

KUMEYAAY AND PAIPAI POTTERY  
AS EVIDENCE OF CULTURAL ADAPTATION AND PERSISTENCE  
IN ALTA AND BAJA CALIFORNIA

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A Thesis  
Presented to the  
Faculty of  
San Diego State University

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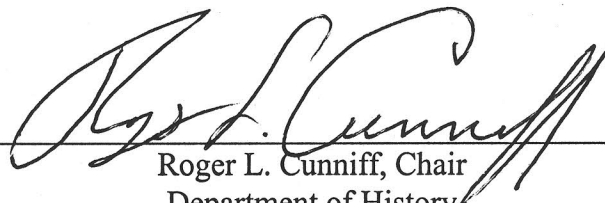
In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts  
in  
History

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by  
Sue Anne Wade  
Summer 2004

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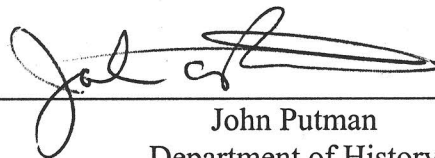
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As for the remainder of my professional acknowledgements, I am incredibly fortunate to be able to say that most of my professional associates and my personal friends, are one and the same. Through the twenty-five years I have been a part of the archaeological community in San Diego, I have had the good fortune to work with colleagues who have become some of my best friends. As a team, we have documented some of the best archaeology in southern California. Your important work is cited in this thesis. When the southern California archaeological record is ultimately consumed by development, the CRM work completed by all of us will be the irreplaceable and invaluable record of the region’s history. I hope more academic researchers will put our data to good use.

Finally, I want to thank my family for putting up with the chaos that always seems to be inseparable from completing such a project. Thank you, Rick, for picking up the slack. And thank you to my children and grandchildren. I hope that you will also pursue and achieve your goals. So, now my thesis is done.....

## PREFACE

Indian peoples have produced pottery vessels in southern California and in northern Baja California for over a thousand years. In San Diego County, the pottery-making tradition persisted through the historical period until the mid-twentieth century. However, in Baja California, in the Paipai ranchería of Santa Catarina, traditional pottery is still being produced. The Paipai ladies making pottery today practice a traditional craft that has been passed down generation to generation. Through the twentieth century, however, there were many external reasons why pottery continued to be produced in Baja California. And much of this had to do with American travelers, ethnographers, collectors, visitors bringing assistance, and most recently ethno-tourists. Having visited the potters of Santa Catarina to learn to make traditional pottery, I suspected that their history could shed light on how the pottery tradition continued into the twentieth century in San Diego County.

The desire to learn how to make traditional pottery as well as to experience how pottery is a creation of the individual potter as well as her culture, has drawn numerous students to workshops with the Paipai potters of Santa Catarina, Baja California. For nearly a decade, CUNA (*Instituto de Culturas Nativas de Baja California*) has co-sponsored these pottery-making workshops. The workshops provide opportunities for anthropologists and students of pottery making to visit the ranchería of Santa Catarina and learn about traditional pottery production. As well, the workshops provide the Paipai community with a way to further broaden its economic self-reliance. The teachers are the gracious Paipai potters who open their homes and work areas to the students (Figure 1). The visits to Santa Catarina and the Santa Catarina ladies I worked with provided some of the inspiration for this thesis.

In 1998, I spent several days conducting interviews and gathering information regarding the history of pottery production and trade in Santa Catarina. With the assistance of Mike Wilken of CUNA, who provided translation as well as insights into the history of pottery trade at Santa Catarina, I conducted interviews with elder Don Benito Peralta Gonzáles and with potters Doña Josephina Ochurte Gonzáles, Anacleta Albañez Higuera, and Teresa Albañez Castro. The conversations provided information about both the



**Figure 1. Santa Catarina, Baja California.**

**(Photograph by the author, 1996)**

continuation of the tradition of pottery making and the recent ethnographic and tourist aspects of Santa Catarina pottery production. Many of their comments contribute to chapters of this thesis. However, it also became apparent that pottery making in Santa Catarina is undergoing a fundamental transformation. Although the potters today learned the technology from their mothers as a necessary skill to provide their families with needed utilitarian vessels, most use modern utensils today. Pottery is today created as a product for sale and, as a result, the potters experiment with many technological innovations to attract this market.

The Santa Catarina potters have benefited from proximity to a tourist destination. American ethnographers and travelers had visited the ranchería periodically in the 1950s and 60s, working with the parents of the ladies producing pottery today. However, Santa Catarina pottery first came to the attention of Ensenada shopkeepers in the 1970s. As with the earlier ethnographers, the visits from Ensenada entrepreneurs were periodic, but sufficient to bring cash income to the potters. Sra. Castro made pottery for Leonore Cota, who had a store in Ensenada called Galleria Ana. Mike Wilken's grandfather held annual fiestas in San Miguel, north of Ensenada. He and another grandson, Glenn, would bring the Santa Catarina potters to the fiesta to sell their pottery.

The tourist trade generated experiments in pottery production to appeal to the tourist market. Sra. Theresa Castro tried decorating pottery with flower appliques. This is a technique that has no traditional antecedents, but, interestingly was also used by Alta California Kumeyaay potter, Wass Hilmawa (Rosa López)<sup>1</sup>, on an effigy tray she produced for collector Ben Squires in the 1930s and was used on non-traditional vessels produced in the Campo area for Ed Davis in 1918. However, Sra. Castro did not continue the applique technique because, as she said, she disliked it and also apparently because the pots did not sell. Also, in the 1970s, Rosalee Pinto, a Kumeyaay lady from San Diego, made regular visits to Santa Catarina. Once she asked Sra. Castro's mother to make a double-neck olla vessel for her. The mother asked her daughter to make the pot and Theresa Castro relates,

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<sup>1</sup> Wass Hilmawa, whose Spanish name known to Anglos was Rosa López, lived in the Campo area in the early twentieth century. She is best known to southern California archaeologists as the potter who provided information on traditional pottery production techniques to Malcolm Rogers for his book, *Yuman Pottery Making*. She was an accomplished artisan whose decorated pottery was desired by collectors. She and her husband, Santo López, were friends of Leslie and Melicent Lee and the other members of San Diego's early twentieth century art colony.

“I’d never seen a double-mouthed pot before but as an older lady, now I’ve seen them in books in the States.”<sup>2</sup> Rosalee Pinto returned to purchase the double-mouthed pot as well as other big pots and soon other people were asking to buy more. Now Sra. Castro is known for producing the double-neck pots (Figure 2A). Other special forms she developed for sale include canteens and pitchers. When asked where the ideas for these came from, she replied, “I just came up with it. It was my own idea.” “You didn’t see it anywhere? There wasn’t an old one that you saw?” we asked. She responded, “No, I came up with it on my own.”<sup>3</sup>

But it was not until around 1981, when Mike Wilken began buying pottery on a regular basis, that the Santa Catarina potters saw pottery production as a regular source of income. Don Benito said, “And so they would make pottery, and then he (Mike) would come and buy it. But he didn’t just buy from us, he bought from everyone. So all the ladies started making it. If it wasn’t for that, they probably wouldn’t have been making them. And it was a lot of help for us because we didn’t have any other way to make a living.”<sup>4</sup>

Most of the potters, now, produce pottery vessels in anticipation of a visit by storekeepers or tourist visitors. Ensenada storeowners, Patricia and Adalberto Pérez Meillon purchase pottery. The Ensenada shopkeeper, Leonore Cota, purchased sufficient quantities of pots that she paid a wholesale price. Innovations have been incorporated by the potters based on requests from their purchasers. These include flat bottoms, so that the vessels will set on a table, and colorful surface treatments. When asked whether buyers like new shapes or the traditional shapes more Sra. Castro replied, “We have to make a little bit of everything. They have to come out pretty and we have to have a lot of different kinds.”<sup>5</sup> Sra. Theresa Castro also achieved unique decorative qualities by choosing an alternative clay source with a high glittery mica content (Figure 2B). Her sister, Sra. Margarita Castro, is well known for the bright fire clouds she achieves with her firing techniques (Figure 2C).

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<sup>2</sup> Teresa Castro Albañez, interview by author, May 26, 1998, Santa Catarina, Baja California, tape recording and transcription, CUNA (*Instituto de Culturas Nativas de Baja California*), Ensenada, Baja California.

<sup>3</sup> Sra. Teresa Castro, interview.

<sup>4</sup> Don Benito Peralta González, interview by author, May 25, 1998, Santa Catarina, Baja California, tape recording and transcription, CUNA, Ensenada, Baja California.

<sup>5</sup> Sra. Teresa Castro, interview.





(A, B)  
Theresa Castro

(C)  
Margarita Castro

(D, E)  
Josephina Ochurte

**Figure 2. Santa Catarina pottery vessels: A) double mouth canteen (Sra. Theresa Castro), B) glittery mica-rich clay (Sra. Theresa Castro), C) colorful fire clouds (Sra. Margarita Castro), D) traditional olla (Doña Josephina Ochurte, E) utilitarian drinking cup (Doña Josephina Ochurte).**

**(Photographs by author, 2004)**

Over the more than twenty-five years that the Santa Catarina community potters have been selling pottery, most have ceased producing pottery for use. With the money from selling pottery, Sra. Castro purchases “modern” containers such as metal pots and pans and ceramic dishes as well as food and other needed household items. As she says, “I didn’t really like to use them (traditional pots). By that time my grandmother-in-law had given me modern types of dishes.”<sup>6</sup>

Both Theresa Castro and her sister, Margarita Castro, select clay and use firing techniques that produce decorative vessels (Figure 2A-C). Because usability is now subordinate to aesthetics, vessels produced today may lack the heat resistance, porosity, or sturdiness of prehistoric cook pots, water ollas, and storage vessels. Theresa Castro had, in the past, selected the clay, different from the potters’ traditional clay source, which had more mica in it to create a decorative effect. However, as she describes, “I used to get clay in a certain place that has a lot of mica. But I stopped using that because a lot of water flows by there and it gets covered with sand. I like the clay with the mica in it but now it doesn’t work very well. When I fire it, it often breaks. Now I go and gather clay at the same place where Margarita does.”<sup>7</sup> Margarita Castro uses large agave stalks in the firing, carefully placing them to create dramatic fire cloud colors. Her pottery is recognized for its colors. As Don Benito describes, “When Margarita fires she puts a lot of fuel on and big fat thick trunks and it probably gets her more colors but it also makes the texture sort of crumbly.”<sup>8</sup> These modifications in the traditional technology to produce pots that are attractive to buyers have altered their traditional functionality.

Donna Josephina Ochurte, however, still produces pottery for use and traditional vessels, as well as more modern functional shapes such as a handled cup, are in use around her house (Figure 2D, E). When asked if she fired her pottery differently to achieve more colorful pots, her brother, Don Benito replied, “No, because ... her pots tend to be not as colorful but sometimes they have wonderful colors. But not as much as the other ladies. She feels that a pot should be cooked just a certain amount. That it should be fired at just a

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Don Benito Peralta, interview

certain heat. And that you shouldn't go beyond that because then it causes deformation in the pot. So she hasn't really changed the way that she cooks, fires.”<sup>9</sup> Josephina produces fewer pots and mostly retains the traditional technology and forms in those pots she produces for sale. Interestingly, because she is an elder and most conservative in her technique, her pots are highly desired. Buyers have asked that she sign her pots and she uses a double “X.” Don Benito and Don□a Josephina recognize and seek to preserve the traditional pottery technology, forms, and decoration. When asked if Don□a Josephina will come up with any new shapes for sale, Don Benito replied that he,

doesn't think that they're going to come up with a new shape because the shapes that they make are based on the traditional shapes that the people made long, long ago. So he doesn't think that we need to ask what new shape she would make because it's already sort of decided. There is nobody older for them to ask what's something new that we could do that would be more beautiful. Since there is no one else that they can ask, they are the only ones left so I don't think they will have something else.<sup>10</sup>

Don Benito's statement emphasizes the connection of pottery production today with the traditions of the people long, long ago. This traditionalism contrasts with the innovations of the younger potters who are adapting traditional technologies, forms, and decorations to the interests of the consumer market (Figure 3). Don□a Josephina is likely producing some of the last traditional utilitarian pottery in the Indian communities of Alta and Baja California.

The younger Kumiai potters, however, are consciously adapting traditional technologies, forms, and decorations in response to the consumer market. Three factors seem to have led to potters modifying traditional technologies and forms. The first is when the quantity and regularity of pottery purchases can no longer be accommodated by vessels on hand and vessels need to be produced especially for sale. The second is when Indian potters are hearing from consumers what constitutes a “pretty” vessel and they are motivated to accommodate that expectation. Third is the traditionalism or innovation of the individual potter. Theresa Castro, Margarita Castro, and Anacleta Albañez have developed their individual artistic and innovative approaches to pottery production, conceived within the context of the cash economy.

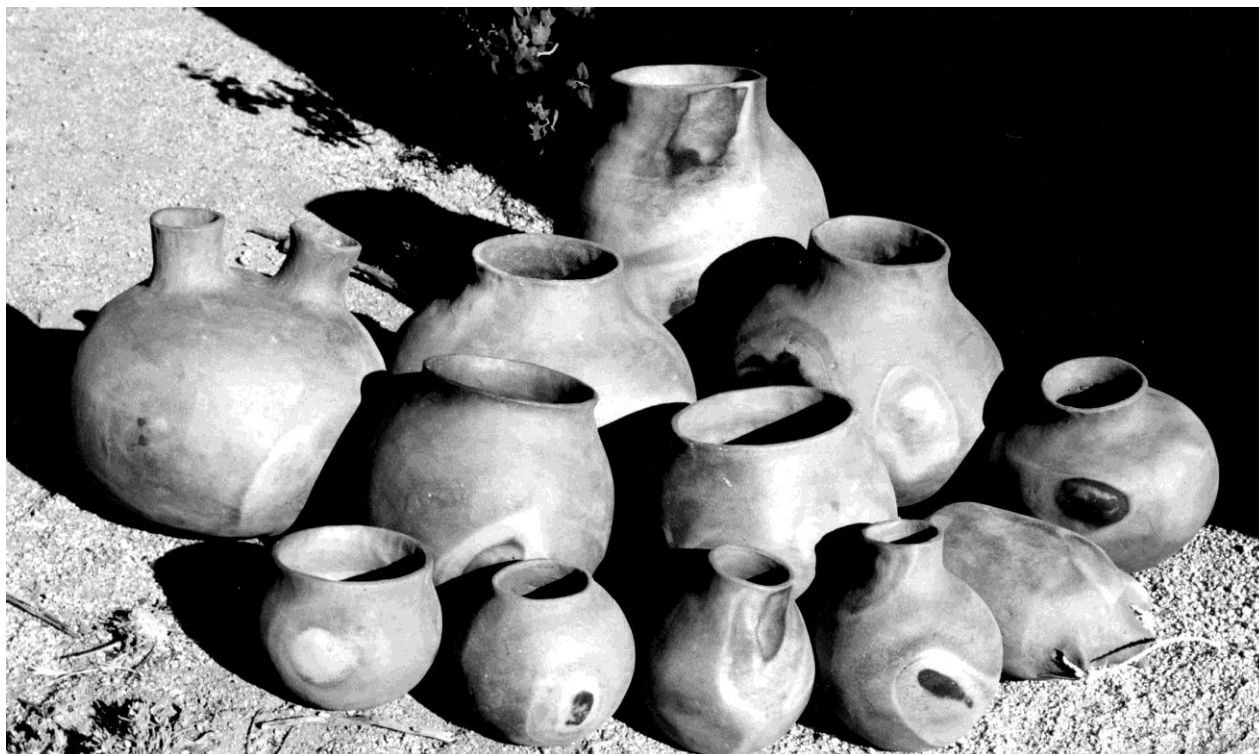
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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.



A



B

**Figure 3. Santa Catarina pottery for sale: A) Sra. Theresa Castro pottery, B) Sra. Margarita Castro pottery.**

**(Photographs by author)**

These adaptations have not only provided them with a needed income but have also afforded opportunities to travel throughout the Southwest. The Santa Catarina potters travel regularly to exhibit and sell pottery at Indian fairs and other expositions in Alta California and Arizona. Pottery production for sale has provided them with opportunities to access Anglo culture and to visit distant tribal relations who have been inaccessible to them for at least a century. While the twentieth-century alterations in pottery technology break with tradition, the history of the adaptive strategies of the Indian people of Alta and Baja California suggests that it is, in fact, a most recent adaptation to a changing world. It is this adaptability that has been a factor in Indian survival for millennia. It is not that traditional pottery production has ceased, but that the potters have adapted the technology to their needs in the twenty-first century.

I am grateful for the opportunity to have spent time in Santa Catarina and to have worked with the ladies of the community. Pottery has been an integral part of Kumeyaay and Paipai culture for a thousand years and as a marketable item today it continues to fulfill an essential role. Adapting traditional technologies to new situations and developing and maintaining exchange networks have been key strategies for adapting to massive environmental and cultural changes that have challenged Indian peoples of Alta and Baja California for millennia. After the coming of the Spanish, for two hundred years, Kumeyaay and Paipai people relied on those cultural traditions that facilitated their survival in a new world. Pottery making was a traditional technology that persisted. Indian people produced traditional vessels for use in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Spanish and Mexican settlements, for trade to nineteenth-century Anglo frontier settlements, and for sale to twentieth-century ethnographers and collectors. In Alta and Baja California, through three centuries, Indian peoples retained traditional culture elements such as their pottery technology and exchange mechanisms, providing strong evidence for limited acculturation and tenacious survival of traditional culture.

In working through this history, several issues became apparent and require discussion. Most have to do with terminology. In recent decades, the native peoples of southern California have revived traditional tribal names. Thus, although many of the tribes have historically been referenced by names associated with the nearest Spanish mission, in

San Diego, “Diegueño” (after the Mission San Diego de Alcalá) is no longer appropriate and “Kumeyaay” is preferred. In Baja California this name is spelled “Kumiai.” Throughout this thesis, the names preferred by the Indian community, as best I can determine, are used. Similarly, several names for Indian peoples have been used over the years: Native American, Native Californian, and indigene. Many native people I have worked with prefer the use of the name “Indian.” Therefore, I have primarily used “Indian” in this thesis to refer to native peoples. Because of the diversity of explorers and settlers who came to America after 1849, there is no single term to describe all ethnic backgrounds. For simplicity, I have chosen to refer to the diversity of non-Hispanic peoples who populated California after annexation to the United States as “Anglos.” In addition, in instances where Baja California, south of the international border, is contrasted with the area of the state of California north of the border, I refer to this area as Alta California.

From the outset, the discussions of traditional pottery versus that produced in the past two and a half centuries ran afoul of the terms “prehistoric” and “historical.” The standard archaeological definition of “prehistoric” refers to events that occurred prior to the advent of the written record. In southern California, archaeologists typically use the term “prehistoric” to refer to remains deposited prior to 1769 when the Spanish first landed in San Diego, “ethnohistoric” or “proto-historic” to refer broadly to archaeological sites that reflect “prehistoric” occupation characteristics but that include material evidence of contact with Europeans, and “historical” to refer to the archaeology of urban and rural post-1769 sites. However, what this effectively accomplishes is to alienate prehistory from the realm of history, begging the question, “is ‘prehistory’ a part of ‘history’?” This issue is at the heart of why the National Park Service identifies both “prehistoric” and “historic” sites as part of the National Register of Historic Places, thereby allowing all periods of American past to be represented by “historic” buildings, structures, objects, or sites. Therefore, although the terms “prehistoric” and “historical” are used to describe time periods and site types throughout this thesis, their use is qualified by the recognition that “prehistory” is, in fact, included in the historical record.

## NOTE ON SOURCES

The constructed division between “prehistory” and “history” described in the preface also influences how valid research data are defined. Traditional historical research assumes long hours in archives recovering written records. This thesis addresses the history of a people that began many thousand years ago and requires use not only of written data sources, but also archaeological, museum, and ethnographical data. Although recognized as relevant data for “prehistoric” investigations, these data sources do not abruptly become historically invalid at the time written records become available. In fact, as this thesis will demonstrate, artifactual data are critical in investigating the continuities and changes in adaptation strategies from the “prehistoric” to “historical” periods. To invalidate this data is to exclude ten thousand years from the realm of valid historical research.

This thesis approaches the continuity of Indian cultural traditions in southern California from the prehistoric through the historical period, a subject for which little secondary literature was found to exist. Much of the investigation of issues of Indian agency and resistance has been devoted to the historical debates surrounding missionization. In Chapter V the beginning notes discuss some of this literature. Some research on the complex interrelationship of Anglo settlers and Indian laborers has been accomplished for the broader California region, and these are discussed in the notes in Chapter VI; however, little secondary literature has been produced for the Kumeayaay and nearby tribes of southern California. Importantly, little research has included both written and material culture data to address issues of acculturation versus retention of cultural traditions through the prehistoric and historical periods. These research goals and data are the subject of this thesis.

Thus, as a review of the bibliography will reveal, much of the research data for this thesis is contained in cultural resource management (CRM) archaeological reports, in my own and other analysts’ pottery research for various archaeological projects in southern California, in pottery vessel collections, in ethnographic notes, and in historical photographs of pottery and pottery collecting. Most of this literature is unpublished but represents a massive corpus of valuable data on the adaptation strategies of Indian peoples as represented

by an exchange item integral to their culture. Hopefully, given the huge investments of money and labor in completing these archaeological investigations and reports, use of these data sources in scholarly research will become more common. The cited reports represent the most important and insightful works related to the research of prehistory and ethnohistory in the region. Many of the earlier projects were completed as part of University of California (Berkeley and Los Angeles) archaeological research programs and were published as annual reports by those programs. Some were written as dissertations and theses. These works are available at the universities where they were initiated and in many other university libraries.

Passage of the California Environmental Quality Act in 1972 has brought about the completion of a vast amount of CRM work and corresponding literature. These reports are housed in university and museum departments that are a part of the California Historical Resources Inventory System (CHRIS) directed by the California State Parks, Office of Historic Preservation. Those for San Diego County are housed at the South Coastal Information Center, under the Department of Anthropology at San Diego State University. Those for Riverside County are housed at the Eastern Information Center, under the Department of Anthropology at the University of California Riverside. Those for Orange County are housed at the South Central Information Center, under the Institute of Archaeology at the University of California Los Angeles. For Imperial County, the records are housed at Imperial Valley College in El Centro. Because many CRM projects address important archaeological research areas, are well funded, and have completion dates that must be met, the resulting reports contain the most relevant, thorough, and recent research completed by qualified scholars in the region. Particular examples of these are Lowell John Bean's ethnography and ethnohistory for Tahquitz Canyon in Palm Springs, Stephen Van Wormer's and my historical and archaeological investigations at Carrizo Stage Station, and Burney et al.'s investigation of the Hedges/ Tumco townsite. These scholars have resumés that reflect nearly three decades of archaeological and historical research primarily in the southern California region. Because of the wealth of historical and archaeological data related to the southern California region contained in these reports, their data contribute heavily to this thesis.



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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The Indian people of Alta and Baja California have made pottery for one thousand years, the technology coming to the region as a result of adaptation to changing environmental and cultural conditions throughout the Southwest. After European settlement of the Californias, Indian people continued to produce pottery into the twentieth century unlike most other traditional technologies. The survival of traditional pottery production through the historical period was also a result of adaptation by the Indians of Alta and Baja California to the incursion of European and American peoples. Indians acquired access to the European and American economy and culture through exchange of services and goods such as pottery, through participation in Anglo activities such as exhibitions and celebrations, and by selling crafts as artifacts and art. Pottery was produced in Alta California until the mid-twentieth century and continues to be produced today in Baja California Indian communities.

Prehistorically, pottery technology probably moved into the Alta and Baja California region due to changing environmental conditions throughout the Southwest that moved people and ideas into the Californias. Pottery had been produced in the Southwest since about A. D. 200 but was absent from the material culture of the Californias prior to A.D. 800-1000. Pottery technology provided new capabilities for food gathering, preparation, and storage. It also became important in the ritual aspects of Indian life, being used to store regalia, to contain gifts given during ceremonies, to carry trade items, and to bury cremated remains. Although baskets had previously accommodated many container needs, the constantly adapting Indian peoples readily added pottery to their economy and culture.

The coming of Europeans to the Californias brought change again to the indigenous peoples. And as they had for millennia, the Indians adapted, incorporating new goods and ideas into their economy and culture. Many traditional economic, technological, and cultural strategies fell apart due to overwhelming impacts such as disease, missionization, extermination policies, livestock grazing, and homesteading. However, attempts by the

indigenous peoples to establish exchange interactions with the Europeans are evident from the earliest periods, both in the historical and archaeological record. Although stone and bone tools were replaced with metal; bows, arrows, and throwing sticks were replaced with guns; and plant gathering was replaced with cultivation, pottery-making continued through the historical period. The technology, in some way, remained economically and culturally functional. This thesis will explore the ways in which Indian pottery making in Alta and Baja California survived and continued to serve economic and cultural functions throughout the historical period. In spite of the cultural, social, and economical disruption brought about by the European incursion, the continuance of pottery making demonstrates that Indian peoples maintained strong connections with their material culture traditions, relying on traditional technologies to adapt to new situations. The essential utilitarian vessels at early settlements were made by resident Indian workers but were nearly indistinguishable from vessels of prehistoric times. On the frontier, pottery vessels were major constituents of the exchange activities that took place between Anglos and Indians; these vessels were critical to the existence of some early frontier outposts. Exchange also became a means of access to Anglo goods, cash, and culture.

Exchange, as both an economic and cultural mechanism, is fundamental to the continuance of pottery production through the historic period. Exchange, particularly gift exchange, characterized traditional Alta and Baja California Indian culture. The ethnography describes how gift giving was central to Nukil and Karuk ceremonies, where goods and foods gathered for months were distributed by the hosts to the attendees. The prehistoric archaeological record reveals that materials, particularly pottery, were distributed through trade and travel, from the Colorado River to the Pacific Ocean. Exchange also typified the earliest encounters between Indian and European peoples. Although pottery is not mentioned specifically in the earliest accounts, the travelers' journals describe events and materials that illustrate Indian attempts to initiate exchange relations. That exchange was an opportunity for communication and negotiation becomes clearer when documented by the archaeological evidence in later centuries. The archaeological record provides information on pottery production during the Spanish, Mexican, and early American periods. Pottery vessels continued to be made by Indians in Indian communities and in mission and rancho

settlements. In these early years of isolation on the frontier, settlers needed indigenous labor and products to survive. Indians in the missions and on the ranchos provided domestic and ranch labor and brought their traditional technologies, including pottery making, with them. Pottery production in these settlements retained its functional requirements; the technology underwent few changes although the vessel forms were more focused on storage and cooking needs. Pottery vessels were also traded to Europeans, particularly in more isolated settlements in the backcountry, and again there were few changes in traditional technology.

With the rapid influx of American settlers and goods after annexation to the United States in 1849, this functional focus of pottery production and use changed. By the 1880s, Anglo southern California settlement was well connected to the remainder of the country by rail. New labor sources and consumer goods were generally available and the austere realities of frontier life metamorphosed into nostalgic folklore. By 1890, there were virtually no Indians in urban areas, although they continued to work for ranches in the inland areas through the twentieth century. Indian potters were still producing traditional pottery vessels that were desirable goods in the backcountry, particularly large ollas to cool water and small pots for cooking. Gift-giving of decorated pottery vessels to Anglo-Europeans also occurred. Traditional gift-exchange, like pottery production and trade, continued to be a part of Indian people's subsistence strategy.

By the late nineteenth century, the discipline of anthropology became interested in Southwest Indian cultures. These ethnographers were dedicated to faithful salvage of disappearing cultures. They compiled written inventories of cultural elements such as language, religion/mythology, and social structure and they collected cultural materials, including pottery. Field agents of the international expositions and fledgling museums accomplished much artifact collecting. The Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, the Southwest Museum of the American Indian, the Heye Foundation/National Museum of the American Indian, and locally, the San Diego Museum of Man house large collections of Southern California artifacts collected at this time, including pottery vessels. Collections include traditional pottery vessels from Indian communities, traditional pottery vessels taken from archaeological contexts both by Indians and European collectors, and pottery being specifically produced for sale or gifting to collectors. Traditional production techniques

continued to be practiced until modifications were employed to accommodate the tourist market. Modifications in the traditional technology, forms, and decoration of vessels produced for sale to collectors begin to become apparent at this time.

By the mid-twentieth century, ethnographic documentation began to focus on the native cultures of Baja California. Still in the “salvage ethnography” mindset, ethnographers visited Kumiai and Paipai villages of Baja California and purchased many pottery vessels. With increasing interaction between modern Alta California Anglo culture and Baja California Indian communities, a renewed interest in Baja California Indian material culture has developed in the late twentieth century. Indian crafts, particularly pottery, are purchased for sale in the tourist town of Ensenada. Also, “eco-tourism” promotes teaching workshops with Indian craftspeople and provides opportunities to purchase craft goods from their makers. Eco-tourism has provided new opportunities for exchange between Anglo and Indian peoples as well as economic opportunities for previously isolated portions of the Indian communities. While gift giving and reciprocity persist in some exchanges, the primary exchange mechanism is monetary. While traditional production techniques are still practiced by some Santa Catarina potters, new technologies, forms, and decorative techniques are being increasingly explored, as the tourist market for their products has developed.

As the following chapters will explore, after Spanish mission and rancho times, when traditional pottery was produced by Indian neophytes and laborers primarily for functional needs, the cultural mechanisms that were retained and that sustained pottery production in Alta and Baja California were tied to issues of exchange—gift-giving and commodity trade. Gift-giving characterized prehistoric exchange networks and emerged sporadically in exchange relations—where relationships were emphasized over acquisition of goods—into the twentieth century. However, commodity trade characterized most exchange relations, particularly on the frontier where acquisition of goods for functional and/or cultural needs was the goal of both European/Americans and Indians. The cash economy is the most recent (late nineteenth/twentieth century) exchange mechanism and, together with the establishment of a steady market, is associated with the most extensive changes in traditional technologies, forms, and decorative styles. While these changes were not exclusively chronological, they do occur in correlation with the historical events of Alta and Baja California. While Indian

people were adapting to change using traditional cultural frameworks, traditional pottery production functioned as an adaptive strategy. By the mid-twentieth century, with several generations removal from traditional lifeways, traditional cultural frameworks became less tightly tied to the development of adaptation strategies, and pottery production was transformed by technological innovations and new cultural functions.

The following text presents a chronological overview of Indian pottery through the prehistoric and historical periods in southern California. To illuminate the adaptability of the Alta and Baja California Indians and the significant role of exchange in their adaptation strategies, ethnographic and archaeological data will be reviewed. During the earliest historical periods when there is little information on trade items, the discussion focuses on the continued importance of exchange in early Indian-European interactions. During the early settlement periods, archaeological evidence from Spanish and Mexican missions and ranchos provides information on the continuance of pottery production by Indian neophytes and laborers as well as trade from potters in Indian communities. Finally, the gifting, trading, and purchasing of pottery between Indians and ranchers, collectors, ethnographers, museum agents, and tourists in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries is illuminated by archival, ethnographic, archaeological, and oral interview information. Because individuals are more visible in the historical record of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, information about individual potters, gathered both from the historical and the ethnographic record, can be included in this discussion. The final chapter summarizes the changes in exchange mechanisms through the periods discussed, how pottery forms and technology have evolved with these changes, and how pottery production persisted as an adaptive strategy into the twentieth century. This history of a traditional craft illustrates how Indian peoples, in adapting to the massive changes that took place with the coming of the Europeans, continued to rely on traditional cultural behaviors—exchange and pottery production—to survive. The continuance of the pottery tradition until the twentieth century demonstrates that acculturation did not occur in totality. Indian peoples chose to retain aspects of traditional cultural or adapted traditional cultural behaviors to new situations as they determined was necessary for survival.

## CHAPTER II

### TRADITIONAL PADDLE AND ANVIL POTTERY MANUFACTURE

Pottery continued to be a part of the culture of Indians in Alta and Baja California throughout the historical period. In adapting the technology to changing circumstances, Indian potters changed some aspects of the technology and continued others. The following section reviews the key constituents of prehistoric pottery production: clay types, construction methods, and geographic extent. These descriptions are essential to an understanding of later historical modifications in the technology.

Prehistorically, two pottery wares were constructed in the Alta and Baja California region: Tizon brown ware in the peninsular mountains and lower Colorado buff ware in the Colorado Desert. Although both were produced by paddle-and-anvil technique and fired in low-temperature open pits, the two wares are distinguishable on the basis of the clay raw material from which they are produced.<sup>1</sup> The following descriptions of clay types are based on ethnographic descriptions of the production technology<sup>2</sup> and laboratory analyses of archaeological ceramic sherds.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Malcolm Rogers, "Yuman Pottery Making," *San Diego Museum Paper 2*, (San Diego: San Diego Museum of Man, 1936, reprint, Ramona: Ballena Press, 1973).

<sup>2</sup> Rogers, *Ibid.*; Edward H. Davis, "Diegueño Basketry and Pottery," 1935, edited by Paul G. Chace, *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 3, no. 1 (1967): 58-64; E. W. Gifford, "Pottery-Making in the Southwest," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 23, no. 8 (1928): 353-373; Ralph Michelsen, "The Making of Paddle and Anvil Pottery at Santa Catarina, Baja California, Mexico," *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 8, no.1. (1972): 2-9.

<sup>3</sup> John A. Hildebrand, G. Timothy Gross, Jerry Schaefer, Sue A. Wade, and Andrew Pigiolo. "Studies of the Lithic and Ceramic Raw Material Near San Diego, California," paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Society for American Archaeology, Nashville, 1997; John A. Hildebrand, G. Timothy Gross, Jerry Schaefer, and H. Neff. "Patayan Ceramic Variability: Using Trace Element and Petrographic Analysis to Study Brown and Buff Wares in Southern California," in *Ceramic Production and Circulation in the Greater Southwest*, Monograph 44, ed. D. Glowacki and H. Neff, (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California Los Angeles, 2002), 121-139.



## Clays

Two types of clay, generating wares with different appearances and properties, were produced in Alta and Baja California. Tizon brown wares were produced from clays that weather from the resident granitic soils of the peninsular mountains. Lower Colorado buff wares were produced from ancient lakebed and fluvial-deposited sedimentary soils of the Colorado Desert. Tizon brown ware was first identified as a category for brown residual clay wares in Northern Arizona<sup>4</sup> and was adopted to describe pottery found on Palomar Mountain in San Diego County by Clement Meighan.<sup>5</sup> Tizon brown ware is common in the coastal and mountain areas of Southern California where residual clays are formed from the weathering of underlying granitic rock. The natural mixture of clay and quartz, feldspar, and dark minerals needed no added temper. The hard work of preparing the clay for use in construction consisted of grinding the dry clay, winnowing out the large inclusions, and moistening and kneading the clay into a plastic state. Common mineral inclusions are feldspar, quartz, muscovite, and ferromagnesian minerals including biotite and hornblend.<sup>6</sup> The fired clay is porous and not highly vitrified. The prevalence of inclusions allows for expansion and contraction of the clay body, making it resistant to thermal shock and thus functional for use in cooking. The ware's porosity allows evaporation that will cool stored water. High ferromagnesian mineral content naturally produces colors on the surface of the fired pottery that include orange, reddish orange, gray, and brown.

Lower Colorado buff ware was first identified in the notes of Malcolm Rogers based on his extensive fieldwork in the California and Arizona deserts. The buff wares of the California deserts have been described since that time by Schroeder and Waters<sup>7</sup> and

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<sup>4</sup> Robert C. Euler and Henry F. Dobyns, "Tizon Brown Ware," in *Pottery Types of the Southwest*, ed. Harold S. Colton, *Museum of Northern Arizona Ceramic Studies*, No. 3d. Flagstaff (1958).

<sup>5</sup> Clement W. Meighan, "A Late Complex in Southern California Prehistory," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 10, (1954): 215-227.

<sup>6</sup> Hildebrand et al., *Ceramic Raw Material*; Sue A. Wade, "Appendix D, Tizon Brown Ware Analysis," in *Broken Fragments of Past Lifeways: Archaeological Excavations at Los Peñasquitos Ranch House Resource Area, San Diego*, Susan M. Hector and Stephen R. Van Wormer (San Diego: County of San Diego Parks and Recreation Department, 1986).

<sup>7</sup> Albert H. Schroeder, "Lower Colorado River Buff Ware," in *Pottery Types of the Southwest, Museum of Northern Arizona Ceramic Series No. 3*, ed. Harold S. Colton, (Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, 1982);

additional local variants have been identified.<sup>8</sup> Buff ware clay is sedimentary in origin and very fine-textured.<sup>9</sup> Very few inclusions are usually present although rounded sands and ground sherd or unpulverized clay particles are sometimes added as temper. The fired clay is vitrified and nearly non-porous. As a result, the buff wares are poorly resistant to thermal shock and often crack during cooking use. For this reason, a “stucco” coat of clay may be added to the exterior to make the vessels more resistant to heat damage. Often, a white “scum” is present on the surface: a result of the gypsum in the desert clay rising to the surface during drying and firing. Because they are less porous, buff ware ollas (large vessels with small openings) are more efficient water storage vessels. Waters identified several subtypes based on temporal and form divisions. Others of Waters’s Lower Colorado buff ware types appear in small numbers in coastal and peninsular mountain Late Prehistoric sites: Tumco buff and Salton buff, produced during the Patayan II period (A.D. 1000-1500) and Colorado Buff, produced during the Patayan III period (A.D. 1500-1900). Tumco buff is thought to be an earlier, less skillful version of Colorado buff. While Colorado buff is highly vitrified, containing no inclusions and a very even texture, Tumco buff has a “blocky” appearance” most likely attributable to the use of ground potsherds or unpulverized clay fragments for temper. Salton buff contains numerous rounded sand inclusions, giving it a speckled texture. The variation of buff wares suggests that Indian potters were adapting the technology as new clay sources and characteristics were identified.

Conversations with modern Indian potters have indicated that certain clays were highly desirable and that potters preferred to use traditional clay quarry locations.<sup>10</sup>

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Michael R. Waters, “The Lowland Patayan Ceramic Tradition,” In *Hohokam and Patayan: An Archaeological Overview of Southwestern Arizona*, ed. R. McGuire and M. Schiffer (Orlando: Academic Press, 1982).

<sup>8</sup> Jerry Schaefer, “Chapter IX, Ceramics,” in *Archaeological, Ethnographic, and Ethnohistoric Investigations at Tahquitz Canyon, Palm Springs, California*, Lowell John Bean, Jerry Schaefer, and Sylvia Brakke Vane, V-1-307, (Menlo Park: Cultural Systems Research, Inc., 1995); Jerry Schaefer, “Ceramics Analysis Results,” in *Archaeology on the North Shoreline of Ancient Lake Cahuilla, Final Results from Survey, Testing, and Mitigation-Monitoring*, (Riverside: University of California Riverside-Eastern Information Center, 1996); Sue A. Wade, “Analysis of Ceramics from RIV-3005, 3008, and 5876, La Quinta, California,” (Mission Viejo: RMW Paleo Associates, 2000).

<sup>9</sup> Waters, Patayan Ceramic Tradition.

<sup>10</sup> Bernard Tillman, ethnoceramicist, interviewed by author, 1986, El Cajon California; Teresa Castro Albañez, interview by author, May 26, 1998, Santa Catarina Baja California, tape recording and transcription, CUNA (*Instituto de Culturas Nativas de Baja California*), Ensenada, Baja California.

However, in the historical period, altered access to traditional lands necessitated using new clay sources. One of the last potters in San Diego County was interviewed in the 1970s by Bernard Tillman, a ceramicist who studied with her. She and her mother and grandmother before her acquired their clay from Monkey Hill in the Lake Henshaw area. When this source became private property, she was forced to find an alternative source. Potters interviewed by ethnographers in the early twentieth century also identified this source.<sup>11</sup> Recent petrographic and trace mineral studies have demonstrated that Wass Hilmawa (Rosa López), a Kumeyaay potter who produced vessels for collectors in the 1920s, used clay sources, likely on Manzanita Reservation where she lived, dissimilar to a large sample of archaeological specimens recovered from the region.<sup>12</sup> Potters in Santa Catarina, producing for the tourist market experiment with non-traditional clays to improve the marketability of their wares. Clearly, clay selection is an adaptable aspect of the technology that is altered by the individual pottery depending on the environment or the need.

## **Construction**

Malcolm Rogers of the San Diego Museum of Man conducted the first extensive research into the pottery-making traditions of the region.<sup>13</sup> In addition to documenting the pottery production sequence as demonstrated by Wass Hilmawa, and summarizing available data on Yuman Pottery technology, Rogers presented a vessel form typology organized by geographic area. Although by the time Rogers collected his data many of the traditional pottery-producing techniques, particularly those formerly integrated with seasonal migration, had been altered, the basic construction techniques are corroborated by information from other pottery producers<sup>14</sup> and during my recent work with the Paipai potters of Santa Catarina in Baja California. The following discussion regarding manufacturing technology includes

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<sup>11</sup> Robert F. Heizer and Adan E. Treganza, "Mines and Quarries of the Indians of California," *California Journal of Mines and Geology* 40, no. 3 (1944): 291-360.

<sup>12</sup> Hildebrand et al., *Ceramic Raw Material*.

<sup>13</sup> Rogers, *Yuman Pottery Making*; Rogers, *Outline*.

<sup>14</sup> Davis, *Diegueño Pottery*; Paul Schumacher, "The Method and Manufacturing of Pottery and Baskets Among the Indians of Southern California," *Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Twelfth Report*, (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1880), 521-525; Gifford, *Pottery Making*, Michelsen, *Paddle and Anvil Pottery*.

photographs completed by the author and by Bonnie Bruce during pottery classes in Santa Catarina, Baja California. The teachers were Doña Josephina Ochurte Gonzáles, Margarita Castro Albañez, and Tirsa Flores Castro.

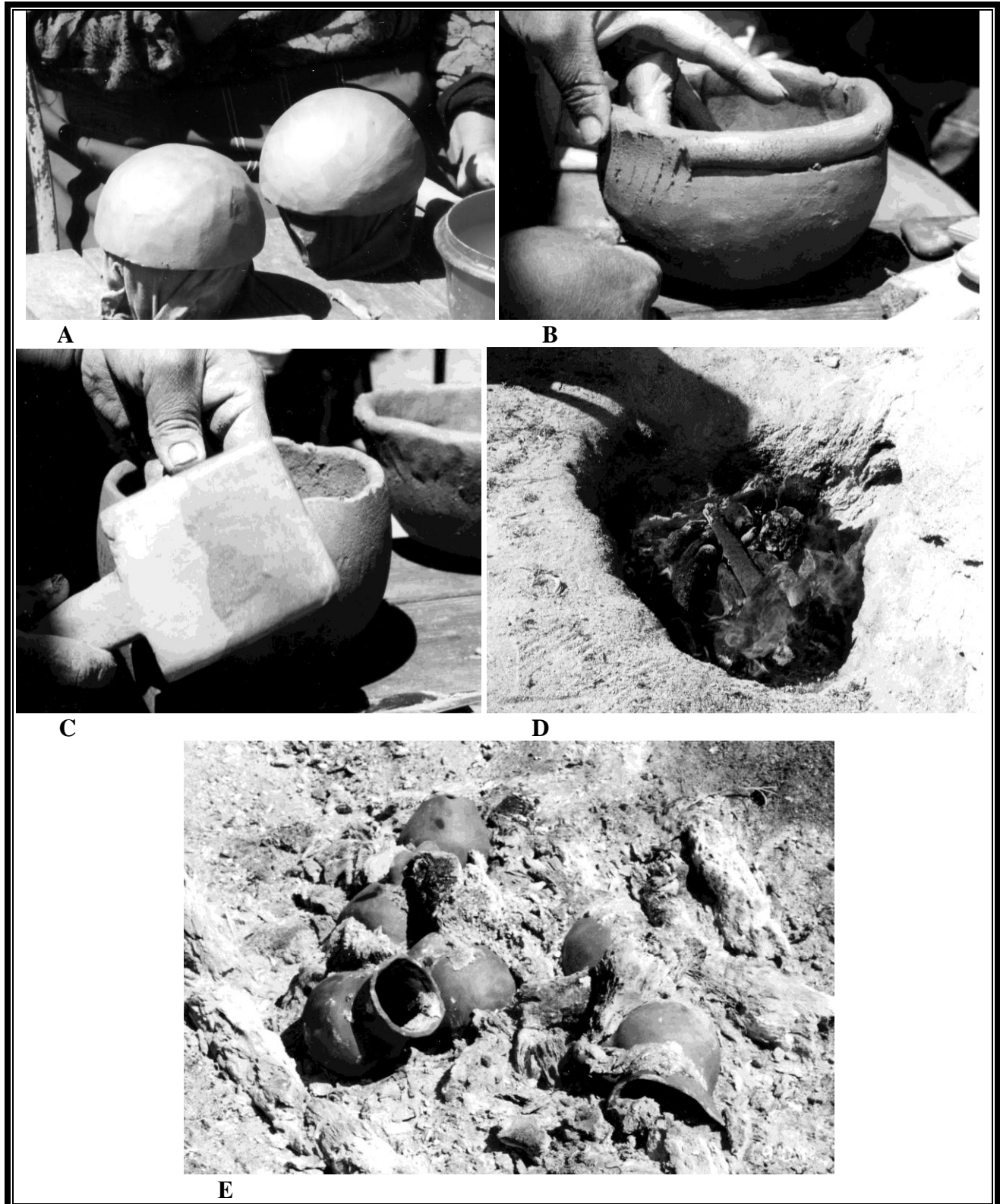
Both Tizon brown ware and lower Colorado buff ware pottery vessels were constructed using paddle-and-anvil technique. Initially, a slab of clay was molded over a basket, an existing pot, or the potter's knee to begin the bottom of the vessel (Figure 4A). The walls were then created through the addition of clay coils to the base. The coils were molded to the base, subsequent coils were added (Figure 4B), and the walls were thinned and raised by paddling the outside of the vessel wall against a supporting anvil held against the inside of the vessel wall (Figure 4C). Often evidence of this aspect of construction can be seen on the broken edge of sherds where they fail along the coil join. The neck was shaped and the rim was finished using a scraping tool or the fingers. The rim is usually somewhat flattened, although rounded rims are not unusual. The exterior was often burnished with a smooth stone, although only minimum burnishing often shows on archaeological sherds. Incised decoration (although rare) usually reflects work during the leather-hard stage after completion of the vessel. Occasionally paint was added, although this is rare (and thought to be a late addition to the technology) in archaeological contexts outside of the Colorado Desert region.<sup>15</sup>

The pots were dried thoroughly before firing and the dry vessels were fired in an open pit. The pots were placed in the pit with fuel on top and around. The pit was fired, and the "kiln" was left to burn and then cool (Figure 4D). Because of the uncontrolled and open-air firing technique, the results were sometimes unpredictable. Most sherds exhibit a black core, the result of incomplete oxidation of the core during firing. The open-pit firing often created interesting surface colors called fire clouding (Figure 4E). Fire clouds were most commonly gray smoking but brighter colors were occasionally present, depending on the firing conditions.

As will be seen in the following chapters, many of these characteristics were modified, as adaptations to a changing market for pottery, during the historical period. Often

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<sup>15</sup> Jerry Schaefer, "Chapter IX, Ceramics," in *Archaeological, Ethnographic, and Ethnohistoric Investigations at Tahquitz Canyon, Palm Springs, California*, Lowell John Bean, Jerry Schaefer, and Sylvia Brakke Vane, V-1-307, (Menlo Park: Cultural Systems Research, Inc., 1995).



**Figure 4. Pottery manufacture: A) molding the base, B) bonding a coil, C) raising walls with paddle and anvil, D) vessel firing, E) fired pots.**

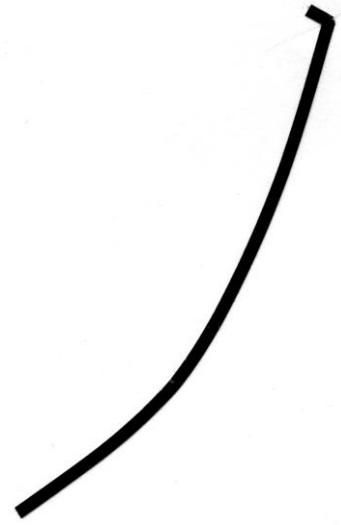
**(Photographs by author and by Bonnie Bruce)**

finishing techniques such as burnishing, incising, and painting were enhanced, presumably to produce more decorative items. Firing techniques were altered to create more decorative and colorful fire clouds, often to the detriment of the serviceability of the pot. New pottery forms were also produced; pots with thick walls and flat bottoms or cups with handles were responses to new functional requirements and double-neck ollas or highly decorated scoops acknowledged new aesthetic requirements. Clay applique and elaborate paint decoration were also historical period innovations.

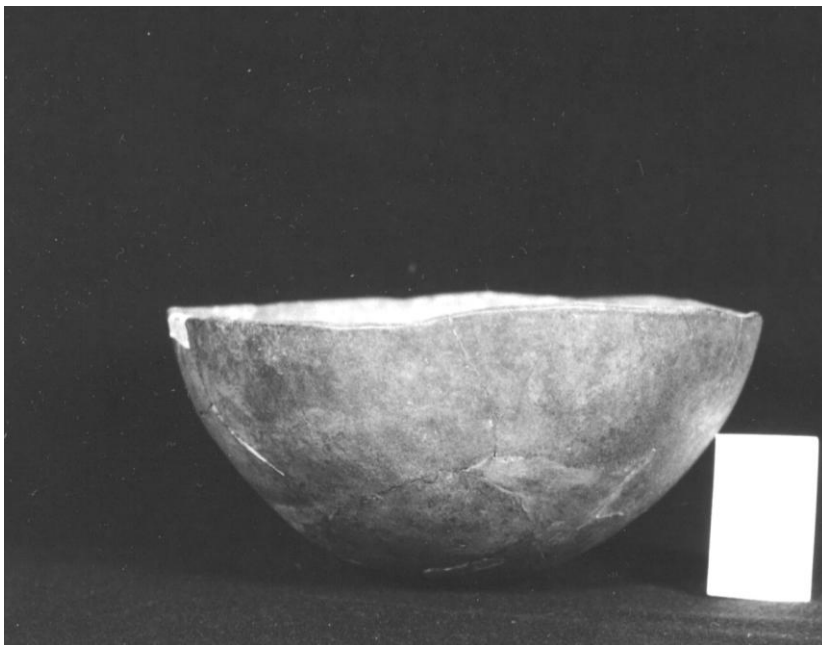
Traditional pottery vessel forms range from wide mouth bowls, whose openings are wider than the vessels are tall, to highly constricted ollas, whose openings are significantly smaller than the height. In 1986, I reviewed records and collections at the San Diego Museum of Man to develop a vessel form typology for archaeological pottery sherd analysis. Using accession records, I identified a set of vessels with provenience documentation and with origins in the peninsular mountains and coastal foothills of San Diego County. A representative sample of eighteen vessels was measured, photographed, and described. They were originally collected from SDM-W-254 (Crouch Ranch on Kitchen Creek in Laguna), SDM-W-339 (North Peak in Cuyamaca), Mount Woodson Road in Ramona, Pala Reservation, SDM-W-205 (Boulder Oaks), SDM-W-263 (Paso Picacho campground in Cuyamaca), SDM-W-210 (Warner Springs), and Poway. Figures 5 through 10 illustrate the variation of pottery forms synthesized from this review of the Museum of Man pottery collections. I have used this vessel form typology for archaeological sherd analyses in the ensuing eighteen years and found that it accurately reflects the range of prehistoric vessel forms constructed in the Late Prehistoric period in the southern California region. The forms include open bowl (Figure 5A,B), vertical-sided bowl (Figure 6A,B), slightly constricted pot (Figure 7A,B), moderately constricted pot (Figure 8A,B), neckless constricted pot (Figure 9A,B), and highly constricted olla (Figure 10A,B). Several historical forms were also identified including a painted flat-bottomed bowl (Figure 11A) and a flat-bottomed pitcher with handle (Figure 11B). In the following chapters, historical influences on vessel forms during the historical periods will refer to this typology.



A



Profiles Reflect Top 7 Centimeters (Actual Size) of Vessel Wall



B

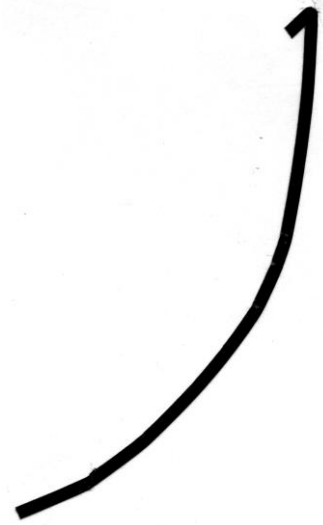
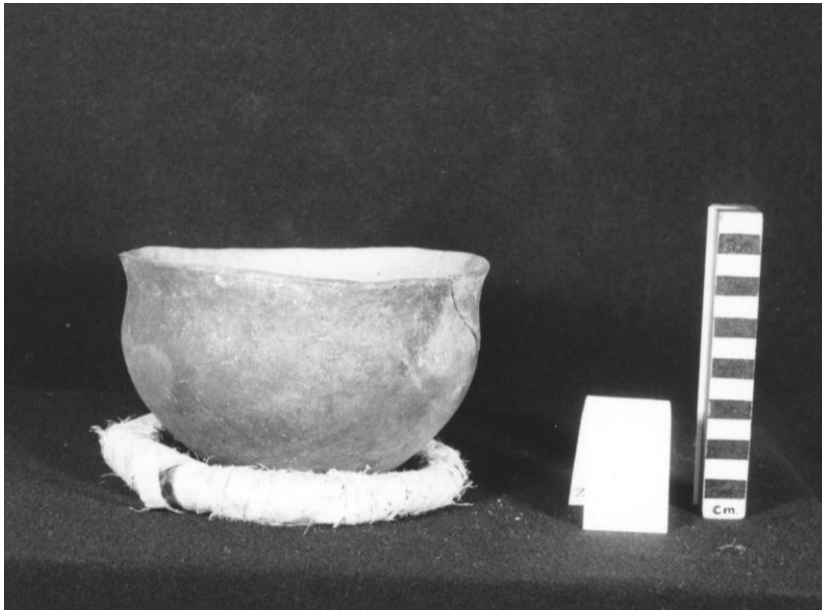


Figure 5. Open bowls, vessel form 1: A) SDM-W-254, #18682 (H = 6.5 centimeters, R = 6.5 centimeters), B) SDM-W-205, #18195 (H = 6.5 centimeters, R = 9-10 centimeters).

(Photographs by author courtesy of San Diego Museum of Man)



A



Profiles Reflect Top 7 Centimeters (Actual Size) of Vessel Wall



B



Figure 6. Vertical sided bowls, vessel form 2: A) SDM-C-144, #63-27-12 (H = 11.5 centimeters, R = 9 centimeters), B) SDM #18149 (H = 13 centimeters, R = 11 centimeters).  
(Photographs by author courtesy of San Diego Museum of Man)

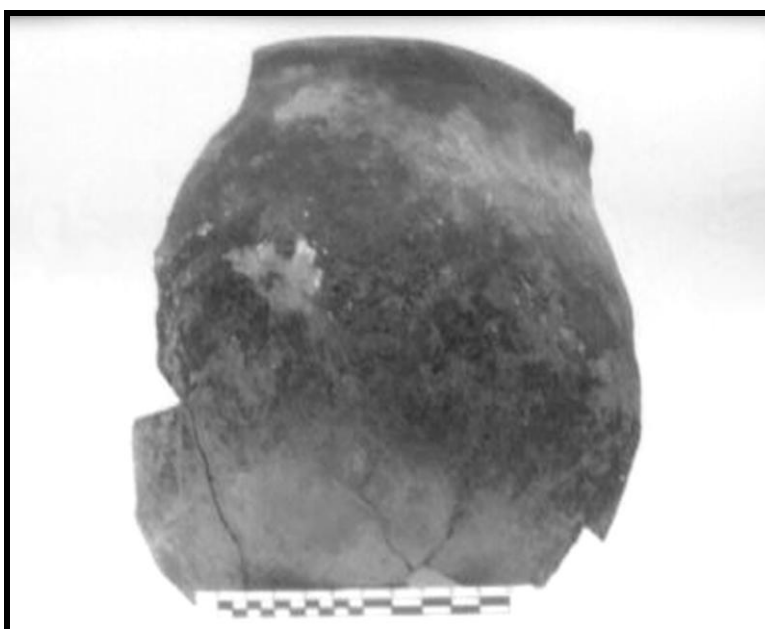




A



Profiles Reflect Top 7 Centimeters (Actual Size) of Vessel Wall



B

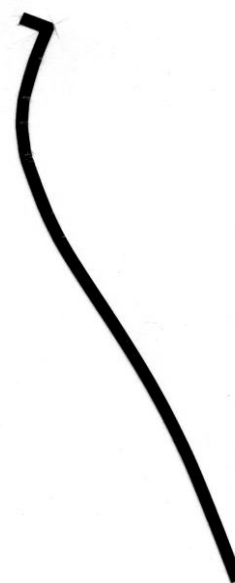
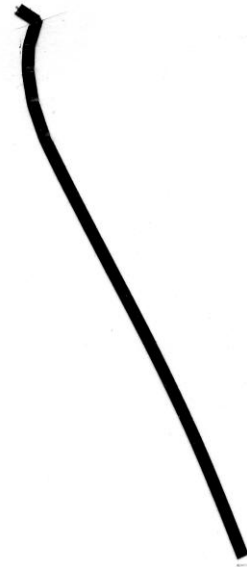


Figure 7. Slightly constricted pots, vessel form 3: A) SDM #65-14-1 (H = 15 centimeters, R = 9 centimeters), B) SDI-8125H (H = 10 centimeters, R = 8.5 centimeters).

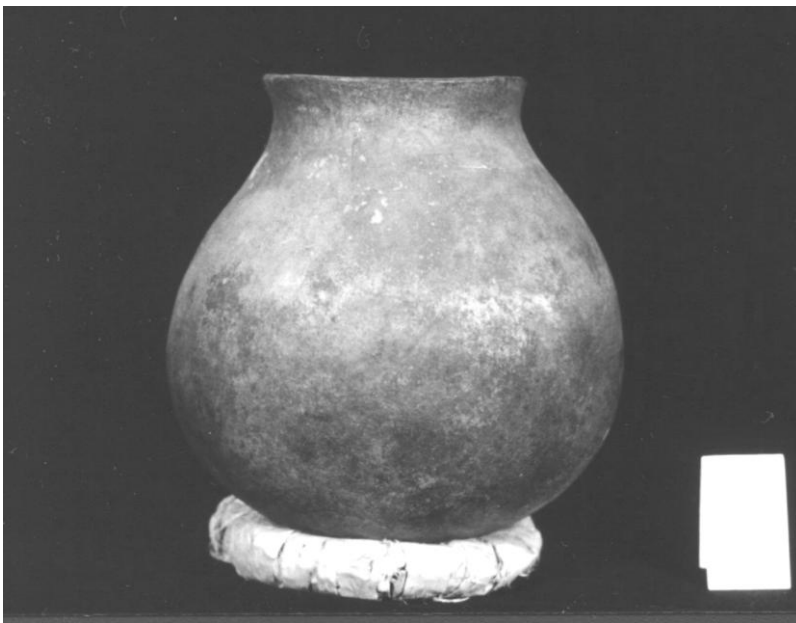
(Photograph A by author courtesy of San Diego Museum of Man, Photograph B by author)



A



Profiles Reflect Top 7 Centimeters (Actual Size) of Vessel Wall

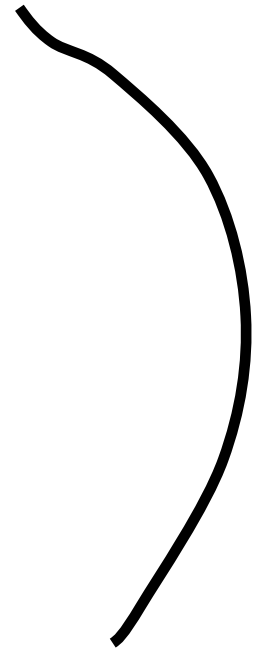
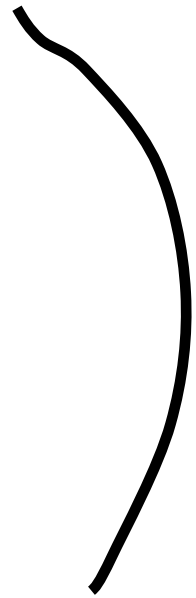


B

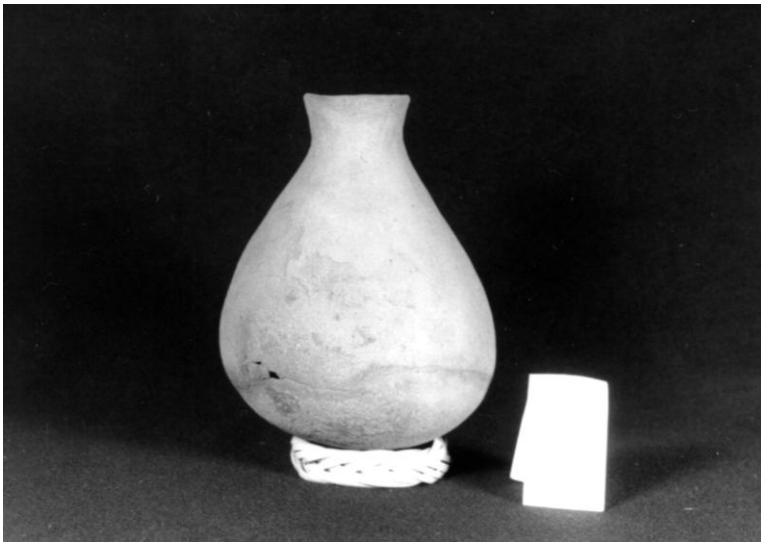


**Figure 8. Moderately constricted pots, vessel form 5: A) SDM-W-339, #67-114-2 (H = 25 centimeters, R = 7.5 centimeters), B) SDM-W-205, #18117 (H = 22.5 centimeters, R = 6 centimeters).**

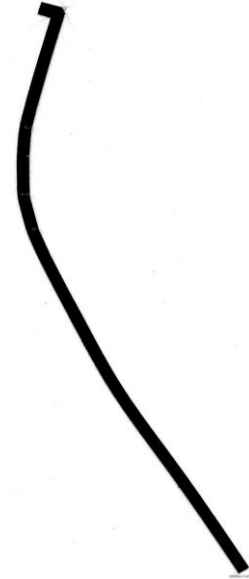
(Photographs by author courtesy of San Diego Museum of Man)



**Figure 9. Neckless constricted pots, vessel form 4: A) CDD collection, B) CDD 622-1-889.  
(Photographs by author courtesy of California State Parks, Colorado Desert District (CDD))**



A



Profiles Reflect Top 7 Centimeters (Actual Size) of Vessel Wall



B

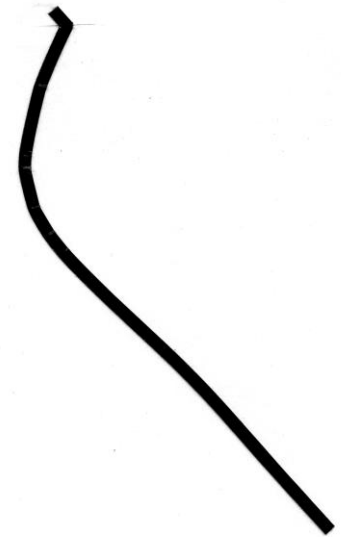


Figure 10. Highly constricted ollas, vessel form 10: A) SDM #28082 (H = 17 centimeters, R = 2.5 centimeters), B) SDM-W-205, #18119 (H = 25 centimeters, R = 3 centimeters).

(Photographs by author courtesy of San Diego Museum of Man)



A



Profiles Reflect Top 7 Centimeters (Actual Size) of Vessel Wall



B



Figure 11. Historic vessel forms: A) flat bottom, SDM #58-40-41 (H = 8.5 centimeters, R = 7 centimeters), B) thick walled with handle, SDM-W-231, #18845 (H = 6.5 centimeters, R = 15 centimeters).

(Photographs by author courtesy of San Diego Museum of Man)

## Geographic Extent

The ceramic tradition in coastal Southern California is thought to have been first introduced from the Southwest, perhaps as early as A.D. 800.<sup>16</sup> This was likely a result of environmental change—the drying of Lake Cahuilla—inducing increased movements of people throughout the Southwest. It is generally accepted that the knowledge of pottery making was a very late addition to the technology of the Luiseño who lived north of the Kumeyaay, north of the San Luis Rey River. Archaeological data has confirmed that the pottery tradition was also known in prehistoric times within the Gabrieliño territory between the Santa Ana River and Los Angeles area.<sup>17</sup> Because of the pre-existing pottery-making tradition in these areas, Indian-made pottery in historic contexts is virtually indistinguishable from prehistoric examples. However, as the boundary between the Gabrieliño and the Chumash in the Santa Barbara area is approached, where there was no prehistoric pottery-making tradition, the brown ware ceramics recovered from historic excavations exhibit few characteristics of traditional paddle-and-anvil technology.

Because of the homogeneous nature of Tizon brown ware, it has been very difficult to identify specific types and their geographic distributions. Recent studies to identify clay sources of pottery vessels recovered from archaeological contexts have relied on thin section and neutron activation analyses to compare mineral compositions. These studies indicate that typically the majority of the pottery produced at a site is composed of locally available clays. However substantial percentages are constructed of clays from distant sources, providing evidence of widespread exchange and travel across the region. For example, my recent thin section analyses of pottery sherds from archaeological sites along the Whitewater River near Indio demonstrated that large percentages of the pottery collections were non-locally

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<sup>16</sup> Steven A. LeBlanc, “The Advent of Pottery in the Southwest, in *Southwestern Ceramics: A Comparative Review*, ed. Albert H. Schroeder, *The Arizona Archaeologist* 15, (1982): 27-52, 46; Carrico and Taylor, *Ystagua*; Griset, Southern California Brownware.

<sup>17</sup> Henry C. Koerper, Chris Drover, Arthur Flint, and Gary Hurd, “Gabrieliño Tizon Brown Pottery,” *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (1978): 43-58; Sue A. Wade, “Appendix D, Pottery Analysis,” In *San Juan Capistrano Historic Town Center, Extended Phase I*, Beth Padon, Stephen R. Van Wormer, E. Jane Rosenthal, and Paul E. Langenwaller, II, (San Juan Capistrano, Community Redevelopment Agency, 1990).

produced originating as far away as the Colorado River and peninsular mountain ranges.<sup>18</sup> Clay sourcing analysis of sherds from the village of Topomai on the Santa Margarita River in Camp Pendleton revealed mineral composition in sherds indicating origins in the eastern peninsular mountains.<sup>19</sup> These results again support the integral role of pottery vessels in the exchange and travel patterns of the southern California prehistoric peoples.

As identified by Waters<sup>20</sup>, Lower Colorado Buff Ware can be divided into three periods: Patayan I (dating from approximately A.D. 700 to A.D. 1000), Patayan II (dating from approximately A.D. 1000 to A.D. 1500), and Patayan III (dating from approximately to post-A.D. 1500). The various types in each period are geographically defined with types clustering along either side of the Colorado River and, during Patayan I and II periods before the final drying of Lake Cahuilla, along the lake shore line. Buff ware sherds have been found as far west as the San Diego County coast, indicating the prevalence of exchange and travel. Within the Colorado Desert, Salton buff and Tumco buff sherds are commonly found on sites associated with the Lake Cahuilla shoreline and the Colorado River shore, respectively, occupied during Patayan II times. Colorado Buff sherds are commonly found across the Colorado Desert on sites dating to Patayan III times. Salton Buff sherds, although exhibiting a somewhat grayer and less dense clay fabric than the classic Salton Buff type identified on the East and West Mesa, have been found to be common in the Whitewater River area.<sup>21</sup>

The above archaeological information describing prehistoric pottery clay use, construction technology, and geographic distribution documents the existing pottery conditions when the Europeans first entered the region. For approximately one thousand years, pottery technology provided opportunities for travel and exchange, functioning as

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<sup>18</sup> Sue A. Wade, "Analysis of Ceramics from RIV-3005, 3008, and 5876, La Quinta, California," (Mission Viejo: RMW Paleo Associates, 2000); Sue A. Wade, "Analysis of Ceramics from RIV-6052, 6053, 6054, 6055, and 6056, Indio California," (Rancho Palos Verdes: Archaeological Resource Management Corporation, 2003).

<sup>19</sup> Sue A. Wade, "Analysis of Ceramics from SDI-10-156 A and B: *Topomai*," In "Archaeological Investigations at SDI-10,156," (report prepared for Department of Defense, U.S.M.C., San Diego: KEA Environmental, 1999).

<sup>20</sup> Waters, Patayan Ceramic Tradition.

<sup>21</sup> Mark Q. Sutton and Philip J. Wilke, *Archaeological Investigations at CA-RIV-1179, CA-RIV-2823, and CA-RIV-2827, La Quinta, Riverside County, California*, (Salinas: Coyote Press, 1988); Schaefer, *North Shoreline*; Wade, La Quinta; Wade Indio.

carriers of trade goods, containers for long-term storage, and more efficient vessels for food preparation. The paddle and anvil manufacturing technique as well as overall vessel forms remained constant throughout the region during the Late Prehistoric period. The prehistoric potters utilized clays from two regions, mountain residual brown clays and desert sedimentary buff clays. Distribution of pottery vessels made from both clay types across southern California attests to the importance of pottery vessels in the exchange and travel networks of the prehistoric peoples. The ability to adapt to massive changes during the prehistoric period, particularly within a framework of exchange, is central to discussions of later pottery adaptations.



## CHAPTER III

### BEFORE THE EUROPEANS

#### **Adaptation and Exchange in Prehistoric Alta and Baja California**

The Indians of Alta and Baja California had been wanderers and settlers, foragers and collectors, gatherers and traders, adapting to environmental and cultural changes, for at least ten thousand years before the Europeans arrived. Since the Pleistocene, Alta and Baja California native cultures have adapted to constantly changing environments—gradual large-scale climatic changes as well as rapid local fluctuations. Many of these environmental changes affected cultures throughout the Southwest, inducing regional population migrations, moving peoples, goods, and ideas throughout the region. Thus, native Alta and Baja California cultures have also had to respond to constant cultural intrusions. By the time of European contact, the native peoples of the Californias had ten thousand years of experience in adapting to environmental and cultural changes. It was this experience that they relied on in adapting to the unprecedented and pervasive environmental and cultural changes that arrived with the Europeans.

#### **The Archaeological Evidence**

Reconstruction of the past ten thousand years of prehistory relies almost entirely on archaeological evidence, with only the most recent period being illuminated by ethnography. Because of the incompleteness of the archaeological record, there is considerable debate about the specifics of regional prehistory. However, major trends are generally agreed upon.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lynne E. Christenson, “The Late Prehistoric Yuman People of San Diego County, California: Their Settlement and Subsistence System” (Ph.D. diss., Arizona State University, 1990); Claude N. Warren, Gretchen Siegler, and Frank Dittmer, “Chapter III. Paleoindian and Early Archaic Periods,” in *Historic Properties Background Study* (San Diego: City of San Diego Clean Water Program, 1993); Meg McDonald, “Chapter IV. Late Prehistoric Period,” in *Ibid.*; Michael Moratto, *California Archaeology*, (Orlando: Academic Press, 1984).

It is generally accepted that the earliest humans traveled to the New World at the end of the Pleistocene, about ten thousand years ago<sup>2</sup>. The earliest accepted dates for occupation of southern California are approximately nine thousand to ten thousand years before the present (B. P.).<sup>3</sup> These earliest peoples were first identified and labeled the San Dieguito complex by Malcolm Rogers, early archaeological curator at the San Diego Museum of Man. Between 1929 and 1945, Rogers conducted extensive archaeological fieldwork in Alta and Baja California and published summaries about the region's prehistory. He equated remains of the earliest hunting peoples in the Colorado and Mojave deserts<sup>4</sup> with archaeological remains he found on the coast.<sup>5</sup> Rogers concluded that the San Dieguito peoples were highly mobile, relying primarily on hunting for subsistence.

Other early archaeological site types that predominate along the Alta and Baja California coasts are dense shell middens containing few finely flaked hunting artifacts and abundant milling tools. Rogers labeled the prehistoric occupants of these sites the La Jollan Complex. From the earliest period of his work, he proposed that the differences between the San Dieguito and La Jollan peoples were related to environmental changes. He emphasized that the area presented an excellent opportunity for studying the effects of changing environments on prehistoric economies and material culture.<sup>6</sup> By 1945, Rogers proposed that changing adaptations reflected in the material culture remains reflected new peoples with new subsistence strategies and tool kits moving into the region.<sup>7</sup>

By the 1950s, archaeological research explicitly focused on the relationship between environmental change and culture adaptations, now with the ability to radiocarbon date

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<sup>2</sup> Moratto, Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Dennis R. Gallegos and Richard Carrico, *Windsong Shores Data Recovery Program for Site W-131, Carlsbad, California* (San Diego: San Diego State University-South Coastal Information Center, 1984); Carolyn E. Kyle, Adella B. Schroth, and Dennis R. Gallegos, *Remington Hills Archaeological Data Recovery Program for Prehistoric Site CA-SDI-11,079, Otay Mesa, San Diego, California* (San Diego: San Diego State University-South Coastal Information Center, 1998).

<sup>4</sup> Malcolm J. Rogers, "The Stone Art of the San Dieguito Plateau," *American Anthropologist* 31, no. 3 (1929): 454-467.

<sup>5</sup> Malcolm J. Rogers, "An Outline of Yuman Prehistory," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 1, no. 2 (1945): 167-198.

<sup>6</sup> Rogers, Stone Art, 466-7.

<sup>7</sup> Rogers, Outline, 430-31.

materials such as charcoal and shell. University of California Los Angeles archaeologists excavated an important La Jollan shell midden site at Batiquitos Lagoon.<sup>8</sup> Radiocarbon dating indicated that the site occupation ranged between 7,300 and 3,900 years B.P., well within the time range Rogers had defined for the La Jollan Complex. A special study of the shellfish remains led the researchers to propose that differences in archaeological materials through time reflected cultural adaptations to long-term environmental change.<sup>9</sup> Warren and Pavesic proposed that changes in the environment brought about by the end of the last glaciation had major effects on the aboriginal populations of California. Drying in the interior deserts (reducing food supplies) and rising sea levels on the coast (increasing shellfish resources) resulted in a major shift of populations from the desert to the coast. This likely occurred between approximately ten thousand and six thousand years ago. Subsequently, stabilization of sea level and lagoon siltation (reducing shellfish population viability) resulted in populations shifting away from the coastal lagoons and diversifying their subsistence strategies.

More recent archaeology has focused on how prehistoric populations modified their subsistence and settlement strategies to accommodate environmental changes. Based on nearly two decades of archaeological research, Dennis Gallegos synthesized radiocarbon dates and archaeological data for the entire coastal lagoon complex from Buena Vista on the north to San Diego Bay on the south.<sup>10</sup> Discovering a general trend from earlier occupation of the northern lagoons to later occupation of the southern lagoons, Gallegos concluded that prehistoric settlement patterns adjusted in relation to changes in lagoon conditions. Recently,

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<sup>8</sup> Robert H. Crabtree, Claude N. Warren, and D. L. True, "Archaeological Investigations at Batiquitos Lagoon, San Diego County, California," in *Annual Report Archaeological Survey* (University of California Los Angeles: Department of Anthropology-Sociology, 1963).

<sup>9</sup> Claude N. Warren and Max G. Pavesic, "Appendix I, Shell Midden Analysis of Site CA-SDI-603 and Ecological Implications for Cultural Development of Batiquitos Lagoon, San Diego County, California," in *Archaeological Investigations at Batiquitos Lagoon, San Diego County, California*, Robert H. Crabtree, Claude N. Warren, and D. L. True, in *Annual Report Archaeological Survey* (University of California Los Angeles, Department of Anthropology-Sociology, 1963).

<sup>10</sup> Dennis R. Gallegos, "The San Diego Coastal Environment and Native American Occupation during the Middle Holocene," (Paper presented at the 27 Annual Meeting of the Society for California Archaeology, April 9, 1993); Dennis Gallegos, "A Review and Synthesis of the Archaeological Record for the Lower San Diego River Valley," in *Society for California Archaeology Proceedings of the Society for California Archaeology* 8, (1995), 195-206.

the La Jolla period in San Diego is understood to be a part of the New World Archaic period of prehistory. Investigators have focused on the cycles of the El Niño weather pattern that have affected the subsistence and settlement strategies of the Archaic period prehistoric occupants of the California coast.<sup>11</sup>

Approximately one thousand to fifteen hundred years ago, the prehistoric occupants of Alta and Baja California were faced with a new set of environmental and cultural changes. For millennia, Lake Cahuilla, an in-filling of the Salton Trough from overflows of the Colorado River, had experienced intermittent filling and drying. The archaeological record demonstrates that prehistoric peoples heavily used the lake's plant and animal resources, adapting to the varying prehistoric lake shorelines.<sup>12</sup> Prehistoric peoples adapted to the final drying of the lake, documented to have occurred around A. D. 1700, by expanding their resource use in the mountain and coastal regions to the west.

Concurrent with adaptation to these regional environmental changes over the past millenium (during what archaeologists call the Late Prehistoric period) major new technologies were adopted. The first of these new technological ideas to arrive was the bow-and-arrow, reflected in the archaeological record by the presence of small projectile points. Also new was the knowledge of how to process the acorn into an edible food staple, reflected in the archaeological record by the prevalence of deep bedrock grinding mortars and large habitation complexes situated in oak-filled mountain valleys.<sup>13</sup> New ideas about religion and ceremony are reflected by the replacement of interment burial patterns of the Archaic by cremation and burial of the ashes, often in pottery vessels.<sup>14</sup> Finally, and most relevant to the current study, knowledge of the technology of pottery making moved into the Californias from the Southwest. Although the bow-and-arrow and acorn-processing technologies may

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<sup>11</sup> J. E. Arnold, R. H. Colton, and Scott Pletka, "Contexts of Cultural Change in Insular California," *American Antiquity* 62, no. 2 (1997): 300-318.

<sup>12</sup> Philip J. Wilke, "Late Prehistoric Human Ecology at Lake Cahuilla, Coachella Valley, California," *University of California Archaeological Research Facility Contributions* 38 (1978); Michael R. Waters, "Late Holocene Lacustrine Chronology and Archaeology of Ancient Lake Cahuilla," *Quaternary Research* 19 (1983): 373-387; Jerry Schaefer, "The Challenge of Archaeological Research in the Colorado Desert: Recent Approaches and Discoveries," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 16, no. 1 (1994): 60-80.

<sup>13</sup> Christenson.

<sup>14</sup> Rogers, Outline; William J. Wallace, "A Suggested Chronology for Southern California Coastal Archaeology" *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 11 (1955): 214-230.

have come to the mountains and coast earlier, the emergence of pottery production dates as early as about A. D. 800.<sup>15</sup> While Rogers had labeled this most recent cultural complex the Diegueño, the name given to the local Indians by the Spanish padres, current archaeological research refers to them as Late Prehistoric or Patayan peoples. Alta California Indian tribes prefer Kumeyaay and the Baja California Spanish spelling is Kumiai. Iipai/Tipai are also names that reflect a northern/southern cultural division. The Luiseño border the Kumeyaay on the north, the Cupeño and Cahuilla to the northeast, the Kamia and Quechan to the east, and the Paipai and Kiliwa to the south in Baja California.

Adaptation to these new technologies and resources injected new considerations into Late Prehistoric/Kumeyaay settlement and subsistence strategies. Few regional, synthetic studies have been undertaken to explore these types of issues. In an attempt to identify significant factors in the Late Prehistoric settlement and subsistence pattern, one doctoral dissertation statistically examined a 20 percent sample of the recorded Late Prehistoric archaeological sites in western San Diego County.<sup>16</sup> Christenson determined that hare and acorns met all the minimal daily nutritional requirements, demonstrating a continued mobile settlement pattern for the Late Prehistoric period, where acorn harvesting and rabbit hunting provided stable food resources. The acorn harvest brought dispersed groups together in the mountains every fall, providing opportunities for exchange and other social and cultural activities. These large mountain villages contain thousands of potsherds of diverse clay types, reflecting the origins of the people who brought them from throughout the peninsular mountain and Colorado Desert regions.<sup>17</sup> These vessels functioned as containers for goods brought to the mountains for use or to be gifted or traded. As well, pottery provided the ability for long-term gathered food storage, allowing for foods to be sealed in pottery vessels and cached for later celebrations or for later visits to the area. Acorn meal could more

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<sup>15</sup>Richard L. Carrico and Clifford V. F. Taylor, *Excavation of a Portion of Ystagua: A Coastal Valley Ipai Settlement* (San Diego: San Diego State University-South Coastal Information Center); Suzanne Griset, "Southern California Brown Ware," (Ph.D. diss., University of California Davis, 1996).

<sup>16</sup> Christenson.

<sup>17</sup> Lynn H. Gamble, *Preliminary Results of Archaeological Investigations At a Late Prehistoric Site (CA-SDI-945) in Cuyamaca Rancho State Park, San Diego County California* (Borrego Springs: California State Parks, Colorado Desert District Archaeological Research Center, 2004); Sue A. Wade, "National Register Nomination Application for the Kumeyaay Village site of Ah-ha'-Kwe-ah'-mac'" (Borrego Springs: California State Parks, Colorado Desert District Archaeological Research Center, 2004).

efficiently be boiled using pottery cookpots. As efficient travel containers, storage vessels, and cookpots, the new pottery technology was integrated into traditional travel, trade, and subsistence strategies.

A second regional study,<sup>18</sup> investigated these prehistoric exchange networks in southeast San Diego County, comparing quantities of Obsidian Butte (California Desert) obsidian, marine and fresh water shellfish remains, and mountain brown ware and desert buff ware ceramics. These three items of material culture are hallmarks of Late Prehistoric trade and travel in the region. Colorado Desert buff ware sherds are commonly found in small quantities in archaeological sites in western San Diego County, while mountain brown ware sherds are commonly found in archaeological sites deposits throughout the Colorado Desert. Exotic pottery remains appear frequently in the archaeological record, clearly having traveled and been traded throughout the region from the Pacific Ocean to the Colorado River.

Testing exchange network theories and compiling data on these three hallmark items of trade, Shakley concluded that Kumeyaay visits throughout the Californias were not only to gather food resources but also to complete exchange of goods and ideas. Shakley proposed four mechanisms that explained the movement of materials through Kumeyaay territory. First, material culture moved with the people on their seasonal migrations. Specifically, he suggests that material may have been exchanged when lineages gathered in the mountains in the late fall for the acorn harvest. Pottery vessels would have either contained exchange goods or been exchange objects themselves. Second, he suggests that the Kumeyaay traveled directly to the sources to collect materials such as clay. Third, he suggests that some Kumeyaay made periodic journeys expressly for exchange. Fourth, he recognizes the possibility of itinerant travelers who may have exchanged goods incidentally. He proposes that the Kumeyaay exchange network extended from the Sand Hills in Imperial Valley, west to the Pacific Coast, and south into Baja California. Because Obsidian Butte had only been exposed since the last drying of Lake Cahuilla (about A.D. 1700) and because pottery making was an approximately post-A.D. 800 technology, exchange of obsidian and pottery was a relatively recent phenomenon. However, the evidence strongly suggests that resource

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<sup>18</sup> M. Stephen Shakley, "Late Prehistoric Exchange Network Analysis in Carrizo Gorge and the Far Southwest," (Masters Thesis, San Diego State University, 1981).

acquisition and exchange were both long-term important elements of the Kumeyaay seasonal migration pattern.

The above review of the southern California archaeological literature illustrates that adaptation to environmental change has characterized ten thousand years of prehistory, encouraging the development of a highly mobile and exchange-oriented society. The archaeological evidence demonstrates that in Late Prehistoric times exchange carried on during seasonal movements emerged as a critical element of the Alta and Baja California Indian adaptation strategy. Exchange brought peoples together seasonally in large village complexes where social and cultural negotiations took place. Adoption of pottery technology provided new opportunities for exchange, storage, and food preparation, functioning as containers for traded goods, containers for long-term storage, and more efficient vessels for food preparation.

The following paragraphs discuss specific archaeological investigations, highlighting the role of exchange as an adaptive strategy and the integration of pottery into Indian culture. The archaeological studies were selected for the regional focus of their analysis as well as the importance of the archaeological sites themselves. In each, the archaeological data is employed to reveal the adaptive seasonal migration patterns of the Kumeyaay settlement and subsistence system, to understand the role of exchange, and to highlight the importance of pottery in this system. The studies selected are also representative of the major environmental zones of the Californias: Colorado Desert, peninsular mountains, and Pacific Ocean coast.

In a study of the large village of San Sebastian on San Felipe Creek in the Colorado Desert, Jerry Schaefer<sup>19</sup> combined ecological, archaeological, and ethnographic information to describe the fluid Kumeyaay regional settlement, subsistence, and exchange system. This archaeological site exemplifies the adaptability of the Kumeyaay to changing environments and new opportunities; the regional variability of the pottery remains is an important component of the site analysis. The San Sebastian Marsh was exposed only after the last recession of Lake Cahuilla, after A. D. 1700. Emphasizing the extraordinary adaptability of

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<sup>19</sup> Jerry Schaefer, Lowell J. Bean, and C. Michael Elling, *Settlement and Subsistence at San Sebastian: A Desert Oasis on San Felipe Creek, Imperial County, California* (Boulder City Nevada: USDI, Bureau of Reclamation, 1987).

the Kumeyaay, Schaefer argues that by 1774, when the Spanish first visited and described the village, the Kumeyaay had already established a sophisticated inter-relationship with their environmental and socio-political circumstances.<sup>20</sup> Schaefer's research also identified the village as a central spring and summer occupation within a regional mobile settlement pattern. While some people may have stayed at the village, particularly those too old or young to travel, smaller groups split off and traveled seasonally to other resource areas—the peninsular mountains and foothills in the fall to harvest pinon and acorns, and the high desert regions in the spring for the agave harvest.<sup>21</sup> Archaeological support for this mobility is provided through the pottery types identified at the site. Eighty percent of the pottery consists of desert clay wares including Colorado buff probably made at the site from clays excavated from the banks of San Felipe Creek. A small quantity of desert sherds are from Ocotillo Wells and the Colorado River, indicating limited interaction with these areas. Twenty percent of sherds are Tizon brown mountain wares, reflecting regular trade with or travel to the peninsular mountains. Clearly pottery vessels, either the vessels themselves or as containers for other items, were integral to this Kumeyaay exchange and travel network.

Another important desert village site is located at Mine Wash, about 35 kilometers west of San Sebastian and at the base of the desert foothills.<sup>22</sup> Another stop along the seasonal trail between the mountains and the desert, agave processing appears to have been the primary activity. Review of the site materials curated at the California State Parks, Colorado Desert District Archaeological Research Center revealed the presence of numerous artifacts confirming the extent of travel and exchange.<sup>23</sup> Shell for making ornaments included abalone, cockle clam, mussel, and olive shells from the Pacific Ocean and olive shell from the Gulf of California. Stone tool raw materials included Obsidian Butte obsidian from south of today's Salton Sea, "wonderstone" volcanic stone from north of the Salton Sea,

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 155-6.

<sup>22</sup> Sampson, Michael, "Aboriginal Settlement in Mine Wash and Its Role in Local Prehistory, Anza-Borrego Desert State Park," in *Proceedings of the Society for California Archaeology* 17 by the Society for California Archaeology (2004): 163-170. Inspection of the archaeological

<sup>23</sup> Inspection by the author of the archaeological materials recovered from Mine Wash in preparation for an archaeological exhibit at the Anza-Borrego Desert State Park Visitor Center, March 2004.



and fine grained meta-volcanic stone from the coastal and mountain areas. The importance of pottery to the site activities is supported by the large quantities and variety of sherds in the collection. Numerous vessel forms were observed including narrow-mouthed ollas, platters, constricted-rim jars, and straight-sided pots, many of which exhibited extreme burning indicative of cooking use. The clay wares were highly variable, including buff sedimentary clays from the Colorado River and brown residual clays from the peninsular mountains. The occupants of this site clearly traveled and traded from the Pacific Ocean to the Colorado River.

In the peninsular mountains, the same pattern of adaptation to area resources and participation in exchange and travel networks is archaeologically apparent. Two mountain village sites are illustrative: Molpa, on the slopes of Palomar Mountain (excavated by University of California archaeologists True, Meighan, and Crew in 1974)<sup>24</sup> and CA-SDI-9476 in the southern county on a Dulzura Creek alluvial terrace (excavated as a doctoral dissertation project by Hector in 1984)<sup>25</sup>. Both investigations evaluated seasonal versus year-round occupation and utilization of the nearby resources, especially the acorn. The CA-SDI-9476 study concluded that the nearby oak riparian and savannah areas provided an acorn crop that could have produced a staple food source to support year-round occupation. However, the presence of Pacific coast shellfish remains, exotic stone tool materials, and desert buff ware pottery sherds demonstrates that the villagers also visited or traded with peoples from those areas. Pottery vessels were integral to the site activities; nearly 3000 grams of pottery were recovered during the excavations. The Molpa study concluded that the site was occupied seasonally (during the summer) with a corresponding winter camp located at a lower elevation. Trade and/or travel to the desert regions is also reflected by the presence of exotic stone materials and desert buff ware pottery. Although somewhat different adaptation strategies appear at the two sites, the presence of Colorado buff ware sherds and other exotic

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<sup>24</sup> Delbert L. True, C. W. Meighan, and Harvey Crew, "Archaeological Investigations at Molpa, San Diego County, California," *University of California Publications in Anthropology 11* (1974), Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974.

<sup>25</sup> Susan M. Hector, "Late Prehistoric Hunter-Gatherer Activities in Southern San Diego County, California," (Ph.D. diss., University of California Los Angeles, 1984).

materials demonstrates that exchange and travel interactions with the desert peoples continued into the period immediately prior to contact.

Sedentary adaptations to the environment have been more strongly supported by the archaeological investigations of Late Prehistoric California coastal sites, however the presence of exotic stone provides solid evidence for continuing mobility and trade with the inland regions. Limited investigations have been conducted at La Rinconada de Jamo located on the north shore of Mission Bay.<sup>26</sup> The village of Ystagua in Sorrento Valley has been more extensively archaeologically and ethnographically documented.<sup>27</sup> Studies at these sites have focused on describing the Late Prehistoric adaptation to coastal resources and discerning a seasonal versus permanent occupation. The archaeological remains at La Rinconada and Ystagua argue for a Kumeyaay adaptation to the plentiful coastal resources of the mudflats, lagoons, and open sea. Scallops, chione clams, and oysters were collected from Mission Bay and Peñasquitos Lagoon; mussel, oyster, pismo and chama clams, abalone, and chiton were collected from the open coasts. The inland areas were hunted for small, medium, and large mammals, reptiles, and birds and the ocean provided fish as well as marine mammals. Exchange and/or travel interaction with Colorado Desert and Baja California peoples is indicated by the presence of desert cherts and obsidian from both Obsidian Butte in the Colorado desert and San Felipe in Baja California. Colorado Desert buff ware pottery sherds were recovered from Ystagua. The importance of pottery to the material culture is emphasized by the recovery of numerous brown ware and buff ware sherds. Comparing recovered artifacts counts, the quantities of pottery sherds at Ystagua and La Rinconada were second only to lithic waste from stone tool manufacture.

The above brief review of 10,000 years of prehistory of Alta and Baja California inhabitants has focused on the multiple adaptive strategies that were fundamental to the subsistence and settlement patterns as well as the consistent evidence for travel and exchange

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<sup>26</sup> Mary Lou Heuett, *Preliminary Archaeological Investigations at the Village of La Rinconada de Jamo* (San Diego: San Diego State University-South Coastal Information Center, 1979); Cathy L. Winterrowd and D. Sean Cardenas, *An Archaeological Indexing of a Portion of the Village of La Rinconada de Jamo, SDI-5017 (SDM-W-150)* (San Diego: City of San Diego Environmental and Development Department, 1987).

<sup>27</sup> Carrico and Taylor, Ystagua; Susan M. Hector, *Excavations at SDI-4609: A Portion of the Village of Ystagua, Sorrento Valley, California* (San Diego: San Diego State University-South Coastal Information Center, 1985); Susan M. Hector and Sue A. Wade, *Excavation of a Portion of CA-SDI-4513: The Rimbach Site, City of San Diego* (San Diego: San Diego State University-South Coastal Information Center, 1986).

throughout the region. Illustrative of the significance of adaptation to Alta and Baja California Indian culture is the adoption of pottery production during the Late Prehistoric period. Pottery provided many new opportunities, as containers for trade and storage goods as well as vessels for food preparation. The importance that pottery attained in the material culture is demonstrated by its prevalence in major Late Prehistoric settlements in the Colorado Desert, peninsular mountain, and Pacific coast regions. That it was central to exchange and travel is confirmed by the presence of mountain brown wares and desert buff wares at archaeological sites throughout the Alta and Baja California region. What additional role pottery played in ritual and ceremonial aspects of Indian culture can be revealed by inspection of the ethnographic record.

### **The Ethnographic Evidence**

While the archaeological record provides clues to the adaptation strategies and travel and exchange activities of the Late Prehistoric/Kumeyaay peoples, recreating cultural contexts, especially ritual and ceremonial, with only archaeological evidence is largely speculative. The ethnographic record, ample for Alta and Baja California, illuminates the cultural contexts for the archaeological record. As the following discussion will illustrate, the ethnography documents seasonal migrations, travel, and exchange as fundamental to Kumeyaay culture. Gatherings for communal food-collecting and ceremonial events strengthened inter-lineage social and cultural ties and provided settings for exchange of goods and ideas. Ceremonies and gatherings documented by the early ethnographers were occasions of gift giving, feasting, and gaming. As this section will also show, pottery vessels were central to these activities as storage, cooking, and gift containers. Pottery provided the ability to store foods, ceremonial items, and gifts over the many months of preparation for ceremonial gatherings. Pottery vessels were essential tools for the efficient preparation and cooking of large amounts of food necessary for the gatherings. Pottery vessels were also integrated into ceremonial activities as containers of sacred goods and gift containers.

One of the most comprehensive ethnographic overviews compiled in Southern California was completed for the Palm Springs Cahuilla by noted ethnographer Lowell J.

Bean.<sup>28</sup> This study depicts the fundamental world-view of the Cahuilla and the role of exchange and reciprocity in Cahuilla life. The Cahuilla are located in the mountain and desert areas immediately north of the Kumeyaay territory. Understanding the material culture of the Cahuilla provides an understanding of the material culture of the Kumeyaay because the ethnography has demonstrated strong cultural similarities between the two and many of the trading and ceremonial patterns were identical.

Fundamental to the worldview of the Cahuilla was the understanding that the world was an unstable and unpredictable environment requiring flexible adaptation strategies. Sharing and reciprocity were essential to survival in this ever-changing world. Bean and Vane emphasize that sharing of goods and food was taught to every Cahuilla and reciprocation was a basic expectation of society.<sup>29</sup> All Cahuilla depended on this carefully cultivated network, economically and culturally, to exist. During good times, surpluses of foods were exchanged for manufactured goods; during food shortages, manufactured goods were exchanged for foods. Exchange relationships were integral to the enmity/amity relationships, reflecting warfare/alliance relationships as well as marriage and kin associations.

These reciprocal exchange relationships were implemented primarily through ritual. Bean and Vane detail that, “A great deal of the exchange took place in ritual context, with manufactured tools, beads, and other ornamental objects often given in exchange for food and other subsistence goods. In this way, the labor spent on manufacturing could be ‘banked’ to buy food when drought, flood, or other disaster wiped out a food supply.”<sup>30</sup> Exchange involved foodstuffs (such as agricultural produce, acorns, agave, piñon nuts, and dried meat and fish) as well as tool and decorative raw materials (steatite, obsidian, turquoise, and abalone and olivella shells). Many goods and foods were exchanged during the games, gambling, and marriage and alliance arrangements that took place during ritual assemblages.

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<sup>28</sup> Lowell John Bean and Sylvia Brakke Vane, “Ethnography and Ethnohistory,” in *Archaeological, Ethnographic, and Ethnohistoric Investigations at Tahquitz Canyon, Palm Springs, California*, Lowell John Bean, Jerry Schaefer, and Sylvia Brakke Vane, Chapter V. 1-307 (Menlo Park: Cultural Systems Research, Inc., 1995).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, V-125.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, V-105.

Ceramic vessels were exchanged both for their own value and as containers of exchange goods. In sum, “Ritual functioned as an instrument of economic adaptation.”<sup>31</sup>

The most important ceremonial gathering was the Nukil, or ceremony for the dead. Traditionally, these were held annually or biennially during the winter months. The ceremony honored those who had died since the last Nukil, releasing their souls from the earth and sending them off to the land of the dead. The host lineage gathered goods and foods for months ahead, and these were distributed to the guests during the week-long ceremony. Guests brought goods and foods to the ceremony for exchange. Invited guests were those with whom the lineage wanted to establish and strengthen ritual reciprocity. Other opportunities for economic, social, and cultural exchange were eagle rituals, rites of passage, first fruit rites, rain rituals, and food-inducing rituals. Within a year as many as fifty rituals, when foods and manufactured goods were exchanged, were hosted or attended.

Pottery vessels were essential elements in the exchange of foods and goods during ceremonial gatherings. Perishable foods such as piñon nuts, fruits, and seeds were stored in pottery vessels, sealed against the weather and animals. Large storage vessels held precious objects such as ritual regalia, fiber clothing, and hunting equipment. As containers of foods and goods, they were central to the ritual exchange system. As containers of ceremonial objects they were ritual items themselves. Designs of ritual significance painted on the body, ritual regalia, rock outcrops, bows and arrows, throwing sticks, rattles, ceremonial wands, and gambling sticks were likewise painted on pottery. Red hematite, representing the blood of the creator-god Mukat, was commonly painted on pottery and symbolically represented a connection between the sacred past and the everyday Cahuilla world.<sup>32</sup> As containers of exchange foods and goods and as ritually significant items themselves, pottery vessels played a central role in the ceremonial exchange system that was itself central to the social and cultural system.

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., V-126.

<sup>32</sup> The association between decoration and ceremony was also discussed in this volume by Schaefer who suggests that decoration on pottery was a late addition to the pottery tradition in the region and was often associated with ceremonial uses. The association between pottery decoration and ceremonial context was also discovered by Suzanne Griset who, as a result of her review of whole vessels in several museum collections, observed that painted and incised vessels tended to be produced after 1900, made for sale to collectors, or recovered from caches. Bean and Brakke Vane, V-135, Griset, Southern California Brownware, 181-2.

Many of the early ethnographers recognized the importance of communal gatherings and ritual ceremony to the social and cultural framework of Native Alta and Baja Californians. Early Bureau of Ethnography and University of California ethnographers sought to document the last vestiges of California native cultures. Most focused on identifying elements of social structure such as marriage conventions and lineage or clan names and locations, elements of economy such as food gathering strategies and material goods, or elements of religion such as shamanism, mythology, and ceremony. Published monographs contain considerable informant data, but only occasional attention to the regional network within which the individual systems functioned. One exception is E.W. Gifford's notes on "The Kamia of Imperial Valley."<sup>33</sup> The Kamia were those Kumeyaay living in the Eastern Colorado Desert between the Mountain Kumeyaay and the Colorado River Yuma Quechan. Gifford's informants confirmed the exchange and visiting that occurred between these groups, stating that, "The Kamia visited their Diegueño kinsmen to obtain wild vegetable products, especially acorns."<sup>34</sup> Katherine Luomala, in making a case for flexibility of sib (or lineage) affiliation, suggests that many sibs gather seasonally at food gathering locations. Many sibs would assemble at a central camp near the acorn-gathering areas and celebrate ceremonies together.<sup>35</sup> This travel across the desert was facilitated by the ability to carry water in pots where springs were far apart. The long-term storage and transfer capabilities essential to gathering of staple crops such acorns was fulfilled by pottery vessels.

Almost every Yuman ethnographic account mentions the widely practiced Karuk, the ceremony for the dead, and several avocational documents provide extensive description. The Karuk is equivalent to the Nukil of the Cahuilla. The Karuk was described by Gifford for the Kamia, west of the Colorado River (1931),<sup>36</sup> for the Cocopa, a Yuman tribe at the

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<sup>33</sup> E. W. Gifford, "The Kamia of Imperial Valley," *Smithsonian Institution, U. S. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 97 (1931).

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>35</sup> Katherine Luomala, "Flexibility in Sib Affiliation Among the Diegueño," *Ethnology* 1, no. 3 (1963): 282-301.

<sup>36</sup> Gifford, Kamia, 17.

head of the Gulf of California (1934),<sup>37</sup> as well for the Northern and Southern Diegueño or Kumeyaay (1918).<sup>38</sup> Leslie Spier mentions the mourning ceremony as among the “Southern Diegueño Customs” (1923)<sup>39</sup> but defers to the comprehensive description of Edward Davis, avocational ethnographer and collector who described Kumeyaay Kuruk ceremonies at Weeapipe and at Cupa.<sup>40</sup>

These observers note several common elements. Primary, corroborating Bean’s ethnographic documentation of the Cahuilla Nukil, was the centrality of reciprocal relationships and gift giving and exchange to observance of the ceremony. For months before the ceremony was to happen, the entire clan prepared—gathering and storing foods, purchasing (during historical times) clothing and fabrics, and even manufacturing goods for sale to gather money. Scattered members of the clan were recalled to help. Clans with whom the ceremony-giving group had economic or social alliances were invited. These groups also brought foods and goods for exchange. Pottery vessels were essential to the storage and transportation needs of this preparation.

The clan chief’s primary responsibility was to manage ceremonial affairs, implying that ceremony was the primary constituent of social and political organization. It was the chief who called the ceremony, who sent out the messengers inviting the participants, and who gathered the goods prepared by his clan. Prepared goods were turned over to the chief for the ceremony.

The methods by which exchange and gift-giving took place were common to these groups. Primary was the gift-giving from the hosts to the gathered guests. During various phases of the ceremony, seeds and often money were poured over images and the ceremonial house during construction or flung to observers during the dancing. These were gathered up

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<sup>37</sup> E. W. Gifford, “The Cocopa,” *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 31 (1934):256-331.

<sup>38</sup> “Clans and Moieties in Southern California,” *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 14, no. 2 (1918): 155-219.

<sup>39</sup> Leslie Spier, “Southern Diegueño Customs,” *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 20, (1923): 292-358.

<sup>40</sup> Edward H. Davis, “The Diegueño Ceremony of the Death Images,” *Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation* V, no. 2 (1919): 7-33; Edward H. Davis, “Yuma Koorook Ceremony,” 1935, edited by Helen C. Smith, *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 4, no. 1 (1968): 39-45.

by the participants and taken away. Clothing, material, foods, and even horses were distributed to the guests. The goods and foods gathered for months before the ceremony were all distributed and the hosts were reduced to poverty. At the end of the ceremony, when the images were burned and the souls were successfully sent off to the land of the dead, the material prosperity of the lineage had also been sent away with their relations.

Games and gambling were continuous during the days of the Karuk. Gifford described many games, including distance jumping, foot races, bow and arrow contests, shinny (a ball and stick game), pole and ring game, and peon (a guessing game). All of these games involved stakes and betting. The stakes could include arrows, shell beads, money, and even horses. Often a gambler would be reduced to poverty after the games.

These ethnographic notations of the Karuk ceremony are corroborated by the description of an “image burning ceremony” by Edward Davis.<sup>41</sup> Davis was a turn-of-the-century rancher and collector in the mountains east of San Diego. While he traveled throughout Alta and Baja California visiting the native villages and collecting artifacts for the Heye Foundation, he published few articles; two are related to death ceremonies. His “Diegueño Ceremony of the Death Images” provides a detailed narrative of a ceremony that he attended at Weeapipe in 1908. Although Davis was not invited to the ceremony, his presence was initially tolerated. Later, when he returned with supplies of tobacco and red calico and, as well, when several of the Indians told of his help with a previous ceremony, he was welcomed. By bringing gifts, Davis inserted himself into the ceremonial activities. Also attending the ceremony were Indians from as far away as Algodones—Yumas who had traveled 150 miles on burros—and from Baja California. Later, during the dancing after the construction of the ceremonial image house, Davis notes that there were Indians from rancherías throughout San Diego County and Lower California, numbering between three and four hundred.

For this ceremony, preparations had begun two years previously, with the collecting of foods such as acorns, pinon nuts, and construction materials such as maguey and mescal fibers and yucca stalks. He describes how,

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<sup>41</sup> Davis, *Death Images*; Davis, *Koorook Ceremony*.



The women made baskets, sold them and hoarded the money, almost going without food and clothing that the dead might have a fitting ceremony and departure .... Money was collected from relatives far and near; sugar, coffee, flour, and steers were bought and a wagon was sent to San Diego, and new clothing, hats, ribbons, and bandanna handkerchiefs were procured to dress the images. What sacrifices all this had meant to the poorest Indians in California at that time can only be conjectured.<sup>42</sup>

As well as purchasing Anglo goods for dressing the images, many of the traditional materials involved in their construction were acquired from distant areas. Teeth were made of shells from the Gulf of California, acquired in trade from the Cocopa. Eyes were made from white abalone shell from the ocean coast as well as from Anglo-produced pearl buttons. Red and black paints were from the desert. Clearly the preparations required extensive exchange networks to assemble the necessary goods.

Pottery vessels were essential to the preparation and the ceremonies themselves. Many of the prepared items were stored in small and large ollas. Because gathered foods and construction materials were available only seasonally and were collected at great distances, pottery vessels fulfilled essential storage and travel container needs. Davis notes that a sap for affixing red and black pigments onto the image faces, in a similar pattern to the tattoos of the people generally, was collected from the desert and preserved in small ollas. Davis described how “In the autumn, sacks of piñon nuts were laboriously gathered by the women in the desert mountains and in the higher ranges, and acorns were harvested, cured, and stored away in great ollas, sacks, or granary baskets.”<sup>43</sup> Ollas also stored quantities of gathered corn, beans, gum from the chamise, and other ceremonial effects such as hair cut for mourning to be used in constructing the images.

At the commencement of the ceremony, the gathered goods were distributed as offerings and as gifts. At stages during construction of the ceremonial house and the images, copious offerings of corn, wheat, piñon nuts, and acorns were poured out. These were gathered up by members of other clans and taken home. During processions, women threw out handfuls of dimes, quarters, and half-dollars to the onlookers.

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<sup>42</sup> Davis, *Death Images*, 15.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

The Karuk ceremony exemplifies the centrality of communal gatherings and exchange to the culture of Alta and Baja California Indians. The distribution of foods and gifts not only held together the social, cultural, and economic fabric of this world, but its interweaving with ceremonial activity drew in the spiritual world as well. By the twentieth century, when these ethnographic observations were made, gatherings and exchange in ceremonial context were still highly important, arguably even more so given the disruption from European settlement. By this time also, European goods—and indeed the Europeans themselves—were incorporated into the exchange network.

A second, highly irregular, image-making activity, commissioned by Davis to acquire examples of death images for the Heye Foundation, illustrates this point.<sup>44</sup> Davis convinced a “creator” from Campo to prepare the images. Because Davis had initiated the creation of the images, he was required to identify them. He named them for Cinón MataWeer, the last hereditary chief of the Mesa Grande Indians with whom he had a special relationship, and his wife, and son. Davis was also responsible for procuring the majority of the materials for the production of the images. When the images were complete, however, he was not simply given the images. The Campo Kumeyaay gathered, as in traditional times, for the associated ceremony, to be held in accordance with tradition. As the principal mourner, Davis was responsible for furnishing food and provisions during the ceremony and also to hire the dancers, and other celebrants. There was much agitation to begin the ceremony quickly, as the spirits of the dead had entered the completed images and were now hovering about. During the two days of ceremony, the goods that Davis brought were distributed to the attendees and at the end of the ceremony, the images were wrapped and given to Davis. The events of this ceremony are an interesting adaptation by the Campo Indians to Davis commissioning the preparation of a death image. Clearly when Davis commissioned the images, in the view of the Campo Kumeyaay, he also commissioned the ceremony and committed himself to the requisite gift-giving activities. The images represented honored people and the ceremony was necessary to send them away in the traditional manner. That the images went with Davis instead of being cremated may have been dangerous for him, and perhaps detrimental to the deceased Mesa Grande Kumeyaay whom the images represented,

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 24-33.

but the Campo Kumeyaay had fulfilled their ceremonial obligation. The Kumeyaay had provided Davis with a death image ceremony for his Mesa Grande kinsman and he had provided the requisite distribution of food and goods. The unprecedented exchange had been completed within required traditional boundaries and illustrates the ability of the Kumeyaay to adapt tradition-bound activities to changing circumstances.

In summary, exchange and travel were critical constituents of the Baja and Alta California Indian social and cultural fabric—adaptations for subsistence within a constantly changing environment. The archaeological evidence confirms ten thousand years of adaptation through seasonal migrations and through exchange. Adoption of pottery technology at the beginning of the Late Prehistoric period created new opportunities for exchange, storage, and food preparation, functioning as carriers of trade goods, containers for long-term storage, and more efficient vessels for food preparation. During the Late Prehistoric period, archaeological pottery, stone, and faunal materials document exchange between desert, mountain, and coastal peoples. The ethnographic information further illustrates that this exchange was perceived and implemented within a ritual and ceremonial context. Ceremonies, particularly the Karuk ceremony for the dead, gathered relations from as far east as the Colorado River and south as Baja California. These gatherings were frequent and provided for significant exchange of goods and foods, implemented within a framework of gift-giving and reciprocity. The documentation of Edward Davis suggests that during the historical period, culture was adapted to accommodate interactions with the Anglo world. Even in ceremonial activities, the Kumeyaay were able to adapt traditional activities in interactions with the Anglo world. This ability to adapt traditional activities to new circumstances, but within traditional cultural frameworks, will become apparent in the discussions of pottery exchange that follow. The next chapter, documenting the earliest contacts between Indians and Europeans, demonstrates that exchange of goods also became the medium for adapting to the European incursion. This ability to adapt to massive changes during the historical period, particularly within a framework of exchange, is central to discussions of later pottery adaptations.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE EARLIEST CONTACTS

When the Spanish conducted their first explorations and landings along the Baja and Alta California coasts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the coastal tribes were already aware of the presence of Europeans inland. The Indians routinely communicated to the Spanish explorers that they knew of similar people in the region's interior.<sup>1</sup> Knowledge of the Europeans and the changes they brought had traveled across the long-established prehistoric trade and travel routes that the archaeological evidence has demonstrated were highly developed in the Late Prehistoric period. As will be seen in the following discussion, by the time the Spanish explorers actually arrived on the Alta and Baja California coast, the Indians had already considered, and were ready to implement, strategies for managing this newest incursion. As had been the case for millennia, primary among these was exchange. Given this centrality of exchange in the prehistoric adaptation strategy, it is not surprising the early explorers note that exchange of gifts characterized nearly all early contacts with the Indians. Given that traditional exchange events prehistorically took place within ceremonial contexts involving political, social, and cultural negotiations, it was not surprising that initial exchange events with the Europeans contained political, social, and cultural undertones.

Francisco de Ulloa (1540) Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo (1542), Vizcaino (1602), Fr. Antonio de la Ascensión (1602), Gaspar de Portola (1769), Pedro Fages (1782), Juan Bautista de Anza (1774), Pedro Font (1775), and Pablo Tac (1835)<sup>2</sup> describe the ceremonial

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<sup>1</sup> Sebastian Vizcaino, "Relación, June-November 1602," trans. Henry R. Wagner, in *Ethnology of the Baja California Indians*, ed. W. Michael Mathes, *Spanish Borderlands Source Books* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992).

<sup>2</sup> Francisco de Ulloa, "Journal, July 1539-May 1540," trans. Henry R. Wagner, in *Ibid.*; Harry Kelsey, "Mapping the California Coast, The Voyages of Discovery 1533-1543," *Arizona and the West* 26, (1984):307-319; Vizcaino, *Ibid.*; Fray Francisco Palou, *Historical Memoirs of New California Vols. 1-4*, ed. Herbert Eugene Bolton (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926); Pedro Fages, "Diary of 1781-1782," in *Diary of Pedro Fages, the Colorado River Campaign, 1771-1782*, ed. and trans. Herbert Ingram Priestley, *Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History* III, no. 2 (1913); Juan Bautista de Anza, "Diary, 1774," in *Anza's California Expeditions, Volumes 1-5*, ed. Herbert E. Bolton (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930); Pedro Font, "The Colorado Yumans in 1775," in *Font's Complete Diary*, ed. Herbert Eugene Bolton

gatherings and exchanges of food and other items that occurred upon their landings. While the first contacts often began noisily, characterized by fear or hostility, amicable relations were most often established after exchange activities (often in the form of gifts) were undertaken. For example, during Cabrillo's visit to the southern California coast in 1542, after a brief scuffle with the Indians, gifts were exchanged and amicable relations were established. Upon landing in San Diego Bay in 1602, Vizcaino described how "a hundred Indians appeared on a hill with bows and arrows and with many feathers on their heads, yelling noisily at us."<sup>3</sup> When several men and women approached they were given presents, and normal activities proceeded. Anza in 1774 describes how gifts of beads and tobacco established relations with the Colorado Desert Indians of San Sebastian and that in return for those items, the Indians of Santa Catarina provided information on the region. Pedro Font, in his 1775 journal, describes the exchange of glass beads for blankets between the Colorado Yuma and the soldiers of Anza's expedition. Pablo Tac, an Indian neophyte at Mission San Luis Rey, wrote of the Luiseño first encounter with the Spanish. As he had been told, the first interaction communicated hostility, but on exchange of gifts, relations were established.

When the missionary arrived in our country with a small troop, our captain and also the others were astonished, seeing them from afar, but they did not run away or seize arms to kill them, but having sat down, they watched them. But when they drew near, the captain got up (for he was seated with the others) and met them. They halted, and the missionary then began to speak, the captain saying ... 'What is it you seek here? Get out of our country!' But they did not understand him, and they answered him in Spanish, and the captain began with signs, and the Fernandino, understanding him, gave him gifts and in this manner made him his friend.<sup>4</sup>

Clearly, exchange, in this case gift-giving, was essential to establishing interactions and establishing a reciprocal relationship between the Indians and Europeans.

Ulloa, writing in 1540, described one interesting landing on the California coast that also illustrates how exchange preempted hostility in these initial encounters. Over several days, the Indians and Spanish met to exchange goods. These encounters began with the

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(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1931); Pablo Tac, "California Mission Life," written at Rome about 1835, ed. and trans. Minna and Gordon Hewes, in *Indian Life and Customs at Mission San Luis Rey, A Record of California Mission Life by Pablo Tac, an Indian Neophyte* (Mission San Luis Rey, California, 1952).

<sup>3</sup> Vizcaino, Relación.

<sup>4</sup> Tac, Mission Life.

Indians “singing and dancing, and making all manner of signs of rejoicing” followed with bartering. Items received by the Spanish included “many tail feathers of owls, little shells of the kind in which pearls grow, some small skeins of thread of the sort they wear on their heads, a belt or girth, which looked as though it were meant to go around the body, made of some black beads, some mantles of cords on the ends of which were many deer hoofs for rattles, and a diadem.” Many of these items are similar to those described in the ethnographic literature as regalia, not everyday trade items. On the third day, the Indians presented, apparently for barter, an arrow with a shell on it. After much effort to ensure that the Spanish were far away and sitting, “two of them came up (with great fear, we fancied), sank their arrow where they had indicated and returned mighty fast up a hill to where the rest were.”<sup>5</sup> Several oddities involved in this exchange suggest underlying meanings. The offering of this arrow was accompanied by a heightened level of anxiety on the part of the Indians. There was great effort to ensure that this item was afforded a wide space between the two peoples. The arrow was decorated “with a shell on it”...not a functional item. The arrow was not laid out but “sunk” with deliberateness in the ground. Arrows are symbolic of hunting, aggression, and defense. Using the meaning inherent in an item of their material culture, and employing the mechanism of exchange, it appears that the Indians were making clear their intention to negotiate from a position of strength.

Exchange of goods continued to characterize Spanish/Indian relations into the eighteenth century. Spanish military entradas to the interior regions were undertaken in pursuit of deserters (both Indian and Spanish) or in response to Indian unrest. In 1781 and 1782, after the Yuma Indians destroyed the mission settlement in Yuma, Pedro Fages led several expeditions between Yuma, Mission San Gabriel, and Mission San Diego de Alcalá. In 1782, he traveled across the peninsular mountains to San Diego, his intent to subdue the Indian peoples of the interior with a show of military strength. However, in the Cuyamaca Mountains he writes that the Indians “approached me very pleasantly and I gave them some glass beads. Some of them came to see us where we were camped; they seemed very contented and showed their friendliness. I gave them also some beads. They brought no

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<sup>5</sup> Ulloa, Journal.

arms to camp.”<sup>6</sup> By this time, Mission San Diego de Alcalá had been established for over a decade and many Indians from the coastal villages had been conscripted into the settlement. Troubling reports of the effects of mission recruitment had likely reached the mountain peoples. In visiting Fages, the Indians were undoubtedly using the exchange opportunity to assess the intentions and strength of the expedition as well as to acquire European goods.

Although the soldiers left, the glass beads remained. Glass trade beads never entered the material culture of the Kumeyaay in abundance. They are occasionally found in archaeological remains of ethnographic village sites such as the coastal village of Ystagua.<sup>7</sup> The Kumeyaay incorporated beads into the ceremonial realm as documented by their presence among the grave goods of cremation burials at the villages of Cuyamaca.<sup>8</sup> Value was likely ascribed to them as rare and decorative items. They likely also symbolized the strength of the invaders. The Indians were undoubtedly assessing how best to adapt to and exploit this new situation. Exchange had been established as one intriguing possibility.

Exchange, as it had during prehistory, continued to facilitate adaptation to changing circumstances in the early historical period. All initial encounters were characterized by exchange and it is likely that underlying messages, defining the relationships between the Indians and Europeans, were being conveyed. Trade would continue to characterize Indian/European relationships as the mission and rancho settlements were established.

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<sup>6</sup> Fages, Diary.

<sup>7</sup> Susan M. Hector and Sue A. Wade, *Excavation of a Portion of CA-SDI-4513: The Rimbach Site, City of San Diego* (San Diego: San Diego State University-South Coastal Information Center, 1986), 51; Martin D. Rosen, *Extended Phase I Investigations on the Periphery of CA-SDI-4513, Locus D of the Rimbach Site, A Portion of the Ethnographic Village of Ystagua, Sorrento Valley, City of San Diego, California* (San Diego: Caltrans District 11, 1987).

<sup>8</sup> Malcolm Rogers, “Resource Record Forms and Field Notes for sites SDM-W-213, 247, and 263, n.d.,” (Archaeological Research Archives, San Diego Museum of Man, San Diego).

## CHAPTER V

### EARLY SETTLEMENT

Within a few years after their arrival, the Spanish explorers and padres established presidio, pueblo, and mission settlements and began to recruit Indian neophytes and laborers. It is likely that the first Indian participants in the mission settlements viewed the foods and goods offered by the padres as a resource addition to their seasonal round. An early and comprehensive documentation, *Indian Life at the Old Missions*, was compiled by Edith Buckland Webb based on decades of archival and field research.<sup>1</sup> Webb proposes that due to the changeable Southern California environment, particularly related to water resources, many missions allowed neophytes to practice their traditional food-gathering activities and return periodically to their homes until agriculture could be reliably established. However, within a few years, the Indians who were baptized were required to abandon their traditional lifeways and participate in the sedentary agricultural life of the mission. The impact of mission life on the Indians of California has been a primary subject of historical debate and certainly the radical changes brought by the Spanish resulted in dire impacts on Indian populations and culture. However, from the time of the missions until the present day, condemnations and commendations of the Mission system have dominated the historical literature.<sup>2</sup> Because the debate over the “black legend” has dominated scholarly research,

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<sup>1</sup> Edith Buckland Webb, *Indian Life at the Old Missions* (Los Angeles: W. F. Lewis, 1952; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982).

<sup>2</sup> Jean-François de Galaup la Pérouse, *Life in a California Mission: Monterey in 1780; the Journals of Jean François de la Pérouse* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1995); Sherburne F. Cook, “The Mechanism and Extent of Dietary Adaptation Among Certain Groups of California and Nevada Indians,” in *The Conflict Between the California Indians and White Civilization*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 449-507; Carey McWilliams, *Southern California: An Island on the Land*, (1946, reprint, Santa Barbara, 1979); Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo, *The California Missions: A Legacy of Genocide*, (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1987); Zephyrin Englehardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, (Second Edition, Santa Barbara: Mission Santa Barbara, 1930); Francis F. Guest, “The Franciscan World View,” in *New Directions in California History*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1988), 24-33; Robert H. Jackson and Edward Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); Robert F. Heizer and Alan F. Almquist, *The Other Californians, Prejudice and Discrimination under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971). La Pérouse, an early visitor to the Mission period California coast was critical of the



little attention has been paid to the material culture and what it can reveal about Indian adaptations. This chapter will focus on the wealth of archaeological data regarding the retention of traditional pottery production in the mission and rancho settlements. As will be demonstrated, this aspect of Indian traditional culture persisted despite the impacts of Spanish and Mexican settlement.

The presidios and missions of Alta and Baja California were isolated frontier settlements with inconsistent provisioning by sea from Mexico. Although Anza had pioneered an overland route from Sonora, Mexico, through Yuma and across the Colorado Desert, this route was cut off by the Colorado River tribes' revolt in 1781. Thus, the earliest settlements developed a subsistence strategy heavily dependent on locally grown foods and produced goods.<sup>3</sup> Indian-made pottery vessels, whether acquired by trade with native villages or produced by Indians on site, were essential to the everyday subsistence activities at these early settlements.

Notations about use of Indian-made pottery vessels are largely absent from mission and rancho period writings but brown ware pottery sherds are prevalent in the historical archaeological record. Indians were responsible for domestic activities at the presidios, missions, pueblos, and ranchos and, based on the archaeological record, produced an abundance of brown ware vessels for use in these settlements. In southern California, where there was a pre-existing pottery tradition, Indians working on the missions and ranchos produced brown ware vessels using traditional methods. For this reason, in locations where there was a pre-existing pottery tradition, it is difficult to determine if the presence of brown ware ceramics is attributable to on-site production or trade with nearby Indian communities. As the mission system moved north into areas without a prehistoric pottery tradition, mission

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mission communities he visited. In the twentieth century, Cook was the first to apply statistical analysis to the issue of the impact of California Indian missionization. Since the 1940s, McWilliams and more recently the Costos, Native Californian activists, have been the most virulent writers in the literature generated by the proposed canonization of Fr. Junipero Serra. Catholic scholars, Englehardt and Guest have professed the missionaries benevolent treatment of the Indians. More recent scholars, such as Jackson and Castillo and Heizer and Almqvist have applied extensive archival and statistical data to achieve a more balanced investigation.

<sup>3</sup> James J. Rawls and Walton Bean, *California, an Interpretive History*, 6th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1993), 33, 42; Paul Farnsworth, "The Economics of Acculturation in the California Missions: A Historical and Archaeological Study of Mission Nuestra Señora de la Soledad," (Ph.D. diss. University of California Los Angeles, 1987).

craftspeople taught non-traditional pottery manufacture technologies to Indian neophytes. Pottery vessels produced in the missions in these areas exhibit many non-traditional construction methods.

Documentation of prehistoric pottery in late-eighteenth and early nineteenth-century historical archaeological contexts is abundant. Excavations at the Spanish Presidio of San Diego have supplied evidence for the use of local Indian-made pottery. Paul Ezell's San Diego State University archaeological field school recovered numerous Indian-made Tizon brown ware and Colorado buff ware (brought from the Colorado Desert) pottery sherds during his excavations at the chapel in the 1960s. Remains of traditional cook pits comparable to aboriginal Indian agave roasting pits also indicated that households were employing native cooks, who prepared foods in traditional ways.<sup>4</sup> As no comprehensive analysis of the brown and buff ware pottery has been completed, the level of traditional technology exhibited by the pottery sherd collection is unknown. However, given the presence of Indian domestics at the presidio, it is probable that pottery vessels were made at the site as well as traded from nearby Indian communities. The presence of numerous Colorado buff ware sherds confirms the continued contact and trade with Indian communities in the Colorado Desert.

Abundant brown ware pottery sherds were identified at the Missions San Luis Rey<sup>5</sup> and San Juan Capistrano,<sup>6</sup> indicating their importance to everyday mission life. These missions are located at the northern extent of the prehistoric pottery making tradition. Analysis of these pottery sherd collections demonstrated that the majority of the ceramics were manufactured in the Indian tradition; however a few historical influences were present.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Paul H. Ezell, "The Excavation Program at the San Diego Presidio," *The Journal of San Diego History* XXXII (1976):4; Paul H. Ezell and Greta S. Ezell, "Bread and Barbecues at San Diego Presidio," *Spanish Colonial Frontier Research, Spanish Borderlines Research*, No. 1 (Albuquerque: Center for Anthropological Studies, 1980). Stephen R. Van Wormer, personal communication 7/16/04.

<sup>5</sup> Beth Padon, Stephen R. Van Wormer, E. Jane Rosenthal, and Paul E. Langenwaller, II, *San Juan Capistrano Historic Town Center, Extended Phase I* (San Juan Capistrano: Community Redevelopment Agency, 1990).

<sup>6</sup> Martin D. Rosen and Judith Tordoff, *Extended Phase I Investigations at CA-SDI-5422, City of Oceanside, California* (San Diego: Caltrans District 11, 1991).

<sup>7</sup> Sue A. Wade, "Appendix D, Pottery Analysis," in *San Juan Capistrano Historic Town Center, Extended Phase I*, Beth Padon, Stephen R. Van Wormer, E. Jane Rosenthal, and Paul E. Langenwaller, II (San Juan Capistrano: Community Redevelopment Agency: 1990); Sue A. Wade, "Appendix 4, Native American Ceramic

At the Mission San Juan Capistrano, the collection was notable for its variety, consisting of Tizon brown wares constructed in the prehistoric tradition; brown wares exhibiting historical influences such as organic temper impressions, wheel marks, and added mineral temper; Colorado buff wares; and imported and local folk wares reflecting Mexican technological influences. Some Colorado buff sherds exhibited scumming on the surface and a painted geometric design was present on one buff ware sherd. These sherds represent clear evidence of travel and exchange between the mission and the Indian communities in the Colorado River region. Vessel forms were traditional including four straight-sided cook pots, three neckless pots, and one olla. The rim sherds of the four straight-sided cook pots and one neckless pot exhibited burning emphasizing the use of these vessels for cooking. Overall, 66 percent of the total pottery sherd collection was burned from cooking use. The olla was likely used for storage of water or grains. The pottery collection from Mission San Luis Rey was also characterized by a predominance of pottery produced in the traditional way although some historic alterations were also present. These included nontraditional rim forms, two sherds (one brown and one buff) with painted decoration, and possible wheel marks. The presence of Colorado buff ware sherds demonstrated that travel and exchange with the Colorado River region was still an important component of Spanish/Indian relations. Vessel form identifications were tenuous because of the fragmented nature of the remains; however some rims exhibited non-traditional forms. In summary, the archaeological pottery remains from the two missions suggest that the majority of brown and buff ware pottery was produced by Indians using traditional technology. The presence of buff wares, substantiates that trade between the coastal and Colorado Desert communities continued into the historic period. The data from San Juan Capistrano suggest that Indian-made pottery was used for cooking and storage.

In Rancho Peñasquitos, San Diego, a Mexican-period adobe home was constructed on the location of a Late Prehistoric Indian village. The Mexican period occupation dates from as early as the 1830s.<sup>8</sup> Tizon brown ware ceramics were excavated from the earliest adobe

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Analysis,” in *Extended Phase I Investigations at CA-SDI-5422, City of Oceanside, California*, Martin D. Rosen and Judith D. Tordoff (San Diego: Caltrans District 11, 1991).

<sup>8</sup> Susan M. Hector, *Test Excavations at Los Peñasquitos Ranch House* (San Diego: San Diego County Parks and Recreation Department, 1984); Susan M. Hector and Stephen R. Van Wormer, *Broken Fragments of*

structure within the upper historical levels. The pottery was primarily associated with the kitchen/ramada area, in contrast to random small quantities of pottery distributed in other areas of the site. Analysis of the pottery sherds<sup>9</sup> revealed a predominance of the slightly constricted cookpot form. In addition to numerous rimsherds, one nearly complete vessel was recovered and is comparable with the prehistoric examples identified during my San Diego Museum of Man study. Figure 7 illustrates this vessel in comparison with the Museum of Man specimen. The predominance of this cookpot vessel form, as well as the fact that a large portion of the pottery associated with the kitchen areas was burned, strongly suggest that Indian-made brown ware vessels at the rancho were used for cooking. The similarity of this form with prehistoric forms demonstrates the continuance of traditional pottery production techniques at this circa-1830s rancho. No evidence of historic production techniques—wheel marks, straw or rounded sand temper, crude and rough surface treatment, or historic forms—was found. The study concluded that the brown wares were either made at the site by Indian potters or obtained through exchange with a nearby Indian village. The few unusual sherds recovered provided scant evidence for change in the pottery-making tradition. Recent excavations at a small historical-period trash pit approximately 200 meters northwest of the adobe have revealed the presence of a mix of historical artifacts and Indian brown ware pottery and food bone remains. Although the clay type and manufacturing technology is traditional paddle-and-anvil construction, several of the pieces are slipped and highly burnished. The remains suggest that the people who deposited the trash were those who worked at the rancho and produced some portion of the pottery used there.

Brown ware was also a part of the 1830s hide and tallow butchering and household dump site associated with the Yorba Rancho near the City of Orange. Other traditional Indian items recovered included bone awls and ground stone food processing tools.<sup>10</sup> The

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*Past Lifeways, Archaeological Excavations at Los Penasquitos Ranch House Resource Area, San Diego (Phases I, II, and III)* (San Diego: San Diego County Parks and Recreation Department, 1986).

<sup>9</sup> Sue A. Wade, “Appendix D, Tizon Brown Ware Analysis,” in *Broken Fragments of Past Lifeways: Archaeological Excavations at Los Penasquitos Ranch House Resource Area, San Diego*, Susan M. Hector and Stephen R. Van Wormer, (San Diego: San Diego County Parks and Recreation Department, 1986).

<sup>10</sup> Stephen R. Van Wormer, historical archaeologist, interviewed by author, 4/26/04, 5/20/04, Chula Vista, California.

Rancho Santiago de Santa Ana was the only Spanish grant south of Los Angeles<sup>11</sup> within the region where brown ware ceramics could have been produced in the prehistoric period. The rancho was approximately equal distance between Mission San Gabriel, north of the area where pottery was made prehistorically, and Mission San Luis Rey, where, as discussed above, brown ware pottery was being made using traditional technologies. An inspection of the pottery collection indicated that the majority of the sherds were very thick-walled heavy vessel fragments.<sup>12</sup> Most of the vessels were made using paddle-and-anvil technology as illustrated by the irregular interior walls indented by the anvil during production and evidence of seams and joins along the coils (Figure 12A). Some sherds showed concentric marks and smooth surfaces, evidence of non-native wheel construction. Approximately two thirds of the sherds exhibited thick soot and char deposits, demonstrating that the majority of the brown ware pottery was used for cooking. It is likely that the vessels were either produced by Indians workers at the site who had learned pottery making at the Mission San Gabriel or were obtained in trade with the mission. The majority do not appear to have been obtained from Mission San Luis Rey where paddle-and-anvil pottery in the prehistoric tradition was still being produced. Interestingly, some scummed and painted buff ware sherds were present in the collection (Figure 12B). As was seen at Mission San Luis Rey, these were present at the Yorba adobe as a result of exchange with the Colorado River area. The attraction of decorated pottery will be seen in subsequent chapters to become more prevalent as, with time, historical settlements have less need for utilitarian pottery vessels and Indian potters adapt the technology to consumer desires.

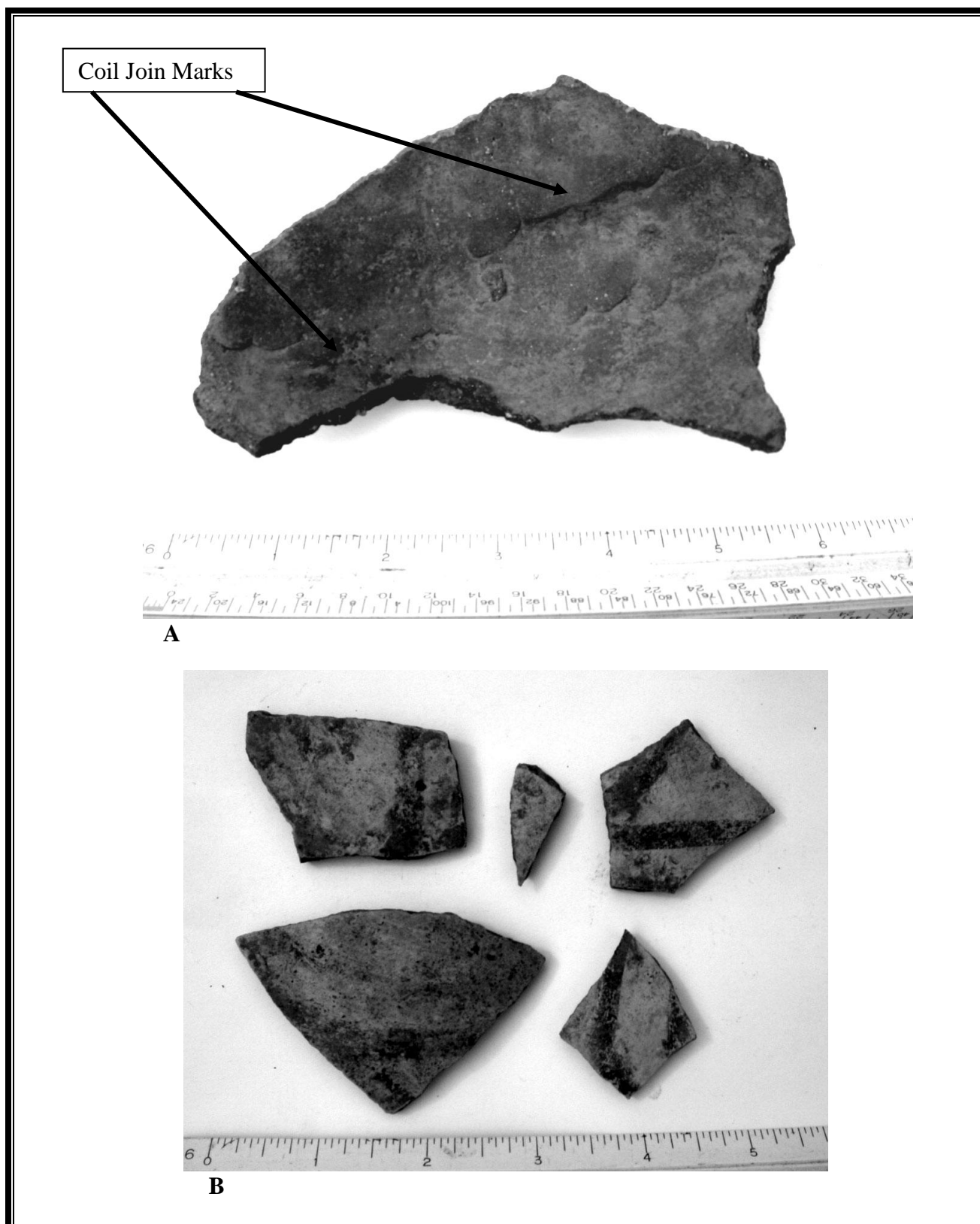
In central and northern California, where there was no preexisting native tradition of pottery making, the brown ware pottery found on mission sites is historically introduced and possesses historical forms and attributes such as those identified in Chapter II. May,<sup>13</sup> as a result of his analysis of pottery from the San Buenaventura Mission Plaza excavation,

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<sup>11</sup> Philip S. Rush, *Some Old Ranchos and Adobes* (San Diego: Neyenesch Printers, Inc., 1965).

<sup>12</sup> Inspection by the author of pottery sherds recovered from the Yorba adobe (ORA-1324H), June 21, 2004.

<sup>13</sup> Ronald V. May, "An Analysis of Certain Ceramics from the San Buenaventura Mission," in *The Changing Faces of Main Street*, ed. Roberta S. Greenwood (Pacific Palisades: Greenwood and Associates, 1976).



**Figure 12. Yorba Adobe pottery: A) coil bond marks, B) Lower Colorado buff ware painted sherds.**

**(Photographs by author)**

described a mission brown ware type. However, although it was produced for the same functional needs as pottery produced in traditional ways at settlements further south, the Indian potters at San Buenaventura were not continuing an existing prehistoric pottery-making tradition.

As can be discerned from the above discussion, the archaeological evidence demonstrates that south of the Santa Ana River, traditional brown ware pottery continued to be produced by Indian potters living in the mission or rancho settlements or was obtained in trade from Indian potters living in nearby communities. In this earliest settlement period, continuation of Indian pottery production in historical mission and rancho settings was likely due to the difficulty of obtaining comparable imported utensils as well as the serviceability of the brown ware pots for cooking and storage. That food preparation activities, usually performed by women, could be subject to more conservatism and retention of traditional technologies, has been suggested by James Deetz based on excavations at La Purisima Mission. He suggests that at La Purisima, the higher quantities of traditional artifact types associated with food preparation reflect less change in the technologies employed by women.<sup>14</sup> Pottery production has been identified as a conservative craft due to the uncertainty of how clays will perform during drying and firing.<sup>15</sup> However, as the need for functional pottery vessels lessens in the later historical periods and goals of pottery production change, Indian potters develop new techniques to attract the consumer market.

After mission secularization in the 1830s, many Indian peoples began working for the ranchos both as domestics and laborers. As will be seen in the next chapter, the archaeological evidence amply demonstrates that brown ware pottery continued to be produced by Indian peoples for use in early Anglo settlements.

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<sup>14</sup> James Deetz, "Archaeological Investigations at La Purisima Mission," in *Annual Report Archaeological Survey*, (Los Angeles: Department of Anthropology-Sociology, University of California Los Angeles, 1963).

<sup>15</sup> Robert H. Johnston, "An Abandoned Pottery at Guellala," in "Current Approaches in Ceramic Archaeology," ed. Prudence M. Rice, *Institute of Archaeology, Monograph XXIV* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1984), 82.

## CHAPTER VI

### EXPLORERS, EMIGRANTS, AND SETTLERS

Although a few Americans had come to the Californias prior to the war with Mexico, the major American influx began in the late 1840s with the military explorations related to the war and its aftermath. Soon the American intrusion exploded when thousands of gold seekers and emigrants traveled through the region to the California gold fields.<sup>1</sup> By the 1840s, the Indians had been interacting directly with Europeans for eighty years. Although the mission system had decimated Indian populations,<sup>2</sup> particularly near the coast, there is ample documentary evidence that Indian peoples were resolutely positioning themselves economically and politically to take as best advantage of the situation as possible and to ensure their survival.<sup>3</sup> Trade became a key ingredient in this strategy.

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<sup>1</sup> Stephen R. Van Wormer, Sue A. Wade, Susan D. Walter, and Susan Arter, *An Isolated Frontier Outpost: Historical and Archaeological Investigations of the Carrizo Creek Stage Station* (Borrego Springs: California State Parks, Colorado Desert District Archaeological Research Center, 2004); Cave J. Coutts, *Hepah, California! The Journal of Cave Johnson Coutts. from Monterey, Nuevo Leon, Mexico to Los Angeles, California During the Years 1848-1849*, ed. Henry F. Dobyns, (Arizona: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1961); Cave J. Coutts, "Military Correspondence, 9/17/1849," in "Emigrants and Indians: Selections from C. J. Coutts' Military Correspondence, 1849," ed. Raymond Starr, *Journal of San Diego History* 29, (1983):165-184; John E. Durivage, "Through Mexico to California," in *Southern Trails to California in 1849*, ed. Ralph P. Bieber, (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1937); A. W. Whipple, "The Whipple Report, Journal of an Expedition from San Diego, California to the Rio Colorado, from Sept. 11 to Dec. 11, 1849," *U.S. Mexican Boundary Survey*. 1849, Reprint, ed. E. I. Edwards (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1961).

<sup>2</sup> Sherburne F. Cook, "The Mechanism and Extent of Dietary Adaptation Among Certain Groups of California and Nevada Indians," in *The Conflict Between the California Indians and White Civilization*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 449-507; Florence C. Shipek, "The Impact of Europeans Upon Kumeyaay Culture," in *The Impact of European Exploration and Settlement on Local Native Americans*, (San Diego: Cabrillo Historical Association, 1986) 13-25.

<sup>3</sup> Robert H. Jackson and Edward Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers, The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); George Harwood Philips, *Chiefs and Challengers: Indian Resistance and Cooperation in Southern California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); George Harwood Philips, "Appendix A, The Military Tribunal in Coyote Canyon, December 23-25, 1851," in *Archaeological Investigations at the Location of an Historic Event in Coyote Canyon*, Joan S. Schneider (Borrego Springs: California State Parks, Colorado Desert District Archaeological Research Center, in process); Joan S. Schneider, *Archaeological Investigations at the Location of an Historic Event in Coyote Canyon* (Borrego Springs: California State Parks, Colorado Desert District Archaeological Research Center, in process); Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988). As a response



The military excursions into Southern California at the end of the War with Mexico traveled along variations of the old Anza and Fages routes that had been closed by the Yuma Indians since 1781. These routes had likely seen some travel by Mexican livestock herders in the early part of the nineteenth century. However, during the war, they were substantially opened for mule, horse, and wagon travel by General Stephen Watts Kearney's Army of the West and Colonel Phillip St. George Cooke's Mormon Battalion.<sup>4</sup> At the end of the war, the military maintained a presence in the region to ensure security, to support government surveying and exploration, and—after the discovery of gold in 1848—to protect the throngs of American emigrants unprepared for the hardships of the journey.<sup>5</sup> Because most of the gold-seekers came little prepared for the rigorous journey across the desert and because of the scarcity of food and livestock pasture, these items were often acquired from the Indians in trade.<sup>6</sup> By 1857, travelers on the San Antonio and San Diego Mail and Butterfield Stage routes also recorded their experiences, mentioning trade with the Indians.<sup>7</sup>

While the Spaniards brought trade items with them as a part of their efforts to incorporate the Indians into the mission system, most of early American trade with the Indians came about out of need for goods and services. Spanish glass trade beads were often offered as gifts to initiate exchange relations. As was discussed in Chapter IV, the Indians used beads as decorative items, their display proof of a successful exchange encounter with the Spanish and exhibited as a symbol of status. The American emigrants, by contrast, found themselves in precarious circumstances when they arrived in the Colorado Desert. As will be seen in the journals and letters of military, emigrant, and other travelers through the desert

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to the polarized debates of the "Black Legend," Jackson and Castillo attempted to objectively explore the data pertaining to the impact of the mission system on Indian culture and the evidence for Indian resistance. Jackson and Castillo, Monroy, and Phillips propose evidence of Indian resistance throughout the Spanish, Mexican, and American periods including flight, lack of conversions, covert resistance, theft, poisonings. Phillips and Schneider document the history of one of the last and most substantial revolt in southern California, the Garra revolt.

<sup>4</sup> Diana Lindsey, *Anza-Borrego, Our Historic Desert* (San Diego: Sunbelt Publications, 1981); Van Wormer, Carrizo Stage Station.

<sup>5</sup> Benjamin Hayes, "Overland Journal," 1850, in *The History of Warner's Ranch and its Environs* (Los Angeles: Joseph J. Hill, 1927); Pamela Tamplin, "Vallecito: Gateway to California," (Masters Thesis, University of San Diego, 1979).

<sup>6</sup> Coutts, Military Correspondence; Hayes, Overland Journal.

<sup>7</sup> Durivage, Mexico to California.

and mountains, the Indians soon recognized that their foodstuffs and labor could be bartered for desirable items.

The Yuma Indians very early saw the financial opportunity in crossing emigrants over the Colorado River and exacting payment—as reported by Lieutenant Cave Coutts while escorting the boundary commission in 1849—as many as three times in one crossing.<sup>8</sup> The majority of trade negotiations, however, involved Americans acquiring food and animal forage from the Indians. Lieutenant Whipple (an engineer with the U. S. Mexican Boundary Survey in 1849) notes receiving grass, beans, melons, and squashes in return for tobacco or money.<sup>9</sup> Lieutenant R. S. Williamson, surveying for a railroad route in the 1850s, notes a similar exchange, being “surrounded by crowds of Indians anxious to trade melons, squashes, corn and barley for pork bacon, or other articles.”<sup>10</sup> Interestingly, in a similar manner to the experiences of Ulloa two centuries earlier, after this exchange the Indians “had a grand feast and dance during the night, keeping us awake by their strange songs and indescribable noises.”<sup>11</sup> Exchange and ceremonial activity were still intertwined. These exchange encounters, while adaptations to the European presence, were still enacted within the traditional cultural framework. As the archaeological evidence will demonstrate for the remainder of the nineteenth century, manufactured goods such as pottery also retained traditional attributes in spite of being part of quasi-traditional exchange activities.

Few accounts describe the exchange of money for Indian goods. Lieutenant Coutts writes that “they seem to know something of the value of money but do not care for it. Will bring more wood for a red rag or a rag of any kind than for a handful of money.”<sup>12</sup> Bartlett, Boundary Survey Commissioner, and John Durivage, newspaper correspondent traveling on the emigrant route, also described the Indian desire for cloth or clothing items in trade.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Coutts, Military Correspondence.

<sup>9</sup> Whipple, The Whipple Report.

<sup>10</sup> R. S. Williamson, *Explorations and Surveys for a Railroad Route from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, (Washington, D. C.: War Department, 1855), 98.

<sup>11</sup> Williamson, Railroad Surveys, 98.

<sup>12</sup> Coutts, Journal, 86;

<sup>13</sup> John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua, Connected with the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission*,

Clearly these were highly desired by the Indians. It is unlikely that clothing was acquired as a necessity, as traditional clothing items were still being made and worn. S. P. Heintzelman, U.S. Army stationed in Yuma, offers some insight, suggesting that, “dress appears to them a superfluity, though they are always ready to beg cast-off clothing to deck themselves, more for ornament than use.”<sup>14</sup> It would appear that clothing perhaps held an underlying meaning similar to that of glass beads...decorative items representing successful exchange or contact with the Europeans and asserting status. Within a few decades, many Indians were being photographed in uniforms and other formal clothing items.<sup>15</sup>

In 1854, Lieutenant Whipple described an exchange session with the Mohave where trinkets and garments were exchanged by both sides.

The Indians were decked in their most valued ornaments, and a furor possessed all of our party to obtain some trophy. Therefore trinkets and garments were bought and sold upon both sides, although civilization seemed at a discount, and the relics of barbarism vastly above par. Shell beads and necklaces would be sold perhaps, for a blanket and shirt; while a fine bow and quiver of arrows would command several of them. The Indians were shrewd, and would part with no article without a really valuable compensation. ... White cotton cloth, calico, blankets, and white porcelain beads, would have purchased probably a thousand pounds of flour, and hundreds of bushels of grain.<sup>16</sup>

Interestingly, this exchange did not involve needed goods or food, but was an exchange of exotic collectable items desired by both Europeans and Indians. Exchange of Indian artifacts for their decorative or collectable qualities (in particular pottery constructed using new forms and decorations) becomes a key element of exchange beginning in the early twentieth century.

By 1877, Lieutenant August Tassin mentions trade for pottery during a reconnaissance of natural resources in the Colorado Desert region. He notes the expertise of the Mahhaos (likely the Mohave) in the manufacture of pottery vessels “the principal article

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*During the Years 1850, '51, '52, ' and '53*, Vols. I and II (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1854), Vol. I: 126, Vol. II: 102; Durivage, *Mexico to California*, 225.

<sup>14</sup> S. P. Heintzelman, *Indian Affairs of the Pacific*, (Washington, D.C.: House Executive Document 76:34-58, 34<sup>th</sup> Congress, 3<sup>rd</sup> session, Dec. 1, 1856-March 3, 1857), 40.

<sup>15</sup> Jackson, Helen Hunt, “Mission Indians in Southern California,” *Century Magazine*, 1881-3(?): 522.

<sup>16</sup> A. W. Whipple, “On the Mojave, 1854,” in *A Pathfinder in the Southwest*, ed. Grant Foreman (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), 242-243.

of which is the “olla” or water pot much used by the whites also in making the turbid river water cooler by evaporation.”<sup>17</sup> The acquisition of pottery ollas to keep water cool becomes common in the early twentieth century at ranches in the backcountry of Southern California.

At the end of his military activities in the Colorado Desert, Lieutenant Cave Couets married Ysidora Bandini, daughter of Juan Bandini, respected Californio social and political leader in San Diego. Archaeological excavations at the Rancho Guajome home he constructed circa 1855, with the assistance of the local Luiseño Indians, have revealed perhaps the earliest evidence of the use of Indian-made brown ware pottery vessels by the Americans.<sup>18</sup> Fifty-five Tizon brown ware sherds were recovered from excavations of the historical-period deposits. Most of the sherds were burned, indicating that the pottery vessels they represented were used for cooking. Clearly, as they had for the earlier Spanish and Mexican period settlements, Indian men and women continued to provide labor and pottery vessels for the American settlers.<sup>19</sup>

These chronicles of exchange on the frontier presage Indian trading activities that would occur later in the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries. In the earliest days of frontier settlement, pottery exchange was related to the need for goods and food. In the early twentieth century, as accessibility to commercial goods diminished the need for goods and food, exchange was to become focused on acquisition of pottery as collectable artifact. In early exchanges, Indians were interested in acquiring items that symbolized successful negotiation with Europeans and Americans. In the early twentieth century, pottery was to become a cash commodity.

The migrations of American settlers into California began with the gold rush in the late 1840s and early 1850s. However, as soon as California became part of the United States, efforts to develop communications with the rest of the union became a priority. During the

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<sup>17</sup> August G., Tassin, Lt., “Report on the Forestry, Elevation, Rainfall, and Drainage of the Colorado Valley Together with an Apercu of its Principal Inhabitants, Called for per Circular dated 10-05-1877, from Engr. Office, Mil. Div. Pac., for information of the U.S.D.A.,” (Washington D.C.: Bureau of American Ethnology Manuscript Vault, April 1926), 17.

<sup>18</sup> Gary R. Fink, *Rancho Guajome: Window on the Past* (San Diego: San Diego County Parks and Recreation Department, 1980).

<sup>19</sup> Janet. Hightower, “The Home of the Frog: Aboriginal Artifacts from the Rancho Guajome Historical Excavation,” in *Rancho Guajome: Window of the Past: A Test of the Historic Resources at the Casa de Rancho Guajome*, Gary R. Fink (San Diego: San Diego County Parks and Recreation Department, 1980).

Spanish and Mexican tenure, the ranchos had been the sole European settlements on the frontier in contact with Indian communities. In the early American period, the outposts established along communication routes had interactions with Indian peoples.<sup>20</sup> Mining camps and towns were another industry that necessitated settlement in the remote interior areas.<sup>21</sup> Later in the century, particularly after the Civil War in the late 1860s, hundreds of settlers in backcountry homesteads had on-going interactions with Indian peoples on an economic and sometimes social level.<sup>22</sup> Initially, as had been the case with the Spanish presidios and missions and Mexican ranchos, pottery was acquired to fulfill storage and cooking needs in the absence of imported vessels. However in at least one instance, pottery was gifted to an Anglo settler in the context of friendship and reciprocity.

An example of an extremely isolated frontier settlement is the Carrizo Stage Station site at the western edge of the Colorado Desert.<sup>23</sup> The station was established in 1857 as a

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<sup>20</sup> Sue A. Wade, Christopher Wray, and Stephen R. Van Wormer, *Archaeological Test Excavations at Carrizo Stage Station, Anza-Borrego State Park*, (Borrego Springs: California State Parks, Colorado Desert District Archaeological Research Center, 2001); Stephen R. Van Wormer, Sue A. Wade, Susan D. Walter, and Susan Arter, *An Isolated Frontier Outpost: Historical and Archaeological Investigations of the Carrizo Creek Stage Station* (Borrego Springs: California State Parks, Colorado Desert District Archaeological Research Center, 2004). These two reports, compiling a complete history and documenting a thorough archaeological excavation, are the only such comprehensive projects completed in California along the Southern Emigrant Trail. Additional resources regarding its history can be found in the reports' Bibliography.

<sup>21</sup> Michael S. Burney, Stephen R. Van Wormer, Claudia B. Hemphill, James D. Newland, William R. Manley, F. Paul Rushmore, Susan D. Walter, Neal H. Heupel, Jerry Schaefer, and Lynne Christenson, *The Results of Historical Research, Oral History, Inventory, and Limited Test Excavations Undertaken at the Hedges/Tumco Historic Townsite, Oro Cruz Operation, Southwestern Cargo Muchacho Mountains, Imperial County, California* (Boulder Colorado: Burney and Associates, 1993). A comprehensive review of the cultural development of mining settlements can be found in this report. Additional general analyses of the evolution of frontier mining settlements can be found in: Duane A. Smith, *Rocky Mountain Mining Camps: The Urban Frontier* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967); Turrentine W. Jackson, *Treasure Hill: Portrait of a Silver Mining Camp* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1963); and Mary Praetzellis and Adrian Praetzellis, "Historical Overview," in "Archaeological Survey of the Hawkfly and the North Yuba Timber Compartment and the Pride Timber Sale," ed. Terry Jones (Sonoma: Archaeological Studies Center, Sonoma State University, 1982).

<sup>22</sup> The post-Civil War emigration to California was spurred by the desire of young men and women to acquire land and establish homesteads. In the late nineteenth century, farm communities developed around community institutions such as schools and churches. The evolution of this settlement pattern is documented in detail in Stephen R. Van Wormer, "A History of the Jamacha Valley: Agricultural and Community Development in Southern California" (Master's Thesis, California State University San Diego, 1986). Gilbert C. Fite, "The Pioneer Farmer: A View Over Three Centuries," *Agricultural History* 50 (January 1976), 275-289, provides background for the study of San Diego's family farmstead development.

<sup>23</sup> Wade, et al., "Test Excavations;" Van Wormer, et al. "Isolated Frontier Outpost."

change station for the San Diego and San Antonio Mail and Butterfield Stage Line.<sup>24</sup> The stage traveled the Overland Trail from the Colorado River at Yuma, west across the Colorado Desert to Carrizo Creek, north into the peninsular mountains to Warner Ranch, then south or north to the coast at San Diego or Los Angeles. This travel corridor had existed since prehistoric times and was undoubtedly the route that the painted Colorado buff ware ceramics had traveled in earlier decades from the Colorado River tribes to the ranchos and missions. After the Butterfield mail line was moved north during the Civil War, the Carrizo adobe buildings continued to be occupied until about 1875, serving the military during the Civil War and later occasional travelers and cattlemen. Throughout its existence, the occupants relied heavily on local foods and traditional Hispanic and Indian construction technologies and food-processing techniques. The adobe structures and *ramada* (outdoor cooking area) were constructed using methods derived from a combination of Spanish Colonial and Native American styles that evolved in Sonora, Baja California as a desert adaptation. Food processing combined Euro-American, Hispanic, and Native American traditions. A striking example of the use of traditional food preparation methods is the presence of two cooking hearths, with associated manos, in the kitchen ramada. These hand-held grinding stones are typical of those used by the Indians for grinding seeds and other vegetable foods. Historical research and archaeological investigations document the interaction with Indian peoples and use of Indian goods, particularly pottery vessels, which were essential to the survival of such an isolated frontier outpost.<sup>25</sup> My analysis of the Indian-made brown and buff ware sherds documents the presence of a minimum of nineteen buff and brown ware pottery vessels, nine from the ramada cooking area and eight from the structure's trash pit. All of the identifiable pottery vessels were open-mouthed vessels (five vertical sided pots and two moderately constricted pots) with significant sooting and burning from cooking use. The presence of paddle-and-anvil residual brown wares and sedimentary buff wares confirms that pottery vessels were brought into the site from the peninsular mountains and eastern desert.

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<sup>24</sup> Pamela Tamplin, "Vallecito: Gateway to California," Masters Thesis (San Diego: University of San Diego, 1979); Roscoe P. Conkling and Margaret B. Conkling, *The Butterfield Overland Mail 1857-1869*, Vol. 2, (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company), 1947; Mary McClennon Johnson, "The San Antonio-San Diego Mail Line" (Master's Thesis, San Diego: University of Southern California, 1938).

<sup>25</sup> Sue A. Wade. "Native American Artifacts" in "Isolated Frontier Outpost," Van Wormer et al.

Several lower Colorado buff ware vessels were present in the assemblage, three with painted decoration (Figure 13A). The vessels represented by these sherds were manufactured by Colorado River Indians and are comparable to those recovered at the Vallecito (Figure 13B) and Warner Ranch Stage Stations to the north as well as at the San Luis Rey and San Juan Capistrano missions and Yorba rancho on the coast. The presence of these painted buff ware sherds is confirmation of the continuance of trade along this important travel corridor. By far, however, the largest proportion of pottery sherds were constructed of unidentified buff clays, some fine-textured and some coarse. Although some sherds were thicker than typical prehistoric pottery, they predominantly reflect traditional Indian paddle and anvil technology. It is probable that some were manufactured on site using locally available clays, perhaps by the Indian wife of the earliest stationmaster, Mailland. Others may be associated with travel along the overland route, perhaps brought to the site as containers of other materials. It is also very likely, given the many travelers' reports of Indians traversing the area, that some were trade items or containers for trade items, bartered by the local Indians for European goods.<sup>26</sup>

At the northwestern end of the Carrizo corridor, in the Valle de San José, the Warner Ranch Stage Station represented civilization to the weary desert traveler. Warner had been granted the rancho in the 1840s and by the end of the decade was ideally situated to sell goods to the hoards of gold-rushers and emigrants along the route.<sup>27</sup> In spite of closer proximity to San Diego, Indian-produced goods were recovered from the adobe, including a metate grinding slab, traditionally used with a hand-held mano such as those found at the Carrizo Stage Station, and brown and buff ware ceramic sherds. The Tizon brown and lower Colorado buff sherds represented an important component of the ceramic remains

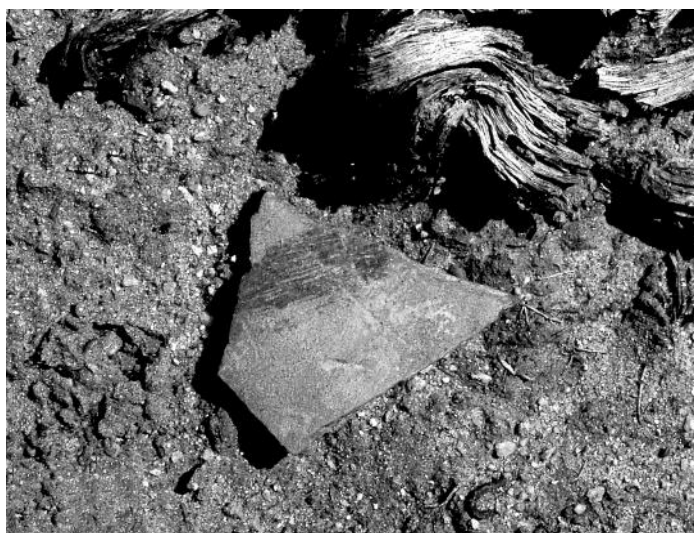
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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Stephen R. Van Wormer, *Warner Ranch – Ranch House Near Warner Springs, San Diego County California, Photographs, Written Historical, and Descriptive Data*, Historic American Buildings Survey No. Cal 424, HABS/HAER National Park Service, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress. Van Wormer's historical study for the HABS documentation incorporates the most comprehensive review of the literature on the ranch, its occupants, and its history. Historical works of note include Benjamin Hayes, "Overland Journal, 1850," in *The History of Warner's Ranch and its Environs* (Los Angeles: Joseph J. Hill, 1927); Kathleen Flanigan, "The Ranch House at Warner's," *The Journal of San Diego History*, 42 (Fall 1996): 208-239. Information on the removal of the Cupeño Indians from Warner's Ranch is contained in Joel R. Hyer, *We Are Not Savages": Native Americans in Southern California and the Pala Reservation, 1840-1920* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2001).



A



B

**Figure 13. A) Carrizo Stage Station pottery, Lower Colorado buff ware painted sherds, B: Vallecito Stage Station pottery, Lower Colorado buff ware painted sherds. (Photographs by Sam Webb, Colorado Desert Archaeological Society)**



archaeologically recovered from the structure.<sup>28</sup> My excavation of a test unit in an outbuilding area of the site, recovered a ceramic collection containing an even larger quantity of brown ware pottery sherds that were constructed using the traditional paddle and anvil technology. Similarly to the archaeological materials at the Carrizo Stage Station, the lower Colorado buff wares confirm trade with the Indians of the Colorado River region. The archaeological remains demonstrate that trade for Indian-produced goods, especially brown and buff ware pottery vessels, was important to survival in these frontier settlements. While the archaeological evidence from the Carrizo and Warner Ranch stage stations points to the adaptation of Indian potters to this new market for storage, transportation, and cooking vessels, there is little evidence that potters modified traditional production styles.

Mining camps and towns also endured an isolated existence on the Southern California frontier. Because of the several-century-old Hispanic mining tradition in the Sonora region of Mexico and, as archaeologically documented in analyses of ethnic food preparation methods, the workforce for the Colorado Desert gold mines was largely Mexican. As seen in the case of the Carrizo Stage Station, technological and food-preparation strategies, developed over several centuries in northern Mexico, served well in the Colorado Desert. One of the most comprehensively documented historical and archaeological investigations of a large mining site in southern California was conducted at Hedges/Tumco.<sup>29</sup> At Hedges/Tumco, an 1880-1905 gold mining town located in a desert valley in the Cargo Muchacho Mountains in Imperial County, the workforce was largely Mexican. Overall, the archaeological material remains provided data for research into technology, consumer patterns, and ethnicity. Pottery sherds recovered from site features demonstrated that Indian-made pottery vessels were traded to the mining community for utilitarian use.<sup>30</sup> Sherd types included three prehistoric types of Patayan II/III buff ware commonly found in the Colorado River region, one Papago type indicating trade with the southwestern Arizona region, and a new buff ware type reflecting local manufacture. By the

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<sup>28</sup> Stephen R. Van Wormer, Warner Ranch stabilization project archaeological director, personal communication 5/20/04.

<sup>29</sup> Michael S. Burney, Hedges/Tumco.

<sup>30</sup> Jerry Schaefer, "Appendix B: Historic Native American Pottery from the Mining Town of Hedges/Tumco, California," in *Ibid.*

time of the town's occupation, the Quechan were producing pottery for the tourist market.<sup>31</sup> The presence of functional vessels at the mining town site demonstrates that the Quechan were also producing trade pottery for utilitarian uses. Low-fire porous vessels were desirable to the Mexican inhabitants as they were low-cost and were similar to those traditionally used in Sonora, Mexico. Several vessels used at the mining site exhibit ring bases and atypical rim forms, Quechan adaptations to utilitarian requirements of the Hedges/Tumco market. Schaefer concludes that the Quechan potters adapted traditional pottery vessel types to accommodate both the functional market and the tourist market.<sup>32</sup> Because Quechan potters were selling pottery at the Needles train station, it is likely that some portion of the pottery vessels used at Hedges/Tumco were purchased. Others came to the site as a result of trade. In contrast to the archaeological data from the Carrizo and Warner Ranch stage stations, the Hedges/Tumco pottery remains indicate that Indian potters were modifying traditional production methods for the mining town market. Possible reasons for this are the later period of occupation (approaching the end of the nineteenth century), a more established occupation represented by the Hedges/Tumco town site, and/or the fact that Quechan potters had already modified production methods in adapting to the tourist market.

After the Civil War and by the 1880s, thousands of homesteaders were settling in rural areas of Southern California, displacing Indians from their traditional territories and economic subsistence patterns. That the Indians adapted to the presence of the Americans in their traditional lands by providing services is well documented.<sup>33</sup> Working as wage labor, gathering grasses for sale as horse feed for the stage lines or picking fruit and nuts, became integral to the seasonal round of the *Kauisik* lineage of the Cahuilla people.<sup>34</sup> Those that farmed furnished barley for the stage stations as early as the 1860s.<sup>35</sup> Later, the men worked

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<sup>31</sup> A. L. Kroeber, "Ethnographic Analysis," in "Mojave Pottery," A. L. Kroeber and Michael J. Harner, *University of California Anthropological Records*, 16, no. 1 (1955): 1-13.

<sup>32</sup> Schaefer, Tumco Pottery, B-9.

<sup>33</sup> Stephen R. Van Wormer, "An Ethnohistory of the Eastern Kumeyaay," in *The Impact of European Exploration and Settlement on Local Native Americans*, 38-76 (San Diego: Cabrillo Historical Association, 1986).

<sup>34</sup> Bean and Brakke Vane, Tahquitz, V-16.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, V-49.

as cowhands, assisted with farms and dairies, and other livestock tasks.<sup>36</sup> Ted Couro, Kumeyaay Indian from Mesa Grande, recalled that Indian men worked with Anglo ranchers plowing, harvesting honey, and milking cows.<sup>37</sup> In nineteenth-century Dulzura, Dorothy Schmid recalls that the Indian men came to work for the ranchers, clearing land, chopping wood, and doing other jobs.<sup>38</sup> In nineteenth-century Potrero, Ella McCain remembers the early settlers hiring Indians to cut trees into cord wood.<sup>39</sup>

Indian women did housework for individuals and for commercial establishments.<sup>40</sup> Carmen Lucas, Kwaaymii Indian from Laguna Mountain, was told by her father that his grandmother, SuSaan Kallich, interacted regularly with the Anglo settlers and that his mother, Maria Alto, worked at the Stonewall Mine in Cuyamaca.<sup>41</sup> Mary Chepa, a Kiliwi Indian interviewed by Mary Alvarez in Baja California, worked at the Meling Ranch and was nursemaid to the Meling children.<sup>42</sup> The documentary records suggest that women were the primary providers of goods—primarily basket and pottery vessels.<sup>43</sup> Similarly to the pattern Deetz<sup>44</sup> observed in the archaeological data of La Purisima Mission, female production of traditional goods persisted in the historical period. American households desired Indian-made brown ware vessels for water storage and cooking.

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<sup>36</sup> Lester Reed, *Old Time Cattlemen and Other Pioneers of the Anza-Borrego Area*, 3d ed. Benson Arizona: Border Mountain Press, 1963); Phil Brigandi, *The Livestock Industry on the Anza-Borrego Desert* (Borrego Springs: California State Parks, Colorado Desert District Archaeological Research Center, 1995); Bean and Brakke Vane Tahquitz, V-15.

<sup>37</sup> Ted Couro, "San Diego County Indians as Farmers and Wage Earners," eds. Tom Faust and R. P. Bowen (Ramona, California: Ramona Pioneer Historical Society, 1975), 7-8.

<sup>38</sup> Dorothy Clark Schmid, *Pioneering in Dulzura* (San Diego: Robert R. Knapp Publisher, 1963), 5.

<sup>39</sup> Ella McCain, *Memories of the Early Settlements: Dulzura, Potrero and Campo* (National City: South Bay Press, 1955), 40.

<sup>40</sup> Bean and Brakke Vane, Tahquitz, V-211.

<sup>41</sup> Carmen Lucas, daughter of Tom Lucas, conversation with the author, 4/14/04.

<sup>42</sup> Ila Alvarez, "Chepa, A Kiliwi," *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 8, no. 1, (1972): 41-44.

<sup>43</sup> Benito Peralta Gonzáles, interview by author, May 25, 1998, Santa Catarina Baja California, tape recording and transcription, CUNA (*Instituto de Culturas Nativas de Baja California*), Ensenada, Baja California; Schmid, Dulzura, 5; Dorothy Cline, *The Kwaaymii, Reflections on a Lost Culture*, (El Centro, California: Imperial Valley College Museum Society, 1979), 39.

<sup>44</sup> Deetz, La Purisima.

In Santa Catarina, Baja California, Benito Peralta Gonzáles remembers that very occasionally neighboring ranchers would visit the village to acquire cooking pots. However, these exchanges were purely economic; there was no social relationship between the Paipai Indians of the village and the neighboring ranchers. The ranchers would just purchase whatever vessels happened to be on hand and correspondingly, there was no effort at decorating or elaborating on the form of the utilitarian vessels.<sup>45</sup> In her reminiscences of growing up in Dulzura in the early twentieth century, Dorothy Schmid relates how,

Felipe Jamon's wife, a Yuma Indian, made beautiful baskets in which she took great pride, explaining that she went clear to Jacumba for roots of a certain rich color and that others came from Mexico and so on. The women also sold ollas prized by householders for water jars as they were somewhat porous and thus kept the contents cool. The addition of a burlap sacking helped, and an olla hung in the shade of a tree provided cool water in days of no refrigeration.<sup>46</sup>

Eugene Trippel also observed the desirability of Quechan porous pottery for water-cooling. "Ollas, water-jugs, bowls, pitchers, cups, and other articles are made in numerous forms, shapes, and sizes... . Being sufficiently porous to allow the seepage of water, they are splendidly adapted to the heated climate, for the rapid evaporation keeps the contents cool. Consequently these vessels are in demand, and many are sold at fair prices."<sup>47</sup> In San Diego County, the *Escondido Times* of July 16, 1891 advertised "Indian ollas (water coolers), the genuine article" at Gram and Steiners.<sup>48</sup> Tom Lucas of Laguna Mountain remembered the Kwaaymii people creating large diameter ollas for keeping water cool.<sup>49</sup> Several water storage ollas, including one olla in excess of two feet tall, are in the collections of Cuyamaca Rancho State Park (Collections Accession Book, Colorado Desert District Archaeological Research Center, Borrego Springs, California), acquired as donations from back country collectors of the region. Often backcountry storeowners took Indian pottery and baskets in trade for goods. Bertram and Anna Horr, who built the Bankhead Springs Hotel circa 1918-

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<sup>45</sup> Gonzáles, interview.

<sup>46</sup> Schmid, Dulzura, 5.

<sup>47</sup> Eugene Trippel, "The Yuma Indians," *Overland Monthly*, Second Series 13 (1889): 575-576.

<sup>48</sup> *Escondido (California) Times*, 16 July, 1891: 3.

<sup>49</sup> Cline, Kwaaymii, 39.

1920, traded pottery for store goods in the early twentieth century. Their large collection of pottery vessels is today on display at the Cuyamaca College Museum.<sup>50</sup>

None of these descriptions of Indian-made vessels produced for exchange or sale as water ollas or cook pots mention decoration. Because the market was sporadic and vessels appear to have been obtained from those already produced for everyday needs, there was no incentive to modify traditional technologies. However, Tom Lucas relates that, although the Kwaaymii were still using a variety of vessels for everyday use, his mother Maria Alto also “decorated her pottery.” As described in Chapter II, prehistoric pottery, particularly mountain brown ware, rarely was painted; those that were painted were likely used for ceremonial or other ritual purposes. Tom Lucas goes on to describe why his mother painted some pottery saying, “She made her very best ones for people that wanted to buy them or for special people she gave them to.”<sup>51</sup> In recent conversations, Carmen Lucas has elaborated on the reason her grandmother, Maria Alto, created special pottery as gifts. Maria Alto worked to establish relationships with people in the Anglo community. She recognized that connections with the Anglo world were essential to the survival of her family. She was committed to having her son, Tom, educated in a white school and become comfortable in the white world. She gifted her decorative pottery to Anglo friends and neighbors and, as was true traditionally, these gifts helped to develop cultural relationships. She presented a double-mouthed olla to Jesse and Calla Morris at their wedding and a basket at the birth of Calla’s first child. People she had established relationships with provided support when she petitioned to enroll her son, Tom, in the Descanso school.<sup>52</sup> Maria Alto used her potter’s skill to create decorated pottery pieces that were valued by her friends and those pieces have become important components of local museum collections and exhibits. Her decoration of pottery for special occasions presages changes in the technology that occur later in the twentieth century. However, presenting special pottery as gifts also represents a strong link with traditional exchange activities.

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<sup>50</sup> Anita Alvarez Williams, great-grand daughter of Bertram and Anna Frank Horr, interviewed by author, 7/15/04, telephone.

<sup>51</sup> Cline, Kwaaymii, 43.

<sup>52</sup> Carmen Lucas, daughter of Tom Lucas, personal communication April 2004

During the Anglo occupation of southern California during the last half of the nineteenth century, settlement of the back country progressed from a few isolated frontier establishments such as stage stations and mining camps, to established rural agricultural communities. Throughout the settlement period in rural areas, Indian labor and goods became a part of the social and cultural landscape. Relationships between the Anglos and Indians were negotiated during exchange of wage labor and goods. Sometimes the negotiation had solely economic motivations, such as the Mexican ranchers' acquisition of cooking pots from the Santa Catarina Paipai or the rural homesteaders' acquisition of water jars and cooking pots for utilitarian uses. For these incidental types of exchanges, there was no adaptation of style to enhance the exchange relationship or marketability of goods. The modifications in style employed by the Quechan to affect marketability may be related to prior adaptations to the existing tourist market and the large scale of the Hedges/Tumco market. However, in at least one instance on Laguna Mountain, traditional attributes of pottery production and the traditional cultural practice of gift-giving and reciprocity were adapted by an Indian potter to build cultural relationships. Maria Alto decorated and elaborated her pottery vessels as gifts for the Morris family and others. The relationships she had established were helpful as she worked to situate her family in the Anglo world. The traditions of pottery making and gift giving were important strategies in adapting to the twentieth century Anglo world.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Indians adapted to the European and American presence by exchanging traditional goods and services for Anglo goods and—in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—cash. Pottery vessels were commonly exchanged, Indian pottery production accommodating Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo utilitarian needs for storage, transportation, and cooking vessels. In adapting to this market for utilitarian pottery vessels, Indian potters employed traditional technologies and forms. After the turn of the twentieth century, at least one potter adapted decoration and form technologies, associated traditionally with ceremonial activities, to build gift-giving and reciprocal relationships with the Anglo community. As the twentieth century progressed, the market for utilitarian vessels diminished. At the same time, as Chapter VII will elaborate,

early century anthropologists and collectors headed to the field to gather ethnographic data and artifacts. Pottery comprised a large portion of their collections.

## CHAPTER VII

### EXHIBITIONS, ETHNOGRAPHERS, COLLECTORS, AND TOURISTS

By the end of the nineteenth century, as Frederick Jackson Turner<sup>1</sup> explained to the country, the frontier was closed and no longer dangerous and threatening. It was, in fact, vanishing. Large-scale homesteading and implementation of government policies to remove and/or assimilate Indians had effectively subdued the dangerous frontier. In its place, the wilderness was romanticized and Indian culture was seen as exotic, fascinating, and quickly disappearing. As will be described in this chapter, many of the large museum collections were amassed at this time, undertaken for exhibitions and for salvage ethnology. As well, Indian artifacts were acquired for private collections and for sale. Some of this collecting was accomplished by means that were little better than theft; the Anglos still thought that anything Indian was theirs for the taking. Legitimate collecting, however, was accomplished as trade and sale. That the acquisition and exhibition of Indian materials conveyed messages of domestication, exoticism, and “otherness” for Anglos has been documented.<sup>2</sup> Research into the underlying Indian understandings and motivations in exchange of pottery, although explored less extensively, also suggests that Indians participated in exchange to meet their own cultural as well as economic goals.<sup>3</sup> Certainly, as was seen in Chapters II and V,

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<sup>1</sup> Frederick Jackson Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1893*, (1893): 199-227.

<sup>2</sup> Edwin R. Bingham, *Charles F. Lummis, Editor of the Southwest*, San Marino, (California: The Huntington Library, 1955); Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990; Barbara A. Babcock, “‘A New Mexican Rebecca’: Imaging Pueblo Women,” *Journal of the Southwest* 32, no. 4 (1990): 400-437; W. Jackson Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995); Leah Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest, Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past*, Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996; Judith K. Polanich, Ramona’s Baskets: Romance and Reality, *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 21, no 3 (1997): 145-162; L.G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

<sup>3</sup> Barbara A. Babcock, “At Home, No Women Are Storytellers: Potteries, Stories, and Politics in Cochiti Pueblo,” *Journal of the Southwest* 30, no. 3 (1988): 356-389; Shelby J. Tisdale, “Railroads, Tourism, and Native Americans in the Greater Southwest,” *Journal of the Southwest* 38, no. 4 (1996): 433-462.



exchange events with explorers were opportunities for Indians to gain insight and access to Spanish and Anglo activities. The previous chapter documented the beginnings of exchange of pottery to establish cultural relations and access to Anglo institutions. By the twentieth century, Indians engaged in the exchange of pottery for economic benefits. The changes in pottery technology, to accommodate this exchange, mix traditional methods with modifications in response to the consumer market. Technology modifications culminated in the mid-twentieth century with the production of pottery for the tourist market.

Indian participation in Anglo activities often evolved from a desire to gain insight and access into the white world. This has been demonstrated by L.G. Moses in documenting Indian participation in some of the first exhibitions of Indian culture: Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West shows in the early 1880s.<sup>4</sup> The United States and Europe were fascinated by the costumes, skill, and fierceness of the Indians. However, the Wild West shows provided an opportunity for Indians to gain knowledge about the greater world. Red Shirt, who became the spokesman for the "Show Indians" in Cody's troop, stated to a reporter in England,

"I started from my lodge two moons ago knowing nothing, and had I remained on the Indian Reservations, I should have been as a blind man. Now I can see a new dawn. [I have seen] the great houses [ships] cross the mighty waters, the great villages which have no end where the pale faces swarm like insects in the summer sun...Our people will wonder at these things when we return to the Indian Reservation and tell them what we have seen."<sup>5</sup>

It is clear that performing in these hugely popular exhibitions was seen by these Indians as an opportunity to learn about and inform their adaptation to the white world.

The American International Expositions were another opportunity for the Euro-American public to view Indians and Indian culture, and vice-versa. The Centennial Exposition in 1893 established the core message of the fairs: affirmation of Euro-American progress and supremacy. Exhibitions always included Indian and third world community exhibits. These were relegated to the Midway, where "the world became a bauble with which Americans might amuse themselves and a standard against which they might measure their

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<sup>4</sup> Moses; Emily S. Rosenberg, "Cultural Interactions," in *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Stanley Kutler, (New York: Scribners, 1996).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

achievements.”<sup>6</sup> Although displays of Indians and Indian culture were designed to convey these messages, Indian peoples undoubtedly participated for reasons of their own. It is likely that many Indian people made the conscious decision to trade participation in exhibitions for the opportunity to view a part of the white world normally inaccessible to them. During these events, Indians also gained insight into attributes of Indian material culture that attracted the American consumer.

San Diego put on its first large commemorative celebration in 1892.<sup>7</sup> The Cabrillo Celebration was devised to promote a flagging San Diego economy after the boom of the 1880s; primary participants were several Diegueño and Luiseño Indian groups invited from the San Diego interior by Father Antonio Ubach. The Indians set up a brush hut village and, in addition to attending Cabrillo’s landing at the wharf, they put on a fiesta with traditional garb, dances, and chants. Participants came from the northern area of San Diego’s backcountry, including Pechanga, Pauma, Temecula, Santa Ysabel, and Mesa Grande. Traditionally, Indian gatherings such as the Karuk and other ceremonies, were expensive endeavors for the hosts to sponsor. Often the hosts spent years preparing gifts and gathering food for distribution at the event. The City of San Diego boosters, in paying for expenses and food, effectively hosted a gathering which, given the poverty of the Indians at the time, was likely becoming difficult to carry out. Traditionally, ceremonies were opportunities for games, exchange, and a variety of political and cultural activities. Similarly, for this event the newspaper reported that two Diegueño chiefs, Antonio La Chapa and Cinón Duro, were preparing their people for competing with the Luiseño in games and dancing. As with the Wild West shows, the Indians also gained an opportunity to visit San Diego and gather knowledge about white culture. Participation in this spectacle undoubtedly informed the Indians that there were aspects of their culture that were marketable to Anglos. By 1894,

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<sup>6</sup> Robert W. Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair; Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), 64.

<sup>7</sup> Sally Bullard Thornton, “San Diego’s First Cabrillo Celebration, 1892,” *The Journal of San Diego History* 30, no. 3 (1984): 167-180.

images of Indians, even a pottery cooking vessel outside a “teepee,” are prevalent in that year’s Cabrillo Celebration Official Program.<sup>8</sup>

San Diego County Indians continued to participate in celebrations into the twentieth century. In 1929, the City planned a historical pageant for the dedication of Presidio Hill and the Serra Museum.<sup>9</sup> Melicent Humason Lee, a supporter of the Kumeyaay Indians and a collector of Indian history and artifacts, was asked to recreate an Indian ranchería for the pageant. She consulted historical works but emphasized the importance of information gathered from Indians. Items to be a part of the setting were either museum pieces or were made by the Indians, “in exact reproduction of the old.” As she described the planned pageant activities, “the performers (will be) modeling pottery, weaving baskets, making rabbit skin blankets, and grinding seeds in the stone mortero. And who can help but admire a woman who can balance a water olla or a huge seed basket on her head?”<sup>10</sup> The staging of the ranchería for the pageant proclaimed that Indian history and material culture interested Anglos. It communicated to the Indians that Anglo visitors expected to see entertaining activities and artifacts and that these were marketable commodities.

Charles Lummis is the earliest and the best known of the boosters of the Southwest and its original inhabitants. As a young man, he traveled to California on foot, and the generous people and the extraordinary landscape created in him a lifelong passion for the Southwest. He eventually used his magazines, books, and associations to help preserve California’s disintegrating historic landmarks, collect and preserve Indian crafts, and defend Indian rights. To enlist public empathy for these causes, Lummis published images of a peaceful, aesthetic, and domesticated Southwest. Lummis’s publications are some of the original depictions of Indian women displaying the accoutrements of domestic life, particularly baskets and pottery. His *Out West* magazine presented the Indians as dispossessed and starving, but also as producers of outstanding works of craft and art.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> “Cabrillo Celebration Official Program Sept 27, 28, 29, 1894,” San Diego Historical Society Archives, San Diego, California.

<sup>9</sup> “Indian Customs of 400 Years Ago to be Faithfully Reproduced in Historical Pageant Next Month,” *San Diego Union*, 7/7/1929.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Bingham, Lummis, 189.

Lummis, with other prominent Indian-rights advocates of the time, founded the Sequoia League to improve the situation of the Mission Indians in Southern California. In its earliest years, the Sequoia League focused on collecting food, clothing, and money to distribute as relief to the most destitute Indian groups in the San Diego backcountry.<sup>12</sup> Lummis's son and daughter recall that the League also promoted craft production as an economic opportunity for the Indians. In San Diego County, the Sequoia League assisted several bands of Mission Indians to find markets for basketry and other crafts.<sup>13</sup> Thus, as well as amassing huge collections of artifacts from throughout the Southwest (particularly in Southern California), which were eventually housed in the Southwest Museum in Pasadena, he was the initiator of a commercial market for California Indian goods. As will be seen in later years of the twentieth century, some Kumeyaay potters responded by producing decorative pottery for sale.

While Lummis and other members of the Sequoia League were satisfied with their activities to assist the Indian tribes in San Diego, it is less clear how the Indians viewed this assistance. In 1902, the Cupa people at Warner Springs were to be evicted with no plan in place for their relocation. The people were devastated at having to leave the land where they had lived from time immemorial.<sup>14</sup> Lummis and the Sequoia League instigated the formation of the Warner's Ranch Commission by President Roosevelt, and found what they felt to be a much superior tract of land for the relocation of the Cupeño. Lummis and the League were pleased that they had negotiated what they felt was an excellent solution. However, as his son and daughter believe, the Indians felt betrayed and blamed Lummis for the ultimate eviction.<sup>15</sup> Although Lummis and the Sequoia League pursued what, from an Anglo perspective, was the best course of action, the Indians perceived that their steadfast desire to stay in the land of their ancestors had not been represented. Whether in artistic

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<sup>12</sup> Charles S. Lummis, "Three Grains of Corn," *The Sequoia League*, Second Bulletin (1905):3-12; Wayland H. Smith, "The Relief of Campo," *The Sequoia League*, Second Bulletin (1905):13-24.

<sup>13</sup> Turbese Lummis Fiske and Keith Lummis, *Charles F. Lummis; The Man and His West*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975);117.

<sup>14</sup> "Fighting for Homes, Mission Indians in the Courts, Their Claims to Warner's Ranch," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 20, 1893; "Indian Loth to Move, Weeping and Wailing Among The Indians at Agua Caliente," *San Diego Union*, May 4, 1897.

<sup>15</sup> Lummis Fiske and Lummis, 117.

images or in political negotiations, even well intentioned Anglos such as Lummis and the Sequoia League promoted images for Indian people that were Anglo creations. Indeed, even The Sequoia League name is subtitled, “To Make Better Indians.” Indian people were clearly aware of Anglo expectations and, as will be seen in the pottery exchanges documented by the twentieth century ethnographers and collectors, when it was in their interest they adjusted their traditional technologies, forms, and decorations to accommodate these expectations.

At the turn of the century, Franz Boaz at Columbia University was focusing the discipline of anthropology on ethnology and ethno-linguistics. His student, Alfred Kroeber, came to the fledgling University of California Department of Anthropology at Berkeley with a vision to document the vanishing cultures of California. As Theodora Kroeber, his wife and biographer, describes his vision, “The time was late; the dark forces of invasion had almost done their ignorant work of annihilation.”<sup>16</sup> In the early twentieth century, Kroeber and his associates and students documented Indian tribes throughout California. While their focus was on documenting society, culture, language, and religion through ethnographies and photographs, the University patron, Phoebe Apperson Hearst, financially supported the collecting of artifacts from California Indian tribes and their curation in the Hearst Museum. Kroeber set out to assemble a comprehensive collection of California Indian material culture. The underlying assumption was that Indian culture was nearly extinct, but specimens—culture traits and artifacts—could be collected and archived for later study and exhibit.

Between 1901 and 1908, and later in 1920, Kroeber, Thomas Waterman, and Leslie Spier collected hundreds of pottery vessels, baskets, stone and bone tools, fiber items, bows, arrows, and food and botanical samples from the Mojave, Luiseño, Diegueño, Cupeño, and Cahuilla peoples of Southern California. Many of the artifacts in the Hearst’s California Collections are pottery vessels.<sup>17</sup> While Kroeber purported to acquire artifacts that had been used and not made for sale, many issues of the method of acquisition and intentions of the owners complicate the “authenticity” of collected items. As was the case for the Quechan

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<sup>16</sup> Theodora. Kroeber, *Alfred Kroeber; A Personal Configuration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 51.

<sup>17</sup> “California Indians, Collections Catalog,” (Berkeley: Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology) [database on-line] available from [http://hearstmuseumberkeley.edu/collections/tables/cal\\_eth.html](http://hearstmuseumberkeley.edu/collections/tables/cal_eth.html).

pottery who were already producing pottery for the Hedges/Tumco market and for tourists at the railroad stations, many potters had been producing for both the utilitarian and tourist markets for several decades. And, because the concentrated fieldwork and collecting took place over a period of seven years (in addition to the other ethnographers and collectors working in the area), it is very possible that some items were produced especially for exchange. While not a dependable source of income for Indian peoples, occasional but repeated opportunities to sell craft goods to Anglo collectors must have been seen as a commercial opportunity.

The fieldwork initiated by the Ethnological and Archaeological Survey under Kroeber was the largest effort to document Indian culture in California. While Kroeber and his associates conducted fieldwork personally, often the large collectors and out-of-state museums employed local agents to identify items and arrange for their acquisition.<sup>18</sup> Recognizing that relationships with local Indian communities took years to develop, large-scale collectors and non-local museums employed Indian agents, trading post owners, ranchers, or local ethnographers. These were often individuals who had a long-standing enthusiasm for local history and Indian cultures and often had substantial collections of their own. Sometimes agents were reputable citizens; other times they were underhanded and deceptive in their means of acquisition. Occasionally, disreputable agents encouraged unethical behavior in their Indian contacts to acquire artifacts. Looting of archaeological materials was also a common—and in Anglo attitudes of the time, acceptable—form of acquisition.

Edward Davis is the best known and most prolific of the local collectors in San Diego County.<sup>19</sup> Coming to California in the 1880s, he adopted the Southwest as his own, as did

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<sup>18</sup> Laura Graves, *Thomas Varker Keam Indian Trader* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998); Edwin L. Wade, "The Ethnic Art Market in the American Southwest 1880-1980," in *Objects and Others, Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, ed. George W. Stocking, Jr. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 168-174; Douglas Coe, *Captured Heritage: the Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995).

<sup>19</sup> Ronald V. May, "The Edward H. Davis Papers: A Case Study of the Role of an Archives in a Museum Program of the San Diego Historical Society," (paper prepared for San Diego State University Spring Semester History Class, on file with the author, 1986, photocopy); Russell Quinn, *Edward H. Davis, and the Indians of the Southwest United States and Northwest Mexico*, (Downey, California: Elena Quinn, 1965); Natasha Bonilla Martinez and Rose Wyaco, "Chapter 2. Camera Shots," in *Spirit Capture, Photographs from the National*

Charles Lummis. On the proceeds of a profitable land transaction in San Diego, he bought land in Mesa Grande, built a home for his family, and set about ranching. He at once began to make Indian friends and some of his earliest notes refer to trips to neighboring Indian communities to deliver food and clothes. Davis also began to collect Indian artifacts from Indian communities throughout the County. His first catalog of “curios” in 1907 included wooden implements, feather ornaments, stone implements, rattles, fiber items, baskets, and ollas. The pottery items included

“1 olla ladle, 1 2-mouthed olla (La Jolla), 1 sm. decorated olla, 1 olla maker (Manzanita), 1 sm. olla & olla basin (Manzanita), 1 small necked water olla (Campo), 1 small mouth olla (Mapipo), 3 large ollas from desert, 1 large basin olla (desert), 1 small cooking olla (San Felipe), 1 very large acorn storage olla, and 3 olla bowls (Puerta Chiquita).”<sup>20</sup>

The utilitarian vessel types and notation of Indian village names suggest that, at this time, Davis primarily collected vessels in use, either by exchange of goods or for cash, from the Indians living in these communities. By 1912, Davis’s desire to collect ancient Indian artifacts appears to have become well known, as he documented several trips with local Indian men to collect ollas from old Indian sites in San Felipe (ten ollas) and the nearby village of Mat.why’ (two ollas).<sup>21</sup> By 1915, his collection numbered in the hundreds. His 1913 “Original Indian Catalog” lists numerous utilitarian as well as ceremonial artifacts and includes notes and drawings of eight ollas. Unlike the 1907 catalog, however, all were brought to him by Indian men who had excavated them from archaeological sites.<sup>22</sup> His drawings illustrate round vessels with very constricted openings similar to the prehistoric examples illustrated in Figure 10.

The materials described in these catalogs came to the attention of the New York Heye Foundation Museum of the American Indian and in 1915 the Foundation purchased his collection. In 1916, presumably with the proceeds, Davis built a lodge on Mesa Grande.

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*Museum of the American Indian*, ed. Tim Johnson (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998); Roger M. Showley, “Ed Davis a Pioneer at Salvaging Indian Heritage Here,” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 3, 1992.

<sup>20</sup> Edward H. Davis, “Indian Curios of Edward H. Davis, Feb 22, 1907,” Edward H. Davis Collection, San Diego Historical Society Archives, San Diego, California (Hereafter cited as SDHSA).

<sup>21</sup> Edward H. Davis, “Notes, 1912,” SDHSA.

<sup>22</sup> Edward H. Davis, “Original Indian Catalog (No. 2) 1913,” SDHSA.

Soon after, George Heye commissioned Davis to acquire additional Indian materials and ethnographic information for the Museum from throughout the Southwest. Over a period of twenty-seven years from 1915 to 1932, Davis traded for and purchased thousands of objects from the Indians of Alta and Baja California.

It appears that in the early years, many of the pottery vessels that Davis added to the Heye collections came from archaeological contexts in the mountain and desert regions surrounding his Mesa Grande home. Often, Indian men either brought him the items or offered to take him to their secret locations. In 1917, on his October-November collecting trip, he concentrated on the desert regions inhabited by the Cahuilla.<sup>23</sup> On one collecting trip to the Cahuilla reservation in Palm Springs, he promptly made the acquaintance of several Cahuilla men. One man could immediately provide two ollas for sale. Two days later another man had gone to the mountains and returned with an olla that had been hidden there; a sale for twenty dollars was completed. By the afternoon, another man had brought a pottery cooking saucer and another had gone “horseback to Chino Canyon and got 2 ollas. His father cached [them] many years ago and [he] brought them back perfect.”<sup>24</sup> Apparently the men could scavenge no more ollas as Davis left the next morning. His expense log suggests that he purchased thirteen ollas for \$46.50. Davis purchased water storage, carrying, and other everyday-use ollas from the village, but many of the items he collected were gathered by Indian men from locations where the ancestors had hidden them in the mountains, either for storage or for burial of cremated remains. Less than a month later, on a “Trip After Ollas,” Davis accompanied several Indian men into the Piñon Mountains, collecting seven ollas from old Indian camps, caches, and burial sites. Davis, in collecting for George Heye, was clearly seeking to acquire pottery that was being used in traditional activities or that was from ancient Indian sites. For the Indian men, loading up a wagon of pottery and other artifacts likely netted much-needed cash (Figure 14). For Davis, a successful day of “pot hunting” added to the collections destined for the Heye Museum (Figure 15).

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<sup>23</sup> Edward H. Davis, “Trip After Ollas, Feb. 1917,” SDHSA.

<sup>24</sup> Davis, Trip After Ollas; Edward H. Davis, “Desert Notes, Oct-Nov 1917, Collecting Trip,” quoted in Lowell John Bean and Sylvia Brakke Vane, “Ethnography and Ethnohistory,” in *Archaeological, Ethnographic, and Ethnohistoric Investigations at Tahquitz Canyon, Palm Springs, California*, Lowell John Bean, Jerry Schaefer, and Sylvia Brakke Vane, V-1-307, (Menlo Park: Cultural Systems Research, Inc., 1995).





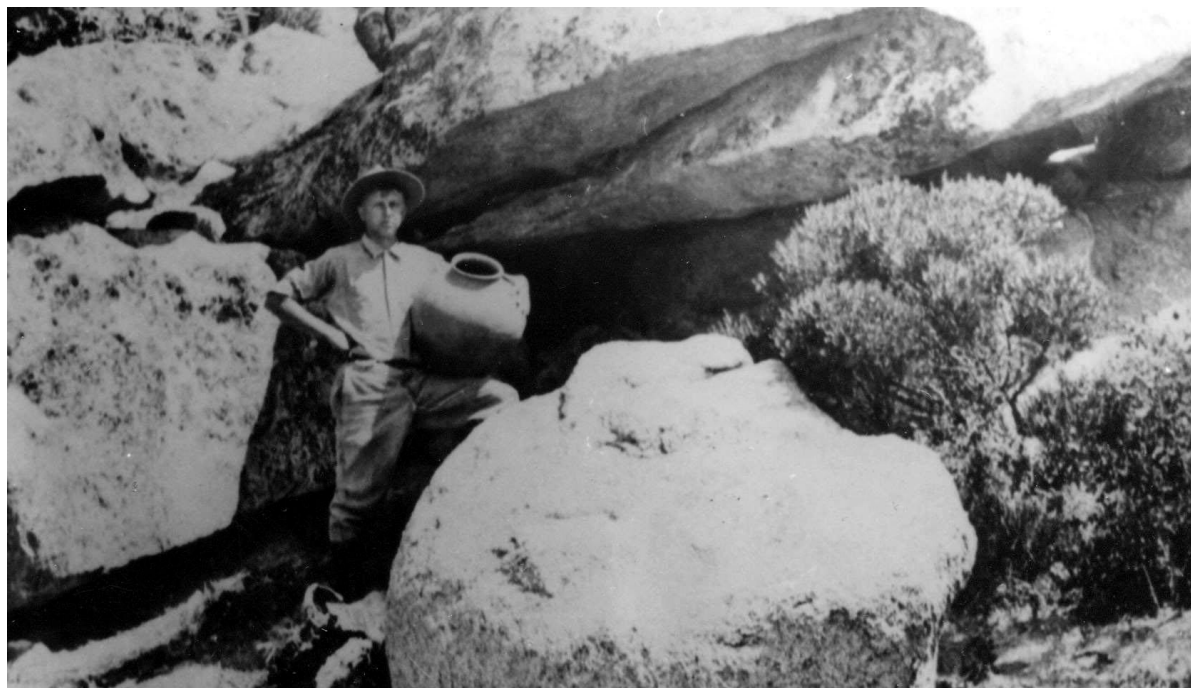
A



B

**Figure 14. E. H. Davis photographs of Indian-gathered pottery: A) CDD-625-20-70 (“Ick How-little piñon 2/16/1912-EHD”), B) CDD-625-20-69 (“Celson Serrano & coll. Of Soboba Cahuilla Pottery Ollas- 1917”).**

**(Photographs Courtesy California State Parks, Colorado Desert District (CDD))**



A



B

**Figure 15. E. H. Davis photographs of his pottery collecting: A) CDD-625-20-1 (“Me & Olla San Ygnacio, 1920s”), B) 625-20-66 (“Bringing \_\_\_ Desert Caves-2/17/1912-Mrs. EHD”).**

**(Photograph courtesy California State Parks, Colorado Desert District (CDD))**

The first indication that San Diego Indian potters were modifying traditional pottery technology and decoration is noted in Davis's journal describing "Campo Ollas" March 1918.<sup>25</sup> While there are no specific notes associated with his drawings to indicate their history, the vessels are associated with other items from the three reservations of La Posta, Manzanita, and Campo. Included in the collection are a wide flat-bottomed cup with one handle and clay beads decorating the outside rim, a decorated flat-bottomed pot with large handles on either side, a double-mouth jar with widely-flared rims and flat bottom, a constricted-mouth olla with two handles and clay bead decoration around the rim, a double-mouth olla resembling two glass beverage bottle shapes, and an effigy ladle painted with triangular shapes on the interior. It appears that by 1918, Indian potters in the Campo area were producing significantly modified forms and decorative styles to attract Anglo consumers. By this time, the Sequoia League had been sponsoring relief visits, providing clothing and food to the Indians of the Campo region, for nearly fifteen years. The San Diego and Coronado joint committee had also been working with Ed Davis to provide clothing and money to the mountain Indians for several years prior.<sup>26</sup> It is possible that the potters produced these modified pottery items either as gifts in return for the clothing and food brought to them or to sell to the Anglos who visited the reservations. Clearly, some Indian potters had modified the traditional pottery forms and decorations to appeal to Anglo consumers.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Davis entertained numerous guests at his Powam Lodge. Much of his collection decorated the lodge and his story-telling entertained visitors. Davis encouraged the local Indians to sell crafts to visitors. His biographer, Russell Quinn, relates that "The Indians on the Mesa Grande were encouraged to re-school their skill in the ancient arts and crafts of their race, by allowing them to sell their wares at the Lodge. The articles must be authentic, however. No tourist-trap items were tolerated."<sup>27</sup> He negotiated with Indian potters to purchase pottery as confirmed in a photograph from his collections (Figure 16).

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<sup>25</sup> Edward H. Davis, "Campo Ollas, March 1918." SDHSA.

<sup>26</sup> "Aged Indians in Mountains Need Food, Clothing," *San Diego Union*, 1918.

<sup>27</sup> Quinn, Edward H. Davis, 30.



Figure 16. E. H. Davis Photograph of Indian potters: CDD-625-20-67 (“Aug. 19, 1935, F. G. Pease photo San Ysidro – Ed Davis”).

(Photographs Courtesy California State Parks, Colorado Desert District)

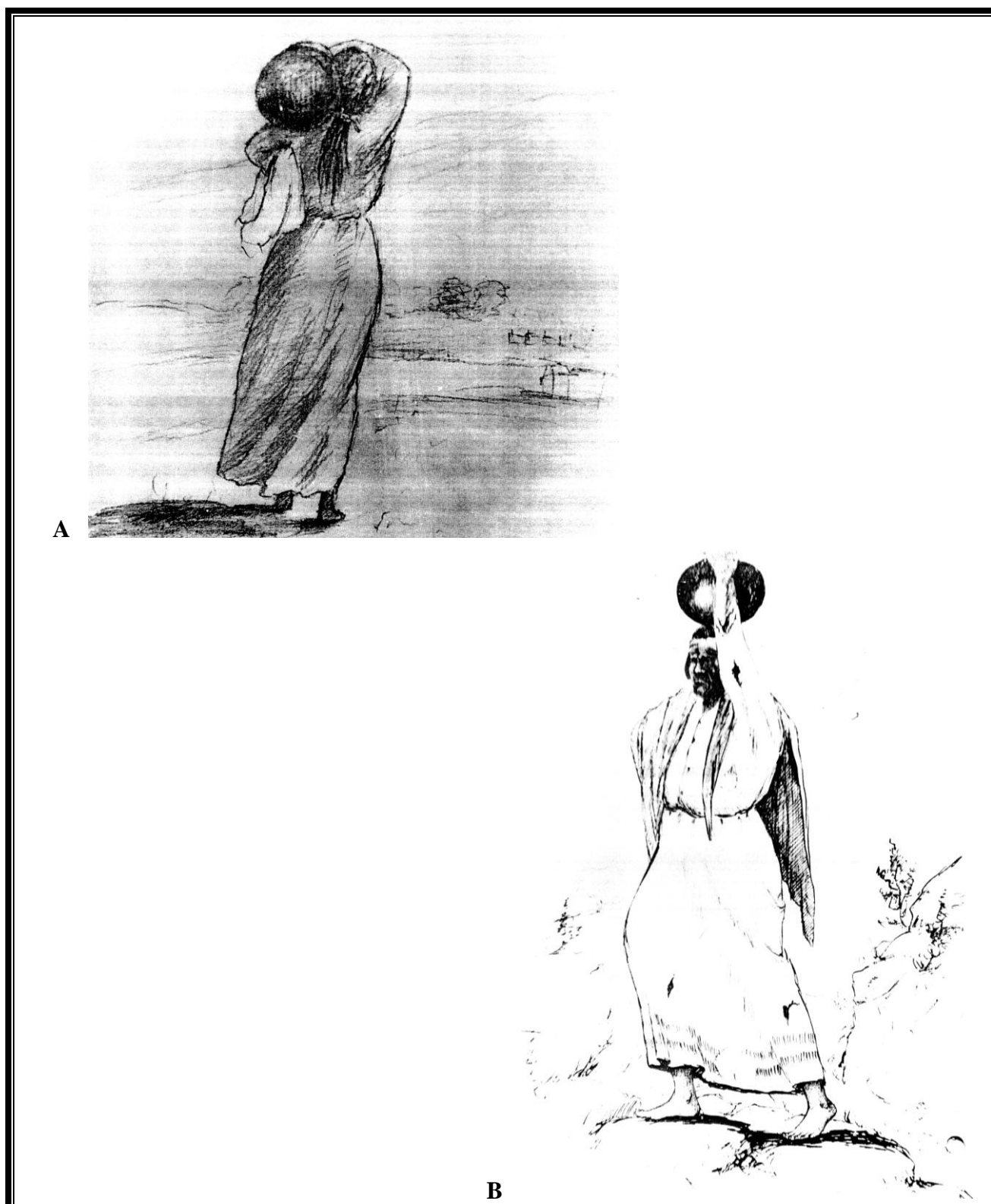
In spite of the years that Davis spent in the field visiting Indian settlements and archaeological sites, many of his photographs and drawings reflect the exotic and romanticized vision of Southwest Indians such as was being promoted by Charles Lummis and the public exhibitions. His photograph of “Yellow Sky in his niche at Powam Lodge” in 1921 is highly romanticized, with its fire-lit backlighting and picturesque staging of the subject and surrounding artifacts. His sketches of an “Indian girl carrying an olla” and of “Rebecca at the well” at Agua Caliente in 1891/92 (see Figure 17) are reminiscent of similar “Olla Maiden” themes common in promotions of the Southwest by Charles Lummis’s *Out West* and the publications of the Santa Fe Railroad and Fred Harvey Company.<sup>28</sup> These images also pervade his ethnographic photographs, which were deliberately composed to artistically illustrate Indian peoples with their artifacts (Figure 18). He likely communicated these images to Indian craftspeople when encouraging craft production for sale at Powam Lodge.

Davis’s dedication to documenting every cultural event and ceremony he could attend and obtaining as many artifacts as possible suggests that, in spite of methods that are considered unethical today, he was largely motivated by interest in Indian people and collecting important information and artifacts. Davis appears to have justified these exchanges because of their importance in preserving Indian culture history. Providing artifacts to the Heye Foundation undoubtedly also assisted his financial condition. Clearly the Indian men who were his partners in artifact collecting saw this exchange as of essential financial benefit as did the Indian potters who produced pots for sale at his Powam Lodge or developed innovative forms and decorations to sell at the reservations. The pottery tradition, either ancient pots collected from the backcountry or innovative pots made for sale, provided some cash income to San Diego backcountry Indians.

The San Diego Museum of Man, largely through the efforts of curator Malcolm Rogers, also maintained a long-standing program of collecting ethnographic information and artifacts in San Diego County. The museum was founded to house the hundreds of artifacts collected from around the world for San Diego’s 1915 Panama-California Exposition,

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<sup>28</sup> Lummis Fiske and Lummis, Lummis; Quinn, Edward H. Davis, 54, 79, 83.



**Figure 17. Edward H. Davis drawings: A) “Indian Girl Carrying Olla, Agua Caliente, 1892,” B) “Rebecca at the Well, Agua Caliente (Warner Springs) 1891.”**

(Illustrations by E. H. Davis, in Charles Russell and Elena Quinn, *Edward H Davis*, 1965: 79, 83)



A



B

**Figure 18. E. H. Davis Photographs of Cahuilla women: A) CDD-625-20-57 (“Mrs. Angela Apapas of Soboba, Nov. 1916 with Olla”), B) CDD-625-20-56 (“Manuela Costa Making Basket at Cahuilla, Nov. 14, 1917”).**

**(Photograph Courtesy California State Parks, Colorado Desert District)**

Science of Man display.<sup>29</sup> The Exposition collections from Southern California were gathered by John P. Harrington as one of his first anthropological efforts.<sup>30</sup> Harrington would later devote a large part of his career recording languages, place names, and other cultural information about Southern California Indians.<sup>31</sup> As an associate of the Museum of Man, Malcolm Rogers began his explorations of the San Diego area in the early 1920s. He traveled large areas of Southern California and recorded several hundred of the largest and most important archaeological sites in San Diego County. He conducted archaeological excavations at major Kumeyaay villages throughout southern California, recovering huge numbers of pottery vessels. He also collected ethnographic information and artifacts; his collections are some of the most valuable data available on San Diego prehistory.<sup>32</sup> While prehistoric chronology was his research focus, he apparently developed a singular interest in pottery making, as his only book devoted to documenting ethnographic craft production was *Yuman Pottery Making* published in 1936. As he introduces the book,

Its purpose [was] to present the subject of Yuman ceramic technique in its aboriginal form, deleting recent intrusive practices where they could be proved to be such. It is still, however, an historical picture in which ancient practice is stressed. Archaeological evidence indicates that it is not a complete presentation of the earliest phase of the art; and ethnological research, that knowledge of these phases cannot be obtained from Indian informants.<sup>33</sup>

His field research was conducted in 1928 with Wass Hilmawa, a Manzanita Reservation Kumeyaay woman whose Spanish name was Rosa López. Rogers's goal was to document traditional pottery production techniques, and other ethnographic documentation of the time confirms his data.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Edgar L. Hewett, "Museum is Successor of Exposition; Will Perpetuate its Work," *San Diego Union*, 1917.

<sup>30</sup> Ken Hedges and Alfred E. Dittert, "Heritage in Clay," *San Diego Museum Papers* No. 17 (San Diego: San Diego Museum of Man, 1984): 1.

<sup>31</sup> Carobeth Laird, *Encounter with an Angry God*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1975).

<sup>32</sup> Scott LaFee, "A Life Unearthed, Malcolm Rogers Put the Past First in San Diego County," *Union-Tribune* 1/27/99, E-1, 4.

<sup>33</sup> Malcolm Rogers, "Yuman Pottery Making," *San Diego Museum Paper* No. 2, (San Diego Museum of Man, 1936, reprint, Ramona: Ballena Press, 1973): v.

<sup>34</sup> Edward H. Davis, "Diegueño Basketry and Pottery," 1935, ed. Paul G. Chace, *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 3, no. 1 (1967): 58-64; Paul Schumacher, "The Method and Manufacturing of Pottery and Baskets among the Indians of Southern California," *Peabody Museum Twelfth Report*. (Harvard:



However, although Wass Hilmawa was undoubtedly producing pottery for use, her work was popular with local collectors. Her pieces were acquired by Ben Squiers, a local collector, and Berkeley's Ethnological and Archaeological Survey,<sup>35</sup> as well as by the Museum of Man. In fact when pottery pieces from the Squiers collection came up for auction in 1998, the Museum of Man eagerly purchased a highly decorated and figurative piece: "a fantastic double human effigy parching tray."<sup>36</sup> The piece is comparable to a less elaborate effigy scoop produced by Wass for Rogers during his fieldwork, although interestingly, the Squiers's collection piece includes triangular applique replicating in three dimensions the triangular painted border on the Rogers collection piece (Figure 19). The decorations on these two scoops are remarkably similar to the decorated "ladle" from the Campo/Manzanita/La Posta area, illustrated by Ed Davis in his 1918 journal. It is entirely likely that this piece was also produced by Wass Hilmawa ten years earlier. Adapting traditional pottery forms and decorations to appeal to the Anglo market was apparently successful, having persisted for at least a decade.

The items Wass Hilmawa produced for Rogers in 1928 combine traditional production technology with non-traditional forms, functions, and use of decoration. The collection contains two small and medium sized vertical-sided bowls with recurved rims, two small and medium-sized ollas (one with an atypical straight-sided neck), an effigy scoop, and a pottery-making anvil. All are highly decorated with paint and, as the prehistoric archaeological evidence has shown, this characteristic is rarely found in archaeological collections of brown ware pottery. The vessel assemblage suggests that the items were produced in response to Rogers's desire for an assortment of vessel types and tools. It is curious that the vessel type most commonly found in archaeological collections, a slightly constricted rim pot (see Figure 8 in Chapter II), is not among the vessel types Wass produced.

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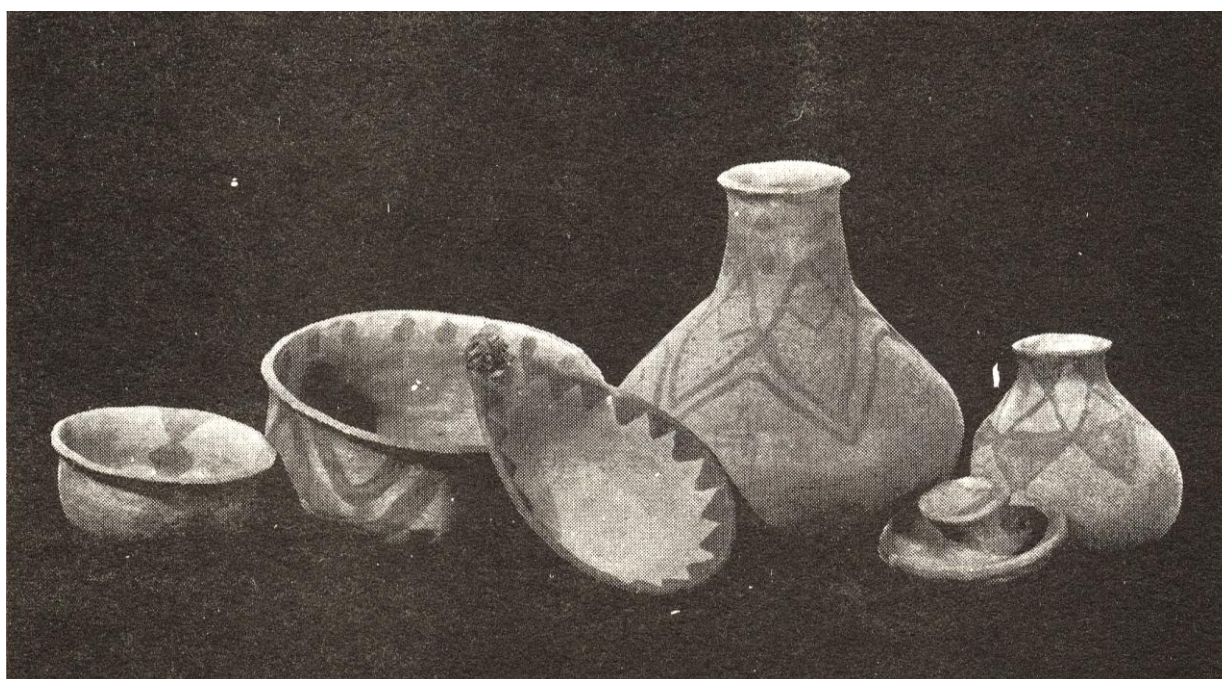
Harvard University Press, 1880): 521-525; E.W. Gifford and R.H. Lowie, "Notes on the Akwa'ala Indians of Lower California," in *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 23, no. 7, (1928): 339-352, (Berkeley: University of California); Ralph C. Michelsen, "The Making of Paddle and Anvil Pottery at Santa Catarina, Baja California, Mexico," *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 8, no.1, (1972): 2-9.

<sup>35</sup> Jeannine. Gendar, "A Kumeyaay Pottery Exhibit," *News From Native California* 12 no 1 (1998): 48-50.

<sup>36</sup> San Diego Museum of Man, "Museum Acquires Significant Kumeyaay Pottery Tray," *Discovery* 15, no. 1 (1998): 4.



A



B

**Figure 19. Wass Hilma (Rosa Lopez) pottery: A) Ben Squires Collection, Effigy Parching Tray, B) Malcolm Rogers Collection.**

**(Photographs Courtesy San Diego Museum of Man)**

The paint is likely an accommodation she was employing to appeal to collectors. In fact, Rogers suggests that the designs are imitations of those used by Colorado River tribes.<sup>37</sup> They are similar to pottery identified as historic forms in the San Diego Museum of Man pottery collection I reviewed for my 1986 study, one of which was also produced by Wass.<sup>38</sup> In addition to the historic forms illustrated in Figure 11 in Chapter 2, a flat-bottomed cup with handle and a decorated bowl constructed by Wass are shown in Figure 20A & B. Flat bottoms, elaborated clay applique and painted decoration were added, apparently to appeal to the Anglo collector.

In the 1930s, the desire to assist San Diego County's Indians and preserve Indian culture was combined with a desire for collecting of Indian crafts as both artifacts and as art. Melicent Humason Lee formed the Indian Arts League to encourage study of Indian culture in schools, exhibit Indian crafts in galleries, and to encourage Indian craft production.<sup>39</sup> Melicent and her husband, artist Leslie Lee, came to San Diego in 1919 and lived in Dehesa until moving part time to San Diego in 1926. They became friends with several Indian people, especially Santo and Rosa López (Wass Hilmawa) who, at this same time, had assisted Malcolm Rogers with his pottery research and created painted pottery for several collectors. Santo constructed a traditional Indian dwelling at the Lee's Dehesa ranch to illustrate traditional Indian life to their visitors. By the end of the 1920s, Melicent became interested in promoting Indian culture and crafts, writing her first book, *The Indians and I*, dedicated to her Indian friends including Santo and Rosa López, and directing the re-creation of the Indian ranchería at the Serra Museum dedication pageant.<sup>40</sup> She formed the Indian Arts League to encourage Indians to continue their craft production and to provide them with a market for their work. Certainly, Indian potters such as Rosa López had influenced her passion to preserve their craft as art. In 1931, she claimed that, "Indian pottery makers, who

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<sup>37</sup> Rogers, Yuman Pottery, 13.

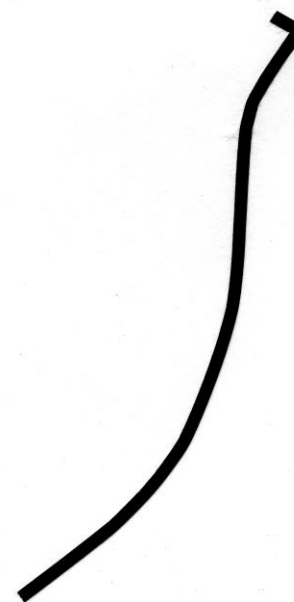
<sup>38</sup> Sue A. Wade, "Appendix D, Tizon Brown Ware Analysis." in *Broken Fragments of Past Lifeways: Archaeological Excavations at Los Penasquitos Ranch House Resource Area, San Diego*, Susan M. Hector and Stephen R. Van Wormer (San Diego: San Diego County Parks and Recreation Department, 1986).

<sup>39</sup> Melicent Lee, "League Creates Local Interest in Indian Arts," *San Diego Union*, 1/1/31.

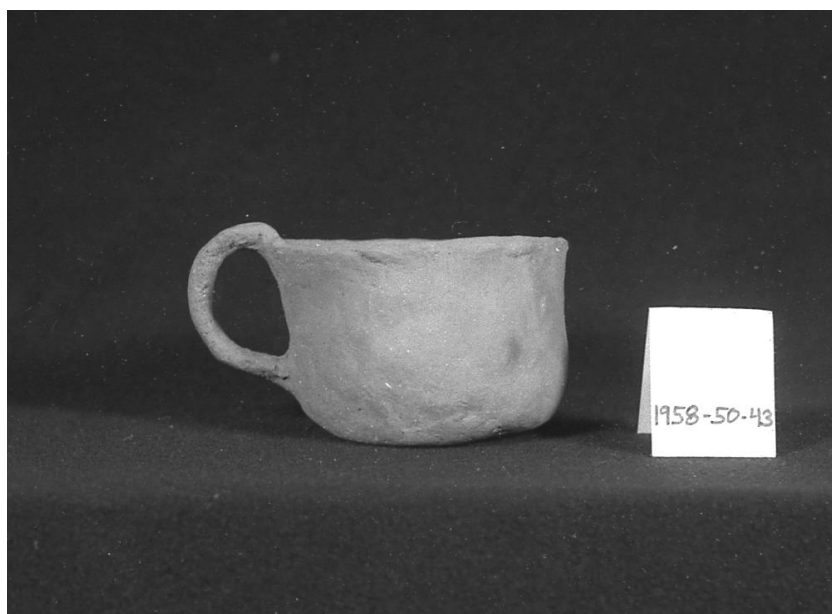
<sup>40</sup> Bruce Kamerling, "Melicent and Leslie Lee; Artist, Author, and Friends of the Indian." *Journal of San Diego History*, 34, no. 2 (1988): 93-121.



A



Profiles Reflect Top 7 Centimeters (Actual Size) of Vessel Wall



B

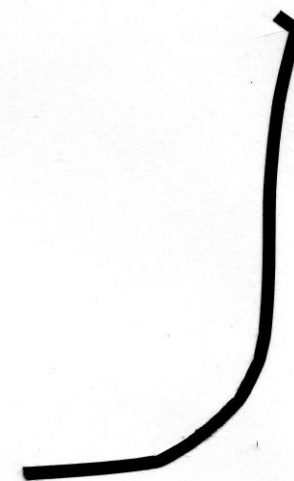


Figure 20. Historic forms, painted bowl and cup with handle: A) painted bowl by Wass Hilmawa (SDM #18821), B) painted cup with handle (SDM #58-50-43) (H = 6.5 centimeters, R = 4.5 centimeters).

(Photographs by author courtesy of San Diego Museum of Man)

long ago abandoned their art, are rolling clay again, and there has been a persistent demand for Indian ollas.”<sup>41</sup> Her effort, unfortunately, was adversely affected by the times; the Great Depression severely limited the public’s ability to purchase art and by the 1930s, many of the traditional potters such as Wass Hilmawa had passed on. While Indian potters like Wass Hilmawa had benefited from the collecting and art market over the first several decades of the twentieth century, few Indian women continued to make pottery past the 1930s.

By the mid-twentieth century, few of the Indians living in the Alta California backcountry were using traditional household goods. Government policies to educate Indians in schools dedicated to eliminating Indian ways led to abandonment of traditional technologies. Many concluded that metal and glass containers were more serviceable. As well, the older Indian generation had concluded that survival in the future necessitated acceptance of Anglo attitudes and goods. Many of the older generation refused to talk about the old ways or teach traditional crafts to the young people.<sup>42</sup> As one Kumeyaay woman told her daughter, “You’ll never have to cook in those kinds of pots, why do you want to learn?”<sup>43</sup>

In the decades following the 1930s, it appears that modern Anglo culture had penetrated the San Diego backcountry and the material culture traditions that Indian people had employed to survive for nearly two hundred years were being replaced by Anglo goods and ideas. However, in Baja California, Indian peoples were still living in isolated regions mostly unaccessed by the modern world. In these isolated regions, Kumiai and Paipai peoples still depended on traditional foods and technologies to survive.<sup>44</sup> And, similarly to

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<sup>41</sup> Lee, League.

<sup>42</sup> Ruth Almstead, “Multiple World View in a Diegueño Community,” Master’s Thesis, San Diego State College, 1970: 53, 80, 87; Quinn, Davis, 96.

<sup>43</sup> Almstead, Diegueño, 87.

<sup>44</sup> Several mid-century ethnographers conducted fieldwork in these areas in the 1930s (Peveril Meigs) and the 1950s and 1960s (Ralph Michelsen and Roger Owens).<sup>44</sup> In the 1970s, both Meigs and Michelsen contributed field notes for publication to the Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Journal. Peveril, Meigs, III, “Field Notes on the Sh’ün and Jat’am, Manteca, Baja California,” *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 10, no. 1 (1974): 19-28; Ralph Michelsen, “‘Making It’ In a Technologically Simple Society,” *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 6, no. 1 (1970): 41-46; Ralph Michelsen, “Petra Makes Paddle and Anvil Pottery,” *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly*, 7, no. 1 (1971): 1; Ralph Michelsen, “Indians of Santa Catarina,” *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 7, no. 1 (1971): 34-38. In 1998, I gathered information regarding the history of pottery production and trade at the Paipai rancharía of Santa Catarina. With the assistance of Mike Wilken who provided translation as well as insights into the history of pottery trade at Santa Catarina, I conducted interviews with elder Don Benito Peralta Gonzales and with potters Doña

the practices of Indian peoples in earlier decades in Alta California, it is clear that trading pottery for needed goods or money was a beneficial adaptive strategy that was also employed by the Kumiai and Paipai.

Peveril Meigs traveled through Baja California in the 1930s researching for two books, one on the Missions of Lower California and one documenting the Kiliwa people. One interesting account of his travels in Kumiai northern Baja California describes a small extended family at the isolated ranchería of Manteca, a small camp of three thatch-covered adobe houses and a brush ramada. Five people of the Sh'uñ and Jat'am lineages of the Kumiai lived here: Feliciano, reputedly 120 years old; Mariña, an old woman who still made pottery; Rosa, Mariña's daughter and a basketmaker; Fortino, Rosa's Mexican husband; Enrique their son; and Abram, Meigs's principal informant. Meigs describes the pottery that Maria Jat'am made and was in use by the family. The largest moderately-constricted pot, 17.5 inches in diameter, was a storage vessel containing dried *Islay* (*Prunus ilicifolia*) fruits. Mariña sat for a photograph with six other smaller constricted- and straight-sided pots and open bowls. One large olla was mounted on a three-branched live oak trunk in the shade in front of the ramada. The dog also had his pottery water dish. Meigs describes these vessels as being of coil construction and undecorated. Although the Manteca people had not been previously visited by other California ethnographers or travelers, Mariña recognized the financial opportunity and offered to sell some of her pots. Meigs declined saying they were too big to risk being carried in the car over bumpy roads. Apparently the Indian family thought this over because the next day:

late in the afternoon, along came Abram with a packed gunny sack in a net. He had walked with a batch of small pots all the way from Manteca, two miles, on the chance that we might buy some of them. Had Maria made these pots since we saw her in the morning? Quiéñ sabe. We bought a couple of pots, although we already had all the luggage we should carry.<sup>45</sup>

Meigs did not have enough money, so an exchange for a blanket and clothes was agreed upon. Clearly, even in this isolated ranchería, the potential for exchange of pottery for Anglo

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Josephina Ochurte Gonzáles, Anaclea Albañez Higuera, and Teresa Castro Albañez. The conversations provided information about both the ethnographic and tourist aspects of Indian pottery production.

<sup>45</sup> Meigs, Field Notes, 24-26.

goods or cash was recognized. When the product did not meet the market need—it was too large—the Manteca potter adapted the product to the market need—small and transportable.

Ralph Michelsen conducted about ten years of fieldwork in Santa Catarina in the 1950s and 1960s. Before the 1960s, the Santa Catarina potters had sold the occasional pottery vessel to Mexican ranchers for bean cook pots or water containers. These exchanges were always for money. However, this exchange was very occasional and the Mexicans never paid very much. Don Benito recalls, “There weren’t really friendship relationships with the ranchers. That people would just go to work when the ranchers needed workers and then they would go back. Or they would go for a specific reason. But they wouldn’t just go to visit.”<sup>46</sup> Also before Michelsen, occasional Anglo travelers came to the community bringing clothing and other items and buying pottery.

However, when Ralph Michelsen came—he visited Santa Catarina regularly for about ten years—he frequently purchased pottery and other items. Michelsen also collected archaeological pottery vessels, a fact that surfaced when inquiring if particular pottery forms were preferred. Sra. Castro relates, “Well he liked the old pots so we would go out and bring them and sell them to him.”<sup>47</sup> His early visits were not of sufficient length or regularity that warranted producing pottery specifically for sale. Don Benito explains, “They didn’t make special ones for them. They would just come and see what was there and buy from what they had on hand.”<sup>48</sup> Soon, however, the potters began to produce pottery in anticipation of Michelsen’s visits. Anacleta Albañez, with whose mother, Petra Higuera, Michelsen mostly worked, recalls that “my mother was never sitting around. She was always making stuff because she wanted to have stuff for when he came.”<sup>49</sup> Sra. Castro remembers her husband’s grandmother, Briciliana Flores, being the first to sell pots to the Anglos and she also remembers producing pots especially for sale. “At first when they came they would just buy

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<sup>46</sup> Benito Peralta Gonzáles, interview by author, May 25, 1998, Santa Catarina Baja California, tape recording and transcription, (CUNA), Ensenada, Baja California.

<sup>47</sup> Teresa Castro Albañez, interview by author, May 26, 1998, Santa Catarina Baja California, tape recording and transcription, (CUNA), Ensenada, Baja California.

<sup>48</sup> Don Benito interview.

<sup>49</sup> Anacleta Albañez Higuera, interview by author, May 25, 1998, Santa Catarina Baja California, tape recording and transcription, (CUNA), Ensenada, Baja California.



whatever they saw around the house and then, after a while we would keep making it... We would make some pottery that we would put under the shade roof that was just for sale, as well as making pottery to replace what they bought.”<sup>50</sup> Sra. Castro recalls that the pots they made for sale were good for holding water or for cooking, and were equal to the ones that they used. At that time they made similar types of pots for use and for sale. “Well you know, we just made that one form. We didn’t make many different types.” However, within a short time, new criteria for the pots the gringos desired were recognized. When asked which ones the gringos liked, Sra. Castro responded “the prettiest ones, the nicest looking ones, the ones with the good shape to them.”<sup>51</sup>

Although the gringos bought all the pots, there was a clear recognition on the part of the potters that “the good looking ones” were desired. As had the potters of Campo in 1918 Alta California, the Santa Catarina potters were beginning to realize that pottery production had potential to bring income. They were also anticipating the arrival of buyers for their product and analyzing what qualities were marketable. When asked “What did you think when you sold all your pottery,” Theresa said, “It was great!” When we asked, “but you were left without pottery,” Theresa responded, “Yes, but we made more.”

As is demonstrated by the words of the people of Santa Catarina, in the later part of the twentieth century the Paipai potters were still making pottery for utilitarian uses but were also realizing that pottery production could be a source of income. They were well situated to benefit from proximity to the thriving tourist town of Ensenada. At the time in San Diego when the last Kumeyaay potters were still making pottery, and collectors and artists such as Edward Davis and Melicent Lee were promoting the sale of traditional crafts as art, the effort was economically defeated by the Great Depression. Kumeyaay traditional utilitarian goods were also rapidly being replaced by modern consumer goods and government assimilationist policies were forcing the abandonment of traditional lifeways. By contrast, pottery production was still an integral part of Paipai life in the 1970s when their pottery first came to the attention of Ensenada tourist shopkeepers. As with Michelsen, the first visits from Ensenada entrepreneurs were periodic, but sufficient to bring cash income to the potters.

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<sup>50</sup> Sra. Castro interview.

<sup>51</sup> Sra. Castro interview.



Soon the tourist trade generated experiments in pottery production to appeal to the tourist market.

Thus by the twentieth century, although ethnographers and collectors pursued “authentic” artifacts (and often Indians accommodated them by providing archaeological items), many potters had already incorporated the influences of the collector and tourist market into their craft. The tourist market carried inherent product requirements. In Alta California and the Southwest, marketing of Indian goods, particularly pottery, developed pastoral and decorative images that had been promoted by Charles Lummis and that had infused the documentation of collectors such as Edward Davis and Malcolm Rogers. Indian potters, producing for this market, responded with modified technologies, forms, and decorations to produce vessels that would attract the buyers.

The best-known tourist market for Indian goods was created by the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway and the Fred Harvey Company. To promote tourism in the Southwest, the ATSF and Harvey Company popularized a vision of Southwest Indians as peaceful, picturesque, and vanishing. It has been argued that the tourist encounter was essentially consumptive, with Indians providing both goods to be purchased and a spectacle to be viewed. Indian people were apparently voiceless in the encounter.<sup>52</sup> However, Indian people clearly had an investment in the exchange of tourist goods. As was the case with Indian participation in the Wild West Shows, International Expositions, and various commemorative celebrations such as the Cabrillo Festival and the Serra Museum Dedication Pageant in San Diego, it provided them with access to the dominant culture and cash economy. It provided motivation for continued production of traditional crafts and, in some cases, has provided Indian potters with new cultural and economic authority in traditional communities.<sup>53</sup>

Both collector and tourist influences on craft production can be seen in the market for pottery vessels in Alta and Baja California. While the University of California Berkeley Ethnographic and Archaeological Survey was collecting artifacts and ethnographic data from the Mojave, the Mojave potters were selling pottery items to tourists at the Needles train

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<sup>52</sup> Leah Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest, Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past*, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), 79.

<sup>53</sup> Barbara A. Babcock, “At Home, No Women Are Storytellers: Potteries, Stories, and Politics in Cochiti Pueblo,” *Journal of the Southwest* 30, no. 3 (1988): 356-389.

station.<sup>54</sup> As described earlier in this chapter, collectors and ethnographers had visited the Cahuilla since the turn of the century. The Cahuilla in the town of Palm Springs were particularly well situated to capitalize on the tourist market. In the 1930s, the Indian agent was encouraging local storekeepers to sell pottery and baskets to provide the Cahuilla an income from their crafts. In the late 1930s, public Indian fiestas convinced the City of Palm Springs it could profit from Indian culture.<sup>55</sup> Whatever effect the tourist market had on the pottery technology from these areas, it provided additional income to the Indian communities. While the men had access to the labor market and sometimes to trade in archaeological artifacts, the women could access the cash economy through craft production. The Cahuilla manufacture of pottery for the tourist trade continued into the 1940s.

The late nineteenth/early twentieth century was a period of rapid transformation of Indian culture. Although many Indian men had worked as laborers and Indian women as domestics, Indian people had also relied upon traditional culture to adapt to the Anglo world. This is clearly reflected in the trade of pottery to Anglos, where traditionally-made pottery vessels were common items of manufacture and exchange from the earliest mission times until the twentieth century. As a utilitarian item or an ethnographic artifact, traditionally-produced pottery was often a medium of gaining access to Anglo culture and the cash economy. However, as the market requirement changed from “authentic artifact” to “work of art,” Indian pottery producers altered the traditional pottery-making technology. These alterations paralleled overall attitudes towards the adaptability of traditional culture to twentieth century Anglo world as major shifts in traditional lifeways occurred after mid-century.

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<sup>54</sup> A. L. Kroeber, “Ethnographic Analysis,” in “Mojave Pottery,” A. L. Kroeber and Michael J. Harner, *University of California Anthropological Records*, 16, no. 1 (1955): 2.

<sup>55</sup> Lowell John Bean and Sylvia Brakke Vane. “Ethnography and Ethnohistory,” in *Archaeological, Ethnographic, and Ethnohistoric Investigations at Tahquitz Canyon, Palm Springs, California*, Lowell John Bean, Jerry Schaefer, and Sylvia Brakke Vane, V-1-307, (Menlo Park: Cultural Systems Research, Inc., 1995), V-259, 264, 306.

## CHAPTER VIII

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Adaptation to changing environmental and cultural circumstances has characterized ten thousand years of Kumeyaay Indian history. Exchange developed as a key component of the adaptive strategy, allowing Indian peoples to develop reciprocal political and cultural networks that allowed for survival in a constantly changing world. Prehistorically, pottery was adopted in the last millennium, facilitating transportation of goods, food and water storage, cooking, and ceremonial activities. Pottery was an integral part of ceremonial gatherings where exchange took place.

Exchange also became the primary adaptation strategy in dealing with the European incursion. Early encounters with Spanish and Anglo explorers were characterized by exchange, where European goals of missionization and colonization encountered Indian goals of acquiring knowledge and evaluating possibilities for adapting to the change the Europeans brought. At later Spanish and Anglo frontier settlements, Indian-produced pottery fulfilled essential utilitarian functions when European goods were unavailable or unsuitable. Pottery was produced by Indian potters using traditional technologies, either at the missions or ranchos for on-site use, or in Indian communities for trade. Persistent archaeological discoveries of Colorado buff ware in these early settlements indicate that, as it had prehistorically, pottery continued to be traded along the ancient travel routes between the Colorado River and the Pacific Ocean. Pottery production technology—focused on essential storage and cooking functions and traded within traditional exchange modes—continued relatively unchanged until the late nineteenth century. Correspondingly, this evidence suggests, the cultural framework within which traditional pottery continued to be produced and traded also remained little changed.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, traditionally produced pottery was still in use in back country Indian communities and some forms, such as water cooling ollas and cook pots, were traded to ranch families. Occasionally, decorated and unusual forms

were gifted to Anglos to confirm friendships and it appears, as it had been traditionally, to establish reciprocal relationships. However, the major trade in traditional pottery after the turn of the twentieth century was the result of the search by ethnographers, collectors, and tourists for the artifacts and art of “vanishing” Indian cultures. These Anglo/Indian trade encounters communicated underlying cultural expectations of the nature of Indian craft. The sponsors of exhibitions, ethnographers, and collectors were interested in “authentic” Indian artifacts, which encouraged the sale not only of pottery vessels produced and used in Indian communities, but those taken from archaeological sites, caches, and burial locations. The evidence demonstrates that Indian peoples produced traditional pottery and participated in these encounters to gain access to the Anglo world and to the twentieth-century cash economy.

As celebrations and pageants provided opportunities for Indian people to visit urban areas, and as Indian relief projects and the collector market resulted in Anglos visiting rural Indian communities, potters began to make changes in traditional forms and decorations in response to consumer expectations. One potter, Was Hilmawa, was associated with the prominent collectors, artists, and archaeologists of early twentieth century San Diego. For them she produced highly decorated modified pottery vessel types in response to expectations of pottery as artifact and art. Similarly, many of the potters of Santa Catarina in Baja California have made substantial changes to traditional technologies in response to consumer desires.

The review of the history of pottery making in this thesis illuminates the relationship between traditional technology and culture change. In spite of the drastic change in lifeways brought about by incorporation of Indian people into the missions, pottery technology, and the traditional trade networks along which it traveled, remained little changed until the mid-twentieth century. Given other aspects of agency and resistance that have been suggested by recent historians, the nearly complete retention of traditional pottery technology lends strong support to the argument that Indians in the mission system retained and relied on large portions of their traditional culture for survival. The early pottery trade with European and American settlers also resulted in little change in technology, and presents strong evidence that, rather than being heavily acculturated, Indian people were incorporating trade with

settlers into their own traditional exchange and subsistence patterns. By the twentieth century, however, there was a fundamental shift in the traditional pottery technology and Indian potters begin to incorporate Anglo artistic and exotic expectations into their craft. Although an adaptive strategy as well, production of decorated pottery for sale parallels other contemporary disconnects with traditional culture brought about by government assimilationist policies and the desire by Indian people to participate in the Anglo world.

However, the persistence of traditional pottery production through two hundred years of overpowering impacts from Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo settlement, highlights the remarkable adaptability and resiliency of Kumeyaay culture. As evidenced by the persistence of traditional pottery technology, for two hundred years the Kumeyaay were able to adapt to massive changes brought by the Europeans and largely maintain the integrity of their traditional culture.

### **Implications for the Future**

The change in the technology, to produce pottery as art and collectable, suggests a corresponding fundamental change in traditional culture. Because pottery making is heavily intertwined with cultural tradition, the adoption of new production methods and styles is likely to have profound cultural implications. In Santa Catarina, only one elder is producing pottery for use. The younger women are producing innovative items for the cash market. And the reality is that access to the cash economy is providing income to provide for their families. In Santa Catarina, money received for pottery and pottery classes has allowed the potters to provide food, clothing, and supplies for their children. Access to the cash economy and travel is also likely to affect issues of status, particularly for women potters.

Tradition and innovation are conflicting concepts that Indian peoples are realizing they need to deal with thoughtfully and carefully. In the late twentieth century, Alta California Indians are renewing and reclaiming their traditions. Indian artists iterate modern cultural issues in stories, poetry, song, painting, sculpture, and art. Indians participate strongly in local and national museum events and exhibits. Indian crafts have undergone widespread revivals. The California Indian Basketweavers Association meets regularly with members throughout California. California Indian pottery, restricted to Southern California

and northern Baja California, has been revived on a smaller individual scale. David Largo, Cahuilla Indian from Santa Rosa Reservation, researched pottery production methods in the early 1990s and became well known for his paddle-and-anvil pottery. Indian “Big Times” gather people together for craft exhibitions at cultural events and many communities host educational workshops to facilitate transmission of knowledge from the Tribal elders to the Tribe’s young people. Many of these events involve Indian peoples from Alta and Baja California. In gathering people together and reestablishing cultural relationships, these ceremonies share many characteristics with those of the prehistoric past. Clearly craft production such as basketry and pottery, even in its recreated or modified forms, is still seen as an integral part of Indian culture today.

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**ABSTRACT**

## **ABSTRACT**

Adaptation to changing environmental and cultural circumstances has characterized ten thousand years of Kumeyaay Indian history, culminating in adaptation over the past two hundred and fifty years to the impacts of European settlement. Pottery is a traditional Kumeyaay craft that continued to be produced from Spanish times until the twentieth century. Kumeyaay potters produced utilitarian vessels, indistinguishable from those of prehistoric times, at Spanish missions and Mexican ranchos, and for early American frontier settlements. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Kumeyaay were still producing traditional pottery for trade or sale to collectors, ethnographers, and museums. The last pottery to be produced in the early twentieth century was sold to art collectors and tourists, and incorporated non-traditional technologies, forms, and decorations. The Paipai potters, whose history inspired this thesis, continue today to produce pottery for the tourist trade in Baja California. The continuance of the Indian pottery tradition for over two hundred fifty years is strong evidence for the strength and continuity of Kumeyaay traditional cultural and the resistance to acculturation into European and American society.



## ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Kumeyaay and Paipai Pottery  
Through the Historical Period in Alta and Baja California

by

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San Diego State University, Summer 2004

Adaptation to changing environmental and cultural circumstances has characterized ten thousand years of Kumeyaay Indian history, culminating in adaptation over the past two hundred and fifty years to the impacts of European settlement. Pottery is a traditional Kumeyaay craft that continued to be produced from Spanish times until the twentieth century. Kumeyaay potters produced utilitarian vessels, indistinguishable from those of prehistoric times, at Spanish missions and Mexican ranchos, and for early American frontier settlements. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Kumeyaay were still producing traditional pottery for trade or sale to collectors, ethnographers, and museums. The last pottery to be produced in the early twentieth century was sold to art collectors and tourists, and incorporated non-traditional technologies, forms, and decorations. The Paipai potters, whose history inspired this thesis, continue today to produce pottery for the tourist trade in Baja California. The continuance of the Indian pottery tradition for over two hundred fifty years is strong evidence for the strength and continuity of Kumeyaay traditional cultural and the resistance to acculturation into European and American society.