, race-based mascots evoke associations with negative stereotypes and establish unwelcoming and even hostile school environments for Native students. A 2008 study found that when Native youth were exposed to Native American mascots, they were more likely to express lower self-esteem. Yet white youth "feel better about their own group" when presented with a Native mascot, said researcher Stephanie Fryberg, professor of psychology and American Indian studies at the University of Washington.

Reported acts of racism in U.S. sports have been increasing each year since 2015, according to the Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sport. The institute counted 11 in 2015; 31 in 2016; 41 in 2017; and 52 racial incidents in U.S. sports in 2018. "The rise in hate crimes and hate incidences are up all across the country," said Lapchick, the institute's founder. Meanwhile, the number of hate groups in the U.S. has reached a historical

Please see **Sporting racism**, *page 18*

During the third period, the chaperones alleged that a white man poured beer on two of the students and called them racist slurs.

Kalen Goodluck is an investigative reporter and photographer covering the environment, business and tribal affairs.

Watchers on the Willamette

As an oil-export facility grows, activists try to fill the information gap surrounding oil trains

BY CARL SEGERSTROM

Left, Dan Serres, the conservation director for Columbia Riverkeeper, an organization that works to protect the Columbia River. Center and right, oil train cars park near the Zenith Energy terminal.
SAMUEL WILSON FOR HIGH COUNTRY NEWS

Oct. 3, 2018: No train cars. Reuters reports that oil shipments to China have "totally stopped" as a casualty of escalating trade tension.

Oct. 30: Twelve train cars behind the wall; 15 waiting just outside to the south. Placard number 1267: Crude oil.

Nov. 26: No trains.

Jan. 16, 2019: Yes. More than 20 cars. Placard on side of train cars reads: "Toxic Inhalation Hazard."

At Zenith Petroleum's Portland Terminal in Oregon, multi-story oil drums rise along the banks of the Willamette River. Backhoes scratch dirt into a dump truck as sparks fly from welders building a metal structure behind walls topped with razor wire. Trucks rumble through on the last day of February, while black cylindrical oil-train cars line the rails. To the activists who fear they will remote detonate the global carbon budget — or even explode in their community — they look like rows of bombs.

After reports of Canadian tar sands moving through Portland surfaced in March 2018, a small group formed to try to track local oil train shipments by visiting the terminal and writing down what they saw. Since then, the group has watched the terminal expand in front of their eyes, as Zenith adds new rail spurs and retools the facility to increase export capacity. The watchers know about the risks of oil-train spills and explosions across the Northwest. By bearing witness to the trains and their dangerous cargo, they aim to fill the gaps in public knowledge left by limited official information — and hold the fossil fuel industry accountable for the threats it poses to their communities, and to the climate.

Natural light filters through a long window as Dan Serres, a train watcher and the conservation director for Columbia Riverkeeper, describes the project. "You would think that we would know how much oil is moving and when," said Serres, who grew up just outside of Portland. "This is definitely a soft spot in how states are able to address oil-train traffic."

The public is largely in the dark when it comes to what's moving through their towns. In Washington, the Department of Ecology issues quarterly reports on oil trains; between October and December of last year, it said, 24,693 oil train cars and more than 16.8 million barrels of crude oil travelled the state's rails. But that undercounts the total: Trains that merely pass through the state aren't included. And Oregon has significantly less transparency. While the Oregon fire marshall publishes some information on Bakken crude oil train traffic, the state does not share comprehensive quarterly crude oil by train reports with the public. That's because they are "security sensitive," according to Jennifer Flynt, an Oregon Department of Environmental Quality public affairs officer.

Since 2016, when an oil train exploded in Mosier, Oregon, along the Columbia River, some state legislators have tried to institute stronger monitoring standards and safeguards, most recently this year. But so far, their efforts have fallen short. State Rep. Barbara Smith Warner, D, who represents communities in northeast Portland, sponsored oil-train safety bills in 2017 and 2018. She said part of the reason Oregon hasn't regulated the shipments is because, unlike other states, Oregon doesn't have in-state refineries from which to collect fees or information.

Without comprehensive reporting, Northwest communities look to email lists, Twitter hashtags and smartphone ship-tracking apps to monitor trains. Loosely affiliated groups from Idaho, Washington and Oregon operate on a "see-something-share-something" basis, but are left putting together a puzzle with missing pieces as they try to understand what dangerous materials are rolling past their houses, schools and rivers.

Looking out at the dozens of trains parked outside Zenith's terminal in Portland, Mia Reback describes how different the train watching is from her usual climate justice organizing, which she typically fuels by tapping into the energy of community gatherings and street protests. Coming to this industrial zone to bear witness to local fossil fuel infrastructure is lonelier, and isolating.

But for Reback, the chance to have an impact is worth that discomfort. As she takes pictures to document the new construction, she recalls visiting the terminal in the summer of 2015. She had joined a crowd gathered to remember the 47 lives lost a year earlier when an oil train exploded in the town of Lac-Mégantic in Quebec, Canada. Black-and-white placards commemorated the name and age of each person who died in the disaster: "To see the visual of children holding a sign of another child their age next to an oil-train car was incredibly, incredibly powerful."

Portland politics tend to favor organizers like Reback and Serres. But even in a city that has passed ordinances to prevent new oil infrastructure development, fossil fuel companies seem to have figured out a way to peek through the green curtain the city hopes to close on their industry. Reback said she hopes the watchers' work will "recenter power in our communities, when fossil fuel companies and other polluting industries have taken power from us." □

Carl Segerstrom is an assistant editor at *High Country News*, covering Alaska, the Pacific Northwest and the Northern Rockies from Spokane, Washington. @carlschirps

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Christine Sheeter | Petaluma, CA
Karin P. Sheldon & James Thurber | Lafayette, CO
Leila Shepherd | Twin Falls, Idaho
W. Kenneth Sherk | Salt Lake City, UT
Sally Sherman | Boise, ID
Doris & Bob Sherrick | Peculiar, MO
Christine & Mike Siddoway | Colorado Springs, CO
Valerie & Scott Simon | Twentynine Palms, CA
Daniel Slater & Ann Wiemert | Grand Junction, CO
Robert L. Slatten | Toledo, OR
Doug & Joanne Smith | Steamboat Springs, CO
Larry & Debbie Smith | Butte, MT
Larry & Margie Smith | Johnstown, CO
Robert B. Smith | Hemet, CA
Florian & Lou Smoczynski | Madison, WI
Jim & Nancy Soriano | Vashon, WA
Mary Lou Soscia | Portland, OR
Timothy C. Spangler | Littleton, CO
Alicia Springer & Christopher P. Thomas | Chico, CA
Carrie Starr & Ernest Kirk | Ramah, NM
K. Starr | Newcastle, ME
Sherman Stephens & Martha Taylor | Flagstaff, AZ
Nancy Stevens & Charlie Davis | Seattle, WA
Darlene Marie Steward | Boulder, CO
Jim & Peggy Stewart | Ferndale, WA
Lon R. Stewart | Eagel, ID
James Stickman | Seattle, WA
Rick & Lynne Stinchfield | Pagosa Springs, CO
Oliver & Erescene Stokes | Sierra Vista, AZ
Marilyn Stone | Paonia, CO
Daniel Stonington | Seattle, WA
Liz & Gordon Stonington | Paonia, CO
David & Miriam Stout | Salida, CO
Dan Stowens | Kennewick, WA
Bill Strawbridge & Meg Wallhagen | Mill Valley, CA
Tina Street | Buena Vista, CO
Donald Sullivan | Denver, CO
Lorraine Suzuki | Los Angeles, CA
Linda Svendsen & Kent Madin | Bozeman, MT
Steve Swanson & Val Metropoulos | Aberdeen, WA
Diane Szollosi | Lafayette, CO
Liz Taintor | Steamboat Springs, CO
Sherrion Taylor & Sid Lewis | Paonia, CO
William Taylor | Sacramento, CA
Gail & Marv Tester | Cottonwood Heights, UT
Alice Thomassen | Belfair, WA
John Tirman | Cambridge, MA
Russell B. Toal | Santa Fe, NM
Mike Todd | Phoenix, Arizona
Larry E. Tomberlin | Mountain Home, ID
Chuck Tonn | Port Orford, OR
Constance L. Trecartin | Tucson, AZ
Janna Treisman | Fall City, WA
Because of Donald Trump | Washington, DC
Dale & RuthAnn Turnipseed | Twin Falls, ID
William Tweed | Bend, OR
Chuck Twichell & Mary K. Stroh-Twichell | Santa Rosa, CA
R.T. Twiddy | Mesquite, NV
James Tydings | Boulder, CO
Bruce Van Haveren | Evergreen, CO
William Vancil | Prescott, AZ
MaryBeth & Mark Vellequette | Boulder, CO
Eve Vogel | Amherst, MA
Kenneth J. Vogler | Boulder, CO
Chrilo Von Gontard | Bainbridge Island, WA
Kirk & Kris Vyverberg | Sacramento, CA
Ellen R. Walker | Florissant, CO
Frederick Walker Jr. | Del Mar, CA
Kody Wallace & Gary W. Donaldson | Salt Lake City, UT
Fred Walls | Lafayette, CO
Terry & Janet Walmer | Lakewood, CO
Eric Waltari | San Francisco, CA
Beth Walukas | Lummi Island, WA
Vicki Warner-Huggins | Ridgway, CO
John & Paula Warren | Garden City, ID
Thomas Wasmund | King George, VA
Howard Watts III & Leora Olívas | Las Vegas, NV
Jana Weber | Pinedale, WY
Stephen C. Weeg & Nancy Greco | Pocatello, ID
John M. Weh | Seattle, WA
N. C. Weil | Denver, CO
Charlene Weir | Salt Lake City, UT
Robert & Jill Welborn | Prineville, OR
Alacia Welch | Paicines, CA
David Wells | Twin Falls, ID
Miriam Wells | Loveland, CO
Gordon West | Silver City, NM
Janet Westbrook | Ridgecrest, CA
Bruce Weydemeyer & Charlotte Kinney | Santa Fe, NM
Bryce A. Wheeler | Mammoth Lakes, CA
Patty & Bert Whitley | Oro Valley, AZ
Arianna & William Whitman | Seattle, WA
Marilyn Whittaker | Boulder, CO
Rochelle Williams | Santa Fe, NM
James Willett | Kalispell, MT
Byron Williams | Saguache, CO
Larry & Becky Williams | Columbia Falls, MT
Steve Williams | Denver, CO
Bill Wilson | Seattle, WA
Sharon L. Wilson | Aurora, CO
Susan Wilson | Big Timber, MT
George Winters | Darrington, WA
Lesley Wischmann & Lawrence Jansen | Holly Ridge, NC
Janet Wise & Paul Michalec | Lakewood, CO
John Wise | Hidden Valley Lake, CA
Lee Witter | Bellevue, WA
Barbara Wolf | Sacramento, CA
Sheldon Wood | Centerville, UT
Greg Woodall | Hurricane, UT
Slim Woodruff | Grand Canyon, AZ
Steve & Susan Woods | Shoreview, MN
Jack L. Wright | Bremerton, WA
James & Brenda Werz | Fort Collins, CO
Thomas C. & Pamela A. Wylie | Centennial, CO
Dave Yokel & Kathy Taylor Yokel | Fairbanks, AK
Marianna Young | Monte Vista, CO
Paul Zarn | Petaluma, CA
Wendy Zeigler & Jamie Longe | Holladay, UT
Paquita Zuidema | Coral Gables, FL

CALIFORNIA HIS

FEATURE BY ALLISON HERRERA

Gregg Castro first roamed the Santa Lucia Mountains at the age of 8, going out with his father to hunt deer and wild pigs in the fall, when the oak trees and manzanita bushes turn gold and the famously blue California skies go gray.

Rising along the central California coast, the Santa Lucias are dotted with pines and redwoods and home to rattlesnakes, bobcats and, some say, the ghost of a headless woman — a settler who died crossing a creek in the 1800s. The tallest peak in the range, Junipero Serra, is more than a mile above sea level, and caves and grottos can be found throughout the region, many of them used by Castro's Salinan ancestors on trips to and from the Pacific Ocean. The mountains are also home to Mission San Antonio de Padua, one of the 21 Catholic outposts Spain built in the late 1700s to establish a colonial foothold here and convert Indigenous people to Christianity.

During winter, on the way to Jolon, California, when the rains came and it was cold, Castro remembers his dad turning up the heat in his old Chevy truck and rolling down the windows. The scent of oaks, rock rose and willow floated into the truck — the "Jolon smell," Castro calls it, the smell of home.

It was a long drive between the mountains and the city of San Jose, where the family lived at the time, so Castro's dad would often stop and camp near Mission San Antonio de Padua. That made for an earlier hunting day and gave them a chance to linger in their traditional homeland, where his dad felt comfortable. After dinner, as the campfire died and sunset neared, Castro would wrap himself in his favorite green coat to ward off the mountain valley evening chill and explore the mission's gardens and tiled walkways.

San Antonio de Padua was built in 1771, but by World War II, the mission was in ruins: Tiles were falling from the roof, and looters stole paintings and other valuables from the interior. It wasn't until the late 1940s that the Hearst Foundation donated money to begin renovating the crumbling building. A volunteer-run gift shop was opened to peddle rosaries and self-published books about the mission.

In the 1950s, after renovations were complete, visitors could wander into the chapel and see statues of saints and pictures of the Virgen de Guadalupe on the stucco walls. They could see the simple wooden pews that still filled the church and, outside, the stones once used to grind grain, and then wander through the Spanish-style garden with its large gray fountain, rose bushes and lemon trees that glowed in the California sun. Tour guides typically avoided the darker details of its history, of course, such as the 4,000 Salinan tribal members buried in a mass grave about 500 feet from the church — their deaths and disposal a final reward for their work in building the mission. At 9 years old, Castro first saw the burial site and its marker: A crudely made sign, better suited for a spaghetti Western, that just read "Indian Graves."

"My parents would say they 'got sick and passed away,' " recalls Castro. "Euphemisms. These ways of blunting the terrifying truth of it: That they died by the thousands building these missions."

Less than 70 miles from here, thousands of tourists enjoy the iconic views of Big Sur. But Mission San Antonio de Padua still casts a pall over the Santa Lucia Mountains. In the wake of its construction, thousands of members of the Salinan Nation and other Indigenous people died of hunger, violence and slavery. Sacred sites were destroyed. Traditional foods were forcibly replaced by European staples, such as cattle. When the Mexican government took control of the region, Indigenous people were massacred to fulfill the Spanish land grants promised to colonists. Then the Americans came.

As Castro grew up, that history eluded him, much as it would escape me. In school, there was no mention of the Chumash, the Esselen, Ohlone, Salinan or other tribes that once thrived on the very grounds we played kickball on. There were no lessons on the places important to us, like the Wagon

TORY, RETOLD

Cave or Morro Rock, which my grandmother and I visited when I was a child. We learned in school that there were no Indians left. No Chumash near the town of Shell Beach, or Salinan near the town of Templeton where I spent my elementary school years; we were extinct. At home, our grandparents were tight-lipped, and often bitter, about our family histories.

Castro remembers his dad telling him, "Know who you are and be proud of it, but don't tell anyone." That was the fear talking — fear passed down from parents and grandparents who remembered when it was still legal to kill Indians in California.

Ever since he found the graveyard at Mission San Antonio de Padua, Castro has carried an image in his head — one of Native bodies stacked like firewood. Mission tours rarely mention this history, but even more troubling is the fact that California's public schools don't teach it, despite a 2017 law that requires them to do so.

Assembly Bill 738, the Native American curriculum model, was sponsored by Democrat Monique Limón, a former school board member from Santa Barbara and Ventura counties, and passed with strong bipartisan support. "This bill would require the commission to develop, and the state board to adopt, modify, or revise, a model curriculum in Native American studies," the legislation reads.

However, that requirement doesn't come with funding for training, development, or even textbooks, leaving teachers with a difficult choice: Comply with the law on their own dime, or continue to downplay or ignore the atrocities committed against Indigenous people by settlers and colonists in the foundation of what is currently California.

In other words, the Golden State understands that it has a problem with what it's teaching its children. It just isn't doing much about it.

Today, Castro, a communications technician, activist and writer, has banded together with other educators to say they've had enough.

MAX RAFFERTY WAS STERN, CLEAN-CUT and had a face that conveyed a strict, no-nonsense personality. In the late 1950s and early '60s, he served as a superintendent of a small school district in Southern California, a nobody by most accounts. But in 1961, everything changed when he delivered his fiery speech, "The Passing of the Patriot."

A conservative sermon of sorts delivered at La Cañada School in the northeast suburbs of Los Angeles, "The Passing of the Patriot" won numerous awards and was reprinted in *Readers Digest*, not usually seen as an influential magazine but one that was read by Rafferty's core audience — conservative, white and middle-class.

A product of the California politics that later brought Ronald Reagan to power as governor in 1967, Rafferty's speech blasted educators for failing to teach schoolchildren "traditional values," lamenting that the youth were losing their way due to "morally unfit teachers" and that "youngsters were growing up to become booted, sideburned, duck-tailed, unwashed, leather-jacketed slobs, whose favorite sport is ravaging little girls and stomping polio victims to death." After his performance at the La Cañada School, Rafferty's image as a conservative firebrand was cemented.

In 1962, Rafferty ran for state superintendent of public instruction, the first year the job was an elected rather than appointed position, and won by 200,000 votes. It was the perfect opportunity for Rafferty to infuse California's school system with his conservative values.

California, like much of the country, was undergoing turbulent times. In the 1960s, college campuses became focal points of protests against the Vietnam War, even as the Civil Rights movement threatened to overturn established institutions — something Rafferty virulently disapproved of. Speaking on television and through a weekly newspaper column, he pushed back against anti-war protesters and condemned what he saw as violence on campus. He opposed teacher strikes in the 1970s, fought

The Mission San Antonio de Padua (c. 1934), near Jolon, California, where Gregg Castro roamed as a boy, and where he first saw the mass burial site for some 4,000 Indigenous Salinan Indians. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, HABS CAL; 27-JOLO.V; 1

sex education, and advocated against legislation designed to provide fair housing or busing to better integrate schools. In his 2010 essay "Standing Up to Sugar Cubes," Louisiana State professor Zevi Gutfreund asserts that under the Rafferty administration, schools were prodded to restore "traditional values" in the classroom by creating patriots steeped in the values of great American leaders like Andrew Jackson and George Washington. "Education during the last three decades has deliberately debunked the hero," Rafferty once said. "If it is ugly to teach children to revere the great Americans of the past, to cherish the traditions of our country, to hate communism and its creatures, then I say let's be ugly."

"There is not one Indian child who has not come home in shame and tears after one of those sessions in which he is taught that his people were dirty, animal-like, something less than a human being."

—Rupert Costo, testifying in a 1968 hearing in San Francisco to the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education

▲ Rupert and Jeannette Costo, who joined the California Curriculum Commission in 1965, encouraged teaching an accurate history of California that didn't start with Columbus.
UA 282, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, RIVERSIDE, PHOTOGRAPHS (BOX 10 #764) USED BY PERMISSION OF SPECIAL COLLECTIONS & UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, RIVERSIDE

▶ Max Rafferty, California superintendent of public schools from 1962 to 1970.
CALIFORNIA HISTORY ROOM, CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY, FROM "STANDING UP TO SUGAR CUBES," BY ZEVI GUTFREUND

To create an educational experience unique to the Golden State, Rafferty chose to extol the virtues of the region's early settlers. The most prominent "leader" was Father Junipero Serra, a Franciscan friar from Mallorca, Spain, often described as the "founding father of California."

Serra arrived in what is currently Mexico in 1749. After a few years of mission work, as well as a stint with the Spanish Inquisition, he made his way north to what was then known as "Alta California" to spread the Catholic faith. Most accounts and scholarly work about Serra characterize him as practicing a faith that was downright medieval compared to his Franciscan contemporaries; he eschewed modern comforts like beds and refused to wear shoes, even when traveling the rugged terrain of Mexico or the Californian deserts, even when injured.

To purify his spirit, he punished himself, often practicing self-flagellation with a chain of sharp iron links when "sinful thoughts" entered his mind. His time with the Inquisition deepened his intolerance of "Indian superstitions," fueling a propensity for violence; he administered beatings, whippings and torture to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous men and women who refused to work or accept Christian teachings.

At the age of 54, Serra left Mexico to oversee the building of what would later be California's 21 Catholic outposts. With the help of Spanish soldiers, he enslaved Indigenous people in order to aid in construction. "The treatment shown to Indians is the most cruel I have ever read in history," wrote Padre Antonio de la Concepción Horra, an eyewitness to Serra's actions. "For the slightest things they receive heavy floggings, are shackled and put in stocks and treated with so much cruelty that they are kept whole days without a drink of water."

Textbooks paint a rosy picture of the time by depicting Indigenous people as "grateful Indians" receiving the Christian message. In 2015, Serra was canonized by Pope Francis despite an outcry from Indigenous scholars and activists.

But even as Max Rafferty worked to instill patriotic pride in California students, others made it their life's work to teach a more accurate history.

Rupert Costo, born in 1906, was a Cahuilla Indian educator, writer and activist who grew up on the Cahuilla Reservation near Coachella Valley and in Anza in the Imperial Valley. In 1851, his uncle was one of the signers of treaties that promised California Indians a land base in exchange for land given to settlers. (The treaties were never ratified.) Costo himself played football in his college days at Whittier.

Two years after Rafferty took charge of the public education system, Costo and his wife, Jeannette, formed the American Indian Historical Society, or "the Society" for short. They also began the Indian Historian Press, which published Jack Norton's *Genocide in Northwestern California* as well as the Native newspaper *Wassaja*. The occupation of Alcatraz in 1969 is often framed as the first time an intertribal effort sparked social change, but Rose Soza War Soldier, professor of ethnic studies at Northern Arizona University and a member of the Soboba band of Luiseño Indians in Southern California, contends that The Society rightly deserves credit: It coordinated Indian educators and activists across California to force public officials like Rafferty to listen to Native people. The Society reflected "a broad diversity of Indians living in California," wrote Soza War Soldier. "Individuals from the Blackfoot, Maidu, Navajo, Ohlone, Paiute, Pueblo, Inupiat, Yakima, and Yurok tribes also contributed during the formative early years of the organization."

"There is not one Indian in the whole of this country who does not cringe in anguish and frustration because of these textbooks," Costo said during his 1968 testimony in San Francisco to the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education. Costo made these remarks after his involvement with the California Curriculum Commission. "There is not one Indian child who has not come home in shame and tears after one of those sessions in which he is taught that his people were dirty, animal-like, something less than a human being."

Despite Rafferty's deeply conservative views, the 1960s put pressure on him, especially when it came to history textbooks. As Soza War Soldier wrote, "He appeared indecisive with the process of integrating history textbooks, wavering between wanting fact based history and a desire for a mythical history promoting absolute patriotism." In his weekly column in the *Los Angeles Times*, Rafferty described illustrations of African Americans and Mexican Americans as a cause for concern due to depictions of "barefooted, bandana wearing plantation hands or as Olympic athletes" wearing "sandals and serapes," concluding that such "racial oversimplifications do considerable harm."

For their part, the Costos had long bemoaned the lack of accurate representation in California textbooks. In 1965, the couple contacted Rafferty and asked to be advisers to the California Curriculum Commission, one of three bodies that oversee education in the state. Rafferty agreed.

Becoming advisory members on the curriculum commission was a big deal: It meant the Costos could exert influence over the state's multimillion-dollar textbook industry. Contracts with publishers meant mandatory, statewide sales of books to schools, and the American Indian Historical Society used that power to push textbook writers to correct misinformation and stereotypes by rejecting books and contracts.

Kizh Nation tribal members, led by Chief Ernesto Salas, protest at the San Gabriel Mission in San Gabriel, California, near a statue of Father Junipero Serra moments after the 2015 ceremony in Washington, D.C., during which the Spanish missionary was canonized by Pope Francis.
FREDERIC J. BROWN/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Helen Bauer's 1954 text, *California Gold Days*, was roundly rejected due to its framing of gold miners as heroes and Indians as ruthless savages crouched behind bushes waiting to attack guileless pioneers. "The romantic aura now adhering to the gold miner should be closely examined by scholars and teachers," wrote the Costos. "Above all, this romance attaching to the gold miners ought to be shredded away by the truth."

The Society successfully removed an image of two Narragansett Indians scalping a swooning white woman from one textbook on American colonial history. In the book *Land of the Free*, the sentence "For an even longer time, Indians were treated as though they were children and were not allowed to vote," was changed to "For an even longer time, Indians were unjustly treated as 'incompetents.' They were not allowed to vote." Small changes, yes, but important ground the Costos fought for, word by word, year by year.

They even devised a role-playing game for fourth graders called "It Happened in California, You Are There." In the game, students pretended to be California Indians who were captured, forced to live with missionaries and given four choices: Run away, because the guards were not always watching; organize a revolt; accept what has happened to you and do the best you can; or poison the missionary. Students were reminded that they were not armed and that the Spaniards had guns, then encouraged to discuss their choices among themselves. The game was never implemented in classrooms, however.

A fourth-grade history book called *The Story of California* ended the Society's relationship with Rafferty and the California Curriculum Commission. Costo called the book's portrayal of Indians "biased" and said the pictures were "degrading." Nonetheless, 300,000 copies were ordered, prompting the Costos to resign.

But they continued fighting. After they ended their involvement with the California Curriculum Commission, they founded the Institute for Teachers, an alternative school for educators. The idea was to work outside the system and train teachers, rather than put pressure on the California Curriculum Commission. "When you teach our youth that Columbus discovered America in 1492, you are teaching the history of a European development which took place in this land," said Costo. "You are not teaching the history of America."

In 1968, Max Rafferty lost a bid for a state Senate seat. Two years later, he lost his job as superintendent of public instruction to Wilson Riles — the first African American to be elected to a statewide office in California. Rafferty was killed in a car accident in Alabama in 1982. Today, the University of California, Riverside has a professorial chair named after Costo.

MONIQUE LIMÓN, who today represents District 37 in the California State Assembly, remembers her time on the Ventura County school board.

She'd seen a language dictionary created by the Santa Ynez Band of Chumash that was given to local libraries. She realized schools weren't doing enough to promote the history that was in their backyard. "One of the important things that California has is a rich Native American history," said Limón.

When she got to the Legislature, she started having more conversations about Native American studies with her colleagues and people in the California Department of Education. She wanted to make changes, and she wanted to do it in collaboration with tribes.

"It's also one that differs from region to region," she said. "So having an approach or models where you see local communities work with their local school is really

beneficial to enriching that curriculum."

What do you do when you're an assembly member with a passion for learning and education? You sponsor a bill. That's how California Assembly Bill 738 came to be.

The bill requires the state's Instructional Quality Commission to "develop, and the state board to adopt, modify, or revise, a model curriculum in Native American studies." Hoping to ensure quality courses in Native American studies, lawmakers also voted for the curriculum to be developed "with participation from federally recognized Native American tribes located in California, California Native American tribes, faculty of Native American studies programs at universities and colleges with Native American studies programs, and a group of representatives of local educational agencies, a majority of whom are kindergarten to grade 12, inclusive, teachers who have relevant experiences or education backgrounds in the study and teaching of Native American studies."

If you don't understand Legislature-speak, that means AB 738 wants to ensure that students today aren't learning what students in the Rafferty era learned with regard to California Indians.

The bill passed, and Gov. Jerry Brown signed it into law in 2017. But there's one problem: The work to make it a reality in the classroom won't really begin for another three years.

Limón said the Department of Education must first develop the curriculum, then present it to the state's more than 1,000 school districts to figure out how to implement it in the classroom. That's a slow process that can take years.

Scott Roark, the communications officer for the California Department of Education, says the State Board of Education will not take action on any kind of guidelines until March 2022, though "focus groups are being implemented right now to review the framework." It's unclear whether those focus groups will include Native American educators or tribal members.

"Future development of the model curriculum will include (1) participation of faculty of Native American studies programs from institutions of higher education and (2) representatives of Local Educational Agencies (LEAs), a majority of whom are K–12 teachers, with experience in the study or teaching of Native American studies," Roark wrote in an email.

But even if everybody was in full agreement about what changes need to be made, the state has not provided funding to make it happen.

Two of the administrators in charge of implementing this new framework acknowledge that there has been little emphasis until now put on history. Tom Adams, deputy superintendent for teaching and learning, said he and others in the Department of Education have good intentions.

"What we also want people to know is that the California Native American population was there prior to the mission, and they have their own history in of itself and it shouldn't be just centered around the mission," said Adams.

Stephanie Gregson, director of the Curriculum Frameworks and Instructional Resources Division of the Department of Education, says the department has obtained input from listening sessions with tribes throughout the state. She is quick to note that they're trying to introduce more critical thinking, asking questions like, "Why were the Spanish here?" and "Who was here before?" and "Why were the missions built?"

But officials who work with teachers on how to actually teach a new curriculum say it's difficult because there is no oversight. The state can pass legislation laying out a new framework that instructs school districts to teach more accurate history and encourages students to ask more critical questions, but lawmakers don't know if the teachers are actually implementing it.

Mae Chaplin, an assistant professor in the teaching credentials department at Sacramento State, says that teachers often have a fear of history because they feel they lack the content knowledge they need in order to teach it well.

"They simply don't know much about California Indian history unless they happen to take a course in college," Chaplin says.

According to a recent report by First Nations Development Institute, "It is no surprise that non-Natives are primarily creating the narrative about Native

"What we also want people to know is that the California Native American population was there prior to the mission and they have their own history in of itself and it shouldn't be just centered around the mission."

—Tom Adams, California Department of Education administrator working to implement AB 738

Americans. And the story they adopt is overwhelmingly one of deficit and disparity." The report continues by saying the "biased and revisionist history" taught in school leads to the invisibility of Native people. Between 2011 and 2012, nearly 87 percent of state history failed to cover Native American history after 1900. And 27 states did not specifically mention Native people in their curriculum at all.

Just like students in Max Rafferty's day, children exposed to inaccurate curricula now will one day be running for public office — whether for the Board of Education or president of the United States.

GREGG CASTRO AND ROSE BORUNDA, a professor at California State University, Sacramento, and other educators and activists formed the California Indian History Curriculum Coalition in 2014. Much like Rupert and Jeanette Henry Costo, who founded the American Indian Historical Society, Castro and his peers are tired of seeing California's history books ignore Indigenous people and gloss over the Golden State's ongoing relationship — and violent history — with the land's first people. And much like his forebears, Castro is taking a grassroots approach to create regionally and culturally specific curricula.

Borunda says that she and others in the coalition are part of a national movement to put more emphasis on a more accurate history of Native Americans for both elementary and high school students. She points to the state of Washington as a model for how to teach Native history. The curriculum called "Since Time Immemorial: Tribal Sovereignty in Washington State" has been endorsed by the 29 tribal nations in the state. It asks thought-provoking questions, such as, "What is the legal status of tribes who negotiated or who did not negotiate settlement for compensation for the loss of their sovereign homelands?" and "What were the political, economic, and cultural forces consequential to the treaties that led to the movement of tribes from long established homelands to reservations?"

"The focus is connecting students to the geography of this place, making them feel more connected to land and water," says Sara Marie Ortiz, a citizen of New Mexico's Acoma Pueblo, who worked closely with the Muckleshoot Tribe and with students in the Highline Public School District, just south of Seattle. Muckleshoot is a close partner in creating "Since Time Immemorial" with the school system.

"Since Time Immemorial" does exactly what California's AB 738 was designed to do.

"Relationship-building is everything," Ortiz explained. "It has to live in your heart and mind as a teacher." She says that educators in her district are always asking speakers to visit the classroom and that the principals have been very supportive.

"My perspective is (educators) want to tell the mission story better, for one, and the period of colonization better, but also kind of take that story further into the 20th and 21st century," says Khal Schneider, a Graton Rancheria tribal citizen, professor and member of the coalition. "I think there's been an interest in recent years and a lot of attention paid to what happens to California once it becomes an American state." Before, he says, California Indians' only role in history education was that of dutiful servants of the mission system — and that's where their story ended.

Castro and others say they're happy the California Department of Education wants to teach accurate Indigenous history, but he's not so sure teachers, districts and those in charge are ready to give kids in public schools the full story of what happened in the missions, or to discuss their lingering emotional and political impacts on California Indians. In his opinion, children can handle difficult truths; it's the parents who have a problem. He's heard from parents who said they knew the true history of the missions, but still wanted their child to learn the old way — by reading inaccurate textbooks and doing school projects, things like building models of missions from popsicle sticks. It's willful ignorance, he says. "That's what makes it harder than dealing with the out-and-out racism."

While the state's origin story should be a part of children's education, Castro says that shouldn't be the end of it. One section of the curriculum, which was created by the Winnemem Wintu, teaches

Pictured from left: During a California Teachers Association Go! diversity and equity conference in San Jose in April, Rose Borunda of California State University, Sacramento, gives a presentation. Gregg Castro takes a break to show some of the curriculum materials endorsed by the California Indian History Curriculum Coalition. Below, Dessa Drake, a fourth-grade teacher in Templeton, California, showed the film *Dancing Salmon Home*, and other curriculum materials developed by the Winnemem Wintu Tribe.
SCOTT BRALEY

the importance of salmon runs and the meaning of place. Another piece from the Kumeyaay examines the cultural and environmental stewardship projects the tribe is working on, while the Ohlone and Yokut have developed a pre-contact map of California tribes for students.

From the gold rush to state-sponsored genocide, from unratified treaties to the economic and political influence of tribal nations today, the coalition is determined to educate the next generation of Californians. This summer, educators and activists will converge to discuss lesson plans and fine-tune curricula. Castro says he's invited the California Department of Education. As of publication, he hasn't received a response.

CASTRO'S FATHER PASSED AWAY several years ago, but he still remembers the chilly air and the smell of smoke as the sun set on the Santa Lucias after those childhood hunting trips. Today, he leads school tours out at Mission San Antonio, and the dry grass cracks and rustles under his feet when he guides students to the wall where some of his ancestors are buried.

Catholicism has always been part of his life, he says, despite the history. His mom taught Sunday school and his grandfather hosted catechism classes, though he never became Catholic. In Castro's eyes, his mom accepted the church because she saw the similarities between Salinan values and Christian teachings: generosity, kindness, taking care of others. His dad had those values too, Castro says, but unlike his mother, his father never forgave the church.

Castro and I share some of the same history. My relatives lived in these valleys, too; they hunted and traveled to the Pacific Ocean. An adobe house, now called "The Indian's Adobe," a protected historical site, is nestled among the hills of Las Padres National Forest, its gardens hidden away from hunters and nature enthusiasts who want to explore a place where "Indians lived." Perfecta Encinales, one of my ancestors, lived in this house. More than 10 years ago, under the close supervision of park rangers, I visited the home. Pete Zavalla, one of the few Native American employees at Los Padres, showed me the deer grass and tule reeds growing near the house — reeds my family used for making baskets generations before. It was hot and windy as we walked along a small trail near an apple orchard. When we returned to the adobe house, a cool breeze drifted by. Zavalla remarked that this would have been the same breeze that Encinales felt more than a century ago. □

A model of the Mission San Diego de Acalá, produced by a fourth-grade social studies class studying the mission curriculum. DAVID LOFINK CC VIA FLICKR

Allison Herrera is Xolon Salinan from the Central Coast of California and reports for PRI's *The World*.
@alisonaher

This story was funded with reader donations to the High Country News Research Fund.

Sporting racism *continued from page 7*

high, while federal authorities reported a 17% increase in hate crimes between 2016 and 2017.

Though it's clear that racial harassment happens in many sports, it's difficult to know how frequently other racial groups are affected, mainly for lack of research. For example: Last fall, a number of black and Latino high school football players across the country reported seeing racist signs and hearing racial epithets. Numerous studies on race and athletics focus on subtle, systematic forms of racial discrimination in professional and collegiate sports, as seen in team demographics, media representation, and the opportunities and salaries that athletes receive, though mostly for black athletes. Several studies with small cohorts conveyed a range of anecdotal evidence that African Americans face significant racist treatment by coaches, media, fans and teammates.

An analysis of a 2013 statewide survey of Minnesota public, charter and tribal schools may give a possible glimpse into the scope of the problem for Native students. The study found that Native American students reported being bullied because of their race over three times as often as white students did. Hispanic, black and Asian students reported racist bullying nearly four times more often than white students did. While the rate at which each group is targeted by race in sports remains unknown, Barbara Perry said, "Indigenous communities likely are among the most vulnerable."

Though national rates of bullying have remained relatively steady in recent years, in 2017, the Centers for Disease Control found that nearly 22% of Native Americans and Alaskan Natives were bullied on school property, higher than the national rate of 19%. Yet research into the effects bullying has on Native Americans and Alaskan Natives is "nearly non-existent," according to the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, a government agency devoted to mental and behavioral health.

Not only is there a study gap in overt sports racism, but the data *High Country News* gathered also suggest that accountability is an issue: Half of the publicly reported racial incidents against Native Americans received no disciplinary or remediating action.

"Racism is everywhere, and it's about nothing that you did wrong," Justin Poor Bear told his son after the hockey game incident. "You move past it." He was sad because Brendan was so young at the time, experiencing that kind of racism in sixth grade. Now an athlete like his dad, Brendan Poor Bear started running cross-country as a freshman in high school. "Racism needs to be talked about now, especially with Natives. Everybody, not just Natives." □

Some reported incidents against Indigenous athletes and spectators at sporting events

In January 2017, fans from Pryor, Montana, said they were denied entry to a basketball game at Reed Point High School because they were Native American. They were supported by a complaint filed by the Montana ACLU, but the Montana Human Rights Bureau found "no reasonable cause" for discrimination by Reed Point High School.

In early December 2013, Native American onlookers spotted a Sonic Drive-in sign in Belton, Missouri, that read: " 'KC Chiefs' Will Scalp the Redsk*ns Feed Them Whiskey Send – 2 – Reservation," referring to Kansas City's professional football team.

In 2013, a Cherokee high school football player in North Carolina received racist messages from a Swain High School player after the his team lost 32-0. The messages included racial slurs for American Indians and African Americans as well as sexually vulgar references to the Cherokee player's older sister.

In October 2017, the day before Sturgis High School in South Dakota was about to compete against Pine Ridge High School, an Oglala Lakota tribal school, social media showed an unauthorized pep rally that ended with students smashing a windshield with sledgehammers and spraypainting "go back to the rez" on a car.

SNAPCHAT SCREENSHOT

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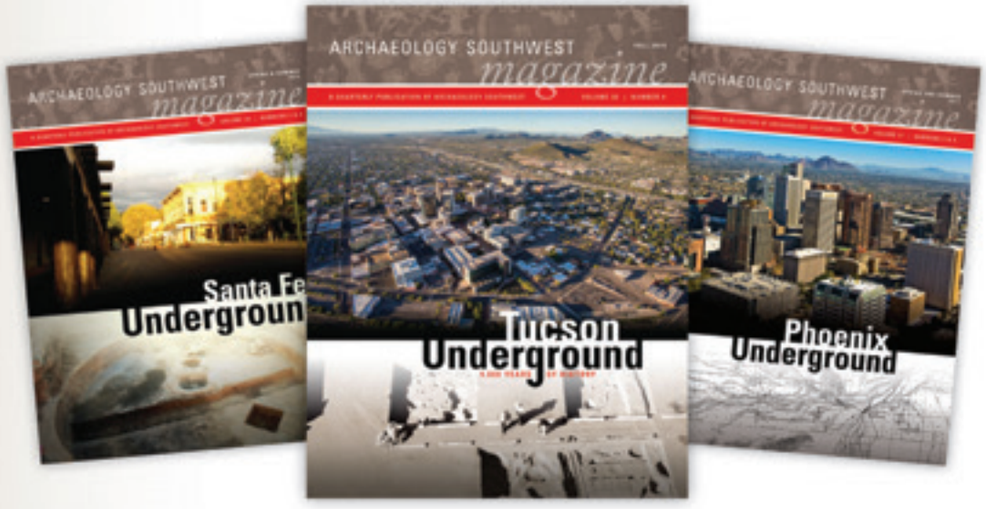

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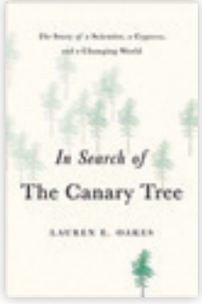
What trees can teach us

Big Lonely Doug: The Story of One of Canada's Last Great Trees
Harley Rustad
328 pages, softcover: $22.95.
House of Anansi Press Inc., 2019



In Search of The Canary Tree: The Story of a Scientist, a Cypress, and a Changing World
Lauren E. Oakes
288 pages, hardcover: $27.
Basic Books, 2018

A big tree can seem monolithic and solitary — several armspans of girth, a towering crown. Trees, though, often live in community. Through a network of roots and fungal threads, they can warn each other of danger and even feed a lopped stump. They nourish and house countless creatures, which nourish them in turn. Trees, in other words, embody the power of relationships to sustain life. And forming a relationship with trees, two books by first-time authors suggest, can lead people to help do the same on a grand scale — from stumping on behalf of old-growth temperate rainforests, to fighting climate change.

Journalist Harley Rustad centers his exploration of this theme on an unlikely catalyst: a single logger meeting a single Douglas fir. Dennis Cronin was marking a grove for harvest in 2011 when he came upon the giant, 217 feet tall. On impulse, he wrapped it with a ribbon that spared it as the rest of the trees fell. So was born Big Lonely Doug, a nickname that Rustad adopts as the title of his book — a sweeping natural and human history of logging on Canada's Vancouver Island, and the movement to save its vastly diminished woods.

As Rustad's protagonist and carefully researched prose show, the battle lines in such fights are rarely clear. The Pacheedaht First Nation both defends its ancient forests and logs parts of them for the economic benefit of its people. The loggers who worked the region's forests, meanwhile, became as familiar with them as any treehugger. The trees' size and steep footing meant that they could only be cut by hand with saws. And in this closeness, some loggers came to revere them.

Environmental groups built trails and marketing campaigns around the last giants standing to help average citizens understand the stakes, winning protections in the process, but also alienating First Nations by acting without regard for their deep knowledge of place. Ironically, Cronin's fir gives conservationists their perfect icon: An astounding tree, marooned in a blast zone of stumps.

Rustad's book is more nuanced explanation than call to action, though the implication is clear: The intimacy of direct experience draws people to act. Scientist Lauren Oakes picks up this thread from a more tender vantage and takes it further in the direction of advocacy. Her book, *In Search of the Canary Tree*, blends research and memoir, chronicling her own quest to understand global climate change through a single species, Alaska yellow-cedar.

Other researchers found that the trees were paradoxically freezing to death at lower elevations because of rising temperatures; spring frosts burn their shallow roots as insulating snowpack vanishes. So for her Ph.D., Oakes documents what happens to some Southeast Alaska forests after their yellow-cedars die, and how people respond. Though occasionally bogged in detailed scientific process, Oakes is lovely and lyrical in her fieldwork descriptions, and her interweaving of ecological and personal loss.

With the help of some tenacious techs, including Kate "Maddog" Cahill, whose illustrations grace the book, Oakes thrashes through the rainy woods of Chichagof Island and Glacier Bay National Park, gathering data, falling into a treewell, talking down a grizzly. Each night, she backs out of her sodden clothes and into her tent, and each morning, she climbs back into their moldering embrace. She and her crew are so hungry at the end of their first two-week stint that when they return to town, Cahill bursts into tears over an omelet.

Through the coming seasons, a picture edged with complicated hope emerges. Saplings are alarmingly sparse, and the study forecasts a grim future for still-healthy yellow-cedars, but a different forest is growing up around the dead, one dominated by Western hemlock.

As Oakes prepares to interview Alaskans who use yellow-cedar to see how they reckon with this change, her father dies suddenly in his sleep. In her grief, she finds insight in her subjects' answers. People like Tlingit weaver Teri Rofkar, who advocates giving the trees a break even from harvesting bark traditionally used in yarn. The loggers who experiment with cutting standing dead yellow-cedar instead of live trees. The ecologists who commit to telling the story of change. In the end, she finds resilience and new growth here too, beyond the pain — an opening for healing, for new possibilities, for action.

A Tlingit weaver named Ernestine Hanlon-Abel tells Oakes a story that sums it up well. It's about a man running for office, who comes to see her father. "See how the mountains are? A lot of avalanches, huh?" Hanlon-Abel's father asks the man. "You're gonna have to learn how to hold hands the way those trees do. … They send out all these roots, and … pretty soon, the avalanches aren't gonna be able to … wipe it out. That's your job. To hold hands."

In this time of environmental crises, these books imply, maybe holding hands with each other, and with other species, is our job, too. To learn to connect differently with the growing world. To move beyond "natural resource," as Rofkar tells Oakes, to "relationship."

REVIEW AND ILLUSTRATION
BY SARAH GILMAN

The ABCs of inequity

At the Gonzales Community School on Santa Fe's west side, 95% of students receive free or reduced-cost lunches. MORGAN LEE/AP IMAGES

I live in Santa Fe, New Mexico, a city known for its turquoise jewelry, red and green chile sauces and high desert air. In the historic Plaza District, intrepid shoppers can score a $400 poncho or a magnificent pair of designer boots. Shop windows abound with exquisitely crafted squash blossom necklaces, Zuni fetishes and Navajo rugs. On Canyon Road, visitors can browse 100 art galleries nestled in perfectly preserved adobe compounds. And in the shadow of Atalaya Mountain, St. John's College — with its 7-to-1 faculty-student ratio — offers a top-notch liberal arts education for $35,000 per year.

A mile and a half west of exclusive hotels like the El Dorado and La Fonda on the Plaza, I work at a high-needs school, created in 2010, when several beloved neighborhood schools were collapsed into a larger K-8 community school. Since its inception, my school has struggled to define itself. It has hosted six principals in eight years and serves as a rotating door for teachers, some of whom leave for higher-performing schools in more affluent areas of town. My students come from neighborhoods the tourists don't visit. They occupy old one-story stucco buildings along the thoroughfares on the west side, many sharing space with multiple siblings or extended family members. They speak Spanish and English, often a mixture of both. One hundred percent of them qualify for free or reduced-price lunch.

Until recently, the New Mexico Public Education Department had implemented a controversial evaluation program designed to increase transparency and hold schools accountable for performance. Schools were measured using a formula that took into account student performance, student growth, attendance rates, and parent and student satisfaction. It didn't account for things like teacher quality, staffing consistency, family engagement, English language proficiency and student nonacademic need, but on a general level, it does tell us which schools are thriving.

For the six years the program was in place, my school never earned better than a D. This is not particularly unusual: Last school year, over half of Santa Fe's public schools received D or F ratings. My school's "almost C" grade for 2017-2018 put us in the middle of the pack for Santa Fe Public Schools, and so it was widely celebrated as a big win. When your state is ranked last in the country for child well-being — according to the Annie E. Casey Foundation, a private philanthropic organization dedicated to education and the welfare of children — success is measured on a relative rather than absolute scale.

So which schools earned the A's and B's? A quick look at the map displays a little fairy ring of four schools along the Plaza and Santa Fe's wealthy east side that are considered effective institutions for learning. St. Francis Drive, the north-south highway that bisects town, divides schools that are succeeding from schools that are not. Four of the five elementary schools on the east side of St. Francis scored an A or a B last year, while only three out of 12 on the west side did. And this situation is not unique to Santa Fe. It's Opportunity Gap 101: In almost every municipal area in the country, where students live drives the kind of education they will receive and, ultimately, the choices they have in life.

In Santa Fe, the opportunity gap manifests as a yawning divide. In the four elementary schools east of St. Francis that received A's or a B last year, nearly half the student body is white and one-quarter receives free or reduced-price lunch. Move a few blocks west, and the narrative flips. Ninety-four percent of west-side D or F elementary school students are children of color. Ninety-five percent qualify for free or reduced-price lunch. The *CliffsNotes* version: If you are white or wealthy, you have a significantly better chance of receiving a quality public

La Plazuela restaurant at La Fonda Hotel in Santa Fe's affluent Plaza District. ALBERTO VACCARO/CC VIA FLICKR

education, here as elsewhere.

The story of Santa Fe has been referred to as a "tale of two cities." The folks living in neighborhoods like Downtown and Canyon Road are older, whiter and wealthier and have three times the median income of people living in many neighborhoods west of St. Francis. Neighborhood zoning means that students go to school near to where they live, but most families simply cannot afford to live near the good schools. And with median home prices in Santa Fe hitting record levels in 2018, occasions to "cross over" are scarcer than ever before. Add to this the fact that many families don't know about differences in school quality, and you get kiddos who pretty much stay where they are.

I think about this situation every day, as the secretaries at my school scramble to staff unfilled positions with substitutes and teacher's aides. I think about it while reviewing student data that tells the same story, standardized test after standardized test. I think about it while watching the kids play at recess, the Jemez Mountains providing a scenic backdrop. And I think about it when dealing with behaviors of the middle-schoolers who are old enough to realize they've been dealt a bad hand and are smart enough to be angry about it.

In 1607, New Mexico's second Spanish governor, Don Pedro de Peralta, founded a "new city" on Indigenous Tanoan land at the foot of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains. From that moment of christening, Santa Fe, or "Holy Faith," became a site for struggle, for subjugation, and for incredible resilience. The history here is present and ubiquitous. Many of my students carry the names of these early Spanish settlers: DeVargas and Baca, Chavez and Lujan and Salazar. Other students have relatives who attended the Santa Fe Indian School on Cerrillos Road during the Boarding School Era, when the school operated under the assimilative mission, "Kill the Indian, save the man." The story of Santa Fe and Santa Fe Public Schools, like everything, I suppose, is a story of power: who has it and who doesn't.

The tangled web of factors that influence school performance is matched by the complexity of statutes and directives that compose education policy in our country. In the last few months, New Mexico's new governor, Michelle Lujan Grisham, D, has initiated sweeping reforms to public school education, including replacement of the annual statewide assessment and changes to teacher evaluation processes. I am hopeful this enhanced commitment to public education at the highest levels of state government will empower and inspire administrators and educators to do whatever they can to correct the inequities. Time will tell. What I do know for sure are my students: They're smart, they're funny, they're full of potential, and they deserve so much more than a school that seems to limp by, directionless, from year to year.

So next time you visit Santa Fe, enjoy the splendid vistas, and go ahead and buy the boots. But then head west. Take a drive down Agua Fria, where students inevitably and intimately learn the ABCs of our state of education, starting with "A is for Address."

Shannon Whitney is an elementary educator in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Yodelers, goats, promotions and other surprises

As the last mounds of old snow melt in Gunnison, Colorado, home to our satellite office, spring is ushering in some exciting changes for *High Country News*.

In early April, we welcomed **Emily Benson** into her new role as associate editor for the "West-North desk," leading our coverage of Alaska, the Pacific Northwest and the Northern Rockies. Emily started working for *HCN* as an intern in 2017 and was promoted to assistant editor the following year. We're delighted that she's bringing her clear thinking and thorough reporting into this new leadership role. Following in her footsteps, **Carl Segerstrom** has been promoted to the desk's assistant editor. Carl also came through the internship program, in 2018, and has done excellent work covering public lands and policy and watchdogging the Department of the Interior. Both editors testify to the quality of the training program *HCN* has created for young and ambitious journalists. Congrats, Emily and Carl!

In other news, two members of our editorial department have been offered tremendous opportunities for professional development. Editor-in-Chief **Brian Calvert** was selected as a cohort for the 2019 Institute for Nonprofit News Emerging Leaders Council, which helps build business, strategy and leadership skills. And Digital Editor **Gretchen King** earned the 2019 Yale Publishing Course's Innovative Leader Scholarship and will attend courses there this summer.

We're also pleased to announce that the National Press Association's Thomas L. Stokes Award for Best Energy and Environment Writing went to **Daniel Glick** and **Jason Plautz**, for their *HCN* feature story, "When your neighborhood goes boom" (10/29/18). The judges praised the two writers for weaving "strong local reporting into a multimedia narrative."

The warmer weather has brought an assortment of unexpected visitors to our headquarters in Paonia, Colorado. A friendly goat named **Noodle** dropped by to say hello. Noodle, a triplet — his sisters are **Ladybug** and **Butterfly** — would have been the hooves-down most exciting guest, if not for the arrival of yodelers **Pecos Pete**, **Lassie Lou** and other members of the **Cowboy Corral** from the nearby town of Carbondale. The singers, who were in the area to perform at nursing homes and a surprise birthday party, gave us a delightful rendition of "Home on the Range." Thanks for the joyful distraction, Cowboy Corral!

Meanwhile, longtime subscriber **Tom Casadevall**, from Lakewood, Colorado, toured the office with his Michigan friend **Bill Rose**. Both are geologists, and Bill's visit convinced him to invest in a rock-solid digital subscription. Visiting from Boulder, Colorado, were **Cathleen** and **Jeremiah Osborne-Gowey**, and their children, **Jeremiah**, 9, and **Finn**, 12. This very gracious family moved to Colorado from Oklahoma, where Cathleen worked as a domestic violence counselor for the Eastern Shawnee Tribe. The couple started reading *HCN* 15 years ago and have been faithful subscribers ever since. Thank you all for your support!

—Jessica Kutz, for the staff

Halfway through his visit, Noodle retired to the back issue collection for a short nap.
LUNA ANNA ARCHEY/HIGH COUNTRY NEWS

A group of teenage boys roll a log across a clearing at the California State Redwood Park Civilian Conservation Corps camp in 1935.
BETTMANN ARCHIVE

Socialism? We've been here before.

NEWS COMMENTARY BY ADAM M. SOWARDS

The Green New Deal and its proponents aim to tackle the intertwined issues of social and environmental justice in our age of anthropogenic climate change. To accomplish this, they believe they must deploy the federal government, since it is the only institution large enough to coordinate and invest in the necessary policies. But the idea of expanding the role of government has attracted critics, who rail against socialism. To historians, this sounds familiar.

This is not the first time socialism, new deals and the environment have intersected. During the catastrophe of the Great Depression of the 1930s, the federal government similarly attempted to ameliorate social and environmental harms by investing in people and places through the New Deal. Then, as now, critics dismissed it as socialism.

The "socialist" sobriquet stokes ideological fires but douses historical understanding. One prominent example — Bob Marshall's argument for nationalizing forests during the 1930s — reveals how socialist solutions emerge from specific contexts and problems, not ideological bunkers. In Marshall's case, the dire state of private timberlands in the early 20th century prompted his call for reform. When massive problems develop, cross jurisdictional lines and are associated with market failures, big government responses can seem like the only possible solution.

By the early 20th century, hundreds of years of unregulated cutting had ravaged the nation's forests, and Americans faced a crisis that demanded intervention. "Rocks and mountains may be ageless, but men and society are emphatically of the present, and they cannot wait for the slow process of nature to retrieve the catastrophe caused by their unthinking destructiveness," wrote Marshall, a forester for federal agencies throughout his career, a co-founder of The Wilderness Society and the person for whom Montana's Bob Marshall Wilderness Area is named.

A massive evaluation of American forestry conducted by the Forest Service in 1932 both shaped and reflected Marshall's views. Appearing the next year, *A National Plan for American Forestry*, known as the Copeland Report, showed that private forests were failing. (The majority of the nation's timber came from privately held forests, just as it does today.) They burned more often, were not harvested to provide a "continual crop of timber," failed to protect watersheds and offered few recreational opportunities compared to public forests. They caused social problems, too, with lumber workers doing dangerous, transient jobs that resulted in mangled bodies and left hollowed-out towns behind. As Marshall saw it, "The private owner is thus responsible for almost every serious forest problem."

So, Marshall argued that American timberlands should be publicly owned. In 1933, four years into the Depression and during the first year of Franklin D. Roosevelt's presidency, Marshall published *The People's Forests*, his own radical extension of the Copeland Report, which advocated for public ownership of practically all commercial forests in America. He was writing amid an economic catastrophe mirrored in the nation's wild and rural landscapes, where bankrupted farmers, out-of-work loggers and drought-driven refugees were common, not unlike today.

Throughout *The People's Forests*, Marshall showed how private ownership, even when tempered by public regulation, fell short; only full public ownership could keep forests and communities healthy. He united a biological and social vision for forestry, one where human happiness and decent livelihoods might sprout from robust forests. In articulating that vision, he made his socialist case plain: "The fundamental advantage of public ownership of forests over private ownership is that in the former social welfare is substituted for private gain as the major objective of management." Much the way today's Green New Deal seeks to redress both economic and environmental impoverishment, Marshall sought to replace private profit with a broader public spiritedness that aimed for long-term stability, ending cut-and-run practices and ultimately strengthening communities.

Marshall's call for reforms reflected an accelerating trend of expanding public lands in the 1930s, when the federal government acquired millions of acres for national parks, national forests and wildlife refuges. Newly passed laws, like the Migratory Bird Hunting Stamp Act (1934) and the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act (1937), helped the government fund refuges, acquire property for conservation and bail out private owners who lived on wrecked lands. Starting around the same time and lasting until the 1950s, Forest Service administrators advocated for public regulation of logging on private land, principally citing concerns about declining timber production and the threat of fire on poorly managed parcels. Though ultimately unsuccessful, those efforts illustrated a push to establish stability amid unsettling crisis, a goal Marshall shared.

When capitalism stumbles badly, producing degraded lands and gaping inequalities, socialistic solutions rise in popularity, because their incentives are not tied to profits. Marshall's closing line argues for that perspective: "The time has come when we must discard the unsocial view that our woods are the lumbermen's and substitute the broader ideal that every acre of woodland in the country is rightly a part of the people's forests." Shouting "socialist" as an epithet is a tired strategy, a failure to reckon with specific contexts and problems, whether it's damaged timberlands in the 1930s or rising sea levels today. *The People's Forests* and the Green New Deal highlight the ways social and environmental harms are woven together, a reminder that real solutions require a mutual untangling, and that — despite American history and politics' suspicion of true socialism — government necessarily holds many of the threads. □

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THE BORDER

Whatever adjectives you might pick to describe the U.S.-Mexico border wall, reports the *HuffPost*, "readily stolen" is probably not one of them. Yet 15 to 20 people were arrested for stealing concertina wire installed at the Tijuana port of entry in 2018. The missing razor wire has now been located in Tijuana, where residents are using it to surround and safeguard their homes. And who were the thieves? The Mexican government said those arrested were mostly Mexicans, but one woman told the newspaper *El Sol de Tijuana* that the man selling the wire had "blue eyes, blond hair, and didn't speak Spanish well." On *The Daily Show*, Trevor Noah could not stop laughing, imagining Tijuana homeowners bragging, "I built a wall around my house, and Donald Trump paid for it!"

UTAH **Run your mouth *and* our oil.** PAUL BONY

THE WEST

We don't like to admit it, but when we hike, mountain bike or take ATVs into the backcountry, we're invading the homes of wild animals and causing them stress. Bruce S. Thompson, former education director of the Teton Science Schools, has been researching recreation's impacts on wildlife in the Yellowstone area. People think that because they don't see animals running away at their approach "there must not be impacts," reports *Mountain Journal*. However, "absence of evidence does not equate to absence of impact." Mountain bikers can travel farther faster, diminishing spaces where animals feel safe, and hikers with dogs "are also formidable wildlife disruptors," Thompson says. Habitat fragmentation caused by human use is a real danger for Greater Yellowstone, he adds, because once again "we are confronting the old tale of dwindling wilderness and natural systems."

WYOMING

In Wyoming, snowmobilers have unexpectedly "outpaced" backcountry skiers as the outdoor recreationists most likely to be killed in an avalanche, *Wyofile* reports. According to the avalanche center at Teton Village, records kept since 1877 show that 32 snowmobilers have died, compared to 26 backcountry skiers. Today's modern, high-powered snow machines come equipped with deep-snow paddles that allow riders to explore more dangerous terrain. But experts say fewer riders have adequate education about and understanding of avalanche dynamics, and the most vulnerable riders are "out-of-staters."

THE WEST

One of the more delicious April Fools' spoofs in the *Jackson Hole News & Guide* featured the amazing number of do-gooder groups that have sprung up in Teton County, claiming that so many have been created that "they exceed the number of actual human beings who live here." Yet Charity Warmheart, chief enlightenment officer of the Nonprofit Association of Nonprofit Associations, hoped that the rest of Wyoming understands that "we're (not) just rich, weird busybodies who spend our time hallucinating new problems that demand an organization to raise awareness, solicit cash, and invent programs to solve problems that don't exist. ..."

CALIFORNIA

Mark Zuckerberg of Facebook fame, who lives in a $10 million Tudor home in San Francisco, probably had no idea that the clothes he throws out occasionally end up on the back of someone who goes through his garbage. That someone is Jake Orta, 56, who lives three blocks and a world away in the Mission neighborhood. Orta, who thinks of himself as a "treasure hunter," told *The New York Times* that he regularly patrols the garbage cans of Zuckerberg and other 1 percenters, hoping to make $30 to $40 a night by selling his discoveries. "It just amazes me what people throw away," Orta said, showing off designer jeans, Nike running sneakers and a bicycle pump he'd just snagged. "You never know what you will find." Orta, raised in Texas with 11 siblings, spent more than 12 years in the Air Force, serving in the Middle East, Germany and other countries. When he came home, he found his wife had left him, and he struggled with alcoholism. Now 56, he qualifies for a program that assists chronically homeless veterans, and that support, plus what he calls his work as a "finder," keeps him afloat. His beat also includes dumpsters, where the first rule "is to make sure there's no raccoon or possum in there." This March, he found a box fill of sterling silver goblets, dishes and plates, "as if," the *Times* said, "someone had yanked a tablecloth from underneath a feast in some European chateau." He's also found lots of phones, three watches, iPads, and sand-covered bikes left over from the Burning Man festival in Nevada. Nick Mazzano, who publishes a magazine documenting the world of San Francisco trash pickers, says people like Orta help keep stuff out of landfills. It's also a form of entrepreneurship, he adds, because "it's the primary form of income for people who have no other income."

OREGON

In March, it took "multiple deputies" with guns drawn and K-9 backup on the way to subdue what turned out to be an overly conscientious robot. Shadows moving under a locked bathroom door had alarmed a resident, who called the Washington County Sheriff's Office. A sheriff's deputy revealed to NBC News the droll outcome: "We breached the bathroom door and encountered a very thorough vacuuming job being done by a Roomba Robotic Vacuum cleaner."

WEB EXTRA For more from Heard around the West, see **hcn.org**.

Tips and photos of Western oddities are appreciated and often shared in this column. Write betsym@hcn.org or tag photos #heardaroundthewest on Instagram.

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