



An oak grove in Southern California. The Indians used the acorns from such trees for their staple food, and made bread, mush, and soup from the flour extracted from the nut of the magnificent oak.

# The Weewish Tree

The oak grove shown above is in the Los Coyotes Reservation, originally a gateway to a famous Indian agricultural area. Here the Native peoples gathered acorns for their food.

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## OUR BELOVED LAND

***“I was born in the prairie where the wind  
blew free and there was nothing to break  
the light of the sun. I want no blood upon my  
land to stain the grass. I want it clear and  
pure, and I want it so that all who go through  
among my people may find peace when they  
come in, and leave it when they go out.”***

Spoken by *Ten Bears*, Comanche,  
at Medicine Lodge Creek, Southern  
Kansas, October, 1867.

## Today ●

(Continued from page 56)

Gerard was born in Browning, Montana, and was graduated from Montana State University with a B.A. in business administration, in 1949. His prior government service includes an assignment as legislative assistant and liaison officer in the office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He is an Air Force veteran and resides in Bowie, Maryland, with his wife and their five children.

*Navajos on the far-flung Navajo Reservation* have "65% unemployment, and 2,000 more Navajos enter the job market each year," said Peter MacDonald, newly elected tribal chairman, in ceremonies marking the inauguration of his administration, early in January, 1971. Continuing his estimate of conditions among the Diné, MacDonald reported:

"Our housing is almost universally inadequate . . . Water is scarce; many families are still hauling water many miles for their homes . . . Our infant mortality rate, our life expectancy, our state of malnutrition is among the worst in the nation." Outlining his goals for correction of the situation, MacDonald called upon the Tribe to "throw off the bonds of forced dependency," and outlined a program including these points: To accelerate and enlarge the housing program; to bring water to every community; to create a Navajo employment service and generate new jobs; to improve the system for delivering health services to the Navajo people, and finally, "We must begin to do for ourselves what others have been paid to do for us. We must do it better. We must do it in our own way." Speaking first in Navajo and then in English, the 42-year-old electrical engineer, a University of Oklahoma graduate, said that his position would be to insist that government agencies, including the Bureau of Indian Affairs, be made to fulfill promises given to Navajos, and institute a program of Navajo leadership administratively, in education, and in all areas affecting the life of the people.

MacDonald takes office after a bitter election campaign in which he ousted Raymond Nakai, who was tribal chairman for eight years.

## Books ●

(Continued from page 54)

I would suggest, has he gained any respect for them, as he refers to a "squaw," and "red woman." He describes the leader of the people as "Chief." I am reading *Textbooks and the American Indian*, where I see that "chief" has no meaning in the Native Ameri-

can's languages, yet in his story he has Indians talking of "Chief Running Skunk-Backwards," and "selling the entire Island of Manhattan for a few strings of Wampum." For many pages he has "Yogi" spending time with "A Little Indian," and "a big Indian," but never gives the two people any names. The two Indians speak supposedly broken English. As an example, "White chief have heap much sound ideas," (they were supposed to be Woodland Indians).

Hemingway writes of a "squaw" running about in the snow naked, because she likes it that way. The whole work, as regards the Native Americans, is, in my opinion, completely derogatory, and I felt it should receive your attention, so that something might be mentioned in a further work of *Textbooks and the American Indian*.

To adopt such an attitude as Hemingway appears to have done, in fiction or otherwise, is so wrong and misleading. It was the first book I have read by this author, and I was not at all impressed. I have read far better works with more correct information and value, by far lesser known authors than he.

Elaine Shiers, Middlesex, England

## Paviotso ●

(Continued from page 50)

- KELLY, ISABEL T. 1932. *Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute*. University of California publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology. 31:69-201.
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The authors of the report state, in their response, that there is a basic question of Indian-white communications . . . "two-way communications." The failure of such two-way communication is only the symptomatic result of a profoundly unjust condition. All energies should be devoted to making an end to injustice. The authors leave the impression, in their response, that it is *necessary* to work *within* the "bureaucratic" framework of modern society. Joining the Establishment has never helped the Indian. The Native will have to find his own methods of struggle to effect changes. To work within the frame of the present corrupt power structure is a gilt-edged guarantee for failure in changing the Indian situation. This is not to say that the power structure can be ignored. Indeed we work *with the fact* of its existence, but we succumb to it at our gravest peril.

One needs only examine certain other reports done by the same Harkins and Woods, to see what inestimable harm comes of such presumptive "expertise." In their "Summary and conclusions from, Indian Americans in St. Paul — an Interim Report" they say: ". . . the level of hostility towards whitemen appears to be lower among St. Paul Indians than among Minneapolis Indians. This tentative conclusion is inferred by qualitative observation of the St. Paul Indian scene by the writers." One is astonished at such temerity. How do you measure such qualitative observation? Whose is the point of view? This type of psychological approach does injustice to the Native American; it pretends to set up standards of judgment which are false from the start. Another comment in this Summary: "St. Paul Indians appear to be reasonably satisfied with neighborhood and community conditions." This conclusion may be challenged by *anyone*. But it appears as a scholarly observation, presumably bolstered by some seventh sense in judging the satisfactions or dissatisfactions of human beings.

In their sixty "or so" reports, the authors are presumed to be not merely Whitemen. They are *supposed to be scholars*. We do not hold with the idea that *only* Natives can provide scholarly works, and authentic information. There are some Natives whose work can probably be challenged. We *do* hold with the belief that without Native direction, objective and scholarly, the researcher is lost in a wilderness of cultural ignorance. We of the American Indian Historical Society have worked well and fruitfully with *all* scholars. We have had serious disagreements with some nonIndian scholars . . . openly and objectively. It is exactly with *these* scholars that we have developed the most rewarding relationships. At all times, we have exercised

our authority in our own affairs; proven our own expertise; and effected correction in many cases.

Still another example of the harm that can result from such subjective, inexpert reports, is one made on the Ojibway Indians of the north-central United States, by a student of Dr. Harkins. Jeffrey C. Moore, in an Article titled *The Image of Limited Good in Ojibway Society*, (Minnesota Academy of Science Journal, Vol. 36, #1, 1969), degrades and defames the Ojibway in his psychological analysis of their lifeway. He describes ". . . the hostility that exists between families and individuals holding the view that success or achievement can be gained only at someone else's expense," (page 41). He has completely missed the meaning of the Ojibway philosophy of living. He has degraded an entire people. Notwithstanding the use he has made of certain other "experts" (G. M. Foster, *Interpersonal Relations in Peasant Society*), and psychologist (W. Caudill, *Psychological Characteristics of Acculturated Wisconsin Ojibway Children*), his descriptions and analysis of Ojibway lifeways is from outside looking in . . . with *blinders* and out of *ignorance*.

The attempt to continue white supremacy in Indian affairs is best reflected in the Harkins proposal for an American Indian Cultural Center at University of Minnesota, in which among other things, it is grudgingly agreed that Indians should have two places on the directing board. There are so many things wrong with this proposal that it would be impossible to deal with it adequately in this Commentary.

Based on this writer's study of the work of Harkins and Woods, we challenge their scholarship and expertise as to Indian affairs. Their attitudes and approaches are subjective. Their conclusions, if implemented by action, would be disastrous to the development of Indian leadership, initiative, and the correction of current conditions.

Their Reports constitute one more hurdle for my people to overcome in their attempts to preserve their identity, to better their economic conditions, enlarge their scholarly horizons, and develop unity based on common objective, with care taken that these objectives are understood and agreed to *by the People themselves*.

I might say, there are more examples of unity among the Indian people, than either Harkins or Woods can see through the short-sightedness of their investigations. I can name hundreds of such cases. In essence, there is more to be learned from the occasions upon which my People have been *united*, than from the utter disunity and turmoil existing in American life today.

Rupert Costo

# COMMENTARY

The discussion concerning the Review of a report (*The Minneapolis Report*), appearing in this issue, is symptomatic of a serious condition existing in Indian affairs. The condition is not new. But it is revealing of the fact that nonIndians pre-empt the authority of Native peoples in native research, native investigation, native scholarly work . . . and in determining conclusions as a result of such investigation. What happens then is that these conclusions are judged by governmental agencies as sacrosanct, objective, and above challenge. Decisions are reached, policies are drawn, from such conclusions. Legislation is introduced and passed as a result of such reports. That these reports are tilted to the dominant class and its ideology is a judgment reached by anyone who cares to study the history of nonIndian involvement in the affairs of the Native. It is the exception, when reports of this type lead to anything beneficial or supportive of Indian needs or desires.

Some reports provide useful data, such as the Meriam Report in 1928, or the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs Report in 1969. But most reports are misleading, do not solve anything, and only increase nonIndian hegemony in Indian affairs. The Native is desperately trying to take the leadership over his own affairs, in every field of endeavor, including research, documentation, proposals for solutions, and in the academic disciplines. That serious preparation for such labors is needed, is not to be denied. What has been denied is the Native's authority, and the Native's increasing expertise.

*Why* is it so difficult for the nonIndian to accept the fact of Native expertise and authority in his own affairs?

When foundations consider the granting of funds for research projects, it is the nonIndian who is accepted, to research *Native* history, cultures, current affairs. When governmental agencies award contracts for such research in legislative proposals, research projects, or investigative programs, it is the *nonIndian* who is considered and takes over the project. It is a sad commentary upon what has been done to crush

Indian initiative and leadership, when we must admit that even some *Indians* have chosen to entrust their affairs in this field to others, on the specious basis that "It may be more acceptable to the dominant class, if *others* do it." This merely exalts the "Indian expert" and continues a condition guaranteed to keep the Indian in subjection intellectually, socially and economically. The Harkins Reports ("some sixty" by his own account), have not increased understanding of the Indian situation, nor have they led to correction of admittedly unjust conditions.

On the other hand, the Diana Bynum review voices valid objections to the Harkins report. There are serious criticisms of the Harkins report in the Bynum review. But some other, fundamental, criticisms should be added.

First, the authors are not qualified to analyze or even accurately describe the "style of Indian public spokespersonship," as they attempt to do in their report. Neither their scholastic background, nor their relationship with Indian life gives them such qualification. Their information is based on conversations with individuals, unsupported by evidence, subjective at best, and ignoring Indian philosophy and concepts at worst. According to a personal conversation between this writer and the two authors of the Reports, in San Francisco, a year or so ago, I asked Dr. Harkins: "Of what use is the research you are doing? Isn't it true that most of it is out of date and useless a month after publication?" He replied: "Unfortunately, this is true."

It is our conviction that more research by unqualified personnel is not needed. We believe the Indian has been researched into near-oblivion, and that the time has come to do something about it. We believe that the funds — so magnanimously given — should be directed to positive actions leading to the betterment of the Indian people, economically, socially, and intellectually. And we further believe, and shall insist, that no research or investigation be undertaken without Indian direction and leadership of the highest calibre and the most qualified personnel. Such personnel exists, without question.

have remained dormant. Often, we wonder why organizations with national responsibilities, such as the NCAI, AIU, or the BIA, have not yet undertaken the task of fact-gathering and information dissemination about contemporary Indians, especially urban Indians. We do not agree that the quest is fruitless, since we believe that any honest effort to illuminate the alternative pathways of Indian Americans in a rapidly-changing world has value, and since we have a fundamental faith in the adaptability of man. We are further encouraged by the extent to which the reports have been used by Indian organizations as evidence of the need for funding Indian social programs.

(13) Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the review is its avoidance of some parts of the report. Since it would be redundant to reproduce those portions here, the interested reader is again referred to the original. Especially pertinent are pages 18 through 29. It does seem appropriate to repeat one passage from the report:

"To the 'chiefing' Indian poverty professional or quasi-professional, who is actually conducting Indian projects in Minneapolis? All the 'wrong' people — whites building academic careers on the backs of Indian respondents, and duped Indian sell-outs playing patsies to some variant on white neo-colonialism. Who is perceived to legitimately conduct Indian urban research? No one — unless that research is engaged in by persons from whom no threat bodes in findings, or implications from "findings or in disagreement with a carefully structured tribal alienate/noble savage dualistic image of the Indian."

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## Anthropology ●

(Continued from page 18)

A workable approach to Native American Studies is effective only in an intellectual milieu which views North American Indian cultures as dynamic, pluralistic, and enduring. This statement points to the fact that many of the anthropological studies have not dealt efficiently with American Indian societies as they presently are in the areas of reservation and urban life. This stance essentially suggests that both anthropologists and Native Americans need to reassess their commitments, their analytical frames and their world views.

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### SECOND PRINTING

*The Right to be Indian* is now in its second printing. This important monograph by Dr. E. Schusky, a classic study, is being utilized in many college and university classes. Send for ordering information to The Indian Historian Press, 1451 Masonic Avenue, San Francisco, Ca. 94117.

Many of our readers have requested copies of **The Indian Historian** (Old Series), which is now out of print. These were published in mimeographed form from 1964 until 1967, when the New Series (printed) editions began to appear. In order to serve the many libraries and educational institutions that have asked for complete sets of **The Indian Historian**, the American Indian Historical Society, publishers, have contracted to have reprints made by Kraus Reprint Co., a worldwide organization specializing in this type of publishing. Inquires should be sent directly to the Kraus Reprint Co., Book Division, 16 East 46th Street, New York, N. Y. 10017.

has a right to hear what the Chiefs give as their reasons for their positions or conduct.”

For several years now, we have functioned as participant-observers in the growth and development of urban Indian programs, especially in Minneapolis, and our observations and experiences during that period of time have led us to formulate, among other things, the description of the *modus operandi* of the New Urban Chiefs contained in the report. Our observations and judgments about this phenomenon have been continually checked through close Indian associates (both militant and non-militant), and the influence of these informants has generally been to correct us as we moved toward the position taken in the report and away from a more naive, conventionally liberal stance. The possibility of quantification and measurement of the behavior of the New Urban Chiefs, — as suggested by the reviewer — is an intriguing one, and it would be interesting to hear of an appropriate methodology for measuring, say, the responses of the Chiefs to Indian programs as described in the report (such as indifference, the back-stage put-down, and the contrived role of the “battered Indian”). We are not aware of having prevented the Chiefs from explaining their positions or conduct; indeed, were they to present us with a clear statement on the matter, we would be tempted to ask their permission to publish it as a separate report. It may be, of course, that the *Indian Historian* would be viewed as a more appropriate medium for that purpose. In any event, we would welcome any substantive contribution by the New Urban Chiefs, especially if it shed some additional light upon their intentions.

The reviewer does not believe that the New Urban Chief functions as spokesman for the Indian community and interlocutor for the whites, but in case he does, the reviewer is convinced that he is powerless: I believe such power to lie on either side of him with the willingness of both sides to continue a highly destructive game.” While we disagree that the New Urban Chief is powerless, we agree that such a game is being played between Indians and whites, and we believe that one of its principal characteristics is an almost total lack of candor. Immeasurably damaging effects to Indian-white relations occur daily because, in part, certain persons on the “threshold” of intercultural contact in one way or another *profit* by continued maneuvering and manipulation. The process is two-way, and supports the personal needs of many white liberals and Indian politician-professionals, to cite only two kinds of participants. The structure and process of Indian-white relations is a matter we hope to explore in a forthcoming report.

(11) The report noted:

“In short, what urban Indian spokesmen in Minneapolis protest, what they do not like about white-dominated society, and what they propose *not to do* have become increasingly clear to Indians and non-Indians alike. What is unclear from the articulation and behavior of Indian spokesmen is what urban Indians propose *to do*, including the role models for men and women in urban society considered to be ‘Indian’ as well as the general posture of urban Indians on specific issues. What *is not* ‘the Indian way’ is clearer than what *is* ‘the Indian way’ . . . Without such models, immobilization of the Indian population is an understandable condition.”

Apparently, it was this passage which prompted the reviewer to observe:

“The writers say they have heard what is *not* about the Indian, and now they want to hear what *is*. I propose that the *is* is being defined now and can only exist when reports like the one under review cease to exist. The *is* can exist only when both sides attempt communication rather than slander — conscious or unconscious.”

First, if contemporary urban Indianness is now being defined in positive terms, as suggested, we believe that there are many interested scholars and others who would welcome a cogent description of that development, perhaps in the *Indian Historian's* pages. Second, we cannot believe the reviewer seriously thinks that an obscure mimeographed report — one of some sixty we have issued in limited numbers — could effectively block the development of urban Indianness (even if it *were* slanderous, which it is not). Third, we doubt that eradication of the report simply because the reviewer disagrees with it could contribute to a situation of facilitated communication between Indians and whites. Fourth, just how non-Indians can successfully initiate two-way communication that is candid — rather than the sort which perpetuates the Indian-white destructive game correctly identified by the reviewer — is difficult to imagine, when to do so prompts elaborate public and private attempts by some Indians to *discredit* the effect as being *immoral*.

(12) The review closes with an unintended compliment: “The Minneapolis scholars (Whites) [n.b.] have thus far presented such voluminous reports, that it is to be wondered at — where does the money come from and why is it being spent in such a fruitless quest?” The compliment arises from the fact that relatively little additional funding has been required to conduct the research we have pursued. Many of the reports emerged from information and data collected in the course of teaching and action research projects; we have had much assistance from Indian informants who frequently have seen to it that we received difficult-to-obtain material; we have been able to work effectively with Indian organizations having data banks; and, we have utilized to the fullest extent possible secondary data sources which otherwise probably would

quality of life in Minneapolis *does* mean something to poor people, since it serves to provide an ever-present and distinct contrast between their life circumstances and the conditions of life for most citizens.

(5) The reviewer notes “. . . the authors state that 13.9% of the population (sic) earns under \$3,000 per annum. Again, where is the Indian in this statistic? I found only a broad statement that, ‘Indians tend to inhabit the most deteriorated housing . . .’” The 1960 Census data which we cited referred to *family* income, and further subdivision by ethnicity was not available. Here, too, it would be useful to have more current and complete official data collection and reporting about Indian Americans. Besides pursuing the foot-noted reference (number 10) for the comment about Indian housing, the reviewer might wish to refer to several other reports in our series, one co-authored by an Indian, for sample survey data concerning Indian housing and income in Minneapolis. They are listed as references for this response. Having previously referred to “the Indian” as a member of “the poverty group”, the reviewer will not be surprised to note that these reports find the housing to be wretched and the incomes to be low.

(6) The reviewer finds our observation that “many members of the Indian community attach considerable importance to the well-being and development of Indian youth” to be “insensitive.” It seems to us that the comment, made as it is during an era with frequently abrasive and even hostile relations between generations, more reasonably could be taken as a compliment to the viability of Indian family life.

(7) The reviewer is distressed that we did not give equal weight (in terms of *numbers of pages*) to the views of “Indians who have formed effective groups”. Determining the effectiveness of a variety of Indian groups, while a very important matter, was a bit beyond our intended effort, since we were primarily interested in a style of public Indian spokespersonship. We did refer to the announced goals of some Indian groups, where these were generally available to the public. More detail about the intended purposes of Indian organizations in Minneapolis can be secured from the *Minnesota Indian Resources Directory, Second Edition*, a publication which our group is pleased to have produced with the cooperation of the Minnesota State Indian Affairs Commission, an Indian-controlled body. It is true that we did not solicit and report the views of those Indians operating programs of positive social action, but that was consistent with our basic observation that such persons are not often accorded the status of public spokesmen by the mass media and by the urban white middle-class “influen-

tials” who have provided much of the approval for public Indian spokespersonship; in fact, analysis of newspaper attention during the period covered by the report reveals an almost exclusive concentration upon the utterances and activities of the “New Urban Chiefs.”

(8) Regarding the chronology of American Indian Movement activities in the report (drawn in its entirety from newspaper accounts), the reviewer is “somehow . . . left not with an impression of the organization’s effectiveness or beliefs, but with some negative impressions . . .”, yet the reviewer draws the conclusion from the very same information that the American Indian Movement is “apparently a radical organization attempting to point out discrimination and racism *and doing this effectively*”. [emphasis is ours] A further complication is the reviewer’s observation that, “To be perfectly fair, I should say that the information on the AIM organization appears to be objective.” It is difficult for us to know how to be helpful with this particular “objection”.

(9) Noting the account of anti-poverty organizations in Minneapolis, the reviewer faults us for “. . . no lucid statement about how well the particular organization functions within the community.” As we have indicated, a careful assessment of organizational effectiveness would be a considerable undertaking requiring separate study, particularly in view of the diversity and number of anti-poverty organizations involved. We are not aware of any comprehensive evaluation of the functioning of anti-poverty organizations in Minneapolis, but we greatly admire the reviewer’s perception that such evaluations are needed, and we would suggest that an impartial, unbiased and complete evaluation by qualified professionals would be most instructive, especially if it contrasted Indian anti-poverty organizations with those anti-poverty organizations designed to serve all poor persons. Once again, the reviewer has correctly identified a huge need for more research about urban Indians.

(10) The reviewer provides a strangely abbreviated and rather misleading account of the discussion of the New Urban Chiefs in the report. Again, we believe that serious readers will need to refer to the original report. Having rejected the use of statistics in the early portions of the report, the reviewer now finds the description of the functioning of the New Urban Chiefs to be:

“. . . unsupported by facts, tables, statistics, or any other ‘hard’ facts. They are extremely general. It would appear to this reviewer, (sic) that if the charges made in the Report are true, let them be substantiated in some manner. The Report lets them be a matter of hearsay. Let the supposed reasons of the Chiefs’ activities and positions explained by the writers of the Report be given airing. The reader



# RESPONSE TO A NEGATIVE REVIEW

Arthur M. Harkins and Richard W. Woods

The review ("A Question of Discredited Research") which appears in the Summer, 1970 issue of *The Indian Historian* refers to our December, 1969 report, *The Social Programs and Political Styles of Minneapolis Indians: An Interim Report*. In several respects we believe the review to be erroneous and misleading; we also believe that genuine lack of comprehension may have occurred where additional comment from us may be useful; finally, we believe that the review serves as an opportunity to comment upon the quality of Indian-white communications.

Where the reviewer discovered three main themes to the report, we would suggest that poverty and the response to that difficulty by the most apparent urban Indian politician-spokesmen in Minneapolis was our focus. The *style* of articulation evident to the non-Indian population (through the mass media and public meetings in particular) was described, especially with respect to its impact upon presumably necessary changes, such as eradication of poverty and improvement of the intercultural situation. The fidelity of the reviewer's description of that portion of the report is inadequate, we believe, and we recommend to interested readers the original version.

The reviewer doubts the reliability of the information and the relevance of the report. There are specific objections which merit some comment:

(1) ". . . I would like to know what direct relationship the writers see between climate and Indian problems and social programs." Our purpose, as stated, was to describe in some detail the physical and social setting for urban Indian life in Minneapolis. We thought the consequences of climate would be obvious to anyone acquainted with the conditions of poverty. In particular, very severe winter temperatures in Minneapolis create needs for clothing, food and housing for Indians which are more crucial than they may be in parts of the country with a more even climate. One would hope such needs would form a substantial part of Indian social program policy and operation, since they are so very fundamental.

(2) "I would like to know specifically what four-fifths of the general population involved in non-manufacturing employment has to do with the Indian popu-

lation . . . I would like to know how many Indians are in that two per cent [unemployment rate for Minneapolis for August, 1969]." Unfortunately, employment and unemployment data by race are not yet available for Minneapolis from the Minnesota State Manpower Services Department, the official agency for such purposes. While the unemployment rate cited in the report was quite low, the job mix described (see footnote number 5) and mentioned by the reviewer indicates an overbalancing in the direction of non-manufacturing jobs, especially white-collar ones. Ordinarily, at least a high-school education is required for employment on these jobs, and there are indications that most Minneapolis Indian adults are not high school graduates. Therefore, we would *assume* that the unemployment rate for Indians is higher than average. To provide the kind of information the reviewer wants would require more research and social accounting for Indian Americans, not less, as implied in the opening remarks of the review.

(3) ". . . the Indian population was not given, and I doubt that the Indian population is very large . . ." For what it is worth, the 1969 Census revealed 2,077 Indians in Minneapolis proper, and we shall have to wait for release of the 1970 Census information for more current data. There is evidence of much in-migration of Indian people to Minneapolis (as we noted in the report), and *estimates* of the current population of Indians in Minneapolis run between 8,000 and 12,000. Once again, more regular social accounting for Indian Americans, not less, would be useful.

(4) "Several paragraphs are devoted to the cultural aspects of Minneapolis life, which I am sure mean very little to anyone in a poverty situation." To repeat, our purpose (as noted on page 1 of the report) was to describe the physical and social setting for urban Indian life. Since the reviewer finds this description to be irrelevant to poor people, we must suggest that it can mean one thing to be poor in a city with an obviously low quality of life, and it can mean something quite different to be poor in a city which offers its citizens numerous options and opportunities for the enjoyment of life which are linked to income. Thus, we are inclined to believe that the generally high

Indian militants; and one Indian center. The mention of these organizations leads to a discussion of alienated youth and "suggests many members of the Indian community attach considerable importance to the well-being and development of Indian youth." (Page 10, first paragraph.)

My reaction is that the quoted statement is an "of course" statement, and the insensitivity of the writers is obvious. This is followed by a medley of statistics: Of one hundred Indians interviewed (out of some mysterious total Indian population) fifty percent agreed to the statement that "Too many young people in the neighborhood get into trouble with sex and drinking." (Whatever that means.) The writers discuss Indians who have formed effective groups, in presenting Indian views. Yet these views are not mentioned (while 13 pages are later devoted to the negative opinions of "The Chiefs"). This indicates that nine organizations were whizzed over, and given no voice. The American Indian Movement (AIM) is mentioned. It is apparently a radical organization attempting to point out discrimination and racism and doing this effectively. However, again the writers become vague with figures and statistics. To be perfectly fair, I should say that the information on the AIM organization appears to be objective. Yet, somehow I am left not with an impression of the organization's effectiveness or beliefs, but with some negative impressions that the police and the chairman of AIM have a vendetta going which includes arresting the chairman for (1) assault, (2) robbery, (3) drunken driving (two charges), and (4) traffic violations. It is also left to be understood that the AIM organization is involved in a destructive feud with the UMAIC (another Indian organization) over the question of who controls the new Indian Center to be built in Model City. AIM, throughout the Report, is credited with attempting to disprove the credibility of the Minneapolis police.

The last part of the Report deals with "The Chiefs," and covers 13 pages. From what I can gather —

There are professionals and quasi-professionals. They tend to be found either in: a) poverty jobs where requirements have been lowered, or b) Chiefs who manipulate both Indian and nonIndians alike. Very little is said about (a). Thirteen pages are devoted to (b).

If we are to believe this Report, these Chiefs are damn powerful people. They all

- 1) Function only to preserve their own power and economic status.
- 2) Keep the alienated and wronged Indian alienated and wronged.
- 3) Keep the Whites misinformed.
- 4) Bait the social services with charges of insensitivity which offer no solutions.

Any charges by a chief, on any issue, organization, or situation, is made by that Chief for reasons of fearing to lose his position as spokesman for the Indian community or interlocutor for the White. Such statements as these are unsupported by facts, tables, statistics, or any other "hard" facts. They are extremely general. It would appear to this reviewer, that if the charges made in the Report are true, let them be substantiated in some manner. The Report lets them be a matter of hearsay. Let the supposed reasons of the Chiefs' activities and positions explained by the writers of the Report be given airing. The reader has a right to hear what the Chiefs give as their reasons for their positions or conduct. If there is a middleman, I do not believe the power is with him to destroy and manipulate, and maintain a destructive system. I believe such power to lie on either side of him with the willingness of both sides to continue a highly destructive game. The writers say they have heard what is *not* about the Indian, and now they want to hear what *is*. I propose that the *is* is being defined now and can only exist when Reports like the one under review cease to exist. The *is* can exist only when both attempt communication rather than slander — conscious or unconscious.

This reviewer feels that the Report is a misrepresentation of both White and Indian. I consider it narrow, ignorant and prejudiced. If there is indeed truth in this Report, I resent it being presented in such an off-hand manner that I must be overly skeptical and dismiss any validity existing. If this is an example of what is being done in research about the Native Americans, then I am both alarmed and discouraged. The Minneapolis scholars (Whites) have thus far presented such voluminous reports, that it is to be wondered at — where does the money come from and why is it being spent in such a fruitless quest? From this point as well, I am both alarmed and discouraged.

*The Indian Historian*, (Summer, 1970 issue) carried a Review dealing with a Report authored by two educators at University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. The Review was written by Diana Bynum, a Senior student at San Francisco State College. Miss Bynum is Oklahoma Cherokee, and did the Review as a class paper for her instructor, Professor Beatrice Medicine, Standing Rock Sioux. The student paper was graded "A" by the professor, and was considered of sufficient importance for publication in this periodical.

Professors Harkins and Woods, authors of the Report, have done many research documents and conducted many investigations concerning the Native Americans. Reaction to these Reports from the Native American scholars themselves has been deeply felt but largely unspoken, until Diana Bynum's review. It is

not to be wondered at that the Natives, who are gravely concerned about what is being said and written about the original people of this land, now stand up and "talk back" to both reporters and reports. It is to be expected that such challenges will appear more and more frequently, with greater and greater insistence.

That the two educators have requested the privilege of responding to Miss Bynum's review is a highly desirable reaction, and an encouragement to all scholars who feel that dialogue is needed before understanding can happen. The Editors are pleased to grant space for their response.

We publish in the following pages, the original Review written by Diana Bynum, and the Response to the Review, by Richard G. Woods and Arthur M. Harkins, authors of the controversial Report.

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## DISCREDITED RESEARCH By DIANA BYNUM

HARKINS, ARTHUR M. and RICHARD G. WOODS. *The Social Programs and Political Styles of Minneapolis Indians*, an Interim Report, December, 1969.

The number of reports now issuing from universities and governmental agencies is monumental. This is nothing new. Indians have been "reported on" and researched for four hundred years. However, this particular report is an example of the ideas being developed about Native Americans, and deserves a review of its own.

Although divided into seven sections in the table of contents, the report (I found), has three main themes. These could be described as:

- 1) Minneapolis: a great city to live in unless you are a poverty person.
- 2) Poverty organizations and their initials.
- 3) The Manipulators (so-called "chiefs").

The reliability of the information, and the relevance of the presentation of the report itself, is doubtful.

Beginning with the first section, dealing with the climate and industry of the city of Minneapolis: I would like to know what direct relationship the writers see between climate and Indian problems and social programs. I would like to know specifically what four-fifths of the general population involved in non-manufacturing employment has to do with the Indian population. For all I know, since the Indian population was not given, and I doubt that the Indian popu-

lation is very large, every Indian could be holding a manufacturing job. The writers state that unemployment is 2% of the population. I would like to know how many Indians are in that two percent. It could be that this 2% amounts to a rough figure of 25,000, and that Indians are like 20,000 — which makes it a pretty big unemployment figure for Indians. Of course, these are entirely hypothetical figures, but I think the point is well made. Several paragraphs are devoted to the cultural aspects of Minneapolis life, which I am sure mean very little to anyone in a poverty situation. Therefore, elaboration (such as mention of the well known Tyrone Guthrie Theater, etc.), is not necessary, unless the elaboration has to do with the reasons for culture having so little to do with the poverty group — specifically the Indian. The same is true of baseball, parks, lakes.

Following this section, the authors state that 13.9% of the population earns under \$3,000 per annum. Again, where is the Indian in this statistic? I found only a broad statement that, "Indians tend to inhabit the most deteriorated housing . . ." (page 4, last paragraph).

The second section of the Report consists primarily of lists of poverty organizations and their functions, including a great many comments about problems. There is no lucid statement about how well the particular organization functions within the community. The Report mentions three exclusively Indian organizations: two teen centers beset by administrative problems and

# Bahapki

By HENRY AZBILL

In 1960, on West Sacramento Avenue in the city of Chico, California, were a few weather beaten houses, a little church, and a small cemetery which marked the old Bidwell Rancheria.

Residents of the area called it "Indian Village," and it comprised a total of approximately eleven acres. The few families living there were all that remained of the once populous village. Most people called this place Mechoopda Indian Village. In truth Mechoopda was a Maidu *hulhuli* (village) about five miles southeast of Chico and three miles northeast of the town of Durham. The Mechoopdas had established summer camp on the south bank of *Chulamsewi* (Big Chico Creek, at about the location of Flume and First Streets). It was here that John Bidwell found them when he took possession of El Rancho del Arroyo Chico, originally a Spanish grant to William Dickey, which he bought in 1849.

Bidwell found the people to be friendly, and prevailed upon them to remain where they were, using them as laborers on his property. In those days Indians were not considered "people" by most of the incoming settlers to California, so they were used as targets, in most cases "just for the fun of it." To afford the people who worked for him some semblance of protection, Bidwell had them move to his side of the creek, about five hundred yards west from where he later built the present Bidwell mansion in 1868. In that year Bidwell married Anne Ellicott Kennedy, member of a prominent Washington, D. C. family.

With the coming of Mrs. Bidwell to Rancho Chico, Bidwell placed the village in her care. In the early '70's he had the village moved from the creek bank to the eleven-acre tract on West Sacramento Avenue. From that time, the village was known as Bidwell Rancheria, or Indian Village. The move took the village farther away from the Mansion and it was common belief that this was done because the wailing of the Indian people at the time of a death was more than Mrs. Bidwell could take. She herself said this was not

so, but that the village was moved to a spot where the people could have more land. In legal papers later, she designated it "Mechoopda subdivision of the Bidwell Rancho."

The people built a *Kum* (assembly house), and a new *hulhuli* began. The *Kum* is commonly called "dance house" because the *Kume* (Dance Society) of the Maidu people held their ceremonial dances there. Many white people called it "sweathouse." This particular dance house is said to have been the largest of its type in California. Because of the noticeable protection Bidwell was able to give to those Indian people living and working on his rancho, from harassment by unscrupulous whites, many people of other Indian groups asked for employment on the ranch, and residence in the village. Not many of them could be accommodated, but as many as Bidwell could afford to supplement his work force of Mechoopdas, were employed. Their residence in the village was never questioned, and they entered into the life of the community even to the extent of calling themselves "Mechoopda."

As a result of this situation, there were representatives from nine other Maidu villages. There were also Yana, Pit River, Nome Lacki, Wintu, and Wailacki representative peoples living and working on the Rancheria. In the early 1900's, the population of the Bidwell Rancheria numbered about two hundred. It was said to be the largest non-reservation Indian community in the United States, but it was not (to this author's knowledge) listed in any of the scholarly work done on the Maidu, since it was not an old site. But the older Maidu people called it *Bahapki*. In the Maidu Mechoopda dialect "bakhi" means to sift or separate. "Bahapki" — unsifted or mixed, is the meaning of the word designated by the Maidu for this later-day community. Thus, *Hulhuli 'm Bahapki* is an apt description of the residents of the Bidwell Rancheria, (Village of the "mixed" or "unsifted.")

Nothing now remains to mark the site of this village except the little cemetery, where most of the residents of the village are buried. Those of us who were born at Bahapki choose to call ourselves Mechoopda, though none of us are true Mechoopda Maidu. We call this burying ground "Mechoopda'm wononkodo." To the residents of the City of Chico, "Indian Cemetery."

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cipline of a dormitory. Its cost for the first year is \$178,000. Thirty-three young men now occupy the renovated Victorian mansion. After five months' operation, the Center has not yet placed one corpsman in a job. Paul J. Fasser Jr., manpower administrator for the U.S. Labor Department, in a speech dedicating the place, enunciated the Nixon administration's policy in these words:

"We want a people-oriented program directed to individual needs. If they need 24-hour discipline, we'll give it to them."

Some of the inhabitants of the center took a different view of the situation. "It's like prison," one corpsman complained. Another said, "When you need something they just put you off. And they never listen to you." Lee Diggs, who serves as director of the center, said, "We dress the kids right and teach them to walk soft."

*The Boston Indian Council*, formed by a group of Native Americans to help their people who live in the Greater Boston area, is now again publishing its *Newsletter*. Those who wish to subscribe may write to Boston Indian Council, 150 Tremont St., Boston, Mass. 02111. Their purposes are: To acquire an Indian Center in the Boston area; to provide programs to help the urban Indian maintain his self-identity; to assist Indians in finishing high school or its equivalent; to work closely with school officials in an attempt to alleviate difficulties facing Indian children in existing educational facilities; to provide help for Indians suffering from alcoholism; to assist Indians in finding employment or job training; and to provide shelter for those Indians new to the area for a limited time, in the event they have no place to stay, or if they cannot afford overnight accommodations.

Nationalization of land owned by the public utilities companies was proposed as a possible solution to the Indian problem of land acquisition and reclamation recently. The proposal was made by Mr. William Bennett, member of the California State Board of Equalization, in a speech directed mainly to Pit River Indians of California. The Pit Rivers are currently engaged in litigation to obtain their ancient lands, now being held by Pacific Gas and Electric Co. Nationalization, said Bennett, would make it possible for the Indians to demand their 3.4 million acres of Shasta County land from the government, rather than from the public utility company. Speaking at a meeting in Redding, California, the long-time foe of corporate power said, "Indians have a better chance of getting their land from the government than from PG&E."

*North American Indian Women's Association*, founded in the summer of 1970, recently held their first national seminar on the campus of Colorado State University, Fort Collins. Aims of the Association are: Betterment of home, family life and community; betterment of health and education; to promote intertribal communications; to promote awareness of Indian culture; and to promote fellowship among all people. Their next annual meeting has been set for June, 1971, in Oklahoma. President of the group is Mrs. James M. Cox, 3201 Shady Brook Dr., Midwest City, Oklahoma, 73110. Secretary-treasurer is Patricia Littlewolf, Box 5, Busby, Montana, 59016.

AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT (AIM) has proposed the founding of an experimental school, "to be run by an Indian school board and to have Indian teachers, to teach Indian identity, culture, languages, and heritage with math, science, etc., being secondary courses. English to be the second language (foreign language)."

The above is from a grant proposal now being circulated by AIM. The proposal description, 14 pages in length, may be obtained by writing to AIM, 1315 E. Franklin St., Minneapolis, Minn. It contains a Summary of U.S. Education vs. Indian Students; Excerpts from Laws and Treaties Pertaining to Indian Education; and Recommendations, which include the Proposal.

According to the Proposal, the City of Minneapolis is to establish the experimental school through its educational system. Emphasis is to be placed on vocational technical education starting at grade K. The school is to be open to all students who wish to attend, regardless of race, but preference is to be given to Indian students. Boarding schools should be phased out, and be replaced by reservation day schools. More attention should be given to the development of arts and crafts as part of the educational system. A money subsidy, where needed, should be provided for students planning to enter college, who go to special summer sessions. The summer sessions are to be encouraged.

Forrest J. Gerard, Blackfeet of Montana, has been appointed to the professional staff of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Among Gerard's duties, according to Senator Henry M. Jackson, chairman of the Committee, will be to "assist in developing new policies and legislative measures designed to serve the needs and interests of the Nation's Indian people." Jackson intends to launch a "far-reaching review of the Indian programs during the 92nd Congress," according to his press release, with the objective of establishing "a new Congressional Indian policy."

(Continued on page 66)

# Native America Today

TRIBE, INC., an Indian educational corporation which has developed the Mount Desert Island Learning Center at Bar Harbor, Maine, has established the Eleanor Kenny Memorial Library Fund, in honor of the woman who was both a national figure and long-time resident of Mount Desert Island. The money will be used to purchase library materials and supplies for the Indian-administered learning program now being developed by TRIBE, (Teaching and Research in Bicultural Education). The organization was founded by the Abnaki Indian nations of Maine, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.

A coalition of eight Indian organizations in the Denver, Colorado area has resulted in the funding of a new Indian Center at 2210 Sixteenth Avenue, Denver. The coalition has adopted the title of "Denver Native Americans United" and is composed of the following member organizations: Calvary Indian Church, Denver Indian Dance Society, American Indian Recreation & Educational Activities, Inc., Call of the Council Drums, DeSmet Indian Center, Indians for National Liberation, and Native American Student Organization. The two-story building contains a recreation room, conference rooms, a ballroom and 1300-seat theater for cultural and theatrical performances and national conferences. Director is Mr. S. B. Archiquette, Oneida.

Montana's 5,300-member Crow Indian Tribe have consummated an agreement with three new State-chartered banks. The Crows plan to take equity positions of approximately 20 percent, somewhat more than \$100,000 in each bank. The three banks are Western State Bank and Western Bank, both of Billings, and Western Bank of Bozeman, Montana.

The banks will hire Indian officer trainees, and the Crows will have the right to nominate a tribal member to each board of directors. Three Crow Indians, all under 25, have been selected to participate in a comprehensive training program: Kenneth Old Coyote, Clayton Old Elk, and Philip Beaumont. They

will receive basic operational training for six months to a year before starting their training as loan officers. The Crows hope, eventually, to form their own financial institution.

The much-touted Women's Lib movement was caught in a historic lie and falsification of Indian history by Rosalie Nichols, member of this editorial board. The July, 1970 issue of this group's journal "Comix," published a picture story which contained Indian subject matter. One caption states: "The Indians rode up and grabbed the baby. What they did to it is best not pictured." A picture is also shown of a "brave pioneer" being *shot in the back by an arrow*, naturally from an Indian bow. Said Miss Nichols, in a letter of protest to the women's group: "I think you owe an apology to Native Americans and to women, for making the motto of Women's Liberation: 'We are oppressors too!'"

Grass roots Indians are being "strangled by bureaucratic red tape and people move mountains for their own glory," said Alfred Elgin, director of the Intertribal Friendship House at Oakland, California early in January, as he addressed the third annual meeting of the Inter-Tribal Council of California in Sacramento.

Two hundred guests had gathered at a lavish banquet to celebrate three years of the ITC's existence. Elgin, who followed Bureau of Indian Affairs Commissioner Louis R. Bruce and his aide, Ernie Stevens, said, "I challenge the BIA Commissioner and Stevens. You say you want to do something, then let's get down and do it!" In his remarks, which fell on the group like a thunderbolt, he rebuked the ITC for the lavish affair, for which he said thousands of dollars were spent while Indians "are suffering."

A new Federal Job Corps residence center, recently dedicated in San Francisco, is said to represent the Nixon administration's philosophy in vocational rehabilitation for young "unemployables." The center combines on-the-job training in private businesses with the dis-

photographs of Indian land and people, so many indeed, that the book is really a picture-story of these tribes. Introduction by John Stevens, Governor of the Passamaquoddy Tribe, and a second foreword by Andrew Nicholas, Jr., executive director, Union of New Brunswick Indians. The tone of the book may be seen from the introduction by Governor Stevens, who says: "President Nixon has shown little sympathy toward any minority group, much less the Indians. He is more concerned with honoring our commitments overseas than honoring commitments to his citizens at home. To the American Indian these commitments are legally binding treaties, solemnly made between honorable men of both races . . ."

In a small book such as this, information is necessarily bare-bone. We are taken from a description of some history, to the present day situation of the Indians of the "Four Directions." This is a good book, and can well be utilized as an introductory to a more comprehensive study of these peoples.

THE MIAMI INDIANS, Bert Anson, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman. 329 pp., illus. 1970.

Mr. Anson teaches history at Ball State University, Muncie, Indiana, and holds a Ph.D. degree from Indian University. The book, as its title implies, is a history of the Miamis, sometimes known as "People of the Peninsula." Contains considerable information from documents, books, reports, and articles. (Current history from the Bureau of Indian Affairs.) Practically no contact is shown in the author's sources from among the people themselves. Probably the only comprehensive book to date on the people known as the Miami. Can be recommended as a resource book, with reservations concerning the information and description of current life.

THE ORDEAL OF RUNNING STANDING, Thomas Fall. McCall Pub. Co., N. Y. 312 pp. 1970.

This is a novel of early 20th century life about a Kiowa named "Running Standing." It tells of the "dilemma" of two young Indians caught between two worlds. The novel is somewhat less strained and "precious" than most novels written by nonIndians about Indians.

THE ENDURING NAVAJO, Laura Gilpin. Published with the assistance of the Dan Danciger Publication Fund. 263 pp., illus. 1970.

Written with the help of some individual Navajo people, contains many excellent photographs, some in color. Map of Navajo tribal parks and Navajo country. Deals with Navajo beliefs. Describes sheep raising and farming, as well as the crafts such as weaving, silversmithing, pottery making and basket-making. Tribal government is also described, and re-

cent tribal leaders are listed. A brief chronology of Navajo events is given.

The value of this book is almost entirely in the photographs, which are excellent; the book as a whole is extremely well done technically. Information is pedestrian and can be acquired from a number of more scholarly books. Miss Gilpin clings to the good, old-fashioned, safe, middle of the road point of view. Thus, in her short description of the painters who are Navajo, she deals entirely with those connected with the Bureau of Indian Affairs school at Santa Fe, and the class of artists developed under the tutelage of Dorothy Dunn, whose influence actually restricted the creative talents of the students, in the end. No mention is made of R. C. Gorman, one of the outstanding and distinguished among the Navajo artists. Others are ignored as well. This part, at least, of the book, is worthless for understanding of the Navajo painters. Other sections skim the surface of Navajo affairs, history, and culture.

It is very good to know that the Navajo people, through Rough Rock Demonstration School, are now beginning to write their own books. Now, it is to be hoped that such foundations as the Dan Danciger Publication Fund will see fit to fund the Navajos themselves in the production of such a slick, expensive, beautiful book as this one is. Without question the materials would be more basic, more independently handled, and more informative.

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Editorial Note: The following review comes to us from England by way of a letter.

I wish to bring to your notice a book by Ernest Hemingway: *The Torrents of Spring*. Although this book is no longer being printed, it is in circulation still, and remains in many libraries throughout the world. While it is only fiction and not historical, with the risk of being used in schools for teaching, it nonetheless does much to set the Native American aside as something lesser than a human being.

To say that Hemingway does them an injustice is an understatement. He would have them with lesser intelligence, emotional and physical feelings, than other people; to mention a portion of the book. If this can disgust me as an English woman, it most certainly would you. He makes no bones in saying the Native Americans are an inferior race. I quote a sentence from a paragraph "After all, the white race might not always be supreme." He says, before starting the story itself that "12 years had been spent studying various Indian dialects of the North." It seems he has not learnt much about the character of the people, neither

(Continued on page 66)

Marlene Castellano, Lionel deMontigny, and Ernest Benedict. These Native writers have put together an important little book, in an effort to develop some understanding of the situation in Canada today. Most interesting and important is the text of the famous *Red Paper*, presented to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau in June, 1970. Titled "Citizens Plus" it forms a good part of the first section of the book, and bears careful study. Each of the authors has chosen a subject of which he has accurate knowledge. It is a book of considerable value and can be utilized in classroom work and by individuals as well, to gain a clearer understanding of the complex Canadian Indian situation today. The editor, Waubageshig (Indian name) is also Dr. Harvey McCue, an Ojibway from Snake Island of the Georgiana Island Reserve in Lake Simcoe, Ontario. This is a book filled with angry, passionate protest. It is also a book without which one cannot have a clear understanding of Canadian Indian affairs.

MEANING AND STRUCTURE OF LANGUAGE,  
Wallace L. Chafe, Univ. of Chicago Press, 352 pp.,  
1970.

With the resurgence of interest in the study of Indian languages, and the opening of classes in several parts of the country for the study of Native tongues, this book becomes one of particular importance. Educated in linguistics at Yale, when Bernard Bloch influenced that discipline on the structuralist model, Dr. Chafe later studied the Syntactic Structures methodology, and his book explores theoretical linguistics from the vantage point of his exposure to both systems of thought. A technical book, of great significance in the study of linguistics, it is bound to introduce a new element in the discussion of that study. The reviewer feels inadequate in producing the kind of discussion of Dr. Chafe's work that it most certainly deserves.

Consequently, assignment for review of *Meaning and Structure of Language* has been accepted by Dr. William Shipley, anthropology professor in linguistics at University of California, Santa Cruz. We are sure he will present a scholarly and thought-provoking review of Dr. Chafe's most important work. Meanwhile, we don't see how any library could well be complete without this book.

HENRY WANSEY AND HIS AMERICAN JOURNAL: 1794. David John Jeremy, ed., American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. 186 pp. 1970.

Henry Wansey was the son of an English clothier. Born in 1751 into the new industrialist-capitalist class, he received a practical education, and became a woolen manufacturer, with investment interests in America, trading in the American textile industry towards the end of the century. He was, according to the bio-

graphical introduction, vastly attracted to the potentialities of investing in American "real estate," and traveled to America in 1794 for business purposes as well as for personal interest. Wansey kept a diary during his travels, and it is from this diary that one may receive some idea of the flavor of the times as it was expressed by a member of the mercantile class whose main contacts were with the mercantile class of the new American nation.

His comments on the Indians of the Eastern Seaboard are revealing of the opinions held by these merchants in those days. Here and there, some descriptive paragraph emerges which throws light upon how the Indian people lived after the American revolution, how they looked and dressed, and what the new American and British entrepreneur thought of the Native. Briefly, this class thought of the Indian as indolent, shiftless, lazy, avoiding work . . . but most interesting and even handsome in some cases. References are made to the words of "an Indian warrior . . . who . . . remarked on the want of good judgment among the white people, in having their bed-rooms piled on the top of the others; walking upwards is so unnatural . . ." (P. 80.) Reference is also made to the Indians' activity to control the sale of liquors, and the conferences held on that subject during the last part of the century. (P. 117.)

A most interesting quotation is contained in the book (page 145) from David Ramsay's address "to the Americans," written by Benjamin Rush. He states, in his address, that the Americans ought to "Let the hapless African sleep undisturbed on his native shore, and give over wishing for the extermination of the ancient proprietors of this land. Universal justice is universal interest. The most enlarged happiness of one people by no means required the degradation or destruction of another." The "Citizens of the United States" are exhorted "Instead of invading their rights, promote their happiness, and give them no reason to curse the folly of their fathers, who suffered yours to sit down on a soil which the common Parent of us both had previously assigned to them . . ." While such interesting quotations are scarce, and descriptions of the Native peoples few, the book is done in the usual fine taste of this eminent Society, and deserves a place in the library.

LAND OF THE FOUR DIRECTIONS, Frederick John Pratson, Chatham Press, Inc., Greenwich, Conn. 129 pp., illus. 1970.

A documentary "experience" concerning the Passamaquoddy, Maliseet and Micmac tribes of Maine and New Brunswick, this book was written by a photographer-free lance writer. There are many excellent



in this book, but it is with mixed reactions that one may read it. For, the author admits on the one hand that "only today are we beginning to appreciate the scale, the complexity, the host of accomplishments, and the long cultural evolution which marked the great cultures of the Americas:" and on the other hand he states that the coastal Indians were "troublesome," (p. 344), and that "Immigrant Indians slaughtered the bison," (p. 349).

Only one approach is left to this reviewer in estimating the authenticity and objectivity of *The Indians of Texas*. The author has not been capable of leaving his class affiliations, or racial affiliations behind. He writes from the viewpoint of the dominant class. Let no one underestimate, however, the value of the information he has put together from many sources. He just forgot, or didn't think it necessary, or believed, there were no more Native peoples alive in this region, by which he could have put more substance into this work. The Native still lives in this region, and there are many who have the ancient memory of their lost culture closely held in their hearts and minds.

THERE IS MY PEOPLE SLEEPING, Sarain Stump, Gray's Publishing Ltd., Sidney, British Columbia, Canada.

This extraordinarily beautiful book was written and illustrated by a Shoshone-Cree-Salish 25-year old now living in Canada. He calls it "Ethnic Poem-Drawings," and the publishers have handled his work with infinite care and sensitivity. Even his introductory letter to the publishers has been cherished and placed in the book as an Introduction.

*There Is My People Sleeping* takes its title from one poem. It goes like this: "And there is my people sleeping / Since a long time / But aren't just Dreams / The old cars without engine / Parking in front of the house / Or angry words ordering peace of mind / Or who steals from you for your good / And doesn't wanna remember what he owes you . . ." There is a very special flavor to Sarain's work, a gentleness and care with words and lines, even though he is a self-taught artist.

The book has been adopted for school use in many Canadian schools. Murray Adaskin, composer in residence at Saskatoon, has been commissioned to write an original piece of music which will be dedicated to Sarain Stump and his beautiful book, in March, on a coast to coast broadcast. Sarain Stump was one of the first subscribers to *The Indian Historian*.

INDIANS AND OTHER AMERICANS: TWO WAYS OF LIFE MEET. Harold E. Fey and D'Arcy McNickle. (Revised edition.) Harper & Row, N. Y., 274 pp., 1970.

Originally published in hardback edition in 1959, this book is now re-issued by the publishers to satisfy the increasing demand for accurate information about the Native Americans. The "revisions" exist in the new introduction, in the updating of some information, and in the last chapters of the book, in which some new information is also found. It still remains, despite the revisions, a bird's eye view of the American Indian, his problems, the problems of the Europeans who took his land, and the historical background of this nation's beginnings as it met the Native cultures.

At a time when authentic and accurate information was scarce, this little book filled a great need. Today, it seems inadequate: accurate still, but inadequate. The authors have a keen grasp upon Indian affairs. One may disagree with their interpretation of some aspects of Native history — such as the role of John Collier, a former commissioner of Indian Affairs. But one must respect their approach, which is useful in studying the complexities of Indian affairs today.

BUFFALO MAN AND GOLDEN EAGLE, Sigrid Heuck, author-illustrator. McCall Pub. Co., N. Y. 24 pp. 1970.

This is a small book, prepared for use as a primary reader. It tells the story of an Indian, named Golden Eagle (naturally), and a cowboy friend, named Buffalo Man (naturally). Their friendship turns a little sour when both men go searching for a beautiful horse, which both men claim as theirs. However, all ends happily when together they devise a scheme which makes possible the capture of the horse, and live happily ever after, taking turns riding the horse.

Illustrations for the book are dreadful. The coarse reds and harsh blues distort any meaning to be acquired from the pictures. One supposes this type of art may be described as "primitive," but it is in reality just plain bad.

The story itself is the sort of pabulum fed to youngsters as attempts are made to introduce some sort of understanding about human relationships, and specifically relationships between the Native peoples of this land and the European strangers. The Indian, all gussied up in buckskin and feathers; and the cowboy, all rigged out in boots and cowboy hat, are alike ludicrous, and completely unbelievable as human beings.

THE ONLY GOOD INDIAN, Essays by Canadian Indians, Waubageshig, ed. New Press, Toronto, Chicago, 188 pp.

This is a collection of essays of various types: poems, statements, articles on current affairs. The editor is director of Indian-Eskimo studies, at Trent University. Among the writers are Duke Redbird, Andrew Nicholas,

# Books

AMERICAN INDIAN POETRY, An Anthology of Songs and Chants. George W. Cronyn, ed., Liveright, N. Y., 360 pp. 1970.

Originally published in 1918 under the title, *Path on the Rainbow*, this book has now been re-issued by Liveright's new owners. It is a compilation of poems, songs and chants from such sources as *Poetry, a Magazine of Verse*, Scribner's, *Sunset Magazine*, *Others Magazine*, McClure's, *The Forum*, and *Everybody's*. Other sources include works reprinted from the *Journal of American Folk Lore*, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, and publications of the *American Ethnological Society*.

This is a book of poetry, as nonIndians have written the poems and chants. Such scholars as J. P. Harrington, H. H. Schoolcraft, and J. R. Swanton, are represented in this volume through their translations of Native chants and poems. Harriet Maxwell Converse is represented here too, as is Mary Austin, James Mooney, D. G. Brinton, and Alice Fletcher. The book is divided into sections dealing with: Songs from the Eastern Woodlands, Songs from the Southeast, Songs from the Great Plains, the Southwest, California, the Northwest Coast, and the Far North. Constance Lindsay Skinner has ten "Interpretations." Several other authors have contributed their own "interpretations" of what Indian poetry seeks to say.

The book is actually *about* Indian poetry and chants, and translations into English (an entirely different medium) from some native languages. It leaves much to be desired, but its value exists in the historical development of Indian poetry as seen by the nonIndian and as represented in this book, in comparison with the poetry and songs of the Native, as these are now emerging in current publishing by Indian editors, and Indian publishers.

PAHA SAPA (THE BLACK HILLS), R. H. Abbott, privately printed through Appalachian Press, Lee, Mass., 165 pp. 1970.

This is a novel written by a young man who spent two years of his 28-year life among the South Dakota Sioux people. Keenly interested and saddened by the conditions of the people, he has tried to put into fictional form what their true situation is and how he feels about it. The writing is pedestrian, the story line slim and uninteresting, but this young author gets

"A" for effort and interest. Printed in a mere 300 copies, the author certainly felt his subject keenly, or he would not have gone to the expense and trouble of producing a relatively mediocre book.

THE INDIANS OF TEXAS, W. W. Newcomb, Jr., University of Texas Press, Austin, 404 pp. 1969. Illus., maps.

W. W. Newcomb, Jr. is an anthropologist with more than one reason for having written this book, he states in his introduction. It is a "first attempt" to put together some fundamental facts about the Native peoples of Texas. "It is not a product of original research; it is a synthesis from many sources, including many modern authorities," he states. For another reason, he explains that it is necessary to understand tribes and nations far removed "from ourselves" in order to gain perspective and objectivity in "evaluating ourselves and our age."

Dr. Newcomb then adds these words: "To some it may seem odd, even grotesque, that a knowledge of savage Karankawas or bloodthirsty Comanches can be of help in this respect." Thus, the author has chosen what is generally known as a "comparative approach" in his history of the Indians of Texas, and the comparisons are not generally truthful as regards the Native peoples of this great region. The term "savages" immediately disqualifies this author as an objective scholar, and the term is freely utilized in the book as descriptive of one tribe or another.

One of these days, we have to ask: What or who is a savage? This too can be done on a "comparative" scale, for example in comparison with the individuals responsible for My Lai.

A discussion of earliest known regional history is interesting, but no effort is here made to authenticate the author's statements. Suffice it to say that Texas contains some of the most ancient evidences of Native habitation on the continent, dating back some 37,000 years in one instance, according to Newcomb. This region is the home of the Llana culture, the Plainview, and Midland cultures, found so often in archaeological literature. It seems difficult to understand, then, how this state can have acquired the reputation of racism against the Natives, which it now notoriously holds. Considerable information has been gathered together

a sweat bath to proclaim her ability to take part in camp life without fear of contaminating the men. These five day confinements were continued for the rest of her child bearing years.

For the boy, introduction to manhood began with his first game kill. When the boy returned home with the game, his father performed the purification rites to enable him to eat his own kill. The boy was first made to run around the house five times. Then the father dipped a branch of sagebrush into water and brushed the boy over, all the while instructing the boy about being a good hunter. He was then able, for the first time to eat the meat he brought home and from that period on the boy was considered a man.

All aspects of child rearing from pregnancy to purification rites are seen as directed toward the major value of productivity. During pregnancy a woman continues to gather food for her family since activity in itself assured an active well baby. The building of a special birth hut was not necessary if a woman delivered in her home. Time was not wasted in house building. Men were excluded from births which allowed them to hunt for food. A woman's post partum confinement under the care of an older woman was the only indication of interrupted productivity. The confinement seems to have served a purpose by keeping the mother near the infant during its most feeble time as well as providing her with some time to recuperate from the birth process strengthening her for future pregnancies.

The use of the hoop in a semi-nomadic pedestrian band was almost a necessity. A woman need not leave her infant for long periods of time also it allowed her free movement for gathering goods for her household. Once an infant was walking, the mother would have to spend all her time chasing the toddler, so the toddler was left in the camp with an older person to watch over him as well as start the weaning process. This gave the older camp members a useful job when they were no longer able to fulfill their adult functions with as great endurance as previously. Life in the camp site from toddlerhood on also meant that the child was able to observe handicrafts and join in the processing of food. To be productive and useful was considered "a good thing" and children learned this early.

The purification rites again stressed productivity and proof of this was necessary to be considered an adult. For both boys and girls, the end of childhood came abruptly. It was marked by a purification ceremony signifying the successful completion of an adult task. The girl had demonstrated her ability to conceive through menarche, while the boy had indicated his

ability to provide food for the family. In both cases the emphasis was placed upon productivity and responsibility toward other members of the group. Full participation in all adult activities was now expected of them, including marriage.

All other beliefs and values such as cooperation, generosity, and industriousness stemmed from the focal value of productivity since all were as relating in some way to greater production. Leniency in attitudes toward children in developmental skills also fed into the central pattern since children learn by example, and each person must learn in his own way and at his own time that without the group the individual could not survive. Teasing and shaming were more effective than physical punishment since the esteem of the group was more highly valued than individualism.

### NOTES

1. The term Paviotso is used here to differentiate the western Nevada bands from the Northern Paiute groups of California and Oregon, since Park (1941:182) stated that the Paviotso felt themselves to be an independent cultural and political unit from the Surprise and Owens valley Paiute. Stewart (1966:193) stated that "there is some justification for the identification of the Paviotso of central Nevada as a slightly distinctive group from the Owens Valley Northern Paiute or the Oregon Northern Paiute."

2. This paper is based upon field work among the Pyramid Lake Paiute during 1967-1968 and was supported by the United States Public Health Service Grant Number TI NU 5001 under the direction of the Boston University Graduate School. The data is based upon work with seven informants (see Brink 1969) rather than a compilation from the literature.

3. Literature on aboriginal Northern Paiute child training patterns is found in ethnographies by Kelly (1932), Stewart (1933) and Riddell (1960), as well as Whiting's (1950) monograph on sorcery. Sources of information specifically relating to the Paviotso include Lowie (1924), Stewart (1938) Stewart (1941), Hopkin (1883), Scott (1966), Harner (1965), Woodruff (1939) and Donaldson (1964). The works by Underhill (1941) and Forde (1963) include some data on Northern Paiute child training, but these works were based on the previously mentioned monographs by Kelly (1932) and Stewart (1933).

4. The Paiute terms used here are written phonetically and follow the transcription method of Gleason (1961).

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(Continued on page 66)

Informant accounts vary slightly on the mourning process, but all agreed that the women did not wash their faces for one year. Women cut their hair short and cried daily for short periods of time. Some informants stated that the men cut their hair as well. Others mentioned the smearing of pine pitch on the face to indicate mourning. A death was always recognized by the loud wailing cries of the mourners. These cries continued until interment.

Childhood extended from approximately two to twelve years of age or from the toddler stage of walking and talking to the purification rites which signified that the boy or girl had achieved adulthood.

Once the child was walking by himself and spoke sufficiently to signify his needs, he was begun on toilet training. Young children wore no clothing and so were allowed to urinate or defecate wherever they happened to be. They were "talked to" and told that the house was not the proper place for excrement. Toilet training was taught by example, with the adult or older child leading the toddler to the area away from the house and was shown what to do. Informants were very vague about toilet training practices. Eventually the child learned, and that was that. The child was not punished for soiling in the house.

Weaning was also a gradual process. Although adult foods were introduced early the breast was continued as a pacifier. Weaning was begun when the child was taken from the hoop and left at the camp site in the care of the elderly adults. If another child were born before the infant was weaned, then weaning was abrupt. Otherwise the youngest child might still be given the breast at the age of five. No bitter substances were put on the nipple to discourage weaning, nor was the child sent away from the mother. However, as the child grew beyond the nursing stage, he could be teased into discontinuing nursing.

The child was taught by example. He was allowed to participate in adult activities, if only as an observer. Children accompanied adults wherever they went whether to a curing, a burial, a rabbit drive, pine nut gathering or to a dance. If the activity occurred during the night, the child slept wherever he happened to be. There were no set times or schedules for eating and sleeping which the child had to follow. A child slept when tired and ate when hungry.

Once past the toddler stage, girls began to accompany their mothers wherever they went. By the age of five, little girls had small burden baskets of their own and were helping to gather berries, seeds and grasses. At the same age, boys could either accompany their mothers on gathering trips or remained at the campsite with the older men learning to use the small

bows and arrows and other hunting equipment made for them. By the age of eight or nine, boys were hunting small game such as rabbits and by ten or eleven were allowed to accompany their fathers and older brothers on game hunts.

Instruction on proper behavior, moral training, and legends of the tribe were generally given by the grandparents. Punishment was verbal, the child was allowed to experiment with his world, to test it, and to discover its dangers for himself. If a child wished to help, he was shown what to do. If the task were done poorly, the adult might do the job over again, or accept the job as what the child was able to do. There was no coercion to "do the job right" but rather a waiting for the child to develop at his own pace.

The major admonishment given to children was "don't be lazy." No one wanted to marry a lazy person. An industrious person was held up as an example to be admired. Honesty and generosity were also held as virtues to be admired. Aggressive behavior and competitiveness were not considered part of the Paiute way.

The training of the child was based on the concept of individual responsibility for behavior. The child learned through trial and error with some verbal admonishment and guidelines. A child was taught that to tease a blind person or to mimic a cripple meant that they would grow up to be the same way.

No child was homeless. Orphans and illegitimate children were raised by the maternal grandparents. In the event of a divorce, the older children accompanied the parent of his choice while the younger children remained in the maternal household.

The onset of a Paviotso girl's first menses meant the end of childhood. Menarche was a magical time in that whatever she did during this period she would continue to do for the rest of her life. She was isolated in a specially built hut of tule lined with sagebrush, sufficiently far away from the home so that she would not inadvertently come into contact with men or male things. Her mother or another woman relative would tend to her needs, bring her food, instruct her on womanly things, and see to it that she remained busy during her confinement. She was to rise early every morning and collect firewood for the family so that she would not be a lazy woman. She was not allowed to eat meat or grease for fear that the hunter's arm would become weak. At the end of her menses, she bathed and received a new set of clothing. She was constantly admonished: "Don't be lazy, don't cry, don't get mad, be busy, be sensible, and you will be that way all your life." At the end of her five day isolation she was ritually bathed either in running water or in

At the end of five days the neonate was "washed into" a new hoop. This hoop was made in the same way as that described for the kwa-siph-hoop but was smaller. No name was given for any hoop except the two mentioned. Bathing was done either with water, or if the mother took a sweat bath at this time, she held the baby in her arms. Informants denied circumcision of male infants.

In the event of a spontaneous abortion, there were no food or sexual restrictions placed upon either parent. The fetus was buried carefully and rocks piled over it; the woman remained in bed for five days following the birth, drinking quantities of hot water to clear herself out. She bathed at the end of that time. If an infant was born out of wedlock, the child was considered "found" and was raised by the maternal grandparents.

Some women practiced belly binding. A piece of thick round buckskin was placed over the umbilicus and secured by string or soft substance for a period of one month. This was an attempt to prevent umbilical hernia.

The newborn was considered to be an infant from the time of his birth until he was weaned from his series of hoops. Weaning from the hoop was approximately co-terminus with walking and talking. The large fat baby was encouraged to walk sooner than the small baby. The size and weight of the infant appeared to have more to do with the movement from infancy to childhood, than did any other factor. Although talking was not a necessary corollary to passing from infancy to childhood, naming was. An infant named himself. The first word that the baby spoke became his name. Up to that time the infant was merely called baby. For this reason Paiute names were generally meaningless words. There were no negative sanctions attached to the use of personal names. As the child grew to adulthood, he generally acquired a "nickname" by which he was then called. These nicknames derived from either a particular situation in the individual's life, or a trait that seemed to characterize them in particular.

During infancy, the child was kept in the hoop. Baby was taken out of the hoop generally by the grandmother, to play or to be bathed. When out of the hoop, the infant was not allowed to creep or crawl, but was kept on the lap of an adult. The infant did not have to be completely removed from the hoop to be cleaned after urination or defecation. The hoop was simply unlaced from the feet to the belly, leaving the legs and hips free but keeping the shoulders and arms bound. The infant was wiped clean and fresh pounded sagebrush or cat-tail down was substituted.

During winter the hoop could also be lined with rabbit-skin blankets to provide extra warmth.

The hoop in which the infant spent most of his time could be made by any woman. The shade for the hoop generally had a woven design to designate the sex of the child. For the girl, the design was a connected pattern and for the boy it was a diagonal disconnected series of lines. The back of the hoop had a buckskin strap so that the infant could be carried on the back of an adult either suspended from the forehead or the shoulders. Thus the arms of the adult were free to carry other objects. When not being carried, the hoop could be propped against any stable object, or placed on the ground in the shade.

When the child lost his first baby tooth it was thrown to the north with a prayer that the second teeth would come in strong and healthy. Although ear piercing was practiced, there were no restrictions on either the time or the sex.

One method of keeping the male infant dry was to expose the penis through the hoop lacings and attach a used piece of hide under the penis and down the front of the hoop. As the baby wet, the urine would run down the front of the hoop keeping both mother and infant dry.

Babies were breast fed on a demand schedule, and Paiute mothers generally had sufficient milk for their babies. However, if a mother were unable to nurse her baby, and another nursing mother was unavailable to act as a wet nurse, the infant would be given watered down pine nut soup or sand seed soup. At the age of three months, the infant was given mashed adult foods. If the mother were unable to interrupt her work to feed the baby, she would offer him a strip of hide to suck on, probably a fringe from his hoop, or give him a piece of dried meat. Attempts were made to pacify the crying infant. First the child was offered the breast. If crying continued the child was considered to be either in need of changing or was ill.

There was no mourning for a stillbirth or the death of a neonate. However, if the infant had reached the age of one year, the immediate family would mourn his death in the same fashion as that of an adult. If the baby died in the home, the house was burned. There was no special ceremony in preparing the body for burial. The infant was buried in his hoop. The body was carried to the hills and either buried in a cave or a shallow grave covered with rocks. Burial was in a prone position with all personal possessions interred with them. Gravesites were as far away from normal everyday life as possible. If a small whirlwind was seen over the grave, that was the indication that the soul of the dead person was going up the "dusty road" or milky way.

# PAVIOTSO CHILD TRAINING:

## *Notes*

By PAMELA BRINK

Aboriginal child training practices<sup>3</sup> among the Kuyui dokado, a western Nevada band of the Northern Paiute, was based on the pragmatics of survival. Whatever was useful was retained; whatever was detrimental or negligible in relation to survival was eliminated. Child rearing was training for production in a harsh environment in which any deviation from proven methods was seen as destructive to the entire group. Productivity was the keynote that ran through the life way of the Kuyui dokado and was the dominating force behind the child rearing practices.

During pregnancy, both parents were to be busy and on their feet at all times in order to insure an active, well baby. There were, apparently, no specific restrictions on sexual intercourse during this time. If a woman made fun of a woman who had twins, she would deliver twins herself, which was considered a hardship. Birthmarks were caused by the eating of the liver of any animal or injury to the mother's belly. To prevent the baby from growing too large and causing a difficult delivery, there were some restrictions on the amount of food eaten.

At the onset of labour pains, available women were called in to be of assistance. Four women including the mother and grandmother were generally present at the birth. Men were never present. The father played no role in the actual delivery of the baby. However, immediately following the announcement of the birth, he was to bathe in the river and change into a new set of clothing.

Delivery took place in the home and not in a special birth hut. For this, the woman lay on her back. One informant stated that a hard substance such as a piece of wood, was wrapped and placed at the base of the spine. The midwives pressed down on both sides of the abdomen to assist the movement of the child.

As soon as the child was delivered, the mother stood erect to allow the "bad blood" to wash through

her. Then the mother was made to sit, hot rocks were placed around her and she was covered with a blanket. She would then massage her breasts to start the flow of colostrum. As the colostrum hit the rocks, steam would rise. This process was called "cooking the milk" to insure an abundant milk supply, to prevent colic in the baby and dark discolorations of the face. The afterbirth was carefully examined, and buried away from the house under rocks. If the afterbirth were dug up by an animal, or inadvertently turned inside out, the woman would be unable to conceive again.

For the first five days following delivery, the mother was not allowed to touch the baby and she was made to sit up with her knees flexed. She was given quantities of hot water to drink in order to clean out the uterus and to prevent conception for one year. At the end of this five (5) day period both she and the baby were completely bathed. For the next twenty-five days, she rested in bed, cared for by her grandmother. After the fifth day she was allowed to eat meat. In addition, the father was to abstain from meat and grease during these five days to prevent constipation in the baby.

A breech presentation signified the fact that the woman slept "all curled up" during pregnancy. Other than causing a more difficult birth, breech birth had neither positive nor negative sanctions. Infanticide was denied by informants. Mental retardation was caused by "marrying too close."

As soon as the neonate or newborn was delivered, it was wiped clean of blood and mucus, but informants denied that the baby was bathed at this time. The cord was cut with either an obsidian or flint knife and was tied with a woven string or sinew. Immediately after being cleaned, the neonate was placed in the first of a series of baby baskets, called hoops.<sup>4</sup> This first basket was called a sah-kee'-hoop or boat basket woven entirely of willow, lined with pounded sagebrush bark or the down of the cat-tail for both warmth and diapering purposes. The infant was secured to the basket with buckskin lacings. The sah-kee'-hoop was prepared during pregnancy and was used only during the neonate's first five days of life. In the event of stillbirth or death during this period, the neonate was buried in the san-kee'-hoop. When the umbilical cord dried and fell off, it was placed in a small buckskin sack, and saved until the infant was walking. If the cord was lost before this time, the child would grow up mischievous. When the child was walking, the cord of a boy was placed in the branch of a juniper bush to insure his being a good hunter; while a girl's cord was buried in the ground to make her a good gatherer.

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Thus the Indian couldn't understand, for to him land was for survival, to farm, to hunt, to be enjoyed. It wasn't to be abused. We see incident after incident where the white sought to tame the savage and convert him to the Christian ways of life. The early settlers led the Indians to believe that if he didn't behave, they would dig up the ground and unleash the great epidemic again.

The white man used the Indians' nautical skills and abilities. They let him be a seaman, but never a captain. Time and time again, in the white man's society, we, the Indians, have been "low man on the totem pole."

Has the Wampanoag really disappeared? There is still an aura of mystery. We know there was an epidemic that took many Indian lives. Some Wampanoags moved west and joined the Cherokees and Cheyenne. They were forced to move. Some even went north to Canada. Many Wampanoags put aside their Indian heritage and accepted the white man's ways for their own survival. There are some Wampanoags who do not wish it known they are Indian for social and economic reasons.

What happened to those Wampanoags who chose to remain and live among the early settlers? What kind of existence did they lead as civilized people? True, living was not as complex as life is today, but they dealt with the confusion and the change. Honesty, trust, concern, pride and politics were themselves in and out of their daily living. Hence the Indian was termed crafty, cunning, rapacious and dirty.

History wants us to believe that the Indian was a savage, an illiterate uncivilized animal; a history that was written by an organized, disciplined people to expose us as unorganized and undisciplined. Two distinctly different cultures met. One, the white, thought they must control life. The other believed life was to be enjoyed, because nature decreed it. Let us remember, the Indian is and was just as human as the white man. The Indian feels pain, gets hurt and becomes defensive, has dreams, bears tragedy and failure, suffers from loneliness, needs to cry as well as laugh. He, too, is often misunderstood.

The white man, in the presence of the Indian, is still mystified by his uncanny ability to make him feel uncomfortable. This may be that the image the white man created of the Indian — his "savageness," has boomeranged. And it isn't mystery, it is fear, fear of the Indian's temperament.

High on a hill, overlooking the famed Plymouth Rock, stands the statue of our good sachem, Massasoit. Massasoit has stood there many years in silence. We,

the descendants of this great sachem, have been a silent people. The necessity of making a living in this materialistic society of the white man has caused us to be silent. Today, I and many of my people are choosing to face the truth. We are Indians.

Although time has drained our culture and our language is almost extinct, we, the Wampanoags, still walk the lands of Massachusetts. We may be fragmented, we may be confused. Many years have passed since we have been a people together. Our lands were invaded. We fought as hard to keep our land as you, the white, did to take our land away from us. We were conquered, we became the American prisoners of war in many cases, and wards of the United States government, until only recently.

Our spirit refuses to die. Yesterday we walked the woodland paths and sandy trails. Today we must walk the macadam highways and roads. We are uniting. We're standing not in our wigwams but in your concrete tent. We stand tall and proud and before too many moons pass we'll right the wrongs we have allowed to happen to us.

We forfeited our country. Our lands have fallen into the hands of the aggressor. We have allowed the white man to keep us on our knees. What has happened cannot be changed, but today we work toward a more humane America, a more Indian America where man and nature once again are important, where the Indian values of honor, truth and brotherhood prevail.

You, the white man, are celebrating an anniversary. We, the Wampanoags, will help you celebrate in the concept of a beginning. It was the beginning of a new life for the pilgrims. Now 350 years later it is a beginning of a new determination for the original American — the American Indian.

These are some factors involved concerning the Wampanoags and other Indians across this vast nation. We now have 350 years of experience living amongst the white man. We can now speak his language. We can now think as the white man thinks. We can now compete with him for the top jobs. We're being heard; we are being listened to.

The important point is that along with these necessities of everyday living, we still have the spirit, we still have a unique culture, we still have the will and, most important of all, the determination to remain as Indians. We are determined and our presence here this evening is living testimony that this is only a beginning of the American Indian, particularly the Wampanoags, to regain the position in this country, that is rightfully ours.

## The Speech That Was Banned:

# THE PILGRIMS AND THE WAMPANOAGS

By FRANK JAMES\*

I speak to you as a man — a Wampanoag man. I am a proud man, proud of my accomplishments, won by strict parental direction. (“You must succeed — your face is a different color in this small Cape Cod community.”)

I am a product of poverty and discrimination from these two social and economic diseases. I and my brothers and sisters have painfully overcome, and, to an extent, earned the respect of our community. We are Indians first, but we are termed “good citizens.” Sometimes we are arrogant, but only because society has pressured us to be so.

It is with mixed emotions that I stand here to share my thoughts. This is a time of celebration for you, celebrating an anniversary of a beginning for the white man in America, a time of looking back, of reflection. It is with heavy heart that I look back upon what happened to my people.

Even before the pilgrims landed here it was common practice for explorers to capture Indians, take them to Europe and sell them as slaves for 20 shillings apiece.

The Pilgrims had hardly explored the shores of Cape Cod four days, before they had robbed the graves of my ancestors and stolen their corn, wheat and beans. “Mourt’s Relation” describes a searching party of 16 men. He says that this party took as much of the Indians’ winter provisions as they were able to carry.

Massasoit, the great sachem of the Wampanoags,

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\*Frank James is a music instructor at Nauset Regional High School. He is 46 years of age and lives in West Chatham on Cape Cod. In his spare time he works on models of boats.

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(Massachusetts state officials recently invited Frank James, a Wampanoag Indian, to deliver a speech on the occasion of the 350th anniversary of the landing of the pilgrims. His speech was rejected by the officials, who considered it “too contentious.” The state officials handed James a prepared speech, which he rejected as “childish.” He also refused to participate in the observances. *The Berkshire Eagle*, a Pittsfield, Mass. newspaper, ran the story on the front page; and also gave the full text of Mr. James’ speech. *The Indian Historian* is pleased to reprint the words of this Wampanoag man, important for its historic significance as well as for the meaning it has for all Indians today.)

knew these facts. Yet he and his people welcomed and befriended the settlers of Plymouth Plantation. Perhaps he did this because his tribe had been depleted by an epidemic. Or his knowledge of the harsh oncoming winter was the reason for his peaceful acceptance of these acts.

This action by Massasoit was probably our greatest mistake. We, the Wampanoags, welcomed you, the white man, with open arms, little knowing that it was the beginning of an end, that before 50 years had passed, the Wampanoags would no longer be a tribe.

What happened in those short 50 years? What has happened in the last 300 years? History gives us facts and information, often contradictory. There were battles, there were atrocities, there were broken promises — and most of these centered around land-ownership. Among ourselves we understood that there were boundaries, but never before had we had to deal with fences and stone walls, with the white man’s need to prove his worth by the amount of land that he owned.

Only 10 years later, when the Puritans came, they treated the Wampanoags with even less kindness in converting the soul of the so-called savages. Although the Puritans were harsh to members of their own society, the Indian was pressed between stone slabs and hanged as quickly as any other “witch.”

And so down through the years there is record after record of Indian lands being taken, and of token reservations set up for him upon which to live. The Indian, having been stripped of his power, could but stand by and watch while the white man took his land and used it for his personal gain.



# movies

## "FLAP" IS FLOP

From the National Indian Youth Congress, comes this review of a motion picture ludicrously titled "Flap." The review was written by R. Black Buffalo. It is reprinted here for the continuing education of *Indian Historian* readers.

After thirty-odd years of showing us our ancestors biting the dust in glorious technicolor, Hollywood has now hit the contemporary Indian trail. The result, a revealing mixture of slapstick and misplaced caricature entitled "FLAP," appears on the screens today. According to Warner Bros., the picture presents us with a new image, the "modern" American Indian portrayed in "honest screen focus" and played, with due head-scratching solemnity, by the veteran of Greek dancing and Mexican bandit sagas, Anthony Quinn himself. They have got to be joking!

"Flap" is the story of an obtuse Indian named Flapping Eagle who lives on a reservation where the houses have a tendency to collapse in a cloud of dust whenever anyone leans on a doorpost, and the residents seem to be old men wearing an astonishing shade of orange pancake makeup. There is a smooth-talking Uncle Tomahawk, played in Latin Lover style by Anthony Caruso, a bucking bronco named H-Bomb, and a blushing Indian maiden in the guise of Mexican actress Susan Miranda, who used to dance with the Jose Greco flamenco group. Ah yes, there is also that old Hollywood standby, the local house of ill repute, complete with a rent-a-chick with a heart of gold called Bluebell, and portrayed by — are you ready — Shelley Winters.

In addition to suffering from what appears to be some rare, Indian-type dropsy, which means that he keeps tripping over his own feet, Flapping-Eagle-alias-Quinn quaffs scotch with gusty gurgles from a magnum-sized bottle of J & B, gets caught repeatedly with his pants down, and k.o.'d by the aforementioned Bluebell, and ingenuously lumbers across the screen giving a quite remarkable impersonation of a red-skinned cross between Buster Keaton and Zero Mostel.

In quieter moments between dropsy and drinking, this new-style hero plots to "call attention to the social and economic neglect of my people" by kidnapping a railroad train. As this is a Hollywood movie, and not real life, no uniformed gentlemen come to take old

Flapping Eagle away to the comfort of a padded cell. Instead, the railroad train ends up on the reservation, where, due to a convenient old treaty that says "finders are keepers" of unattended objects on Indian land — it is put to use as an elongated apartment house for Flap and his pals with the Max Factor faces.

There are a few more goodies, but as at this point the Indians in the audience start putting their heads in their hands and moaning softly, it is a little hard to concentrate. No one, however, can quite manage to miss the booming refrain of the title song ("If nobody Loves"), which boasts lyrics ludicrous enough to start an immediate overnight revival of the flaming arrow cult.

The Warner Bros. press hand-out announces, with curious self-congratulatory glee, that they spent "\$6,000,000-plus on this film." While hard put to discern the results on screen, we won't argue with them; the only problem is that the news might be somewhat hard to swallow for the number of our tribal brothers who haven't had enough to eat this week.

Perhaps the only possible comment lies in the lines of an 1890 Arapaho chant for the Ghost Dance:

I'yehé! Uhi'yeye'hehe! Ahe'yuhe'yú!

Which, for the benefit of the movie-lover, can be translated: My children! The whites are crazy! If "Flap" is anything to go by, that comment may well be applied to Hollywood first of all.

## Racism is Charged

*Spangler Productions, Inc.*, 155 East 55th Street, New York City, N. Y., has run into considerable Native American opposition, in connection with the filming of a new picture, "Nigger Charley." The movie story line is that of a black man who puts down an Indian attack on a wagon train. The film, which is budgeted at \$750,000, is said to be intended as merely a story of a black man cast in the role of hero. Indians, however, view the proposed production differently. A Cherokee group, in a letter written to Screen Actors Guild, calls the picture "racist." Letters from both individual Indians and groups, have been pouring in to Guild offices, all opposing the film. The script was written by James Bellah, based on a true incident, according to the producers. To our knowledge, there are no Indian historians or scholars acting as consultants; no effort has been made to substantiate the historical evidence if there is any; and no authentication of the incident has been done.

With the next issue of *The Indian Historian*, Mr. Jay Silverheels will edit a column "Movies & Television."

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\*An extreme case of a group maintaining a highly individualized economy is the Kapauku Papuans of New Guinea (as described by Pospisil 1963) who live in environments lacking adequate sources of animal proteins and rely at times on obtaining them from surrounding groups living under probably more reliable conditions, although by no means very reliable.

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B: Resources are averaged in the most efficient manner possible. (1) Increased use of standardized money occurs, and obligations tend to decrease (expensive gifts are less often given) when there are many important food resources or when there are many potential unreliable sources of a valuable resource,\* because frequently used money is efficient in averaging many variables. (2) Obligations increase (wealth objects are given), and the use of standardized money decreases when there are fewer important food resources or when resources are dependent on a few environmental variables (i.e. dry farming), because obligations (reciprocity) are efficient in averaging few variables.

The testing of these hypothesized relationships can probably best be performed by the use of a compara-

tive method, since the degree of variability in environments, or the degree of use of money are relative. Differences in the primary exploitation of resources which can be exploited by the cultural system, and can be used to predict differences in inter-group exchange behavior on the basis of the relationships summarized above.

In this paper I have illustrated how the inter-group (group=ownership group) exchange behavior within an area results in regularities in ethnographic historic and historic and archaeological data. It should be possible to test the hypothesized relationships with data derived from any of these sources. The prediction of information such as the location of trade centers, the types of goods being exchanged, etc., can of course only be done given specific data for a given area.

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Comals used for heating water and for frying were also made on Catalina Island. It is possible that the steatite bowls and ollas made on Catalina Island were mainly traded to villages in the Chumash area, since they are found rather infrequently in the Tonga (Gabrieleño) area. Fragments of steatite objects are found in middens, and whole or broken vessels are often found in mortuary contexts.

A number of other objects, which indicate trade, are found in archaeological contexts. Fragments of pipes are found in middens of sites after 2500 B.C.; and whole pipes occur in cemeteries and ceremonial depositories (i.e. Burnett 1944). I know of no manufacturing centers for pipes; they are made of serpentine from the Santa Ines Mountain area, from schists in the Sierra Pelona area, from Catalina Island steatite and from porous red fused shale found in Oak Ridge. Charmstones of some types were evidently left in ceremonial structures or shrines and were placed with burials. There are a number of different types; some figurines were made on San Nicolas Island (Cessac 1951b). See Burnett (1944) for disposal areas on the Santa Monica Mountain coast. Molded ochre was both traded for from other groups and made at a number of localities for which no archaeological data has been collected to date. Ochre was used up as paint or placed in cemeteries, often with high status individuals, and often along with other pigments such as fuchsite (L. King (1969:37-38)).

From Santa Rosa Island, Jones (1956), illustrated a number of forms of projectile points. These forms are the same as those found in sites on the mainland. A number of the points found on the islands are made of obsidian or fused shale which had to come from the mainland. Especially in the later time periods, the similarity of points dating at the same time throughout the area, and the extensive use of fused shale seems to indicate the trade of arrows or at least their stone tips. Most projectile points in late mainland sites are found in middens. Deetz suggests that differences between points in different Santa Ines Valley sites indicate patrilocality, but they probably indicate a temporal distinction (1968:45,46). Other objects mentioned ethnographically as being traded, whose remains have been found in cemeteries, are canoe pieces, wooden bowls, basketry, netting, and otter skins.

Another feature of the archaeological record indicative of the exchange of food and raw material resources, is that the remains of these resources are found in regions where the resource was lacking. Thus, seeds of chia have been found on the islands in graves; and deerbone, often worked, is also present on the islands. Fish bones are common in many island sites

and represent numerous species (Follet 1968), some of which would have to be taken from a boat. Shells are also common in inland sites (Levine 1968; Glassow 1965). These were probably gathered on trips to the coast, but shellfish may also have been traded for.

Some conclusions may be drawn from the above data and discussion. Following are the major features of the Chumash resource base: (1) There is environmental variability between adjacent geographical areas. (2) The local environment of every village had a large number of fairly productive food resources which could be exploited at different seasons. (3) The people in every local area exploited most of the resources available to them.

The exchange system had these features: (1) Constant flow of goods in a market economy. (2) Manufacturing of goods in areas with less constant food resource variability. (3) Craft specialization. (4) Frequent use of money (beads). (5) Centralized control by village chiefs of some aspects of inter-group exchange. (6) Goods which were produced and exchanged were regularly destroyed, thereby stabilizing the system by limiting inflation.

The Chumash inter-village system of exchange resulted in these regularities in the archaeological record: (1) The existence of sites or areas in sites, where certain individuals produced specialized products. (2) A uniformity of artifact types throughout the area at any given time. (3) At every site the existence of artifacts not manufactured locally. (4) The existence of sites of ecofactual materials from non-local environments. (5) Elaboration in the form of utilitarian household items. (6) The presence of different kinds of status markers and money in the form of artifacts such as beads, spangles, and pendants. (7) The presence of large quantities of goods in mortuary contexts. (8) Certain categories of items produced in the Chumash area are found in non-Chumash regions. (9) Graves of high status individuals containing high-status markers and utilitarian tools.

By randomizing the effects of environmental variability with frequent interaction, the Chumash were able to use more of their resources; the degree of their interaction was the result of the high variability in the resources used in the area. Their frequent use of money allowed them to average their many resources efficiently. The hypothesized relationships presented in the beginning of this paper can be restated in a dynamic form. Assuming that populations are normally close to optimum size (Birdsell 1968:229-230):

A: Increased interaction results from (1) Variability in the environment of adjacent areas. (2) Decreased reliability of local resources.

were made on the mainland, the others being made on Santa Cruz Island.

In summary, it can be stated that triangular bladelets appear to have been manufactured only on Santa Cruz Island. They are found in two contexts in the Chumash area: (1) At Olivella shell bead making stations where they were worked as drills and used to produce beads of types found in fair quantities in middens of late sites in the Chumash area, especially those on the Channel Islands. (2) With burials in late cemeteries (there are usually historic glass trade beads present in the same cemetery) where they are most often placed in a cache. The caches often have several hundred bladelets, and are always covered with red ochre. Most of them, and all of the large caches, are in cemeteries on the islands. Other bladelets were manufactured on platform cores, both on the coast and on Santa Cruz Island. They are found in middens and occasionally with burials in cemeteries. Large, well made knives such as are illustrated by Abbott (1879: Plate 10,11: Fig. 4a-c) and Grant (1954: Plate 11a) were probably made on Santa Cruz Island. They are found in cemeteries at many historic Chumash villages.

In the discussion of triangular bladelets I have already mentioned the presence of centers at which beads were manufactured. On Map 1, the "B's" indicate locations where triangular bladelets have been found, either in large caches in cemeteries, or in large numbers in the excavation of middens. The distribution of triangular bladelets suggests that they were manufactured at one cluster of sites and traded out to be used for bead manufacture at other site clusters. There were a large number of different types of beads produced in the Chumash area at the time of European contact. The beads made with triangular bladelets possibly include those made from the wall of the Olivella shell, and the inner whorl or callus (commonly found in both middens and cemeteries after around 100 A.D.), as well as clam and *Mytilus* discs and cylinders. However, long tubular beads of clam or columella shell could not be made with these drills. Tubular blanks and beads broken during drilling have been found at Burton Mound (Harrington 1928), Shishlop (Ven-3), (Greenwood and Browne 1966), and Medea Creek cemetery (LAn-243) (Linda King n.d.) and seem to have been made at many sites and to a lesser extent at large manufacturing centers (See also Latta 1949:71 for data concerning the manufacture of this type of bead by the Yokuts). Finished tubular beads are found primarily in cemeteries. Besides disposal in middens and cemeteries, beads have been found covering the top of a hill near Ventura, the remains of the shrine described in L. King (1969:51).

Mortar and pestle manufacturing centers have been found on San Nicolas Island, (Bryan 1961) and on San Miguel Island (J. Beaton and B. Newman, Personal communication 1970); (Heye 1921:45-46). Rogers also described an area at Willows on Santa Cruz Island where mortars were apparently manufactured. (1929: 313). An unfinished shaped mortar was discovered during the bulldozing of part of LAn-227. This is the most common type of mortar used in the San Fernando Valley area, the Southern California Islands (excepting possibly San Clemente), the entire Chumash area, and in the Southern and Central Yokuts area after around 900 A.D. Fragments of shaped mortars are occasionally found in villages and camp sites; whole or broken mortars are found in cemeteries.

Digging stick weights were evidently produced mainly on the islands. Rogers mentioned finding debris and drills indicating the manufacture of many "stone rings" at Prisoner's Harbor on Santa Cruz Island (1959: 307). Later he described the drills used to make "fossil doughnuts" as being in some instances as much as nine inches long and two inches in diameter. Jones illustrated several of these tools associated with burials (1956: Plates 96a,f; 97d; 123a,f; 124a). Digging stick weights are among the earliest manufactured artifacts found except beads, pigments, and projectile points (Orr 1968:120). There seems to be a high correlation between the occurrence of digging stick weights (stone rings, usually dark, hard, and well polished), and manufacturing tools and/or unfinished bead blanks. These same burials usually have many objects with them, and are evidently found in proximity to other burials in the same cemetery which has large numbers of goods. Given ethnographic information concerning the ownership of dark, well polished digging stick weights by the wealthy (Heizer 1955:154); statements indicating the chief's ownership of items (L. King 1969:42); and the grouping of both adult and infant burials with many goods in Jones' sites, suggesting hereditary right of ownership, it can be hypothesized that the means of producing goods may have been owned by upper class members of each community. (See L. King 1969 for interpretations of clustering of wealth in another cemetery.)

Serpentine bowls were manufactured in the Santa Barbara area, probably in the vicinity of serpentine deposits found in the San Rafael Mountains— Upper Santa Ines River area. These bowls have been found in cemeteries on the Channel Islands, along the Santa Barbara coast, and in the Sisquoc River area. Bowls and ollas made from Catalina steatite were made on Catalina Island and can be found in Schumacher (1879). Holmes (1901), and Finnerity et al. (1970).

straight edge at a right angle to the straight edge. It was made in a number of different ways. One was the removal of a large flake which formed a notch; another was the truncation of the edge, or the removal of a series of what are technically burin spalls. The prepared platform was then struck by indirect percussion (probably with a punch), thereby producing a long, narrow bladelet with a cross-section which is usually equilaterally triangular. All are characterized by a surface which bears the scars resulting from the preparation of the straight edge.

In 1962 Heizer and Kelly published an article describing several "burins" they had found in the Cessac collection from Santa Cruz Island. Many of these (Heizer and Kelly 1962), are in all features identical to the cores recovered at the Chinese Harbor site. Technically they are all burins; functionally they are not. Heizer noted that the burins he described were not previously described in the literature. He also noted that there are burins in Olson's collections from the Santa Barbara Mainland and Santa Cruz Island. He did not, however, describe these, and they may merely be simple burins of the kind used in the area for more than 7,000 years (King 1967; Kowta 1961). In 1966, at the Medea Creek Cemetery in the Santa Monica Mountains (LAN-243), a core and bladelets which had been removed from it, all heavily covered with red ochre, were found together in a rodent disturbed area. This core is the same type as those which were found at the Chinese Harbor site; a few cores used for the production of triangular bladelets as well as some triangular bladelets have been collected from the surface of a site at Orizaba Cove. (Personal communication, Christopher Donnan 1970). It is not altogether impossible that the Chinese Harbor site is the only site at which triangular bladelets were produced. However, it is probable that several other sites in the area were centers at which triangular bladelets were produced.

Santa Cruz Island is the only island described as having sites where stone chipping was done in large quantities. Rogers (1920:301) is the only author who recorded most of the sites discovered on this island. There seem to be two centers where stone chipping was a major activity on Santa Cruz Island. These are associated with two sources of suitable material. The first area is on the north slopes of Mt. Diablo, and is described by Rogers (1929:301). He was probably describing a site where large chert knives were being manufactured, since he treated such knives as weapons in his conclusion regarding Canalino culture (Rogers 1929:303). He also noted the presence of a manufacturing center at Prisoner's Harbor. This

site is a fair distance from the raw materials and evidently was a center where large knives were being produced. Not far from Chinese Harbor, Rogers described a series of sites which he said were centers of flint chipping. He mentioned no other flint chipping centers on the island. Cessac in 1882 also reported the discovery of flint quarries and workshops on Santa Cruz Island in 1878 (Cessac 1951). As was previously mentioned, there are no recorded flint chipping areas on the other islands. For Santa Rosa Island we have the following negative statement from Jones, who did a good deal of work on the island in 1901: "I note many picks of roughly flaked stone and no flint or quartzite picks. This is probably due to the fact that but little flint or quartzite is found on the island, and that little only in the form of a few pebbles in the strata of cemented pebbles and sandstone which occur at the east end of the island" (Jones 1956:213). From Anacapa Island a small platform core was recovered and illustrated by McKusick (1959). This core is a simple platform core, different from those recovered at the Chinese Harbor site.

On the mainland there are a number of areas which were sources of material for the manufacture of chipped stone artifacts. Rogers (1929) often mentioned finding chipping waste in the Santa Barbara sites. However, he never mentioned finding large numbers of cores in his Canalino sites except one near Gaviota (Rogers 1929:256). Cessac (1951a) also said, ". . . at Point Pedernal I discovered an important workshop for stone and jasper weapons." Many small utilitarian chipped stone artifacts found in sites on the mainland are made from fused shale, which was quarried in the vicinity of Grimes Canyon and possibly Cañada Larga. In the literature on the Santa Barbara area there is only one reference to a site in which there was specialized manufacturing of chipped stone artifacts. This is site SBA-60 at Goleta, the historic village of *saqpili*. Kowta (1961) described the material recovered at a manufacturing area from this site, which included a series of small platform cores resembling the one found on Anacapa Island; this is the most common class of chipped stone artifact from the site. To the south in the Santa Monica Mountains no sites are known where specialized chert flaking activities have left noticed remains.

There appear to be three commonly occurring types of chipped stone tools made at a few villages in the historic Chumash area, often as burial offerings. These are large, thin chert knives, triangular bladelets from cores such as were recovered at the Chinese Harbor site, and small prismatic bladelets removed from small platform cores. It appears that only the last of these

because of the distrust these nations have of one another. (Simpson 1939:49.)

The Gabrieleño and Juaneño were described by Martinez thus: "These nations are given to having many small baskets of seeds and other foodstuffs. From this point (northward from San Juan Capistrano) they also begin to use strings of beads to adorn their throats, ears, and heads, and to give some value to such ornaments." (Simpson 1939:51.)

References in the previous section on trade with non-Chumash groups indicate that trade with the surrounding groups was limited to a rather small number of goods; and that the intensity of interaction was much less than within the Chumash area. Boundaries of the Chumash interaction system have a close congruence with the boundaries of the area in which Chumash dialects were spoken. Martinez describes the Chumash as being exclusive in their commercial activity, and Garces' account gives substantiating data for the northeastern Chumash villages. Archaeological research in the Southern San Joaquin Valley (Wedel 1941; Gifford and Schenck 1926), has been relatively extensive near the Chumash border, and few of the objects characteristic of the Chumash area (abalone spangles, Catalina steatite cooking bowls and comales) appear there; whereas they are common over the mountain in the Carrizo Plain (Finnerty n.d.), Cuyama Valley (Strong 1935) and in the Sisquoc River area (Grant 1964; Rogers 1937). To the south, the Gabrieleño (Tongva), groups may have been somewhat involved in the Chumash interaction system, but it appears from archaeological evidence that their main lines of interaction were between the mainland and the Southern Channel Islands, having close ties with the Chumash in the Santa Monica Mountain area. The Southern Channel Islands had the highest frequency of interaction with Chumash groups of any non-Chumash group.

The ethnographic and historic data presented above indicate that the archaeological record should have the following characteristics: (1) There should be localities, especially on the islands, where the production of artifacts used in the economic system occurred. Presumably these localities should be characterized by large quantities of industrial waste and manufacturing tools. (2) Cemeteries, shrines and mourning ceremony areas should have a large number of objects manufactured and used in the exchange system. (3) There should be regularities in artifact form related to standardization for trade. (4) Sites outside the Chumash area should contain beads which were made in the Chumash area. Archaeological data related to the first three points will be briefly discussed, first describing

details concerning the production areas, use areas, and disposal areas of triangular bladelets.

In the summer of 1967, while visiting Santa Cruz Island, the author observed a unique site defined by a small area of dense shell midden about 60 feet in diameter. There were three housepit depressions, each measuring about twenty feet in diameter equally spaced within the roughly circular midden. The entire surface of this site was covered with large numbers of chert cores, resulting from the production of a particular bladelet type. These cores were also noted in a small area of exposed profile. The site is located on the west end of Chinese Harbor. Off the shore in this area are extensive kelp beds. The land plant resources in the area are of minimal value as food. Approximately two miles east of the site is the source of the chert present at the site. This chert is found at the contact zone of a large mass of igneous rock with the basal or overlying sedimentary rock which is to the west of it. At the ridge in the center of the island at the same contact zone, there is a large chert quarry which Rogers described as ". . . a rather extensive and well developed site, high on the ridge of the hinterland, occupying the western foot of the highest hill in the eastern part of the island. This site is fairly littered with flint chips and cores. The bed from which the chert was taken is only a short distance from the borders of the village. The flint work was probably the chief reason for this settlement." (1929:308.)

At this site we did not find any cores which were similar to those found at the Chinese Harbor site, although we did note several platform cores. A total of 142 struck bladelet cores, 16 unstruck prepared cores, 2 crude bladelets, one point, one scraper, 2 utilized flakes, and 2 crude core tools were recovered during a surface collection of the Chinese Harbor site. These were all made from chert, ranging in color from black to white, most of it being brownish. To correct any possible error in the rough surface collection, a small square area measuring about 30 inches on a side was thoroughly surface collected and bagged separately from the rest of the collection. In this control collection were 19 chert flakes which resulted from trimming the cores, 9 struck cores and one unstruck core. Now to be described is the production of the small triangular bladelet from the cores found at the site. In doing so, I shall be describing the cores.

First a core was shaped before the removal of the blade. A straight edge was flaked from a relatively flat platform. This edge is essentially like that of a "scraper." The edge is beveled and is at about 60° from the platform. A platform was made from which to strike the blade. This platform was at one end of the

and on the head . . . (Bolton, 1931:250.) Among the Indians who came to the camp I saw one who wore a cotton blanket like those made by the Gila Pimas, and I inferred that he must have acquired it from that great distance by means of the commerce which they have with others. (Bolton, 1931:257.)

Garces traveled April 26, 1776, from San Gabriel with some Mojave Indians to the Castaic area, where he stayed at two Quabajay (Chumash, see Font above) villages, the largest of which was probably near the village of *kashtek*. The Mojaves who went with him were in the area for trade. Garces then went north and explored part of the southern San Joaquin Valley; he returned to the Chumash villages where he made the following observations on May 10, 1776: "I went over to the Rancheria de San Pasqual where I found two Jamajabs recently arrived from their land (the others who had accompanied me had already gone back leaving only Luis and Ventura): hence is to be inferred the frequent commerce that the Jamajabs held with these nations and those of the sea." (Coues 1900:301.) The structure described for the Ranchería of San Pasqual has many features characteristic of the *atisaderos* used for high status people at fiestas, and Garces may therefore have been describing trading associated with a fiesta.

On the 29th of May, 1819, it was reported, "twenty-one heathen Amajavas" (Mojaves) arrived at San Buenaventura for the purpose of trade and social relations. The soldiers of the guard generated an incident in which several soldiers and some ten Amajavas were killed. Interrogations of some of the Mojaves who were later caught provides some information concerning trade between the Chumash and Mojave. On foot, it was said to take fifteen or sixteen days to go from the Colorado River villages to Ventura. The Mojave brought red ochre and heavy, soft, black blankets. These were traded for beads, light rope and Mexican blankets. The Mojave had planned to trade at Santa Barbara as well as Ventura, (Cook 1962:159-161).

Harrington's informant "sa" (B.) said that the Mojave brought bright red ochre, and that her father had some of the Mojave ochre. Daniel Hill wrote the following concerning trade with Yokuts groups:

The Indians of the Tulare country generally came over once a year in bands of from twenty to thirty, male and female, on foot, and armed with bows and arrows. They brought over panoche, or thick sugar, made from what is now called honey dew, and the sweet carisa cane, and put up into small oblong sacks made of grass and swamp flags; also nut pines and wild tobacco pounded and mixed with lime. This preparation of native tobacco was called *pispe swat* (pespibata) and was used by them for chewing. These articles were exchanged for a species of money from the Indian mint of the Santa Barbara rancherías, called by them ponga (Gabrieleno bead measure,

called by Kroeber *ponko*; Kroeber 1925:565). This description of money consisted of pieces of rounded shell . . . which was brought in canoes by the Barbarians from the island of Santa Rosa. The worth of a rial (real) was put on a string which passed twice and a half around the hand, i.e. from the end of middle finger to wrist. Eight of these strings passed for the value of a silver dollar, and the Indians always preferred them to silver; even prior to 1833. This traffic the Padres encouraged, as it brought them into peaceable intercourse with the tribes of the Tulare Valley. (Woodward 1934:119.)

Harrington obtained the following information from a Tejoneño informant when he asked if the Tejon area Indians were Christianized and taken away:

He said no, that they used to go from over here (Tejon area), to attend fiestas at various missions on the coast, e.g. San Fernando. When there those in charge would baptize them and ask them if they did not want to live there; they would tell them they had everything there they had elsewhere. Thus many stayed. Some who did not like it would run away at night and come back here. The dancers from here at fiestas on the coast were paid by coast Indians with various kinds of coast shell-money or beads and the Indians brought these back with them here.

Fernando described trading *mulus* with the Tulareños. *Mulus* was sweet, yellower than the finest grade of old-fashioned brown sugar, and was brought in lumps. The *mulus* was in tule cases like *panocha*, but to conform to whatever shape the lump might have. The Tulareños brought these products in carrying nets suspended over the forehead. Candalaria said that the tobacco smoked by the Indians came from Tejon already prepared in packages. The tobacco, called *shó'u*, grew wild in the mountains of Tejon. Other information for the Tubatulabal comes from Voegelin:

In going to Chumash villages near Ventura, route lay through Walker's Basin to Caliente, thence to Yokuts village, Lapau, then to Tejon, thence via Comanche Creek to two Chumash villages, *makakak* and *alko-laupal*, near Ventura. Trip took two days on foot to Tejon, two more days from Tejon to Ventura. From Chumash, Tubatulabal obtained shell money, shell cylinders, steatite, probably, and in later times horses; these exchanged for piñons. They also took advantage of trading trips to Chumash to collect lumps of asphalt from beach and to fish in the ocean. Occasionally Chumash made reciprocal visits. In trading, 'a sack of piñons was left on the ground; the Venturenos came up; and took as many as they wanted, and laid shell money down in payment.' (Voegelin 1938:51,52.)

Martinez described the Chumash as having a rather closed interaction system.

In this port of the Santa Barbara Channel, according to my argument, there landed some Chinese, or person of great skill in his own handicrafts and the rest. Because of this superiority the nation has gone on progressing as it increased, although its customs have not passed beyond its limits, owing to the scant commerce and trade among these nations. If any chief merely makes an attempt to pass through another's jurisdiction they start a war and quarrels,



make donations on their arrival, so that the host would have enough for the festival and the rest of the year. There was an economic interest in having a fiesta in Indian times, for the captain would save some of the offerings, so that when his people were in distress he would have something with which to assist them.

Collections were also made at some fiestas, as for example at the *Zorra* (fox) solstice dance on Santa Rosa Island. The *paha* acted, on this occasion, as a sort of floor manager. During the "islay" passage of the dance, the people at the fiesta put islay and "nicer things" in a basket carried by the *paha* (Fernando). Other instances of collections being taken are indicated in the following statements: "Also in midsummer (solstice ceremony) had a big tray and all put valuables in it as offering for sun and for crop increases." (Fernando). "At the coyote dance, *awitsha'a'sh*, after the dance the *paha* comes from the south and cries 'The Grandparents are hungry.' He does this three times and then all the women and girls come with their *bateas* (basket trays) full of fine and different eatables and after going around three times they deposit everything at the *silijek* (ceremonial inclosure,) (Fernando). At the winter solstice ceremony on December 24 at 3:00 an "old man" (*paha*) with two helpers erected a sunstick and that evening the old man and twelve dancers (*antap*) participated in further ceremony. The dancers heard the old man deliver a short address on the weather conditions, crops, etc. Then at 8:00 they danced while the old man received all of the offerings. Givers of baskets of chia, islay, corn, beads, money, would go around the fire three times, make a speech, and present the gifts to the old man" (Fernando).

Fines could also be exacted at fiestas. The following incident from Harrington's notes refers to this mechanism, resulting in the redistribution of goods or money. One San Francisco day at Cieneguitas, it had been arranged with the Santa Barbara Captain Francisco Solano, called in Chumash *sexpewejo* (chief of Dos Pueblos), for Juan de Jesus to dance the *Nukumpijash* (Barracuda dance). A relative of Juan de Jesus, his grandmother, who had raised him, requested that he withdraw from the dance because of his inability to perform properly. The Ventura Indians had to pay the Santa Barbara chief with beads, etc., indemnity, because Juan de Jesus withdrew.

An interesting unpublished account of Mugu fiestas by Bowers from information collected from Juan Pico suggests that the fiestas at Mugu functioned traditionally to integrate most, or all the entire central Chumash area:

Here (at Mugu) lived a great chief or king whose authority extended to Point Concepcion 100 miles up the coast, and to Newhall and San Fernando

eastwardly. The chief of each town or tribe was a petty king, but subject to the Mugu rule. The town where the great chief lived was near a large spring of water (Simomo) which rises at the base of a basaltic hill two miles from the ocean and bordering the Santa Clara Valley. Here meetings of all the tribes were held once in five years to pass laws and transact business pertaining to the numerous tribes of the district. When the time drew near for the meeting, two men were sent to notify the nearest tribe of the time fixed upon by the great chief for the national gathering. The tribe visited by these men notified the next, and they a third, each informing his neighbors of the contemplated meeting until all were notified. Each tribe started at a time that would bring them to Mugu on a certain day. When they came in sight of the capitol, they announced their presence by fire and smoke signals. Seeing these signals, the king, accompanied by some of his chief men, would go out to meet them, sending two or three men in advance, and on the arrival of the tribe they were accompanied into the town with music, singing, and dancing and assigned to their place during the gathering. When the tribes or their representatives were all assembled, dancing and feasting began, which continued for five days, at the close of which the chiefs of each tribe were called into council for the space of three days, when they would be dismissed. The Mugu provided food for all their visitors for the first eight days, but after the expiration of that time, if any desired to remain, they must provide food for themselves. The ocean being near and fish and clams abundant, this was not hard to do. (Bowers 1897:29-33.)

In order to maintain the operation of the economic system so far described, it was necessary to eliminate goods at a rate similar to that of their production to prevent inflation. Food items were of course removed from circulation primarily by consumption, but many other goods, such as beads, had to be removed from circulation by other means. One such means was the burial of goods in the ceremony with their owners or as offerings, or their destruction at other mortuary related events, such as the burning of houses and belongings; destruction of mortars and killing of one's dog at death; burning of boats and houses, destruction of goods at the mourning ceremony, and destruction of offerings at shrines for the dead (L. King 1969:51, 52).

Another means of removing materials from circulation was to trade them to other groups as described in the following section. It can be noted that the Chumashan groups were usually trading beads and other durable goods in return for items which could be consumed. Font, in his diary of the Anza 1776 expedition, recorded:

The Indians of the Channel are of the Quabajay tribe. They and the Beneme (Gabrieleno and Serrano groups) have commerce with the Jamajab (Mojaves; these are ethnic labels used by the Mojave) and others of the Colorado River, with their cuentas or beads, consisting of flat, round, and small shells which they hunt for in the sands of the beach, and of which they have long strings hung around the neck

phasis placed on the ownership of goods. Fages recorded in 1775:

They are inclined to work, and much more to self-interest. They show with great covetousness a certain inclination to traffic and barter, and it may be said in a way that they are the Chinese of California. In matters concerning their possessions, they will not yield or concede the smallest point. They receive the Spaniards well, and make them welcome; but they are very warlike among themselves, living at almost incessant war, village against village. (Priestley 1937:31.)

In his confessional, Fr. Senan provided a list of things people owned. (Beeler 1967:64,45.) The list includes: alchúm=beads; altacash=big white beads (Olivella cylinders and cups; chipé=white bone beads; eshqueluoy=colored bone beads or sea shells; yquemesh=small spotted beads; anmitmiti=small beads; sucupi-garnets (?); alcaputsh=mortar; chucuyash=par (steatite bowl); chuniec=pestle; choshtou=frypan; tosho=tray; ayujat=seed beater; estapa=rush (or tule) mat; sutinet=fiber rope; majaquesh=rags (clothes). It can be noted that the objects owned by individuals or families are the same as those being traded. Other objects for which there is ethnographic information concerning personal or family ownership include: (1) Digging stick weights (used mainly on the islands) which were of dark stone, usually well polished, and belonged only to the wealthy, (Heizer 1955:154.) (2) Canoes, which were owned by the wealthy. (L. King 1969:42.) (3) Food stores, wealth, charmstones, ceremonial regalia, etc., which were owned by the chief, who rented or loaned them out. (L. King 1969:42.) (4) Seeds, acorns, and trees, which were owned by households. (Harrington 1942:34.) Presumably bows and arrows, pipes, wood bowls and plates, fishing tackle, pigments, tools, brushes and food were also individually owned. Deer meat was said to be owned by the individual who killed the deer. (Fernando V 1).

Many of the objects traded and owned by individuals were made by craft specialists (Craig 1967:84). Fages provided the following statement concerning craft specialization:

The occupations and ordinary pursuits of these people are limited; some of them follow fishing, others engage in their small carpentry jobs; some make strings of beads, others grind red, white and blue paint clays, and a certain kind of plumbiferous stones, which serve to the men to paint themselves with when they are celebrating or dancing or when they go to war, and which are used by the women for their usual adornment. They make variously shaped plates from the roots of the oak and the alder trees, and also mortars, crocks, and plates of black stone (serpentine) all of which they cut with flint, certainly with great skill and dexterity. They make an infinite number of arrows. The women go about their seed-sowing (gathering), bringing the wood

for the use of the house, the water, and other provisions. They skillfully weave trays, baskets, and pitchers for various purposes; these are well made with thread of grass roots of various colors. (Priestley 1937:35.)

Money was also redistributed in the form of payment for services. Fine dancers (*'antap*) were on salary under the captain; but sometimes the dancers gave dances "just for love." On baptismal or marriage days in mission times, a father might pay the *paha* (master of ceremonies) \$2.50, which he turned over to the captain. Sometimes, when the dancers voluntarily danced at baptisms and marriages, they made more than when on salary from the captain, for then everyone gave them presents and the dancers got more than otherwise. (Fernando.) Doctors were paid when they effected cures (L. King 1969:44). Buriers were paid for their services (L. King, 1969:47). The *'atshuk'lash* (manet official) was paid by relatives of the recipient for administering toloache.

Henshaw obtained the following information from an informant in the 1880's, indicating that the Chumash used standardized measures in economic transactions: "For measuring reeds and articles bartered in bulk, baskets were used. These were of several sizes and although doubtless the standard was not very exact, they approximately approached a standard . . ." (Heizer 1955:153.)

Other information on measuring money includes an illustration of measuring bands (Harrington 1918:94), measurement equivalences (evidently for Olivella shell beads, possibly whole shells because of the low value) (Kroeber 1925:565), and counting information (Beeler 1967); see also Henshaw in Heizer (1955:150).

Fiestas were an important social context for the redistribution of goods. "Priests discouraged fiestas usually . . . (they) said Indians spent all their money on fiestas (Harrington's informant B 1). Most of the large fiestas in the Chumash area were on the mainland coast, but some ceremonies and games were held at certain inland and island villages. The largest fiestas were held at specific villages, according to a ritual calendar. Smaller fiestas could be held by village or lineage chiefs with the consent of village chiefs.

One of the functions of a village chief was to establish dates for fiestas and to invite other villages to attend (L. King 1969:42, 43; Engelhardt 1919:65). The duties of the chief included feeding visitors and the needy, and approving everyday ceremony (Harrington 1943). Gift giving, excepting providing somewhat for the feasts, was not evidently extensively engaged in by the host chiefs. The guests were expected to provide donations for most fiestas. According to Fernando (V 1), visiting captains at a festival would

wished to see us." (Bolton 1926:147.) Fr. Font, on the Anza Expedition, said on February 24, 1776: "They pointed out and showed me an Indian who was there at Rincon saying that he was from the large island of the Channel called Santa Cruz, and that he had just come for pleasure, for it is a marvel to see how they navigate those seas. Although his hair was reddish he looked to me very much like the Indians of the Channel." (Bolton 1931:257.)

Transportation of goods by mainlanders to the islands is indicated in these statements: "The Ventura Indians used to go to the islands two in each canoe; fifteen or twenty starting off at one time. When they returned, four men would be in one canoe and the other would be loaded with fish and towed behind," (Fernando, Craig 1967:83).

The following statements indicate that mainlanders might have been catching the fish themselves, although it is also probable they obtained them from the islanders:

Then in the morning they go (from Hueneme), where they have rested after following the coastline down (from Santa Barbara), to *éné:mes*, arriving near to the island of *ányá:pax*, and they skirt along that island and the island of Santa Cruz, to the rancheria they are headed for . . . When they were going to take a canoe trip to bring a load of something that would be heavy in the bottom of the canoe, sometimes they tied a rope once around or several times around the middle of the canoe, when they left with the canoe empty or just before they loaded in a load, which might be a load of abalones from the *éné:mes*, so as to keep the walls of the canoe from spreading when loaded. (Harrington's notes on canoes, informant unknown.)

On the Portolá return expedition to Monterey, April 30, 1770, Crespi mentioned that the whole village at Ventura had gone to the islands, presumably for a fiesta (Piette 1946:114). A reference to the conveyance of goods from inland to the coast, a distance of about thirty-three miles, is indicated in this report: "Once saw a man of the Piro region wearing an *épsu* (basket hat) with carrying net band over it in front. He was bringing a heavy load of shelled acorns to Ventura. It was a long way." (Fernando, V 1, in Craig 1967:96.) These statements further indicate extensive trade between the islands and mainland, but do not describe who transported the goods. Costanso recorded, in his narrative of the Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770:

They hold intercourse and commerce with the natives of the islands, from which they obtain the coral beads, which in all these parts take the place of money. They value, however, more highly the glass beads which the Spaniards gave them, offering in

exchange for them all they possess, such as baskets, otter-skins, bowls, and wooden dishes. But above everything else they esteem any kind of knife or sharp tool, admiring its superiority over those of flint; and it gives them much pleasure to see use made of axes and cutlasses, and the ease with which the soldiers felled a tree to make firewood by means of these tools." (Hemert and Teggart 1910:139.)

In 1805, the missionary Estevan Tapis said, concerning the Islanders, that they lived ". . . in more than usual poverty . . . the men wholly naked, the women little less so, hungry, with no recourse but fishing and some seeds got in trade from the natives of the mainland in return for the beads they themselves make from shells," (Brown 1967:0). Juan E. Pico, a Venturaño Indian, was briefly interviewed by H. Henshaw in the latter part of the last century. He gave the following information. "The Islanders were more skillful in the production of stone implements and these formed their stock in trade. From the mainland they received in exchange seeds, acorns, bows and arrows, etc." (Heizer 1955:151.)

The organization of the inter-village exchange system seems to have been essentially an expression of the profit motive on the individual level, and the operation of the law of supply and demand. Effects of the system were to produce a common resource base for a large area at the expense of much work. These aspects of the economic system can be seen in the following quotations. Longinos Martinez described Chumash economic behavior while he was in the area collecting data on resources for the Spanish government, in 1792:

All these Indians are fond of traffic and commerce. They trade frequently with those of the mountains, bringing them fish and beadwork, which they exchange for seeds and shawls (*tapalos*) of foxskin, and a kind of blanket made from the fibers of a plant which resembles cotton; and they prefer these to their own which they make from sea otter. When they trade for profit, beads circulate among them as if they were money, being strung on long threads, according to the greater or smaller wealth of each one.

In their bargaining they use, as we use, weights, their *poncos* of strings of beads. This word *ponco* (Gabrieleno bead measure, Kroeber 1925:565), is used for a certain measure of these strings, two turns from the wrist to the extended middle finger. The value of the *ponco* depends on the esteem in which the beads are held, according to the difference in fineness and the colors that are common among them, ours being held in higher regard. The value depends upon the greater or smaller extent to which the beads have been circulated, the new values depending upon their abundance. The value which should be placed upon our beads is always estimated with respect to their own, and in everything they keep as much order as the most careful man who has accumulated some money.

Accounts exist which indicate the frequency with which the Chumash traded, and the degree of em-

1967:9). Justo 1880's: dark stone digging stick weights (Heizer 1955:1544). Señora Welch at Dos Pueblos Ranch: stone ollas from Catalina Island (Schumacher 1879:118). Fernando (Harrington's informant v. 1) 1913: beads. There is only one reference which lists goods going from the mainland coast to the inland area. Martinez in 1792 recorded fish and beadwork as material going to the inland groups (Simpson 1939:45). Several items are recorded as going directly from the island groups to the inland groups. Omsett in the 1880's said that shells for beads were traded to the inland people; and Fernando said otter skins were traded to the inland groups. One of Harrington's informants said that acorns and islays, etc., were traded to the Islanders by the inland villagers.

The following references summarize the goods moving from mainland villages to the islands: Tapis 1805: seeds (Brown 1967:9). Juan Pico 1880's: acorns, seeds, bows and arrows, etc. (Heizer 1955:151). Juan Justo 1880's: grass seeds, furs, skins, acorns and roots (Schumacher 1879:118). Fernando 1913: chia and acorns (Craig 1967:83). Fernando 1913: wo'ni (burden basket), and large baskets.

There are only two statements concerning goods going from inland villages to coastal villages. On May 18, 1782, Felipe de Neve wrote to Ortega, commander of the Santa Barbara Presidio:

(The Channel Missions) have to vary in their methods from the rest (of the missions) of the Peninsula; this is required because of the location of the rancherias, the large number of heathen, their trading, and their stored food by whose abundance they maintain themselves. Their food is fish, game, seeds and other fruits that they trade for with the mountain Indians . . ." (Calif. Archives 1782b:26).

Martinez in 1792 recorded that seeds, shawls of foxskin, and blankets made from fibers resembling cotton traveled in this direction (Simpson 1939:45).

The following statements given by Fernando to Harrington indicate that the Islanders brought goods to some mainland coastal villages. These villages were trade centers. Islanders and individuals from the surrounding villages met at these locations.

At many of the villages on the coast of the mainland, as many as one half of the population talked the Santa Cruz Island language. The Santa Cruz Island people lived permanently in these villages, like permanent colonists. During the time of harvest, when the acorns, etc. were ripe, many Indians came from the islands to the mainland and went inland to gather the wild fruit. Santa Rosa Island was the richest in otter.

The Indians would kill the otter with arrows. They would bring the skins to the mainland at harvest time, and trade them for acorns, etc. The coast of the mainland was where inland Indians, coast Indians and island Indians mixed. That is why the *sili:k* (ceremonial enclosure used at fiestas) was on the coast. There was commerce between inland and island Indians at *kasil* (Refugio). Exchanged otter skins. Shawa was not abandoned at large then. Refugio was a big village; it was a center for it was a port of the Santa Cruz Island Indians; a trail led to Santa Ines and there was much trade in acorns, wild cherry, etc., from Santa Ines when the islanders came. (Fernando to Harrington).

Governor Jose Joaquin Arrillaga wrote to the commander of Santa Barbara in December, 1804, just after the abandonment of the mainland coastal villages, indicating possibly related activities:

It shouldn't be your duty to transfer the mountaineers who solicit at the Arroyo of El Capitan and at the Arroyo of Casil (Refugio), (Calif. Archives 1804:104).

Harrington's informant Fernando said: ". . . women and men on the islands made the beads and came here to Ventura to sell them . . . Pitas Point . . . was the place where the island Indians came." (Craig 1967:83).

Governor de Neve wrote to the commander of the Santa Barbara Presidio on March 6, 1782, prior to the establishment of the Presidio: "(At) the large rancheria of Asumpta (Ventura) . . . its natives have since the first expedition manifested themselves as good friends; they find themselves frequently insulted by the heathen traders to whom they were obligated to abandon their rancheria and to form it in the willow grove (*sauce*). (California Archives 1782a:89-91.)

Additional references indicate the transportation of goods by Islanders to the mainland: "They (Santa Rosa Island Indians) carried on considerable trade in shells with the Indians in the interior." (Omsett in the 1880's; Bowers 1878:319). Friar Antonio de la Ascension, who was on the Vizcaino voyage of 1602, recorded: "They (the Channel Islands) are well settled with Indians who trade and communicate with each other and with those of the mainland." (Wagner 1929:239.) Crespi of the Portolá Expedition recorded in 1769 at Ventura: "In the afternoon some chiefs came from the mountains (Ojai Valley), having come from their country purposely to see us. Some Islanders from the Santa Barbara Channel who happened to be in this town, came also, and they told us that twelve canoes had gone to the islands to bring from there the people who

tion and marketing of materials. All these activities require an increase in energy expenditure. Therefore the intensity of interaction is not normally greater than is necessary for group maintenance. Of considerable interest in this discussion is the fact that the village populations in the Chumash area spoke several related dialects. In 1769, the year of the first European settlement of California, the population density of this area was evidently greater than that recorded historically for any other non-agricultural area, excepting probably areas of the Chinook and certain other Northwest Coast groups.

There is a great deal of variability in the environmental settings of Chumash villages. In this paper, a simple classification of *Inland*, *Mainland Coast*, and *Island* is sufficient to illustrate the physical context of inter-village exchange.

The Inland area is characterized by a mountainous landscape, with small areas of relatively flat bottomlands, which support valley oak and various grasses. As one travels from the valley bottoms, up the slopes of the mountains, the vegetation changes to a zone of sage and sage brush, or to chaparral, or (on some north-facing slopes) to toyon and groves of live oak. Along narrow streams are found live oak, sycamores, bay trees, and *Prunus sp.* (wild cherry). The general environment has been classified as Upper Sonoran.

The Coastal area has almost all plants found in the interior, but in different proportions. Coastal sage usually covers large areas, and there are various micro-environments unique to this area, such as salt marshes and small lagoons. The seashores on the mainland have more variability in environment than do the shores of the islands.

The Island area has a cooler environment than the Mainland. The plant communities are more similar to those found in Central California than to those of Southern California. The islands have less than half as many plant species as the mainland. At the time of contact, the largest land mammal living on the islands was a species of small fox. These were the more important Chumash resources, the general areas in which they were found, and the seasons in which they were gathered: (It is apparent that the Islanders lacked some important vegetable resources, especially those obtained between the months of January and July.)

Wild cherry (islay) was gathered from July to September; acorns in October and November (in some areas, i.e. near Gibraltar Dam, they were gathered in January as well as at other times), chia (sage seeds) in the summer, mescal (yucca) between January and May, and cacomites, or blue dick bulbs (*Brodiaea sp.*) were evidently collected in the early spring. Of

these vegetable products, mescal and chia were not available locally on the Channel Islands. Mammals exploited on the mainland were deer, rabbits, squirrels, gophers, and rats. None of these animals were present on the islands. River fish were utilized in those areas where they were available (especially in the Santa Ines Valley); birds were also taken. The mainland area had most of the raw material resources used by the Chumash.

Sea resources were exploited by the coastal villages on the islands and mainland. Shellfish were also evidently gathered by inland groups, when they came to fiestas on the coast. Sea resources can be roughly listed on the basis of habitat.

Shore resources consisted of shell fish, other invertebrate animals, rocky shore fish, and sandy shore fish. The sandy shore fish are not common on the islands, which have mainly rocky shores. Some sea mammals such as seals and sea otters also frequent shore environments. Resources of shore environments were generally available at all seasons. They were therefore important in the winter, when other types of resources were scarce.

Food obtained in pelagic areas consisted of sea mammals and fish. Animals found in the pelagic environments were often seasonal and reached their highest frequency in the summer months. Evidently sea birds were also taken.

Island resources other than those on the shores were limited. Blue dick bulbs were probably among the most important. Acorns and wild cherry were also present on the islands, but seldom in quantities comparable to those of the mainland. Of the Santa Barbara Channel Islands, Santa Cruz Island is the only one with sources of material which can be used for small, well-made chipped-stone tools. The other islands have lithic sources which were used for ground stone artifacts.

Here listed are the goods traded between Chumash villages, categorized by direction of movement. There is a distinction in kind between goods which went from the mainland to the islands, and goods which came to the mainland from the islands. It is clear that the islands were exporting manufactured goods, whereas the mainland was exporting food resources and goods manufactured from materials which were lacking in the islands.

Items mentioned as moving from the islands to the mainland are these: each item is preceded by the name of the informant). Herrera 1542: beads of fish bone (Wagner 1929:427). Costanso 1770: coral beads (Hemert and Teggart 1910:49). Font 1776: baskets (Bolton 1931:272). Tapis 1803: beads of shell (Brown

# CHUMASH INTER-VILLAGE ECONOMIC EXCHANGE

By CHESTER KING

The Chumash Indians occupied areas on the coast of Southern California between Point Conception and Malibu, on the Santa Barbara Channel Islands, and in the inland valleys adjacent to the mainland coast. They maintained a market economy with standardized, portable mediums of exchange, frequently used to purchase subsistence materials, most manufactured goods, and some services. Many economic anthropologists have implied that no non-agricultural society like the Chumash, or even non-"peasant" or non-"modern" society can be expected to have such an economic system. (Nash, 1966; Dalton, 1967).

In this paper I shall present a hypothesis which explains Chumash intergroup economic behavior. I shall then illustrate the hypothesis with geographic, historic, and ethnographic Chumash data. There will follow a description of how the operation of the intergroup economic system created archaeologically observed regularities. How the hypothesized relationships suggested in the paper can be tested, is treated in summary form.

A number of authors have recently explained differences and similarities between the economic behavior of different groups on the basis of environmental variation, (Suttles, 1968a, 1968b; Yengoyan, 1968; Pidcocke, 1968; Vayda, 1967, 1969). There are two types of environmental variability, which are here hypothesized to result in most or all differences in inter-group eco-

conomic interaction. One form exists when neighboring groups are adapted to resource bases which have differing seasonal patterns. Exchange of materials between such groups can result in a more stable subsistence base, and thereby an increase in population, which in turn makes it necessary for the groups to maintain interaction. The more differences between the resource bases of adjoining groups, the greater the intensity of interaction. This first form of variability is requisite to all highly developed market economies.

The second form of variability results from the reliability of resources within each territory, and the number of kinds of resources being relied upon at any one time. Inter-group interaction increases (1) in relation to population pressure on the available resources; and (2) according to the degree of resource reliability, increasing when the resource base is less reliable, or relatively unpredictable. Inter-group interaction decreases when resources are more reliable. Averaging the effects of resource fluctuation characterizes all economic systems to some degree.

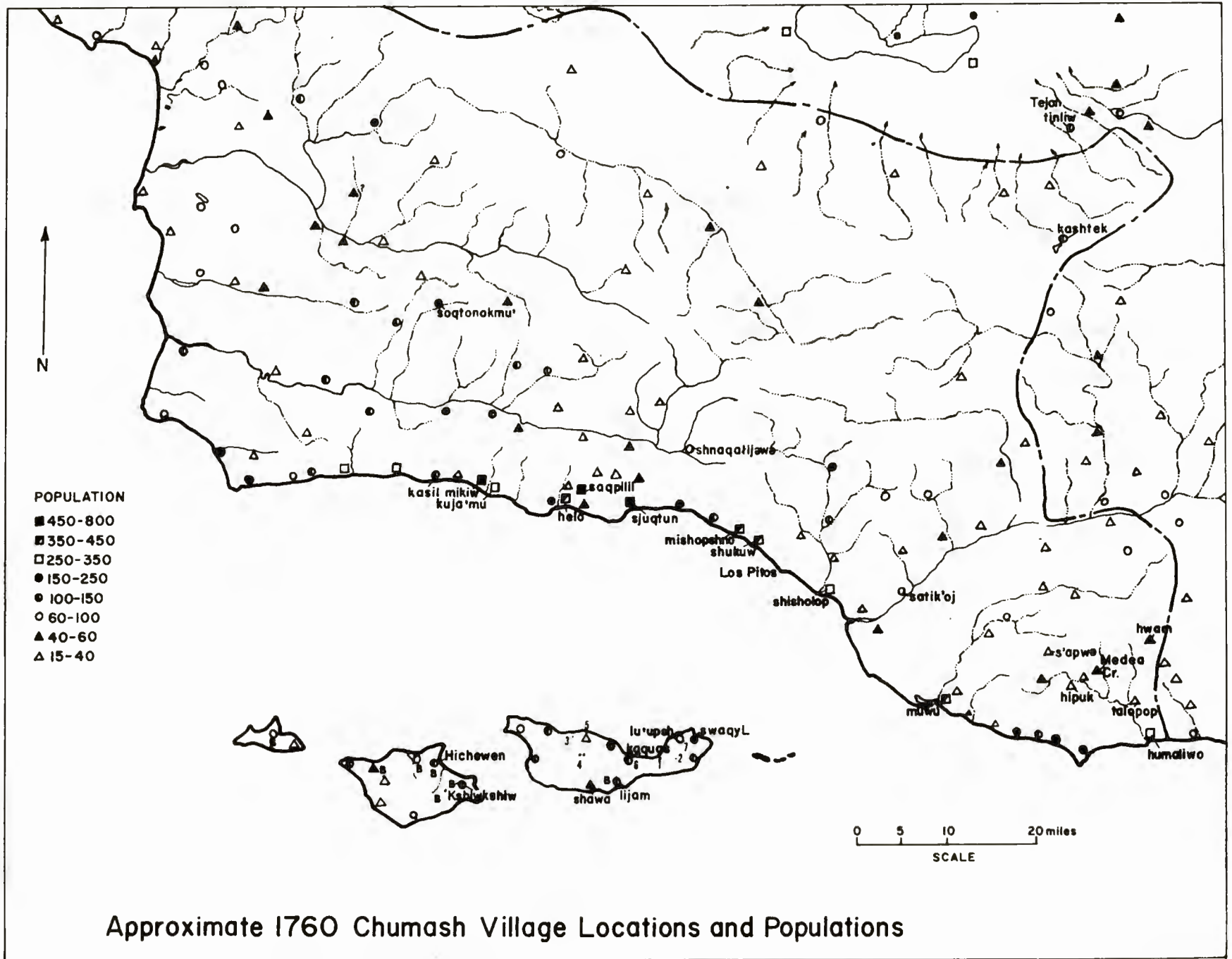
Given the relationships between population size, resource variability, and inter-group interaction, it is possible to hypothesize that economic behavior varies between populations as a result of the efficient adaptation of each population to its particular environmental arrangement of critical resources. The degree different populations interact, and the ways in which this occurs, are therefore determined by differences and similarities in the environment of each group, and the extent to which population growth has resulted in the necessity for increased interaction.

Inter-group interaction results in harvesting more than the members of the local group can consume, the production of exchange goods, and the transporta-

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CHESTER KING is a doctoral candidate in anthropology at the University of California, Davis. This paper is the result of the author's continuing research related to the demography and adaptive behavior of Chumash speaking groups of Southern California. Many of the references used in the paper are taken from a portion of the ethnographic notes of John Peabody Harrington. All references to these notes are in the same form used by L. King (1969).

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as Captain Peter, was a native of St. Francis, P.Q., the ancient reserve of the remnant of the Abenakis in Canada. Peter Sabbatis and his Abenaki wife removed to the Mohawk community at St. Regis Falls (sic) late in the last century (late 1700's), where Mitchell was born about ninety years ago. The father and son were accustomed to hunt in St. Lawrence, Franklin, and Hamilton counties in company with other Abenakis, who gave names to a number of the Adirondack lakes and rivers . . . (Prince 1900:124).

Was Prince mistaken? Did he really mean the St. Regis Indian Reservation? Could it be that Mitchell Sabbatis was really a descendant of an Abenaki family living at St. Regis? These questions remain unanswered because there are no Sabbatis' in the St. Regis Church records, but it could be that the Sabbatis' were known by another name.

Another Abenaki who lived in the Adirondacks during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was Sabael. Sabael was born on the Abenaki reservation in Maine during the first half of the eighteenth century. According to one account

Sabael left his tribe . . . (and) he came back to the Adirondacks and settled with his wife, Margaret, at Indian Lake, . . . Here he buried his wife when she died. In later years he built another shanty on the east side of the Lake. His eldest son Lige Eligah (Lewis Elijah) Benedick, died in 1866 (Wessels 1961:79).

The same author maintains that "the Mitchell family of Indian Lake are descendants of Sabael Benedict"

(Wessels 1961:80)9. Could it be that Sabael Benedict came to the Adirondacks by way of St. Regis?

Much of this information points to similarities in surnames associated with the Abenakis which still persist at St. Regis among the Mohawks. Most of the "Abenaki" names at St. Regis seem to be localized on Cornwall Island and some of the surrounding islands in the St. Lawrence River; witness the names: Barnhart — Barnhart's Island; Thompson — Thompson Island; Benedict, Sawatis (Mohawk for John-from Sabbatis, from St. Jean Baptiste), and Mitchell, all on Cornwall Island. Could it be that when the Abenakis came to St. Regis they settled on the outlying islands rather than in the village?

I have offered above several hypotheses concerning the persistence of the Abenaki heritage at St. Regis, I would like to point out that these hypotheses are merely suggestive and are in no way conclusive.

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in the French time, that the Abinaquis had as good a Right to be at Aughquisasne as they, having been as it were but a day or two there before them (Johnson Papers 7:127).

Obviously Carleton had failed to do his homework, otherwise he would have known that the Mohawks preceded the Abenakis at St. Regis by at least four years. However, Claus told Carleton that the Iroquois had been at St. Regis several years before the Abenakis arrived and that the Mohawk lands were ". . . within the limits of their and the Six Nations Hunting Ground."

The dispute between the Abenakis and the St. Regis Mohawks over the right to the land raged on for at least another year. In April of 1770, Father Gordon, the resident Jesuit at St. Regis wrote to Claus asking to have Johnson remove the Abenakis (Johnson Papers 7:531-532). In July, 1770, a conference was held at German Flatts (near Herkimer, New York) with seventy-eight Indians from Caughnawaga and St. Regis present; in addition, delegates from the Six Nations, Cherokees, and several other tribes also attended (DRCH 8:227-244). The delegation from the Seven Nations reminded Johnson that the Abenakis were still at St. Regis (DRCH 8:238): the delegation also reaffirmed their loyalty to the English (Johnson Papers 12:838-839). The Abenakis from St. Regis were also at the conference and they pleaded their case to Johnson, producing Carleton's speech granting them the right to settle at St. Regis (Johnson Papers 7:840). Furthermore, they stated their reasons for wanting to remain at St. Regis; they told Johnson

Behold here these old people before you (pointing at 2 old Men of their Tribe) whether they will be capable of establishing themselves anew, And We beg you give our Brethren the Iroquois to understand not to molest us, but let us live in peace at that Place for the future, and build the Necessary Dwelling places for our Shelter. We have taken refuge to that place on Account of Drunkenness which so much prevails in the other Indian Town in Canada . . . (Johnson Papers 7:841).

The Abenakis also asked Johnson to let Hertel remain as their interpreter.

Johnson delivered his decision to the Abenakis on August 6, 1770; he told them that the Mohawks at St. Regis

. . . are descended from the Original Proprietors (and) . . . You who were born in another part of the Country can claim no Title to Land but where you were born, wherefore You should not intrude, or press Yourselves on them People against their Inclination . . . (Johnson Papers 7:843).

Johnson went on to say

it is not the Caughnawages and St. Regis Indians alone that are dissatisfied with your Conduct, the Six Nations are extremely displeased with it, as they often declared to me (ibid).

Johnson told the Abenakis that although it would be

a hardship for the old people to resettle at St. Francis, he thought that there were "many places free from Drunkenness besides St. Regis." By September 30, 1770, Hertel and the Abenakis had tentatively agreed to leave St. Regis and return to St. Francis during the following spring (Johnson Papers 7:920-921; 930-932; 934-935). Although the Abenakis returned to their village along the St. Francis River in 1771, they left behind evidence of their sojourn at St. Regis.

During their stay at St. Regis, the Abenakis intermarried with the Mohawks and many contemporary St. Regis families bear witness to this Abenaki heritage. Several families have surnames which can be traced through the Church records to Abenaki ancestors. The name Barnhart, often associated with Barnhart's Island (located in the St. Lawrence River), is one name which can be traced back to an Abenaki man who remained at St. Regis. Another name which may be of Abenaki origin, as indicated in the Church records, is Thompson. There are probably several more surnames which are also of Abenaki origin; however, one of the major obstacles in tracing the genealogies of St. Regis families who might be of Abenaki origins is the incompleteness of the Church records.

The first entry in the extant Church records is the baptism of an Abenaki girl in 1762, although there is some doubt as to whether the date is 1762 or 1764. The early entries for the Abenakis differ from the entries for the Mohawks in the following manner: when a Mohawk child was baptized, he was given a "Christian" first name and his father's Indian name, while an Abenaki child was baptized as "Thomas Abenakis" or "Catherine Abenakis." The Church records were generally kept in this style until the 1820's when the Abenaki distinction fades away. Another interesting facet of the problem is the preponderance of Abenaki women who married into the St. Regis community; it appears that the majority of Abenaki men born at St. Regis either remained bachelors, which was highly unlikely, or probably returned to St. Francis to seek wives. The St. Regis Church records are kept according to patrilineal descent and thus the Abenaki women assumed the names and identity of their Mohawk husbands.

There is a tradition concerning the residence of several Abenakis in the Adirondack Mountains of New York State. J. Dyneley Prince employed one Mitchell Sabbatis as an informant when he wrote his paper on "Some Forgotten Indian Place-Names in the Adirondacks" (Prince 1900). According to Prince, Mitchell Sabbatis was an Abenaki who lived in Long Lake Village, New York. Prince writes that

My informant's father, the late Peter Sabbatis, dead fifty years ago (circa. 1850), but still remembered

# The Abenakis Among the St. Regis Mohawks

By JACK A. FRISCH

The St. Regis Mohawks have occupied their lands since the establishment of a French Jesuit mission colony in 1755. The community was established with a dual purpose in mind: first, it was to serve as a place where Mohawk converts to Catholicism coming from the Mohawk Valley, could find asylum, while at the same time, providing refuge for emigrants from the overcrowded mission at Caughnawaga; secondly, the new mission also served, along with the missions at Oswegatchie (Ogdensburg, N. Y.) and Caughnawaga, as a buffer zone against English attempts on Montreal during the French and Indian War.

Prior to the outbreak of the French and Indian War, the French had induced their Indian allies to form a loose religious confederation known as the "Seven Indian Nations of Canada." The members of this "confederation", each representing communities where the French had established Catholic missions, were:

- 1) Lake of the Two Mountains (Oka) — Mohawks
- 2) Lake of the Two Mountains — Algonquins
- 3) Lake of the Two Mountains — Nipissings
- 4) Caughnawaga — Mohawks
- 5) Oswegatchie — Iroquois (Onondagas & Cayugas)
- 6) St. Francis — Abenakis
- 7) Lorette — Hurons

After the breakup of the mission at Oswegatchie, a council of the remaining "nations" was held and it was agreed upon that St. Regis would fill the vacancy.

The importance of the "Seven Nations" confederacy with respect to the Abenakis is often overlooked. The Abenakis who settled along the St. Francis River, some sixty miles below Montreal, were among the original members of the "Confederacy" who were loyal to the

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French during the "Colonial Wars". This loyalty proved to be disastrous when, on September 23, 1759, a British raiding party under the command of Major Robert Rogers, destroyed the Abenaki settlement at St. Francis (Sylvester 1910:515). The detachment of Rogers' Rangers, as Rogers and his nine companies were called, completely devastated the settlement causing the surviving remnants of the Abenakis to disperse to many areas. Many Abenakis, along with a French trader named John Jacob Hertel, were given asylum at St. Regis (Johnson Papers 7:110). Other groups of Abenakis probably sought refuge among other communities of the "Seven Nations."

The refuge offered by the St. Regis Mohawks to the Abenakis was intended as a temporary arrangement. However, the Abenakis apparently came to stay and during their residence at St. Regis, a bitter dispute broke out between the Mohawks and their guests.

Ten years after the arrival of the Abenakis at St. Regis, the two parties were embroiled in a major dispute over land. At a meeting held at Caughnawaga on August 21, 1769, between Daniel Claus, deputy to Sir William Johnson, and the "Sachems and other principal men of (the) . . . St. Regis Indians." The speaker from St. Regis, addressing his remarks to Johnson, said

You (Johnson) are no Stranger to our Manners and Customs, in particular you will allow that there is hardly an Instance of Indians of different Nats. residing together if possibly they can avoid it. You will then please to know that some of the St. Francis Indians, after their Village was cut off came to us for Shelter and Reception desiring our Protection for one Night as their Expression was, or until their Village was re-established; we granted their Request and received them under our Protection (Johnson Papers 7:110).

It had been more than a year and a half since the Abenaki village on the St. Francis River had been rebuilt and the Mohawks were anxious to see the Abenakis leave St. Regis. Furthermore, the Abenakis were maliciously destroying beaver traps belonging to both the St. Regis Mohawks and the Six Nation Iroquois. The St. Regis Mohawks were quite apprehensive about this situation; they feared that the Six Nations would blame them for the Abenakis actions (Johnson Papers 7:111).

The whole matter of the removal of the Abenakis from St. Regis was complicated by the fact that Hertel, the cunning interpreter for the Abenakis, secured a paper from Guy Carleton, the Governor of Canada, granting permission to the Abenakis, Hertel included, to establish themselves at St. Regis. Claus met with Carleton and was told by the latter that

. . . the Iroquois of Aughquisasne (St. Regis) must drop those Notions of appropriating any lands or spots of Ground in Canada as they never had any

Buret-Malta is questionable, but at the present time is thought to be from 15,000 to 20,000 B. C. Wilmsen sums up his idea as follows:

. . . a group of hunting oriented people have developed tools and social techniques to prey successfully upon the smaller units of late Pleistocene megafauna, began to expand rather rapidly into areas favorable to this type of economy. Their tool making technique was based on the Lavallois-Mousterian flake tradition and developed into a flake-blade industry from which points effective in killing smaller grazing animals evolved. Sometime during the period 21,000 - 11,000 B. C., these people crossed the Bering Strait, which was then crossable on foot and became the first effective, if not the initial inhabitants of the North American continent. Kogurk and British Mountain may or may not represent the earliest penetration, but they are certainly part of this same general movement and should therefore date within this period. These people spread eastward along the Alaskan foothill country, then southward keeping to the foothills, where, under the stimulus of a desire to include larger mammals in their regular diet, the incipient fluting technique, which was part of their cultural equipment, became the instrument which provided a highly effective tool for the realization of this end. This tool was the Clovis fluted point which was so effective that it permitted its possessors to spread very rapidly over all of North America below the Mankato Ice Sheet. (Wilmsen, 1966, 36)

Willey says:

First I think it likely that the "pre-projectile point horizon" is a reality and that man first crossed into America as far back as 40,000 to 20,000 B. C. I say this not so much because of the numerous surface collection assemblages or complexes that have been found widely over the Americas, and that present a typology that seems inconsistent with the American specialized hunters. As Krieger has made clear, not all these complexes need be extremely ancient, but I think that some of them must be. In expressing this view, I wish again to make it explicit that I do not believe that present evidence is adequate to support it beyond reasonable doubt.

Second, the hypothesis of a Levallois-Mousterian complex being carried to the New World from Siberia during the period of 20,000 to 10,000 B. C. strikes me as highly likely. I think that this is the best explanation for the presence of Lanceolate and fluted blade forms in America and for the specialized hunting economy with which they are found in association. I see no essential conflict in postulating this as well as an earlier entry by less specialized flint workers and hunters. The later arrivals could have superceded or merged with a resident population. The earlier ways of life and stone industry would have been modified or replaced by the later patterns, being retained, perhaps in marginal areas for a time. (Willey, 1966, 37.)

Agogino, on the other hand, has been accused by some contemporaries of being a "later date Hrdlicka" because of his refusal to accept uncritically any of the current North American pre-projectile point horizon for both continents. In fact, Agogino, like Chard, postulates the possibility that man in small units may have reached America in a period prior to the Wis-

consin Glaciation. If this proves true, it is also possible that such individuals were physically pre-Homo sapiens. These bands, if they did exist, never expanded to any extent to the late Pleistocene times, and evidence of their existence is both sparse and sites few. Many of the archaeological sites discovered and excavated in the past few years has strong suggested evidence with fair to good validity, supporting the existence of pre-projectile man. In some instances, however, faulty assumptions, have clouded the issue, particularly due to the inability to distinguish between pre-projectile and non-projectile horizons. This is very evident in South American preceramic research, and to a lesser degree in North America. Quarry tools reminiscent in style to tools of the European Paleolithic, but often only a few hundred years old, fall into this category of certain types of specialized wood working tools found in our close-to-forest areas.

The emergence, culture, and existence of early pre-projectile complexes in the Americas is still veiled in archaeological limbo, but each year the secrets of late pre-projectile cultures dating about 20,000 years in age seems to become more of a reality and should, according to Agogino, become a certainty. One thing is clear even now. The Indians who made the classic Paleo-Indian point cultures were not the first people to walk the land mass of the Americas. Yet other representatives, not necessarily even Homo sapiens, left his footprints earlier. He is a representative of a generalized concept today known as pre-projectile man. Tomorrow we hope to name him in more specific terms and in doing so, add to the complex and wonderful story of Paleo man.

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many migrations, these various groups, given time, probably intermingled to an extent, and in consequence there was a change in physical features. Blood types indicate that most American Indians are quite separate from Asiatic Mongoloids except in northern North America. These are the Eskimo and the Athabaskan, which are a more recent migratory group. (Willey, 1966, 13.)

It is not known when man first came to America. He may have crossed the Bering land bridge as far back as the early or middle Wisconsin ice age, or even earlier. The latest he could have entered would have been around the Two Creeks interval between the Valdres and Mankato substages. If these first people did come over during the early or middle Wisconsin, their technology and their equipment, skills, etc., would certainly be relatively primitive compared to the Paleo-Indian evidence which has been found in North America. Their technology probably came from the flint chipping industry of southeastern Asia and the chopper and chopping tool complex of the same area. There are no New World artifact assemblages, which have been found under definite conditions of great antiquity, which resemble those tool assemblages of middle or early Paleolithic Asia or Siberia. There are a number of artifacts which have been recovered, which are similar to those of early Paleolithic Asia. Most of these, however, have been surface finds and therefore it is a matter of opinion as to whether they are of any great age. These American artifacts consist of thick flint scrapers, choppers, and worked flakes. In these assemblages there are no bifacially flaked implements or projectile points. There is some comparison with the big game hunting tradition in Siberia with the one in America. This involves a bifacially flaked leaf-shaped point or blade which has been found, in Western Siberia, in Mousterian-like Paleolithic context which dated around 20,000 B. C. This would seem to be the earliest Asiatic source for any American projectile point tradition. Many anthropologists think, however, that the big game hunting tradition of the American variety was indigenous to the North American continent.

C. S. Chard (1959, 44-49) believes that man entered North America in mid-Pleistocene times or earlier. He feels that only Siberian and Far Eastern Paleolithic cultures were old enough to have provided the cultural heritage for early immigrants to the Americas. These industries lacked both bifacial points and blades, as they were characterized by rough core tools. An example of this would be the Fenho complex of northern China, which was similar to the California Manix Lake Choppers. He believes that the American tradition of bifacially flaked lanceolate projectile

points evolved independently in North America without any outside influence other than what they brought with them when they first came to North America. He also feels that there were other major movements into North America about 25,000 years ago which may have brought from central Siberia certain Levallois Mousterian elements including a rather crude blade technique.

Other ideas are based on bifacial blades or points in certain Paleolithic complexes of western and southwestern Siberia. These complexes are quite a bit different than those of the East, in that they were affiliated with European Paleolithic cultures such as Mousterian, Soluteran, and Magdalenian. These reflected a lot of the Pleistocene big hunting techniques, which were missing in the Asian chopper-chopping tool tradition. Chard felt that these traditions were too late and too remote, geographically speaking, to have provided a prototype for the New World developments of Mankato or Mankato-Cary age. The excavation of Ust 'Kanskaia Cave, in the Altai Mountains of southwestern Siberia, has shown a tool assemblage which appears to be late third interglacial. This is the earliest Siberian Paleolithic site known at present. The artifacts from this cave show a sort of Mousterian tradition.

H. M. Wormington feels that the blade technology passed from southwestern Siberia to the east, where it met and blended with the older Asian chopper-chopping tool tradition. This fusion of traditions then moved North and East to the Bering Strait. She feels that such events could have occurred as much as 20,000 years ago, early enough for the complex to have entered the New World as the basis for modifications that gave rise to the fluted and other lanceolate projectile points of the late Wisconsin stage. (Willey, 1966, 25-29)

E. N. Wilmsen points out that the Alaskan and northern Yukon artifact assemblages, of Kogruk and British Mountain, shared such features as a Levallois-Mousterian percussion-flaking technique, large bulbar flakes resulting from this technique, graters, unifacial points, and crude bifaces made from flakes. These same features were shared with the Siberian Buret-Malta complex from the central Lake Baikal region and from the Lena River Valley. An important part of Wilmsen's argument is that Malta assemblages include fluted flake tools, not points, but artifacts resembling burins. This crude fluting was also done on a few bifacial blades or points in the British Mountain complex. Neither British Mountain nor Kogruk have been securely dated, but from stratigraphic and geologic evidence it is thought that they may date as early as 16,000 B. C. The date of the early culture at

The Iyatayet site is located on the west side of Cape Denbigh on the Norton Sound on a high beach terrace. The artifacts from the site are quite varied including: burins, a large number of micro blades, a number of end and side scrapers, microliths, several polyhedral cores, and a variety of scrapers. The specimens, which were similar to Paleo-Indian types, included a fluted point that was approximately the same size as the average Folsom point, but basically triangular in outline. There were three flakes with small projections at the end, and these closely resembled the graters found at the Lindenmeier site. Also found, were points which were similar to the Scottsbluff type, one which resembled a Plainview point, and large fragmentary points which were probably lanceolate in outline and bore parallel flake scars across the face of the blade.

Assorted tools resembling those found in the Denbigh Flint Complex have been found in other localities in Alaska, in the Yukon Territory, in the Aleutians, and the Northwest Territories; also burins have been found as far east as Greenland. After examining the evidence, it appears that sites of the greatest age are found in the South Western areas of North America, indicating that the early immigrants actually spent little time in Alaska, but moved rapidly into the interior of the continent.

In all probability there are several reasons why man left Asia and came to North America: he may have been following his food supply, and/or he may have been pushed in that direction by people coming in from the south or west. The animals, on which man depended at this time, had preceded him over the land bridge between Siberia and North America. This is evident by the tremendous amounts of fossil remains of bison, musk ox, goat, moose, woolly mammoth, mastodon, and other animals which did not originate in North America. Many of their bones date between 25,000 and 30,000 years ago. If these animals could use this land bridge that long ago, then surely man could also. Gordon Willey sees the possibility of mid-Pleistocene man in America as quite good. As he points out:

... numerous instances of chipped stone tool complexes whose typology and isolation from technology and more advanced implements suggest great age. These have been found in all parts of the hemisphere and the simplest way to explain them is to say that they represent a stage of cultural and technological development that had very ancient beginnings in the Americas. Their beginnings most likely derived from middle Paleolithic chopping tool industries of eastern Asia. Yet there are other explanations. Such complexes could on occasion represent no more than a partial sample of the full complement of artifacts possessed by the people who made them, or they

may represent technological regression from the more advanced standards of flint working of the early projectile point complexes. As things stand now, the "pre-projectile point horizon" will not be demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt until a complex or assemblage of materials attributable to it are found stratigraphically beneath artifacts of the well-known 10,000 to 12,000 year old bifacially flaked lanceolate or leaf-shaped point class, or failing this, until the crude, non-projectile point complexes are found in indisputable association with middle or early Pleistocene deposits and convincing radiocarbon datings. (Willey, 1966, 33.)

It is fairly well established that man did not originate in the New World. All the current evidence shows that man in the New World always has been *Homo sapiens*. There are no lower anthropoid forms in the New World from which man could have evolved. This indicates that man probably did not enter the New World until *Homo sapiens* were widespread throughout the Eastern Hemisphere, especially in northeastern Asia.

Most physical anthropologists believe that the North American continent was basically populated by people from northeastern Asia. There probably was a little trans-Pacific migration, but not enough to have had the slightest effect on the physical type in the New World. The main point of difference among physical anthropologists is connected with the variability within the New World Indian populations. The further south, in North America, the less Mongoloid the features of the Indians were. In Central and South America, the natives have wavy hair, very dark skin, and short straight noses. This suggests separate migrations from Asia to the New World. J. B. Birdsell says that such groups as the Negritos, Carpentarians, and Amurians, which were the Caucasoid prototype of the Ainu, and in his opinion, the American Indian, had a di-hybrid origin of Amurian-Mongoloid mixture. He also believes that if man reached America as early as the third interglacial, he was more Amurian than Mongoloid. Whatever the case may be, whether the American Indians came from Mongoloid hybrid, or unspecialized Mongoloid, or pure Mongoloid stock, one fact stands out, that considerable physical variation does exist. Another way of explaining these differences is that New World populations have responded to environmental adaptation and change. The idea behind this is that warm-blooded peoples, as well as animals, of a single, widely varying species will be larger in cold climates and smaller in warm climates. This is a function of body heat retention or dissipation.

Whether man entered the New World 30,000 to 40,000 years ago, or 10,000 years ago, this still gives ample time for physical change to take place. On the other hand, under the assumption that there were

in order for man to get into the interior of North America, he had to travel through the gap between the Laurentide and Cordilleran ice sheets, either before they met or after they parted. This gap followed along the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains and through the unglaciated interior of Alaska.

Radiocarbon dates, taken from submerged shore features, indicate that lower sea levels existed at various times during the late Pleistocene. Some of these dates indicate that 11,000 - 12,000 years ago sea level was about 350 feet lower than today, and that 15,000 - 16,000 years ago sea level was as much as 230 feet lower than at present. 35,000 years ago it was as much as 470 feet lower. Around 19,000 years ago and between 26,000 - 30,000 years ago, sea level was as high or higher than at the present time.

This would mean that a land bridge, between Siberia and Alaska, was in existence from at least 24,000 to 11,000 B. C., and from 35,000 - 45,000 years ago, there was a land bridge that existed for about 10,000 years. Therefore, at any time during this period, man could have crossed from Asia to North America and lived in the unglaciated areas there. (Wendorf, 1966, 255-257.)

Exactly when the ice sheets joined or separated is not known. We now have a large number of radiocarbon dates, which can be related to glacial features in both Canada and the United States. This gives a very useful framework within which these two events may be placed. The dates, when placed in categories, show immediately that there is only one sample (GSC-210, 17,200-250 B. C.) that is within the period from 11,000 to 9,000 B. C.; 27 are between 18,000 to 28,000 B. C.; and 60 are greater than 28,000 B. C.

Because only one sample is dated between 11,000 and 18,000 B. C., we may surmise that glaciers covered the majority of Canada during this time period. On the other hand, the abundance of samples dating between 18,000 and 28,000 B. C. indicate that at this time the area was free of ice. Ice did not completely cover the area until approximately 18,000 B. C. Other C-14 dates tend to indicate that the area was not free of ice until after 10,000 B. C., the time of the Two Creeks recession. (Wendorf, 1966, 257-258.)

Currently, several possible "pre-projectile point" cultures have been investigated, which may eventually extend the period of human occupancy of the Americas to 20,000 years or more, particularly since a number of discoveries at various locations have yielded radiocarbon dates ranging from 20,000 to 40,000 years B. C. However, these dates, from sites such as Tule Springs, (Nevada); Lewisville, (Texas); Texas Street, (San

Diego, California); Santa Rosa Island, (California); and others, were based on preliminary or incomplete evidence. There is as yet no single discovery which gives positive evidence for the presence of man in the New World earlier than 14,000 years ago. Perhaps the best candidate for a pre-projectile culture at the present time rests with the Mexican research of Dr. Cynthia Irwin-Williams and several Mexican archaeologists, who are currently investigating the Valsequillo gravels near Puebla, Mexico.

North American fluted points are typologically sophisticated, and one would normally expect to find their prototypes either within the Americas or in areas adjacent to the Bering Straits, which provide the accepted land bridge to the New World. Until now, such prototypes have not been found, or at least have not been recognized.

The hypothesis that man appeared in America before the time of any of the point cultures hitherto identified should not be rejected out of hand; there may well have been small groups present whose technology had not advanced to the stage of making projectile points. If this was the case, the number of sites could be expected to be small; in view of the tendency of American archeologists to identify culture by point types, they might well remain unrecognized owing to the absence of "diagnostic points."

Plainview points have been found as far north as Alaska. One was found in a Pleistocene muck deposit in the Tanna River Valley (Rainy, 1940, 299-308), and a similar point was found near Circle Alaska (Hibben, 1941, 254-259). Another was found by J. L. Giddings, Jr. (personal communication) in 1951, north of the Bering Strait. R. S. MacNeish, at a site on the Great Bear Lake, Canada, found four projectile points of this type (personal communication).

There have been a number of Milnesand points, found in Alaska and Canada. One near the University of Alaska, and several from Alberta and Saskatchewan.

Eden points have also been found in the north, one along the Peace River in Alberta, one along the Alaska Highway, and one found with the bones of extinct animals in a muck deposit near Fairbanks. Several Frederick points have also been found in Alaska.

The Campus site, near the University of Alaska, when excavated, was found to contain end scrapers and blades struck from small polyhedral cores. The blades were supposedly similar to some found in the Gobi Desert, in Mongolia. Also, there was a strong similarity with some found in the Lake Baikal area of Siberia.

ice sheet moved southward out of British Columbia and continued in a southerly direction, climaxing in the area of the Columbia River Valley. Beyond this point to the south and southwest, there were occasional isolated alpine glaciers in the mountains. This phenomenon extended to southern New Mexico. In the north, the mountains of Alaska and the Aleutians were covered by ice. The ice extended westward down the slopes of the Rocky and Coastal Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. The eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains was the western-most boundary of the Laurentide ice sheet. The Laurentide ice sheet was bounded by the Arctic on the north and the Atlantic Ocean on the east. The southern border extended from Northern New Jersey through the Ohio Valley, then west to the Missouri River. In Central Western Canada, it met the Cordilleran ice sheet. (Willey, 1966, 26-27.)

The presence of the ice sheets had a definite effect on the climate of the whole North American continent. At this time, the climate south of the glacier was much different than it is today. The areas in close proximity to the terminal portion of the glaciers were mainly outwash plains with considerable vegetation in summer. There was a great deal more precipitation over the entire continent, this being called a "pluvial period." The western and southern areas of the country were much wetter and cooler than they are today, the arid southwest being a lush grassland.

The glacial periods were accompanied by inter-glacial periods, a period of time when the glacier stops advancing and begins to retreat. These inter-glacial periods can exist as long as a stage of glaciation can. During this inter-glacial or recessional period, everything that is true of the expanding ice sheet period is reversed.

Radiocarbon has been used to date the sub-stages of the Wisconsin glaciation. This has worked relatively well, but as might be expected, there are some complications. Considerable work has been done in dating between the Mankato and Valdres sub-stages of the Wisconsin glaciation. In his recent book, Gordon Willey has explained it as follows:

The Two Creeks recession of the glacial advance is placed at about 10,000 B. C. C. V. Haynes has more specifically placed it at between 10,300 and 9,800 B. C. Earlier radiocarbon date readings on the Farmdale sub-stage, the Farmdale-Iowan interstadial, the Iowan sub-stage and the Tazewell sub-stage range from 28,000 to 16,500 B. C. According to M. M. Leighton, (1960, 529-552) the Wisconsin glacial period begins with the Farmdale sub-stage which, in turn, marks the end of the Sagomon inter-glacial at some time before this earlier date. Fry and Willman, (1960, 285) on the other hand, insert the pre-Farmdale-Altonian sub-stage and subsequent inter-stadial with the beginning of the Wisconsin

sequence. They date the Altonian prior to 35,000 B. C., the extreme range of the radiocarbon determinations. Back of this point, it is estimated that the Altonian began or the Sagomon ended, as long as 70,000 years ago. In accordance with this downward extension of the dating and the beginnings of the Wisconsin, a major interstadial is inserted, and what is here referred to as the Altonian and the Farmdale. Estimated dates for this interstadial reach back 30 to 40 thousand years.

Leighton terminates the Wisconsin stage with the end of the Valdres advance, shortly after 9,000 B. C. Haynes (1964: 1408-1413) dates the Valdres to a short 9,000 - 9,500 B. C., immediately following the Two Creeks interval, and considers the two or three millenniums following 9,500 to 7,000 B. C. as the time of the Valdres recession. Some authorities would describe the anathermal climatic stage following the Valdres and ranging from about 7,000 B. C. to the onset of the warm climates of the altithermal, at about 5,000 B. C. The minor Cochran advance with anathermal is placed at about 6,000 B. C. Some geologists assume that the beginning of the altithermal at 5,000 B. C. marks the line between the Wisconsin and the Recent. Fry and Willman, on the other hand, bring the Valdres down to about 3,000 B. C., at which point they close the Wisconsin. To a large extent, this is a difference in terminology. Geologists generally recognize that since about 8,000 B. C., the glaciers have been on the wane, and this melting of ice has continued down to the present, with climatic optimum, or warm period, lasting from about 5,000 to 2,500 B. C. The climate of the mediterranean, essentially, is the climate we know today, although there have been slight local fluctuations within the last 4,500 years, that seem to have affected both man and his culture. Dating of the Wisconsin stage glacial stratigraphy derives almost all of its information from the Laurentide formations. Glacial sequences in western North America and elsewhere in the western hemisphere are less well developed.

Evidence of relatively dry and wet periods in geological columns in the North American High Plains, Great Basin, and the Southwest have been used, however, in attempts to relate such climatic changes to specific periods of glacial advances and retreats further north. Thus, it has been argued that an arid, erosional interval on the high plains correlates with the Two Creeks recession and that it was at this time that much of the Pleistocene Fauna became extinct in that part of the continent. (Willey, 1966, 29.)

The reason that the Wisconsin glaciation is so important is that it is responsible for the migration of man to North America. The land bridge was brought into being by the glaciation, and it was over this land bridge that man entered the New World. This migration could have taken place almost any time while the land bridge existed. When the glaciers formed, they locked up vast amounts of water. This, in turn, caused the sea level to fall. The Bering Strait, which separates Alaska and Siberia, is, on the average, only 140 feet deep. When the level of the sea had dropped that distance, there was land where before there had been about 60 miles of water. Getting from Siberia to Alaska was only half the problem, however; because,

# THE PALEO INDIAN: FACT AND THEORY OF EARLY MIGRATIONS TO THE NEW WORLD

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There is general acceptance among most scholars, that man originated in the Eastern Hemisphere and spread at a relatively late date into the new world. Language diversity and complex economic-cultural environmental specialization suggests a considerable age, but not necessarily great antiquity. In this article, these evidences of fact and theory of early migrations to the new world, are considered:

The emergence of Paleo-Indian archaeology began in 1926, when Howard Cook and J. D. Figgins traveled to Folsom, New Mexico, to excavate fossil bison, first discovered about 1909 by a Negro cowboy, George McJunkin. During the excavation of 23 bison, 19 projectile points now identified as Folsom were found in association with the remains. Initial geologic estimates of the age of the site was 25,000 years. Later estimates, using radiocarbon and other sophisticated techniques, put it within the 10,000-year old time bracket.

In the western part of the United States, four point types appear to be associated with Folsom material dating older than 10,000 years. The Folsom point has been dated at the Lindenmeier site in Colorado at 8820 B. C. plus or minus 375 years, the earliest date yet found for a Folsom complex. Its prototype, the Clovis point, appears before 9,000 B. C., but is yet to be found in any concentration earlier than 9,500 B. C. The Sandia points go still farther back to an acceptable radiocarbon date, but recent investigation by Agogino and Haynes places it no older than the Clovis culture. A fourth possible complex, the Midland culture, has been a subject of controversy, since Agogino tends to group Midland points as identical to Folsom points, except that they lack the characteristic flute, (Fig. 1). He points out further that the associated tools are virtually identical, and suggests that the Midland culture should be dropped as a separate entity, and should be considered as a simple variant point style of the Folsom people.

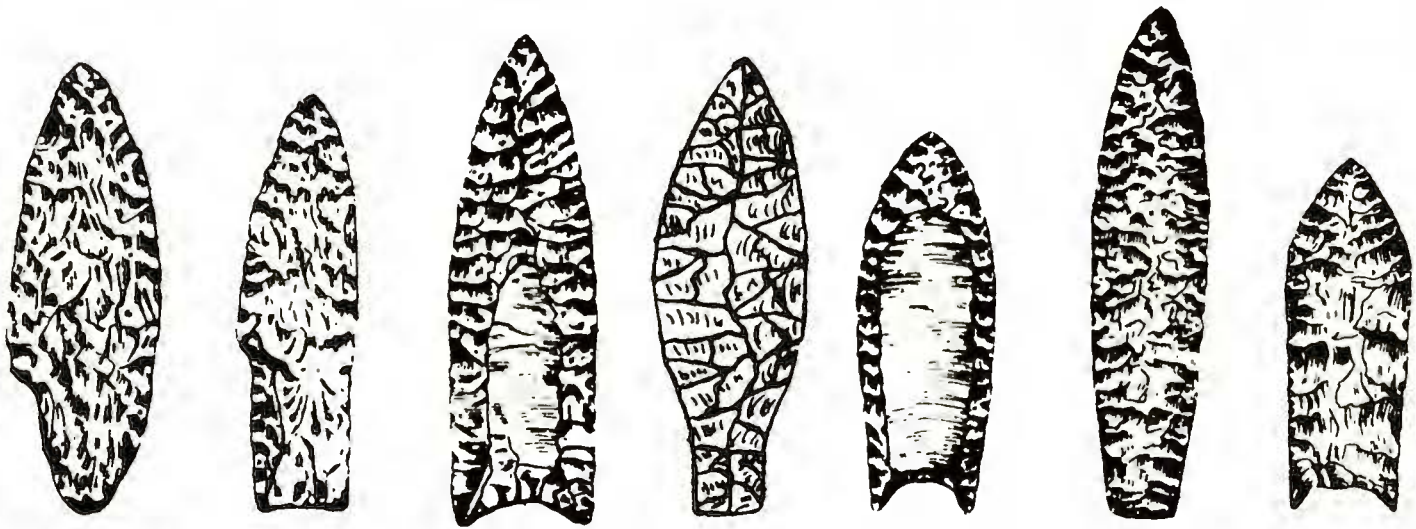
All the points discussed are typologically sophisticated, and one would expect to find prototypes either

within the Americas or in the areas adjacent to the the Bering Straits, the most acceptable land bridge to the new world. Until now, these prototypes have not been found, or at least not recognized. Most points in Siberia are different in style, tradition, and technique from the new world of Paleo-Indian points in the Americas, prove to be more recent than the new world types, and appear to be cultural backwash from the western hemisphere.

There is strongly suggestive evidence of a pre-projectile horizon in America, although to date the validity of this horizon has not been firmly established. During the Pleistocene, there were four major glaciations on both the North American and European continents. The European glaciations were the Gunz, Mindel, Riss, and Wurm. The North American glaciations were the Nebraskan, Kansan, Illionian, and Wisconsin. In both North America and Europe, these glaciations were extensive. It is the general consensus that the North American and European glaciers occurred at approximately the same time. The Wisconsin glaciation was the most recent and of most importance as far as this article is concerned. It has been divided into several sub-stages. From earliest to latest, these stages are: Altonian, Farmdale, Iowan, Tazewell, Gary, Mankato, and Valdres. These sub-stages are what might be called small glaciations within a large glaciation. During the life span of the Wisconsin, there were advances and retreats of the glacier within its general movement pattern. These pulsations could have been several thousand years in duration, thus making them important enough to be considered as separate parts of the main ice age. During the peak of the Wisconsin glaciation, there was a completely unbroken sheet of ice that stretched from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean, covering an area that extended from the northern United States to the Arctic Circle. In some places this ice was as thick as 4,000 feet.

The Glacier was made up of two main ice masses, the Cordilleran and the Laurentide. The Cordilleran





Sandia II (A)

Sandia I (B)

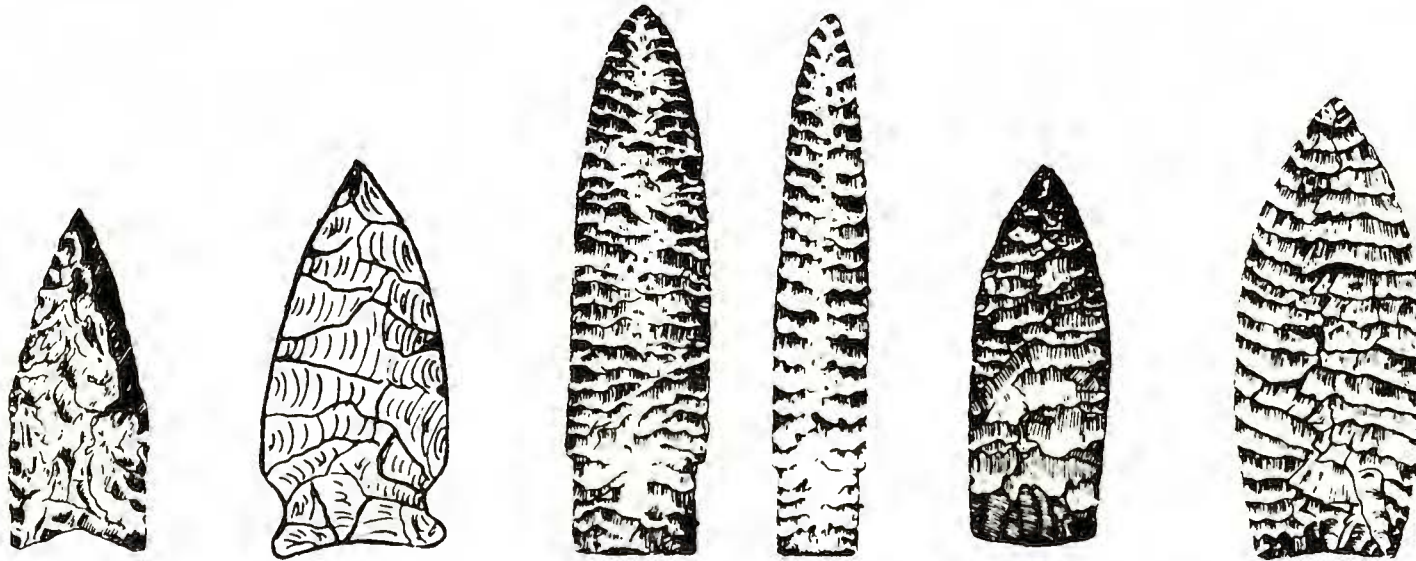
Clovis (C)

Hell Gap (D)

Folsom (F)

Agate Basin (G)

Plainview (H)



Meserve (I)

Simonsen (J)

Scottsbluff (K)

Eden (L)

Milnesand (M)

Browns Valley (N)

General Point sequence, Early Man in the Western Rocky Mountain region. Points A, B, C are older than 11,000 years. Points D, E, F, are about 10,000 years old. Points G, H, are older than 9,000 years. Points I, J, K, L, M are older than 8,000 years.

*The Poetry of a Yakima Man*

# **“WHAT IS THIS UPON MY LAND?”**

## **Suwaptsa**

*By LEROY B. SELAM*

Was it yesterday . . .  
That man reached the moon.  
Is it today he stands upon its surface.  
You marvel that man travels so far, so fast.

If they have traveled far  
Then I have traveled farther . . .  
If they have traveled fast  
Then I have traveled faster.

For I was born a thousand years ago  
My life style unique . . . beautiful.  
But within half a lifetime  
I was flung across the ages.  
From bows and arrows to atom bombs  
Is a distance far beyond  
A flight to the moon.

I was born when people loved all nature  
And spoke to it as though it listened.

When I was young  
I remember a clear river, good to drink.  
When I was young  
I remember a clear sky, good to breathe  
Beautiful to look upon.  
When I was young  
I can remember an early morning  
Watching the sunlight fires  
Dance upon the mountains.

I can remember an uncharred earth,  
And singing a song of thanks  
For all this beauty . . .  
Singing so very very softly.

Suddenly, strangers came.  
Then more and more and more . . .  
Like a crushing rushing wave they came,  
Hurling the years aside.

Suddenly, I find myself a young man  
In the midst of the twentieth century.  
I find myself and my people  
Adrift in this new age  
But not a part of it.  
Engulfed by its rushing tide,  
But only as a captive eddy,  
Going round . . . and around . . . and around.

On tiny plots of land  
We float in a kind of unreality,  
Uncertain of our grip upon the present  
Weak in our hopes for the future.

We know full well the stories of our people,  
As they lived in the old life  
The grand old stories of our people . . .  
When there was dignity,  
A feeling of worth . . .  
Unspoken confidence  
And certain knowledge of the paths  
They walked upon.

Let none forget  
We are a people with special rights  
Guaranteed to us by promises . . .  
Treaties.

We did not beg for these rights  
We do not thank you that we have them.  
We have paid for them  
With our lives, our dignity, our self respect.  
Shall we remain today  
A beaten race . . .  
Impoverished, conquered?

In some instances, this concern has included writing course outlines, collecting bibliographies, recruiting Native American students and staff, attending meetings, and teaching courses. Much of this interest has been directed toward the utilization of students in all planning phases.

There are those anthropologists who have gathered North American Indian data for their theses, and safely tethered in the academic hierarchy, are not concerned about the training of Indian college students. They are not committed to Third World programs. In some cases, they have actively opposed Third World programs. In effect, the colonialist mentality prevails. The possibility that Ethnic Studies could alter the "scientific" base of Anthropology is predominant in their thinking, i.e. "unscientific" equals applied. One major university has had a special program for American Indians for three years. Only this year, an Indian-initiated meeting between anthropologists and Native instructors occurred. Whether this may be attributed to lack of interest by anthropologists or a new appreciation for self-determination by Native Americans is difficult to assess. These two extremes, however, present a polarity of professional interest. There are between these polar types a wide range of support and active aid in the development of Native American Studies Programs. Native Indians in the university structure tend, however, to have roles defined by ascription by their anthropological colleagues. Other Indians assist in such programs through commitment.

It is from an increasingly vocal group of native college students that Indian sentiment against anthropologists has been verbalized. This was occurring before Deloria's article in *Playboy*, August, 1969, which has posed a problem of reassessment of roles by many Native American anthropologists. The predilection to the tried-and-true acculturation model sorted Native Americans in convenient classes of "native-oriented" to "white-oriented," with two or three gradients in between to allow for systematic scaling. In addition to the convenient sorting criteria which presented clear-cut categories, the "My People" orientation of anthropologists prevails.

Any generalization that may have had pertinence to the university training of Indian youth often had roots in the "but among *my* people" approach. This is often part of the paternalistic protection that many anthropologists assume. The tired dodge of pure science as opposed to applied science also had input. Frequently, some anthropologists are within a bureaucratic policy-making process but the "target-population" is never consulted as to the relevancy of university

training of Indian youth. Generations of administered human relationships have taken toll on Indian personality. This presents credence to the oft-heard 'sell-outs' who sometimes fill offices in bureaucratic structures dealing with advanced education for Indians.

Both the physical isolation of reservations and the anthropological concept of the ethnographic present have encapsulated the Native American in a static posture which presents an unrealistic picture of the varied and viable Native American cultures in existence today. D'Arcy McNickle writes tellingly of this in his article, 'Indians Who Never Were,' (*The Indian Historian*, Vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 4-7, Summer, 1970). The popular stereotype that the American Indian is invisible because of his physical and social isolation validated the decision-makers in higher education view of him as an unimportant unknown. In their view, therefore, pertinent and significant educational programs for this silent, stoic aborigine need not be considered. The Indian's bargaining base was low on the totemic power pole.

Strangely, this position predominates in Anthropology courses about American Indians. This may account for the disenchantment Native American students profess about many Anthropology courses. Additionally, the role of the "informant" is often assigned to Indian students.

The fear of having secret data elicited from them permeates much of the educational ventures of Indian students. True, in some instances, there may be no body of secret data in certain Indian individuals. Besides being suspicious of anthropologists, a strange ambivalence is evident. Most often, Indian students have found that some anthropologists, at least, listen to their statements regarding the system. Whether they do anything about it or not is quite another matter. Anthropology itself presents a general disillusionment. The study of Indians as a "primitive" people presents a burden to many Indians. This framework has generally put Indians in the realm of "experiments" or creatures to be examined. Anthropologists always study someone else, but despite this, are not able to make generalizations that are useful for students to apply to contemporary Indian communities. Thus, the very content of anthropology courses seems questionable. If Native Americans have been the object of research for so many years, why is the data, in most cases, meaningless to Indians? There is no feedback of data into Indian communities. The predominant conceptual contribution of cultural differences seems strangely lacking in much of this recent interaction.

(Continued on page 63)

blood, and categories based upon physical appearances — “White Indians” or “Full-Bloods.” Additionally, a very real issue arose, the opposition of Native Indian (native to a particular state), to the “outside” Indians who were often in positions seen as ones of power.

In general, movements to foster identity symbols proliferated. Long hair, head bands, beads, moccasins and fringed Native-style clothes tended to outdo the “hippy” counterparts on campuses. This “contrived culture” seemed to predominate in all programs.

Assertiveness and aggression were seen as normative acts. Control over decisions regarding the educative process was seemingly synonymous with attempts to con money, cars and promises from the Administration. Action and community involvement were seen as activism and there began a whole series of land grabs with status accruing according to those who went over in the first, second, or third landing party. Nothing so subtle as counting coup sufficed. Being essentially bi-cultural and a semi-product of the economic man, more tangible rewards were part of the non-traditional approach. Many of the Native American Studies departments are still in the throes of activism as witness the latest seizure of land near UC-Davis for a Native American-Chicano University. It must be added that the initial repossession of land focussed attention on the dismal plight of the Indian in general. The support by several anthropologists is difficult to assess. In some parts of the country, the wedge between Urban Indians and Tribal Peoples was widened. In some areas, this new activism had no effect at all.

In the third category of American Indian Culture Programs, the tendency is still to revamp university educational policy to make it more meaningful for Indian students. Some of the programs are decidedly remedial and of an upgrading nature. Recruitment has tended to specify the preparation of Native American students for university entrance. In some cases, this is dovetailed with university work.

It is apparent, through this cursory examination of so-called American Indian Studies Programs, that there is a range of types and objectives. Unfortunately, there is great competition for funds and for Native American instructors with proper credentials to meet the requirements to work in colleges and universities and for Indian students to fill quotas. Furthermore, there is a great proliferation of variations of the three aforementioned types — American Indian Studies Programs, American Indian Culture Programs and Native American Studies — in both the public and private sectors of university life. Competition is keen with tremendous duplication

of services and the shrouding of existing courses with fringes for goodness-of-fit into so-called American Indian Studies Programs. The attempt to capitalize on these programs is evident in every small college, where grant-getting to fill administrative coffers seems the sole aim. To establish such programs, these colleges are conducting “surrounds” to capture Indians with at least a baccalaureate degree to head the Native American Studies programs. Additionally, most of these institutions of higher learning write proposals for funds without consulting Indians — much less anthropologists.

Possibly due to the inter-tribal character of personnel in these departments and the acquisition of “social capital,” many of these new departments are full of indigenous intrigue, character assassinations and power struggles. Accusations of misuse of funds, concerns for inter-marriage patterns (“Indian by day, White by night,”) and the aspirations to “go National,” plus a tendency to create more chiefs and not enough Indians prevail in some departments. This state, dismal as it sounds, seems typical of many other Third World studies programs.

The majority of Native American Studies Programs deal with student populations of an inter-tribal character. This is yielding a “contrived culture” with roots in a variety of experiences and cultural backgrounds. Thus, relevancy of educational experience is basic to curriculum development to encompass all groups. Uniqueness of tribal heritage is often difficult to present. The examination of “experience relevant to the group” that Vine Deloria suggests (*We Talk, You Listen*, New York: Macmillan, 1970, p. 42 and 57), has potential in redirecting curriculum. This strain toward self-awareness in an historical framework leading to present issues confronting Indian peoples posits a fruitful approach to a complex area. However, many Native American students reject categorically any writings by anthropologists relating to their tribes. There is the corollary danger of relying on student opinion and information given the negation of culture and background previously instilled by ethnocentric educational processes. The role of the anthropologist in the Native American Studies and in Third World Departments in general, is hazy and fraught with many dangers. The concern for the plight of Third World peoples seemingly has provided a “dog-soldier” stance of *some* anthropologists who manifest a responsibility for the realistic development of American Indian college students. In addition, the possible “under-dog” status and under-enrolled segment which the Native American sector represents in most Ethnic Studies Divisions serves to solidify certain anthropologists’ involvement.

college student or to the aspiring less-than-middle-class family. Endemic in this structure is the White-American concept of their superiority to others both racially and culturally. This cultural heritage is the one in which most anthropologists have been nurtured. These institutions acted as mazes to mediocrity and, in some cases, to lonely isolation of Indians in White society. Alienation of Indian college graduates from native life-styles seemed inevitable. In some cases, rejection of cultural heritage by Native Americans was the only passport to a pitiful existence in the dominant society achieved by traversing the post-secondary educational treadmill.

Generally, the pathways to "progress" and acceptance in the White world as manifested in the curriculum of colleges and universities were but webs to trap Indians for the "melting pot" theorists. Ethnocentric Chauvinistic curricula and premeditated policies to maintain the *status quo* and to propel Indians toward assimilation and ultimate, but dubious, acceptance into White society were but extensions of an educational process experienced by most Native Americans.

The preceding briefly focusses the entry of the Native American in the arena of Third World Studies. Growing pronouncements and articulations regarding the general uselessness of college curricula inflicted upon American Indian students found their expression for change BY Indians.

Analogous to this movement of confrontation and control in academia, there was a similar coalescence of Indian sentiment in urban areas. American Indians who had been relocated in the 1950's and those who made seasonal and/or voluntary migrations to urban centers voiced some opinions. Indirectly and directly, the voices of these "urbans" had feedback into educational planning. Even Tribal Councils were involved in ineffective "Advisory Boards" in some mid-western states. This, however, should be seen as a part of the increasing self-awareness and positive identity of being Indian.

Essentially, the fervor for self-determination was most dramatically evident in educational policies. This might be seen as a "spin-off" of the blatant and enduring White American motif of "pulling oneself up by the bootstraps" through education. Whatever the connotation, many Native Americans felt that control of educational facilities (school boards, advisory boards, etc.,) and policies, as in Native American Studies Departments, was a possible first step to *relevant* education.

Curiously, the names of the various programs have some significance in the planning, composition of cur-

riculum and staff, and the program's operation. Those programs labeled as American Indian Studies Programs tend to be organized much as autonomous academic departments with an "area program" approach. Basically, the programs are oriented to both Indian and non-Indian students. The base of instruction encompasses the entire native world — North and South America. Academic qualifications are of prime consideration with an emphasis on scholarly endeavors. As Indian activists and "action-oriented" academicians feel they have a stake in such a program, their impact on this program is still in an unassessable state.

The Native American Studies departments in Third World components have somewhat differing bases and aims. Being aligned with the commitment to make education more closely attuned with the unique historical experiences of the minority peoples involved has been the decided focus. This has directed many of the department's classes to action. In these cases, action has extended to community structures with definite aims to involve *the* community. Anthropologists working in urban Indian research are aware of the many variables which constitute *the* Indian community. Many of the programs were begun in colleges and universities in urban areas. Many Native American segments obtained and retained the role of step-child in the umbrella-like structure of Third World Studies. Recruitment of students was hasty and decidedly non-selective. Quotas had to be filled for EOP slots. Curricula construction was paramount in priority with many Native American students recruited from the ranks of the student population. In some instances, technical advice regarding course outlines, presentations, etc., were under the guidance of anthropologists. In some cases, students worked alone.

Eventually, a wide range of Native American students were collected. These students reflected the entire gamut of life-styles of the varied tribal groups in urban areas. A polyglot of tribal backgrounds also appeared. There were students who were not far removed from predominately monolingual families. In contrast, there were students, products of the relocatees and voluntary urban dwellers, who often did not know to what tribes they belonged. They only knew they were Indian. These students presented an interesting, and in some cases, pathetic search for identity. There were some older students who represented the transient life so typical of some Indian males — travels to urban cities, life on "skid rows" and transactions in Indian bars.

There quickly arose dichotomies based upon traditionality or pseudo-traditionality, degrees of Indian

# THE ANTHROPOLOGIST AND AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES PROGRAMS

By BEATRICE MEDICINE\*

A relatively new approach to the study of the North American Indian has emerged in the last five years. This aspect of the education of Amerindian youth has been given various names: American Indian Studies Programs, American Indian Culture Programs, and Native American Studies, as examples. The latter is found in the Ethnic Studies Divisions or Third World Colleges, where Native Americans are in descending numerical order under Blacks, Chicanos and Asians. This is reflected in funding and staffing allocations.

In the majority of cases, the inclusion of Native American Studies in Ethnic Studies has appeared to be a backlash of the confrontations and pressures exerted by other minorities. James Hirabayashi, in an unpublished manuscript, writes:

Most essays concerning the need for the development of Third World studies base their rationale upon an emotional assessment of the conditions of certain groups in our society. This is certainly legitimate in view of the current situation. The development of concerns over the plight of the Third World Peoples was intricately interwoven with concrete events, principally riots in the cities and student unrest on a large number of campuses, relating essentially to questions of racism and therefore an emotional evaluation is a necessary assessment of the total situation. However, it is not the fact of racism per se that gives us the rationale for Third World studies, it only gives us the reason for the development of the rationale. The best way of developing a rationale for Third World Studies is to recognize its legitimacy and to

create a positive base from which to construct a meaningful program for the people it is to serve. To build the rationale on the basis of racism results in negativism and this is not a healthy base upon which to develop a creative program. (p. 1 from *Some Notes on Third World Studies With Specific Reference to the Asian-Americans*, unpublished ms., 1969).

Most American Indian students who have enrolled in colleges and universities had no need of published studies to indicate the inadequacies of previous educational experiences. There was no need of high-powered theoretical research designs to superficially present "cross-over" phenomenon, lack of motivation, lack of needs to achieve, and drop-out data. Most Indians are aware that elementary and secondary educational institutions are construed to ensnare Indian aims and aspirations to the White middle class mold. Perhaps, most of us looked to colleges and universities as the last stronghold for control of our destinies and the grasping of knowledge for "the betterment of Indian people" which was most often instilled in Indians by the White change agents. In some cases, this statement allowed some American Indians to leave reservations to explore the Land of the Great White Father. For instance, Edward Dozier once remarked that many Native Americans entering the discipline often viewed Anthropology as "a means to help our people." This discipline was seen as having possible potential for self-study and "problem" alleviation for Indians.

Institutions of higher learning presented terrains of the unknown. As with most institutions of the dominant society, colleges and universities were developed and controlled by Whites. The entire value structure of White society permeated these monoliths of "advanced" learning. The direction of these establishments pointed almost exclusively to the moneyed, middle-class

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\*Beatrice Medicine is professor of anthropology at San Francisco State College. A Standing Rock Sioux, she has wide experience in education as well as in tribal affairs, and was a member of the Steering Committee for the First Convocation of American Indian Scholars held at Princeton University in 1970.)

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be stated frankly that if all anthropologists working with Indians were lined up and shot one day, very little really would change for the better in Indian communities. I, also, to adapt a line from an unlikely source, would rather be governed by the first thousand names in any telephone book than by the American Anthropological Association, but then the Association is not officially in the business of governing people. This is the point. And some of the young urban Indian activists who go from meeting to meeting eagerly passing resolutions denouncing anthropology as a field would do well to exercise more wisdom, constraint, and discrimination by selecting *individual* targets, if targets must be selected at all. Even if the whole field were dismantled and its members scattered, something else very much like it — and probably worse — would take its place. The real enemy is elsewhere because the real power lies elsewhere, and the attitudes which underlie the most despicable policies Indians have to put up with are far more general than certain elements of the anthropological fraternity.

#### IV

To summarize, I have taken a position as mediator fully mindful of the dangers of being shot at from both sides. I felt someone had to because while the need for internal reform is great, so is the danger of absolute polarization and there is already far too much polarization around us today. To anthropologists I say, put your own house in order because what you may regard today as just a skirmish with Indians may tomorrow become a worldwide problem. Those of you who persist in thinking that the Creator put Indians on this good earth so that you can treat them like so many chessmen on a board while performing your logical operations over them are in for very hard trails ahead. It has been said that before one can reason with a mule one has to get its attention, and in order to get its attention one has to hit it over the head with a two-by-four. Vine's book has certainly seemed to

have this effect on the anthropological mule. I hope we can one day return, at least in spirit, to that more gentle period when Indian research collaborators' pictures were printed in the *American Anthropologist*, and the passing of each noted therein with the same care accorded any other colleague.

To other Indian people, I must admit sadly that the tragedy of most sessions like this is that they are usually attended by people who agree with you and support your just grievances. Those who should attend usually do not. I warn also of the danger of judging American society on the basis of the behavior and attitudes of some of its most marginal members of either extreme. There are an awful lot of anthropologists who are marginal to the attitudes you despise, and who are really with you and me. With each passing year there are more and more of them, so there is hope. And, finally, we all know that the only alternative to dismantling something is to roll up one's sleeves and work to improve it. I favor this, because problems have to be understood before they can be solved, and I should like to think this is one of the things anthropology is all about.

(This Paper was read at the 69th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, San Diego, California, November 20, 1970. It is published in *The Indian Historian* with the permission of the author.)

#### NOTES

- 1: LESLIE A. WHITE (ed.), *Pioneers in American Anthropology: The Bandelier-Morgan Letters, 1873-1883*. University of New Mexico Press, 1940:II:214.
- 2: One of the outstanding examples of these is the novelist Frank Waters. The publication of his *Book of the Hopi* was followed by more controversy and harsh feelings among the Hopi than any anthropologist has ever been able to engender among them. The book has been repeatedly denounced as a fabrication by many traditional chiefs, and several elders who were listed as collaborators in the preface were surprised to discover this. The taped interviews on which the book is allegedly based have never turned up despite frequent requests by the elders. (Published 1963.)
- 3: *The New York Times*, November 8, 1970.

tence why it is that each summer fuzzy-cheeked youngsters arrive, fresh from one year of graduate work, to study them with more grant money to spend in making their observations over three months than the total annual cash income of the average family on each reservation. It was possible to get \$1,200 plus travel on one program of the National Science Foundation with which I was familiar a few years ago. One might be moved to protest here that this is more a reflection of national values and priorities than of anthropological values and priorities *per se*, and that this kind of example tends to lay all of the problems of Indians at the feet of anthropology. But let us not forget that anthropology is a part of these values and priorities and that anthropologists contribute, if only in a small way, to their perpetuation. The kindest thing I can say about the anthropological fraternity on this and related issues is that too many of us are still only too willing to act as conduits to flaunt these discrepancies before the Indian people. This kind of example also serves as a painful reminder, however, that anthropology is a science born of imperialistic and colonial powers and that, at best, all too many of its practitioners still approach their tribal and peasant subjects with a neo-colonialist attitude. Those of us who do not come from the kind of cultural background which fosters this attitude can reject categorically in our own work the neo-colonialist underpinnings and trappings, but we are still too few to reorient the whole field. This is truly a festering sore, and it will not just go away of its own accord.

### III

But let us take a closer look and try to gauge the extent of anthropological influence in the life of contemporary Indian communities. By any standard it is really not very significant as compared to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the proselytizing churches, and newer bureaucracies such as the Office of Economic Opportunity. No Indian should need to be reminded that the BIA provides a ubiquitous presence in Indian communities, claiming omniscience in all matters Indian, with forces and resources many, many times that which can ever be marshalled for all anthropological activities. And the most enduringly pervasive influence in shaping the attitudes and hardening the most undesirable policies of the BIA has been the Christian churches, which themselves provide a ubiquitous and equally debilitating presence within most Indian communities.

Even the programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity are largely immune from the direct influence of anthropologists. During fiscal year 1970 alone, OEO

had 128 consulting, evaluation, technical assistance and support contracts worth almost 56 million dollars. Most of these contracts, including the most lucrative ones, went to special companies founded to provide these services, most of which are located within the Washington metropolitan area.<sup>3</sup> And most of these companies have no anthropologists at all on their staffs. Instead we have, to use Head Start as an example, child development specialists, sociologists, educationists, psychologists, and assorted other creatures determining policies for Head Start by providing the intellectual services on which policies are based. My point, then, is that the nature of academic influence on contemporary Indian communities is far more diverse than just that represented by anthropologists, and to pick on anthropology as a general scapegoat is to merely provide a distraction from the real diversity and complexity of this influence. Nor can it even be said that the unusual success enjoyed by many OEO programs is due to the input of these new academic influences. These programs have succeeded because the Indian people run them, and in spite of the new academic influence, most of which has centered around the misinterpretation and misuse of anthropological data.

The characteristics that anthropologists *seem* to have uniquely are a high degree of visibility and vulnerability. There is not much a lone Indian can do about the BIA, but he can certainly kick hell out of the resident anthropologist. In this, there is always the danger of overkill and I cite two examples from case histories I gathered over the past summer. In one community a linguist, aided by a college student from that community, set up a program to teach those interested how to read and write their native language. The project was abruptly terminated because of pressures on and within the Council. In a second similar case, the linguist involved had worked among a group of communities for a dozen years and learned the language. He had for several years already been conducting evening classes for different age groups in reading and writing the native language, classes which have become extremely popular with the majority of people in the community, and most especially the reservation-bound youth. One of these linguists was not an academician, and the only wish expressed by the other was to develop materials for use in the elementary classroom, something he had done before coming to his academic position. In each instance, a factor contributing to the abrupt dispatching of the linguist was a too-literal reading of Vine Deloria's essay in *Playboy*. The "moccasin telegraph" took care of the rest.

Without losing sight of the very real problems and concerns which underlie incidents such as these, it must



preoccupied with Kiwanis club luncheons, making money, and running for public office — though not necessarily in that order. I have never been much concerned with the first two preoccupations, while any Indian running for public office in my part of New Mexico has about as much chance of success as a snowball in hell. The selfless orientation toward public service and avenues in which to exercise it were just not there in 1961, whether in law or in any other field. Nor had any other currently fashionable field of endeavor yet proven relevant to Indian concerns and aspirations. I had high hopes for sociology when selecting a major, but discovered in the end that it merely presented a spectacle of the American middle class endlessly contemplating its own navel. My interests were defined as rural sociology, or as race and ethnic relations. Only in anthropology could these interests be treated as a central concern.

I reminisce only because the general problem of finding a niche has, from the standpoint of Indian students, grown more complex rather than altered significantly; more of them are still coming into anthropology on the graduate level than into most other disciplines, and the possibility of thereby being at odds with some of their own people bothers them. Only in this sense has the nature of the relationship between anthropologists and Indian students changed dramatically since a decade ago. The problem and the worry are similar to that of the pretty lady who rides a pair of white horses around the arena in many Western rodeos. She rides standing up, with one foot on the back of each, and probably worries about what she would do if the horses suddenly decided to split. Would she manage to shift all her weight to one on time, or would she fall under a flying hind hoof? Along the way, my fellow Indian colleagues and I have contemplated at one time or another the rather bizarre prospect of being branded as Judas Goats, for being a part of the field. Clearly, neither a wholesale abandonment of the field by Indians nor an attitude of business as usual on the part of anthropologists is tenable.

To shift from what might be incorrectly misinterpreted as a defensive posture, let me emphasize and underscore the fact that anthropology provides a perspective on life; it is not a substitute for living, nor life itself. As such it can be abused, but it can also be used humanely and ethically, as well as scientifically. This depends on the individual, and the personalities of anthropologists are as diverse as those of any other random academic category one may select.

One could as easily write a satirical essay entitled "The only thing wrong with Indians are Lawyers," but it is difficult to be satirical about a trail of 400 broken

treaties and 6,000-plus federal statutes dealing with Indian affairs. I readily concede that there are people who are anthropologists 25 hours a day who have an almost limitless capacity for mischief, but this also applies to many other "—ists" and "—ologists," and in the Southwest at least these others (artists, novelists, educationists, etc.) taken together are more numerous and more troublesome than anthropologists.<sup>2</sup> Like Shakespearean actors they may change costumes, but they are always acting. This suggests, then, that it is not a group's common status as anthropologists which makes them nettlesome when they invade Indian communities, but the general marginality and ignorance of some of its members, and the sheer fact of their being *there*. In condemning anthropologists as a professional category, moreover, there is the danger of throwing the baby out with the bathwater, for most Indian tribes know of anthropologists who have and would happily interrupt their own activities to help out a tribe, and on the tribe's terms.

On the other hand, anthropology has unquestionably brought its present problems upon itself through the appalling insensitivity of these 25-hour-a-day practitioners and the utter irrelevance of so much anthropological research. Let me illustrate with examples, and please pardon me for invoking my own experience one more time. I never considered majoring in anthropology as an undergraduate because I had met too many members of the field who regarded it as a sacred calling and operated as if they had an inherent and inalienable right to the information they were seeking; the Pueblos seem to attract them because of the challenge. Their rule is "anything goes," and the system of morality they bring to their dealings with Indians is akin to that of the heroin pusher.

Turning to the relevancy issue, two summers ago I was sitting in my grandmother's house in San Juan Pueblo when a young woman who identified herself as being from X University knocked on the door. She had steel tape measure in hand and wanted to know from my sister if she could photograph and measure the outdoor oven. My sister shot an inquiring glance at me as I nodded quickly, and then managed to keep a straight face while giving permission. We then watched this student — from a window but just out of sight — sketch, orient, measure, and photograph the oven for who knows what purpose. My family asked why people collected such knowledge and what they did with it. I could not answer them.

Another annual occurrence on many Indian reservations leads into still another Pandora's box of issues. Many Indian people are asking with increasing insis-

# AN INDIAN ANTHROPOLOGIST'S PERSPECTIVE ON ANTHROPOLOGY

By ALFONSO ORTIZ\*

Ninety years ago almost to the day, Adolph Bandelier, that great pedestrian and first anthropological student of the Southwest, wrote to his benefactor, Lewis Henry Morgan, as follows:

At Sto. Domingo I could not stay any longer, I quarreled with the council of the tribe, after they had lied to me three times, and finally kicked the governor out of my room. This manner of protesting (?) was not to his taste, and the next morning came a declaration of war in the shape of a refusal to give me anything more to eat. To this I replied by simply *staying*, and supporting myself on water-melons, until at last the things grew obsolete and, unable to achieve anything more there, I moved to this pueblo of Cochiti . . .

Bandelier was only the first of perhaps hundreds of anthropologists who have been given a cold shoulder by Pueblo Indians, although it has rarely become necessary again to starve an anthropologist to get him out. Almost one century has passed since this incident, and during this time the Pueblos have become well practiced in the gentle art of rebuffing unwanted intruders, whether they be anthropologists or some other kind of “-ologist” or “-ist.” Coming from this background and tradition, I have naturally wondered just what we are doing here in this kind of symposium. What is the ruckus all about? If all Indian tribes would be just a little more like Santo Domingo, they could be more sure of exercising some control over the how’s and who’s of academic research conducted among their people. But the problem is not that simple, of course.

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\*Alfonso Ortiz, Tewa man, is an anthropologist who, at the age of 30, has won his Ph.D., and is now professor of anthropology at Princeton University. He served as Convocation Chairman of the First Convocation of American Indian Scholars, held in 1970 at Princeton University.

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We are here because anthropologists working with Indians are under attack by Vine Deloria and by many other Indians who have taken up his call, and because there are many just grievances involved. I would like to think that Vine was just testing his bowstring to see if it was taut enough, to use his own imagery, and that his intended purpose is achieved when both sides can get together, along with those few of us who are unwittingly cast in the role of mediator, and talk — really talk — about healing the strains in the relationship. As such, I am here to offer an Indian anthropologist’s perspective on anthropology. This is the title of my presentation. I do not presume to speak for any other Indian or for any other anthropologist, only myself. Also, I am not here to speak about how it feels to be an Indian anthropologist; I do not feel any differently than I did eight years ago when I first decided to take the field seriously.

## II

Let me begin by stating flatly that I initially went into anthropology because it was the one field in which I could read about and deal with Indians all of the time and still make a living. It was that simple. Imagine, if you will, a rather provincial fellow with a graduate fellowship and a fresh degree in sociology from the University of New Mexico in hand. Try and imagine, too, the difficulty anyone who is culturally Indian has in trying to find something to do in graduate school which is relevant to his background, something which would permit him to keep his own pride and identity. This was my predicament. I had contemplated entering law school, but all of the lawyers I spoke with in those days seemed to be completely

# ANTHROPOLOGY and the AMERICAN INDIAN

*Anthropology and the American Indian* was the subject of a symposium held concurrently with the annual convention of the American Anthropological Association at San Diego, in November, 1970. The symposium was a one-day affair.

General chairman for the event was James E. Officer, University of Arizona, formerly employed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D. C. Chairman of the morning session was Dr. Officer. Panelists who read papers, or had them read were: Gordon Macgregor, *Applied Anthropology and Indian Administration — The Collier Era*. Philleo Nash, former commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Applied Anthropology and the Concept of Guided Acculturation in Indian Administration*. Nancy Lurie, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, *Action Anthropology and the American Indian*. Omer Stewart, University of Colorado, *Anthropologists as Expert Witnesses for Indians: Claims and Peyote Cases*.

Discussants for the morning session were: Ken Martin, Assiniboine, University of California, Davis, Indian Studies. D'Arcy McNickle, Flathead, chairman of the Department of Anthropology, University of Saskatchewan. Mary Natani, Winnebago, Native American Church secretary, employed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs at Chicago. Abbott Sekaquaptewa, Hopi, director of the Hopi Action program.

Chairman for the afternoon session was Edward P. Dozier, University of Arizona professor in anthropology, Santa Clara Pueblo, New Mexico, author of *Hano*. Papers were read by: Margaret Mead, American Museum of Natural History. *The American Indian as a Significant Determinant of Anthropological Style*. Bea Medicine, Standing Rock Sioux, professor of anthropology, San Francisco State College, *The Anthropologist and American Indian Studies Programs*. Alfonso Ortiz, San Juan Pueblo, New Mexico, author of *The Tewa World . . .* professor of Anthropology at Princeton University, *An Indian Anthropologists' Perspective on Anthropology*, and Vine Deloria, Jr. Standing Rock Sioux, College of Ethnic Studies, Western Washington College of Education, attorney and author of *Custer Died for Your Sins*.

Discussants for the afternoon session were: Gloria Emerson, Navajo, teacher at Ramah High School; Mari-

lyn Halpern, Cayuga; W. Roger Buffalohead, acting director, Native American Studies Department, University of Minnesota at Minneapolis; and Agnes Savilla, Mohave.

The symposium was funded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs through the National Indian Training and Research Center at Tempe, Arizona.

For some years, sounds of discontent and even open hostility have been heard from many Native American quarters, concerning the conduct and activities of some anthropologists as they go about their professional work in which the Native American is the primary source of information. The "sounds" gave way, in 1969, to the publication of a book by Vine Deloria, Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins*, which was preceded in its publication by an extract appearing in *Playboy* magazine. Deloria's book has become a center of discussion as to the role of the anthropologist in relation to his source of knowledge, and has raised the issue of a need for establishing some sort of *Code of Ethics* among anthropologists, in their relationships with individual Indian informants, tribes, and organized groups. Indeed, other aspects of the book have been largely ignored in favor of this controversial question.

The preparation for the symposium\* left much to be desired, in the opinion of this writer. Direction was obviously in the hands of individuals with strong previous ties to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, ties which restrain their independent opinion, judgment, and contributions even today. Nevertheless, the symposium was important. More than 600 interested convention delegates and members of the Indian community at San Diego and elsewhere attended. But the all-important question of the establishment of a Code of Ethics guiding the anthropological profession remained left in the air.

The Indian Historian presents in these following pages two of the Papers read at this Symposium, with the permission of the authors. It is expected that a full report, which will include all the Papers and the discussion, will be available in the near future.

Jeannette Henry, Editor

\*Four official representatives of the American Indian Historical Society were present at the Symposium: Rupert Costo, Robert Kaniatobe, Joseph Senungetuk, and Jeannette Henry.

## A Protest

By JOSEPH E. SENUNGETUK

# THE ALASKA PIPE LINE

Public Affairs Division  
Alyeska Pipeline Service Company  
1815 South Bragaw Street  
Anchorage, Alaska, 99503

Gentlemen:

I am a Native of Alaska, an Eskimo man of Wales, and I wish to respond to your full page advertisement in defense of the proposed Alaska pipe line, which you placed in major metropolitan newspapers the week of December 28, 1970.

You ask, "Do we really need it?" I am wondering whether you really believe this controversial issue can be resolved and somehow overcome with such huge and expensive advertising. To me, and to all concerned Native Americans, what you are proposing is a recurrence of past history, in which the Natives have been plowed under by the extraordinary power of those like you, who value profit from the exploitation of natural resources, more than you value the human resources of this land.

You say, "We produce less oil than we use. We are forced to depend on imports from politically unstable areas." Do you mean to say that the Eskimo man pictured in your advertisement is on politically *stable* ground? Was, in fact, Alaska ground made stable by the last big natural resource boom — the gold rush of 1900 to 1950? You know as well as we, that this resulted in massive impoverishment for the Native, destruction of the land, and ecological slums. You say, "Development of these reserves will go far toward alleviating our nation's energy and petrochemical deficit, North Slope oil will also bring economic blessings to the State of Alaska — it'll mean jobs and opportunity for ALL Alaskans — particularly Native Alaskans." Your concern is truly touching! Certainly the State of Alaska would very much like to look upwards from the conditions which Senator Edward Kennedy termed "the worst poverty-stricken area" he had ever seen. Development in any non-industrial area always appears to be an economic blessing for those who stand to gain the profits. But for the Native Alaskans you wish to portray as ultimate and automatic recipients of jobs and opportunity, I would advise them to be wary of anything you say. The Big Lie has always been the hallmark of such as you.

It is curious to me, a Native Eskimo, to read about your claim that you "have done your homework." Many long centuries ago, the first "homework" was done by the *Natives*, who made a living use of the land. And, by the way, still do today. Subsequent "outside" work during the 1950's and 1960's erased much of that advancement in the form of Federal and State takeover of hunting and fishing lands of the original people.

The *Facts* are these: Your pipeline would destroy the natural land base of the entire State. It would bankrupt the State ecologically. It would create an unproductive and huge morass of the land. It would produce a natural obscenity, rivalling all of the polluted rivers, streams and lands of this nation a thousand times over. It would make the surface of the moon like a Garden of Eden compared to what the State of Alaska will become, if you have your way.

There is much fervent talk about protection of the environment. Yet you have the unmitigated gall to even *propose* such a project. There may be some Natives who will go for the promise of jobs and increased economic opportunity. My people are in deep distress, grasping even at straws in the whirlpool of economic disaster which engulfs them. Your promises have always been and will continue to be empty words strung together for self-serving purposes. What is the use of your "job opportunities" when we know that these are but temporary havens in a sea of frustration and bitterness. IF we get the jobs. What is the use of the wages we *might* earn, if we will lose our land, our animals, birds, vegetation, our food and the very right to *live* on this planet!

Alaska has one of the most unique, distinctive, and beautiful areas in the world. Those of us who are Alaskans, Natives if you please, have for thousands of years treasured her gifts, survived under her difficulties and made the very difficulties work for us. There is no land on earth like Alaska, so majestically beautiful is she. There is no splendor anywhere in the world to equal that of my Alaska.

This pipeline is certain destruction for Alaska, for the people, for the animals and birds and the vegetation.

Yet you ask: "Do we really need it?"

Like hell we do!

Again, we have the circle which denotes the camp, and the lines from the center down, means plenty of rainfall. The short lines below the circle show how many days it takes from the home of the tribe or the party, to reach this camp. Now the two lines converging on the left where they meet, I believe, is the water hole. And on the way back, on a different path, the party encountered hardship, as you can see from the zigzag trail.

So you understand that these figures deal with what moved the ancient people: safety, food, rain, dangers. The focal point is usually the camp, and where you see an endless circle with a dot in the center, it simply means that you have arrived at the end of the trail. But here is an interesting ground-figure.

This figure can be found in the Yuha desert west of El Centro, California. There is a large mesa overlooking Yuha Wash. About two miles away is a spring, known as Anza Well. The explorer Juan Bautista de Anza stopped there a couple of hundred years ago. On this mesa there are many ground-figures, and one of them shows irregular circles, one inside the other. (Fig. 5.) This simply means, "This is the place to stay and set up camp for a long time." Because on this mesa, there was always a cool breeze even on the hottest summer days; and in winter the ancient ones could take refuge in the folds of the wash. The nearby spring means that there was game available, for the animals came to the spring to drink, and that meant food for the Indians of the area.

It is not really too difficult to read the petroglyphs, once you know the basic designs, such as the camp design, the hardship lines, the animals, or the rainfall.

You must remember that in those days, perhaps a thousand or more years ago, the world was a frightening world for the ancient ones, and they had to find a way to advise each other of the dangers that were facing them, or tell each other how they could

best survive and where water and food could be found. We have to respect these people, who invented so many ways to do this, so many ways to survive in the wilderness and make it their home, who were so resourceful and helpful to one another.



**Figure 3: Picture rock west of Gila Benda, Arizona, showing that two tribes used to meet there. Also warns of dangers.**

Colorado river where different designs have been scratched into the rock. On one, we can see an animal which probably depicts a deer. This tells you that there was plenty of food to be had in the area.

But around the corner, on another rock, there's a figure that may look like a man to you. It isn't. Look closely, and you can see that it has unusual feet and hands. That's no man. It's a reptile such as a Gila monster. This means that plenty of reptiles or Gila monsters were found in the area. We consider them quite dangerous. They've got a force like a bulldog, and once they've got you, they won't let you go. Their venom attacks your nervous system.

We see these warnings of Gila monsters quite often. There is an interesting rock between here and Phoenix, Arizona, for instance. It's full of figures, like a newspaper or magazine, telling us all kinds of stories. The rock is located near Gila Bend and, as you can see from this picture, there is a sketch of a Gila monster in the center-bottom, meaning they were plentiful in the area in the old days. They still are. (Fig. 3)

But you can also see that there are many deer to the right of the reptile. This means it was a good country for hunting.

This is an interesting rock. It lies on what may be called "no-man's-land." This is the area between the land of the Quechans and that of the Maricopas. I really don't know why we should have fought the Maricopas. They belong to the same Yuma language group. But we did, and this may have something to do with the fact that, when the white man came, land boundaries were mixed up between our two peoples; and all sorts of difficulties and differences came about because of that. We fought even as little as a hundred years ago. But in fact, my wife's grandmother was a Maricopa, captured by the Quechans about the middle of the last century during one of the battles.

Now let's look at the rock and find out why it tells you that there were two forces opposing each other. Look at the large center figure. You can almost see the two armies, or the two land areas, opposing each other. Perhaps the Quechans and the Maricopas had a pow-wow near this rock. Perhaps they concluded a peace treaty there. Below the large center figure is a zigzag line. This is what we might call a hardship line, meaning that one of the parties that came to this meeting point had to travel over a difficult path.

We see hardship lines on many petroglyphs. Near the city of Bishop, California, there is a 20-mile loop on which you can find several such sites. Here is one of them, and while I can't read all of it, I understand some. (Fig. 4.)



**Figure 1: Petroglyph in Gila Valley, Arizona**



**Figure 2: Petroglyph near Palo Verde, showing reptile. White scratches were apparently made quite recently.**

successful hunting. He was only right in part. I don't think he can translate the figures one by one.

If I tell you about the petroglyphs today, it is because we Quechans think it is very important what we do in life. We have a saying, that when we are born, we are all equal; and when we go away, we're equal once more. It is what happens in the time we are here on earth that counts: how we are, how we say it, and how we do it. That's a translation from our language, and in our own tongue it has much deeper meaning than it sounds in your language of English.

An old man once told me that life has a morning, when we are infants. Noon, when we are grown up. Night, when we decline physically. What you are thinking in the night of your life is different — because we are preparing ourselves for another world. In our Indian concept, all people, good or bad, go to the same place where all the misery of the earth is erased. We believe in cremation. In that way, the evil which we were subjected to on earth is purified. Although we are Christians now, we maintain our ancient burial rites just the same.

But my thoughts have led me astray. I wanted to tell you why I am revealing what I know about the petroglyphs. I am 59 years old, and beginning to age, and I feel that there are certain things, certain beliefs of my people which should be preserved, should be known as they really are in truth: they should not be lost. These are some of the things that should no longer be kept a secret. I can help to do this.

Where do we come from? The white man tells us that there are three theories, the most scientific of which is the story that we Indians came from Asia, crossing the Bering Straits when it was frozen over centuries ago. That's what most anthropologists believe. Another theory is that we are the people of Atlantis, the lost continent. A third one, is that we are one of the Lost Tribes of Israel.

We Quechans believe in our own creation story, which tells us that we came from a high peak near the town of Needles, California. The peak was named *Avi-Kwah-Meh*, and it means just that: a peak that is *high*. We are often called "Yuma Indians." This is not quite correct. Our language is the Yuma language, which is also the mother tongue of not only the Quechans, but also that of the Yavapai, Havasupai, Hualapai, Maricopa, Mojave, Cocopah, and Dieguenos.

I was born on my grandfather's ranch, March 8, 1911, in what was then Arizona Territory. I had my first schooling in Somerton, Arizona. That's where I

first met the Anglo world. I went to boarding school at Fort Yuma, and had vocational training at Sherman Institute, in Riverside, California; and at the Polytechnic Institute at San Pedro, California.

I was a member of the Quechan Tribal Council for 16 years, president of the Council for four years; and vice-president for eight years. I went off the Council when I moved away to Escondido, California, for work some time ago. Now I am back home again, and I am administrative manager of the Community Action Project, under the Office of Economic Opportunity on the Reservation.

My wife tells me that I am a good listener — and I do remember many of the tales my forebears, and the old people of the Tribe have told me.

I remember a man named John Cash (not the singer Johnny Cash). He told me that he was a messenger between the Quechans and the Indians in the Parker, Arizona, area. When my people wanted to notify the Parker Indians of an upcoming event, they would give him a little package containing wooden chips about three or four inches square, into which designs had been burned, or written on, by dye made from plants. This contained the message.

The designs were the same as those you can see carved into the rocks. They were sent from sub-chief to sub-chief; from the Gila Valley to the Riverside Mountain. Old John Cash died about 1954, at the age of 75, when I had just returned from Parker Indian Reservation where I had worked as a welder in a shop.

Well, let us talk now about the petroglyphs which are carved into rock: or the pictographs, painted on the rock; or the giant ground-figures, scratched into the ground. Most generally, they are descriptive of travels and the distance to the nearest water hole.

Take this little figure here (Fig. 1), scratched into a small rock in the Gila Valley. It looks like an animal, or like a Chinese figure. But it isn't. There's a circle in the center, and this is always descriptive of the camp. The line from the right shows where the party came from, and perhaps they were looking for a different way to return home, or possibly they needed to find water.

Anyway, you can see from the curved line on the left that they did not find what they wanted on that path; they returned to camp. Then they went up north and to the mountains, to look for water or for a passage. They probably found it too.

There are some very interesting petroglyphs near the little town of Palo Verde, California, near the

# Petroglyphs of Ancient Man

By LEE EMERSON

Scientists say they don't know the meaning of what they call "giant Indian stone figures," with designs scratched into the ground on a mesa north of Blythe, California, and at other mesas along the Colorado river. They say these figures are a mystery. But we Quechans have known their meaning all the time.

We live at Winterhaven, California; and at Yuma, Arizona, on the Fort Yuma Reservation now. But at one time we were spread out to the Needles, California area, and the story of the stone figures is well known to us. An interesting legend is connected with this. There is a large figure etched on the ground in stone, north of Blythe. It represents a legendary giant named *Kwa-You*, who lived near Parker Dam. He terrorized the people, and they wanted desperately to be rid of him. So the legend goes. So the people asked the ocean for help.

The ocean promised help, and sent out the octopus to fight the giant. The octopus swam up the Colorado river and came to the place where the giant lived. The grandmother of the giant was a blind woman, but she could feel the presence of the octopus and proceeded to warn her grandson of the danger.

It was too late. The octopus threw one of its tentacles around the giant's legs and pulled him from his mountain home into the river. If you go to this area, you will notice a fierce gash in the mountainside. That's where the legend says the giant was pulled down from his hideout.

The octopus drowned the giant in the Colorado river, and then dragged his body down toward the sea. When he crossed into Mexico, he wanted the people there to see that the giant had really been killed, so he raised the slain giant out of the water for a moment. The Indians were so impressed that they, like the In-



Lee Emerson, a Quechan man, as he is today.

dians near Parker Dam, scratched the picture of the giant into their mesa, and that's why we can find these giant ground-figures, not only in the United States, but south of the border as well.

This story has not until now been revealed to a white man. Many of our young people do not know it, either. We older Indians also know many other stories of the ground figures. We also know the stories of what is called today "petroglyphs," which are really hieroglyphics our ancestors carved into rock, perhaps a thousand or more years ago. We do not talk about them very much.

We might tell you that these carvings are the work of what we call the "ancient ones," and let it go at that. Or, we might tell you that they are "bad medicine." We scratched arrows, circles, wavy lines, stars, into the rock. Dr. R. F. Heizer, of the University of California, studied more than 600 such sites in the western United States, and he concluded that all of them were at one time near ancient hunting trails, and represent a kind of magic to bring about good and





**Figure 5: One of the large ground-figures on a mesa overlooking the Yuha Wash, west of Calexico, California.**

# A QUECHAN MAN SPEAKS

Peter Odens, Reporter

PHOTOGRAPHY  
by  
PETER ODENS



**Figure 4: One of the many petroglyphs found on a 20-mile loop directly north of Needles, California.**

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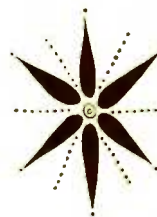
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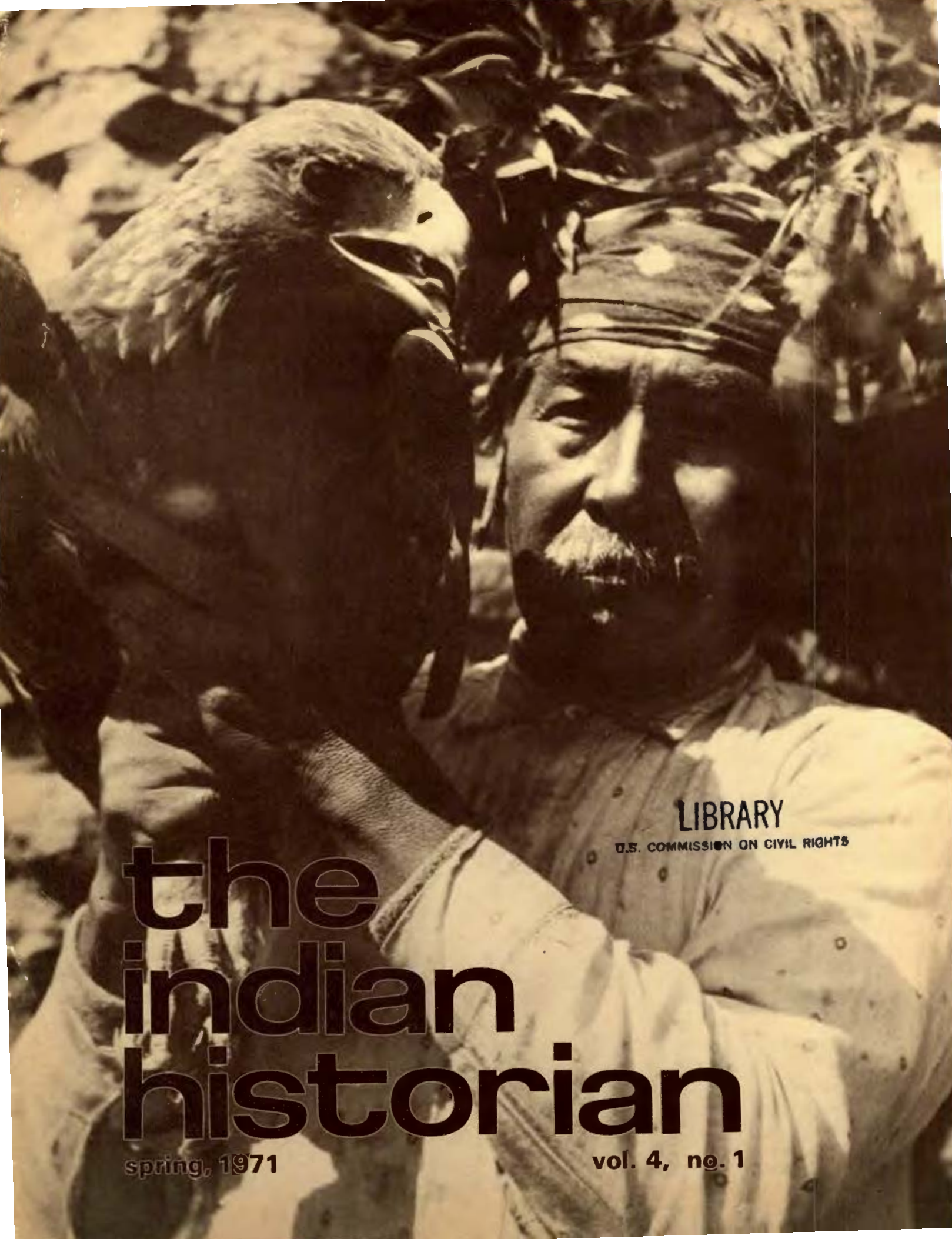
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THE COVER: Samuel Couro, Diegueno Indian, shown holding golden eagle, in preparation for Eagle Ceremony. This ceremony was usually held at night with dancing, the eagle being held in the arms of the leader. On the following day, the formal Eagle Dance was held. This was also called the "Whirling Dance" by the people, because of the way in which the dancer whirled around, his eagle skirt spread widely in a beautiful huge fan, as he danced. The Ceremony was usually held by one clan, and only one other clan was invited to participate. (Photograph courtesy of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, taken about 1907.)



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