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however, that they would have had more mercy on readers who are not intimately acquainted with the names and significance of the digs they summon up as evidence in their discussions. Maps would be a boon.

Linguists often give me a pain when they concentrate exclusively on the "snap, crackle and pop" of speech without any evident interest in what those phonemes suggest about cultural *foci* or historical movement. *Extending the Rafters*, however, has essays that transcend the noise level to convey something valuable to persons in other fields. Michael K. Foster relates ritualistic language to treaty protocol. Hanni Woodbury wrestles with the semantic problems of translation. Marianne Mithun and Wallace L. Chafe trace vocabularies to suggest the sequence in which Iroquois tribes split off from their common ancestral group, the Proto-Iroquoians. William C. Sturtevant, though oriented more strictly to ethnography, worries about finding the right word in English for Iroquoian customary procedures. A warning to non-linguists: In these essays much use is made of the phonetic alphabet.

Space limitations preclude further discussion, and some contributors, regrettably, have been missed. On the whole, nevertheless, *Extending the Rafters* fulfills its interdisciplinary promise with great merit in spite of the difficulties presented by the different vocabularies and alphabets of the separate disciplines. Some day, perhaps, we shall all be able to talk to one another in Standard English. That will be a great day.

Francis Jennings, Emeritus
Newberry Library

Indians of California: The Changing Image. By James J. Rawls. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984. 312 pp. \$19.95 Cloth.

In his preface James Rawls explains the reason for examining White cultural perceptions of California's Native Peoples. "White observers," he declares, "consistently described the California Indians as primitive people, but their attitudes toward the 'primitives' changed dramatically over the generations of contact." Powering this evolution of attitudes and images, he continues, "the engine . . . was the changing needs of the white

observers. . . . " Hence he intends to examine these changing images not as a way to perceive California Indian culture, ". . . but as a mirror in which to see the creators of the images and to understand the relations that they established with the Indians." In other words Professor Rawls designs to add a particular California case study to the body of literature about White racial concepts that includes, among other notable works, *Savages of America* by Roy Harvey Pearce and *The White Man's Indian* by Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr.

Like his predecessors, it needs to be added, Professor Rawls has intended to provide more than a study of stereotypes; he also intends to show the manner in which the dominant White images of the California Indians were translated into social policy and cultural institutions. He thus finds a clear pattern as Anglo-Americans secured their hold on California during the nineteenth century. To provide at first a moral justification for their imperialism, the earliest Anglo-American observers portrayed the California Indians as victims of Hispanic oppression. A new generation of Anglo-Californians, anxious to persuade their cultural peers to join their program of personal enrichment in the Golden West, identified the Natives as a useful class, a cheap labor force ready at hand. Then, so the argument continues, once the gold rush immigrants had secured Anglo-American power in California, White attitudes shifted to portray the California Indians simply as an obstacle to the continued expansion of Western civilization. An obstacle that might be eliminated either by sequestering California Indian survivors on small, carefully supervised reservations, or else by exterminating altogether the remnant bands of California's first Peoples.

No one who has labored over the source materials relating to California Indian history and Indian-White relations in California should hesitate to praise Professor Rawls for his prodigious effort in bringing together the materials for this study and for providing an interpretive scheme that will define a great many future research projects. Working at the Bancroft Library, he has diligently searched the published sources related to Anglo-American-California-Indian relations in California through the 1860s, and he has drawn from these sources the plain conclusions they require. From victim to worker to a degraded object of either Anglo-American pity or scorn, this hypothetical progression of attitudes does adequately outline the dominant pattern of

thought about California Indians that evolved among the incoming Anglo-Americans.

But, of course, Professor Rawls also invites criticism by the very clarity of his interpretation. To fit his evidence into a single simplified scheme the author has had to obscure the particularistic details that distinguish the differing patterns of Indian-White relations between one district and another throughout California. He has likewise blurred chronology in describing changes in White attitudes to keep within his sequential theme. And in some cases he has ignored topics that do not easily fit into his preconceived interpretation, such as the emergence of the "horse-thief Indians" in the San Joaquin Valley during the Mexican period and their resistance to Mexican and later Anglo-American expansion. In fact, portraying California Indians as passive victims, Rawls has closed his eyes to an impressive body of evidence that calls for a reconsideration of this stereotype, too readily accepting the viewpoint of his sources.

Evidence is here a key word. Because his research emphasized the contemporary published sources, pieced out with some pioneer reminiscences and other documentary materials from the Bancroft Library, Professor Rawls bases his treatment on a substantial effort that is nonetheless incomplete and imbalanced. He never makes clear the principles of selection that led him to examine some sources while slighting others. Among important documentary collections, published and unpublished, that he has not investigated, there may be listed the microfilmed correspondence of California officials and military officers in the War Department and Interior Department files in the National Archives, the California Indian War Papers in the State Archives, the Mariano Vallejo collection at the Bancroft Library (which includes valuable items dealing with Fremont's attitudes and policies toward the California Indians in 1846 and 1847), the various collections of John Sutter materials and the California documents in the *Official Records of the War of Rebellion*. Another remarkable omission is the autobiography of General George Crook, edited by Martin Schmitt, which gives us a sharp portrayal of Crook's hostile attitudes toward California Indians, translated into action during his campaign in the Pit River Country in 1857. The omission of these types of sources, apparently because Professor Rawls restricted his research to English

language materials in the Bancroft Library, raises the issue of covert bias in the study.

A second problem, pervasive in this work, is the author's uncritical attitude toward his evidence. Professor Rawls far too readily accepts the validity of newspaper accounts and other published reports as not only a mirror of White attitudes but as accurate statements of fact, overlooking the tenets of documentary criticism that are vital to a rigorous historical method. The extreme example is his acceptance of an entirely spurious document as a valid source, a document that purports to be the eyewitness account of a Russian fur hunter who was supposedly captured and imprisoned at a Franciscan mission. This document, located in the Bancroft Library and published in 1953, is a palpable fraud, passed off on Hubert Howe Bancroft by his Russian-born translator and researcher, Ivan Petrov. In it Petrov placed a fictional episode about the ghastly, brutal torture of California Indians by Spanish soldiers and priests that must be regarded as an extreme example of anti-Spanish, anti-clerical propaganda. From this very passage, unfortunately, Professor Rawls quotes at length on page 38 of his study, thereby perpetuating Petrov's fraud and shaping the perceptions of his readers toward an unwarranted conclusion.

Problems of this sort make it difficult to strike a reasonable balance in evaluating Professor Rawls' book. On the one hand he has looked at a vast amount of material. On the other hand he has missed other collections and other categories of primary evidence that bear directly on his subject. He provides us with a panoramic view of Anglo-American attitudes and actions toward the California Indians during a critical era; yet that view is foreshortened by the incompleteness of research and the uncritical attitude toward the sources. His interpretation has a grand sweep that will appeal to the public, yet it blurs the details in a way that should irritate other experts. In sum we have here a book of importance that provides a case study in the pitfalls of single-source historical research. For scholars the Bancroft Library is a nice place to visit but they shouldn't want to live there.

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