NOTES

1. Powers' evaluation of the reservations is not overdrawn. Compare with the assessment made by J. Ross Browne, a federal appointee, in Crusoe's Island: a Ramble in the Footsteps of Alexander Selkirk, with Sketches of Adventure in California and Washoe. Harper, New York, 1867, pp. 284-308.

2. Powers here gives us a description of the conditions of fieldwork in 1872, as well as the attitudes of his informants.

3. Powers' simple and direct method proved to be generally effective as far as distinguishing language stocks or families, but it did not always indicate dialects or tribes. In Powers' Tribes of California (1877: Appendix, pp. 439-613) is an extensive collection of vocabularies, many of them recorded by Powers, which are divided by J.W. Powell, who organized the Appendix, into 13 "families." Powell, using this sample of 80 words lists failed to identify Yurok and Wishosk (Wiyot) as being related; Wintun-Mutsun-Yokuts-Maidu as related; and Shasta-Achomawi as related languages. For sketch histories of linguistic classification in California see R.F. Heizer, Language, Territories and Names of California Indian Tribes (University of California Press, 1966) and W. Shipley, "California" (in Current Trends in Linguistics, No. 10, pp. 1046-1078, 1974).

4. The names of California Indian groups number in the thousands. This abundance is partly due to confusion over assigning as tribal names the names of villages or small village communities (also called "tribelets"). And, since every tribe was named by its neighbors, the number is thereby multiplied. A majority of the designations of California tribal groups have been listed and identified in F.W. Hodge, Handbook of North American Indians (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, Part 1, 1907; Part II, 1910). To locate the standard form of the name the reader should begin by consulting the "synonymy" which starts on p. 1021 of Part II. Useful also is the "General Index" in Kroeber's Handbook, pp. 973-995 which will guide the reader to standard names of tribal groups.

5. Powers' thumbnail sketch of Karok personality is remarkably close to that which A.L. Kroeber ("Yurok National Character," University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology 47: 236-240, 1959) draws for their downstream neighbors, the Yurok. This series is cited hereafter by its acronym: UCPAAE.

6. Allicocheek (Alequa, Indian; tsik, money) is the curved white shell of Dentalium indianorum secured in trade from tribes to the north along the coast.

7. While quite abbreviated, this is an accurate description of the operation of native law in northwestern California through the payment of blood money to satisfy a killing. For more details see A.L. Kroeber (Handbook of the Indians of California. Bureau of

American Ethnology, Bulletin 78: Chap. 2, 1925). This volume is cited hereafter as Handbook.

8. This is an accurate description of the system of bride purchase which prevailed not only among the Cahroc (Karok), but also the neighboring Hupa, Yurok and Tolowa. See Kroeber Handbook: 28-32.

9. This description is a fairly standard one as regards the assignment of work to one sex or the other. For details see N. Willoughby, "Division of Labor Among the Indians of California." University of California Archaeological Survey, Report No. 60: 7-79, 1963.

10. For the institution of the sweathouse and the ritual as well as secular activities connected with it in northwestern California, see Kroeber, Handbook: 80-83. Powers' "Lapitean" is a printer's error for Lafitau (J. F.) whose Moeurs des sauvages ameriquains, comparees aux moeurs des premiers temps. (Paris, 1724, 2 vols.) was once widely read and quoted.

11. Powers correctly observed that men did not sleep at night in the plank dwelling houses where their wives and children stayed, but rather in the sweathouse. This practice had the effect of reducing, perhaps wholly preventing, pregnancies except during the summer so that children were born in the spring. P.E. Goddard (Life and Culture of the Hupa. UCPAAE 1: 50, 1904), and A. L. Kroeber (Handbook: 44) record this custom for the Hupa, Yurok and Sierra Miwok. Some early observers (e.g. C. Meyer in 1851) interpret this as evidence of a rutting season like that of lower animals.

12. This is the World Renewal ceremony practiced by a number of northwestern California tribes. The fullest account of this cult system is by A. L. Kroeber and E. W. Gifford, World Renewal (University of California Anthropological Records 13, 1949). This series is cited hereafter as UC-AR.

13. The ritual cutting by men of tree limbs to be used as firewood in the sweathouse was first noted by George Gibbs in 1851 who originally thought the trimmed trees were "signal or telegraph" trees (R. F. Heizer, ed. George Gibbs' Journal of Redick McKee's Expedition through Northwestern California in 1851. Archaeological Research Facility, 1972: 59-60, note 60), but later learned their true nature (R. F. Heizer, ed. Observations on the Indians of the Klamath River and Humboldt Bay. Archaeological Research Facility, 1973: 8, note 16). Kroeber (Handbook: 41) discusses this ritual tree-trimming.

14. Shamans or curing doctors have the ability to extract from the body of a sick person the intrusive object which is causing pain. The use of an emetic is not otherwise known to me to be reported.

15. This is wholly consistent with northwestern California Indian ideas of the intelligence of salmon and of the required ceremonial purity of equipment employed in catching this fish.

16. Powers is probably incorrect in suggesting that the picket fences enclosing graves was a feature copied from the Americans. J. Goldsborough Bruff in 1850 saw and sketched such graves at Trinidad Bay.

17. This is a reference to the 1870 Ghost Dance introduced to the Karok in 1871. For a commentary on Powers' story of Klamath Jim see C. DuBois, The 1870 Ghost Dance. UC-AR 3(1), 1939: 15-16.

18. For a full survey of fishing methods and appliances in this area see A. L. Kroeber and S.A. Barrett, Fishing Among the Indians of Northwestern California (UC-AR 21 (1), 1960.

19. Se Note 8, supra.

20. This carved wooden figure, a sketch of which is given elsewhere by Powers (Tribes of California, 1877: Fig. 4) is explained as "a plank erected by a murderer to draw to itself the curses wished upon him by the relatives of his victim. It might be very slightly shaped in silhouette to suggest a human being" by A. L. Kroeber (Yurok Speech Usages," in Culture and History, S. Diamond, ed. Columbia University Press, 1960: 997).

21. On these see P.E. Goddard, "Wayside Shrines in Northwestern California." American Anthropologist 15: 702-702, 1913.

22. On the number and sites of Yurok villages see A. L. Kroeber (Handbook: 8-13) and T. T. Waterman. (Yurok Geography. UCPAAE 16 (5), 1920). A newer calculation of the relationship of native population numbers to salmon streams is by M.A. Baumhoff (Ecological Determinants of Aboriginal California Populations. UCPAAE 49 (2), 1963).

23. It is remarkable that Powers recognized that the Wappo and Yuki languages were related. In this same paragraph Wy-Tackee is a misprint for Wy-Lackee (i.e. Wailaki).

24. The Yuki physical type is highly distinctive. See E.W. Gifford ("Californian Indian Types." Natural History 26: 50-60, 1926).

25. Powers' estimate of 1,520,000 Indians in California before 1769 (the year of first Spanish settlement) is surely too large. Baumhoff (cited in Note 22) gives 6,880 for the population of the Yuki tribes who occupied not only Round Valley but also a portion of Eel River. The wild oats (Avena) are undoubtedly a European plant introduced to California along with agriculture after the establishment of the missions. We thus see that the basis for Powers' computation was not a very solid one.

When J.W. Powell agreed to publish Powers' Tribes of California he attempted to get Powers to reduce his revised population estimate of 705,000 which had been published in 1875 (S. Powers, "Californian Indian Characteristics." Overland Monthly 14: 297-309, 1875). Having reduced his 1872 estimate by fifty percent Powers refused to go further in this direction, and in November, 1876 wrote to Powell, saying "...I have waded too many rivers and climbed too many mountains to abate one jot of my opinions or beliefs for any carpet-knight who wields a compiling-pen of the _____ or _____. If any critic, sitting in his comfortable parlor in New York, and reading about the sparse aboriginal populations of the cold forests of the Atlantic States, can overthrow any of my conclusions with a dash of his pen, what is the use of the book at all?" (S. Powers, Tribes of California, 1877: 2-3). The figure of 705,000 is the one Powers used in Tribes of California (p. 416).

26. A Green Corn Dance to celebrate the maize crop (probably on the Round Valley Reservation) may be an introduced feature, or an adaptation of the aboriginal First Acorn rite.

27. Powers' account of Round Valley Reservation is not exaggerated. Compare with J. Ross Browne (cited in Note 1, supra).

28. After U.S. Grant took office as President he instituted what came to be known as the "Quaker Policy" where Indian Agents were selected from sectarian denominations. The California Superintendency was awarded to the Episcopalians. Reservation affairs do not seem to have been much improved by this move, as can be judged by reading the Annual Reports of the Commissioner on Indian Affairs, 1869-1881. See also L. Tatum, Our Red Brothers and the Peace Policy of President Ulysses S. Grant (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1971).

29. So far as I know this incident is not otherwise supported by reliable historical or ethnographic record. Since suicide was not a practice among aboriginal Californians the story sounds odd.

30. On Pomo dialects and tribelets see O.C. Stewart (Notes on Pomo Ethnogeography. UCPAAE 40(2), 1943).

31. "Kaipomo" is a Pomo word meaning Valley People (Kroeber, Handbook 154) and refers to the tribe called Kato or Cahto which spoke an Athabascan language. Despite Powers' clear statement that they are not Pomo, P.E. Goddard ("The Kato Pomo Not Pomo." American Anthropologist 5: 375-376, 1903) felt it necessary to finally clear up the confusion.

32. California Indian tattooing is usually confined to the face, especially the chin area. Tattoos such as described by Burleigh to Powers was definitely not Californian. In Spanish times some Nootka and Koniag were brought to California, baptized, and

became residents of the missions. These northerners made liberal use of tattooing elaborate crest designs on the body, and if the Burleigh report is true, the fallen warrior may have been such a former mission neophyte, who, after secularization, went to live with the Pomo. Or, he could have been a person formerly attached to the Russian colony at Ross, situated in the territory of the Southwestern Pomo who after 1841 when the Russians abandoned California, took up residence with the Pomo.

33. The game is described by later ethnographers as shinny. See E. M. Loeb (Pomo Folkways, UCPAAE 19(2), 1926: 217-218).

34. Despite the Indian report there can be no question over the fact that wild oats (Avena) were introduced to the New World after its discovery by Europeans. It is barely possible that oats, as weeds, spread northward from Mexico in advance of the first Spaniards to enter California by land in 1769.

35. There is no evidence, of course, that this speculation has any real basis.

36. In this statement Powers is in disagreement with A. L. Kroeber (Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America. UCPAAE 38, 1939: Table 7) where the Valley and Foothill Yokuts population is given as 18,000 and the Plains and Foothill Miwok at 9,000.

37. The story of Old Sam is interesting. He may have been a thinking person who was trying to guide his tribal mates into a better accomodation with the whites. Such a person is unlikely to have been much listened to in aboriginal times before the Gold Rush brought such devastation on the native societies.

38. Here again we may see the emergence of a strong leader who was able to hold his people together in the difficult times of the Gold Rush.

39. The killing of one of a pair of twins was widely practiced by California Indians.

40. This may be a credible native report of an earthquake which formed a particular geographical feature. Others are reported which are clearly imaginary, the best known of which is the Costanoan myth that San Francisco Bay was originally a freshwater lake which was opened to the sea by an earthquake which formed the Golden Gate.

41. Powers does provide this list in his Tribes of California (1877: Chap. 34).

42. For a thorough list of native occupation spots in Yosemite Valley see C. Hart Merriam "Indian Village and Camp Sites in Yosemite Valley." (Sierra Club Bulletin 10: 202-209, 1917).

43. For a description of this area by Powers see "A Pony Ride on Pit River." Overland Monthly 13: 342-351, 1874.

44. A detailed account of the gathering of this plant is by F. B. Colville, "Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians," Report of the U. S. National Museum 1902: 725-739.

45. These are events connected with the Modoc War which broke out in November, 1872. For details see R. Dillon, Burnt-Out Fires. Prentice-Hall, 1973.

46. More correctly, Captain Henry M. Judah of the 4th Infantry, stationed at Fort Jones.

47. Powers is completely correct in saying this. It is attested for nearly every California tribe that the bodies of persons dying away from home are cremated and the ashes returned for burial in the village where the individual lived.

48. In this estimate A. L. Kroeber (Handbook: 474) agrees when he says, "The Yokuts are unique among the California natives in one respect. They are divided into true tribes. Each has a name, a dialect, and a territory."

49. The Yokuts "prophet," Nayackaway, seems somewhat like Old Sam, mentioned above (see Note 37).

50. Yokuts rainmakers (or perhaps better, weather controllers). See F. Riddell, "Notes on Yokuts Weather Shamanism and the Rattlesnake Ceremony." Southwest Museum Masterkey 29: 94-98, 1955.

51. The Rattlesnake Ceremony is described in more detail by Kroeber (Handbook: 504-506),

52. These little "sand maps" are described in more detail in R. F. Heizer, "Aboriginal California and Great Basin Cartography." University of California Archaeological Survey. Report No. 41: 1-9, 1958.

53. The Nishinam (i.e. Nisenan) are the Southern Maidu. See R. L. Beals, Ethnology of the Nisenan. UCPAAE 31 (6), 1933.

54. Since this is an area of vulcanism, it is possible that the myth reflects some actual incident of an eruption in the past. Compare Note 40.

55. The Nozes are better known as the Yana.

56. The Mill Creeks are the southernmost of the Yana people, named Yahi. Ishi was a Yahi, and this little sketch of the last survivors may refer to his immediate ancestors.

57. On the capturing of Indian children and "apprenticing" them to white masters under the "Act for the Government and Protection of Indians" of 1850, see R. F. Heizer

and A. J. Almquist, The Other Californians. University of California Press, 1971: 39-58, 212-215.

58. By 1871 or 1872 when Powers made this observation, it is quite possible that some Caucasion tattoo expert had applied this design to the cheeks of an Indian woman. There is no indication that such designs were part of the aboriginal practices.

59. Patwin occupancy of the left (i.e. east) bank of the Sacramento River is supported by Kroeber, The Patwin and Their Neighbors. UCPAAE 29(4), 1932: map at end.

60. An early version of this myth is by H. B. D., "Tradition of the California Indians." Hesperian Magazine 3: 326, 1859.

61. The ethnobotanical study of the Nisenan presented here is the first one ever published for a California tribe. It also appears in Tribes of California (1877: 419-427). Readers wishing to check Powers' botanical identifications and native names will find a list in Beals (op. cit. in Note 53), pp. 352-353 useful. Powers was the first California ethnobotanist. In addition to the Nisenan study, he did a similar one for the Yokuts in 1875 which is printed in Tribes of California (1877: 427-431) and another for the Northern Paiute of Pyramid and Walker Lakes, Nevada (Powers 1970: 138-140).

62. At the outset, it can be said that there is no apparent merit in Powers' argument (summarized in the last paragraph) that there was anciently established a Chinese colony near Healdsburg and the people later spread out from this spot in all directions. There is no clear hint in his earlier writings, reprinted here, that he held this idea. It is possible that having concluded his 1871 and 1872 field researches and written the 13 articles for the Overland Monthly, and with the hope or prospect of organizing these into a book, he believed that he should offer some theory on the origin of the California Indians. To merely say that they were part of the larger American Indian population may have seemed to him unsatisfactory. In any case, this article postdates the tribal sketches published in the Overland Monthly, and is apparently an effort by him to propose a theory of Indian origins.

The "Indo-Chinese Study" was objected to, it seems, according to what he says in a following article printed in Proceedings of the California Academy of Sciences in 1875, and in which he defends his Chinese origin hypothesis by referring to prehistoric artifacts from California which are of forms no longer made by the recent tribes.

The 1874 "Indo-Chinese Study" does not appear in Tribes of California (1877), either because Powers felt it was not defensible, or possibly because Powell did not think it was appropriate.

63. In this article, written as an answer to critics of his Atlantic Monthly article of 1874, Powers cites archaeological materials to prove that the California Indians have "degenerated" from a more developed culture of earlier times.

In Tribes of California (1877) there appears in Chapter XXXIX entitled "Supplementary Facts" much of the present article, but with the omission of all references to his Indo-Chinese origin theory.

Even though we cannot give much credit to Powers' theory or even to its defense, it is nevertheless a fact that in so proposing and arguing, Powers became the first person to offer an anthropological theory in California.

64. Here we have a third article written after the publication of the numbered Overland Monthly series. There can be little doubt that Powers wrote this article for inclusion in his forthcoming volume Tribes of California. It is an effort to summarize what he had learned and to present it as a general review of California Indians in a manner which would set it apart from the tribal sketches which had earlier appeared in the same journal. Portions of this article appear in different places in Tribes.

What we see here is the reporter's objective evaluation of California Indians and their cultures -- the good along with the bad.

It is in this article that he amends his population estimate for California Indians to a figure of 705,000 -- the number he decided upon and which appeared (over Powell's objections) in the Tribes volume.

65. Although this article deals partly with the Indians of Nevada, it is reprinted here in its entirety. As Powers explains in the opening paragraph, his appointment as Special Commissioner in 1875 gave him an opportunity to continue his earlier studies of 1871-72. Some of what he reports here was included in the Tribes manuscript not long before its publication.

In the last paragraph, it may seem that Powers is angling for a post with the Indian Bureau, but if so this never came to pass.

66. Here are reprinted those portions of Powers' second report of 1875 dealing with California Indians which remained unpublished until it was discovered by D. and C. Fowler and printed in Ethnohistory 17: 117-149, 1970.

As pointed out earlier, little of this (or the content of the Smithsonian Institution Annual Report for 1876 article) got into the Tribes volume which lacks separate chapters on the Washo and the Paiute of Inyo County.

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