They Were Only Diggers: A Collection of Articles from California Newspapers, 1851-1886, On Indian and White Relations. Assembled and Edited by *Robert F. Heizer*. Ramona, California: Ballena Press *Publications in Archaeology, Ethnology, and History* No. 1, 1974. xi + 126 pp. $4.95.

The Destruction of California Indians. *Robert F. Heizer*, Ed. Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1974. x + 313 pp., photographs. $10.00.

Reviewed by GEORGE HARWOOD PHILLIPS
Department of History
University of California, Los Angeles

In recent years, Robert Heizer has published several collections of historical documents pertaining to California Indians. In 1974 he gave us two more collections—*They Were Only Diggers* and *The Destruction of California Indians*.

I am not sure that collections of documents, especially those that lack explanatory comments by the editor, serve the purpose which Heizer claims—to bring historical information of the California Indians to the general public. In *Diggers*, Heizer attempts to cover himself on this point by stating that "My failure to write a series of short chapters analyzing the information in the articles is one of choice, and I defend it on the grounds that many readers will prefer to have the original information rather than its rewriting" (p. v.). If this be the case—that readers prefer original information rather than its rewriting—then professional historians are presently working too hard. Perhaps they should return to the good old days, when they did little more than collect and publish old manuscripts. I'm afraid, however, that if this were to happen few people would read history (for better or worse), as I'm afraid few will read these collections. The historian's task is not only to gather information but to interpret it as well. Without interpretation there is no history, only raw data.

In an earlier work, *The Four Ages of Tsurai* (1952), Heizer and his associate John E. Mills at least introduced the documents that comprised the book. And in *The Other Californians* (1971), he and Alan Almquist wove a historical narrative around the documents that were quoted with great frequency and at great length. The latter work, as the title suggests, was to be about *the other* Californians, "a social history of non-Anglo ethnic groups in California's past" (p. vii). However, the book was actually about *the* Californians, that is, Anglo-Americans, and how they mistreated non-whites. There is valid information on non-white activity within the documents, but it needed to be extrapolated and interpreted. To the authors' credit, they did attempt to incorporate into the historical picture of California the activity of non-whites, something historians of the region have notoriously failed to do. But at the same time, they also demonstrated that anthropologists, like their colleagues in history, lack the methodological sophistication to present non-whites as active participants in the historical process.

If non-white history (ethnohistory if it deals with non-literate peoples) is truly a worthwhile undertaking, it must be more than a record of white mistreatment. It must examine the activity of non-whites as they responded to the mistreatment, and it must analyze how this response contributed to the shaping of history.

Writing non-white history is no easy task, and it is perhaps for this reason that recently Heizer has been content just to compile and edit documents. *Diggers* is a collection of newspaper articles written in the 1850s and 1860s. I have no quarrel with the way the documents are organized, but I am disturbed by Heizer's preference for northern California

accounts. Most of the articles are taken from the San Francisco *Bulletin* and the Sacramento *Union*. Important southern papers such as the San Diego *Herald* and the Los Angeles *Star* are generally ignored. These papers contain much valuable information on the Luiseño, Cupeño, Cahuilla, and Diegueño, especially during the 1850s. I also question the worth of several of the articles the editor included. Some tell us very little about Indians or their relations with the whites. For example, in *Diggers* a short article from the Sacramento *Daily Union* of November 10, 1858, reads as follows:

> There are troops at Fort Young and Salt Lake, from either of which places they could be marched to the Mohave Villages, and if placed under the direction of Major Heintzelman, we would teach those savages a lesson that will never be forgotten by their latest posterity [pp. 74-75].

American attitudes and policy can be detected in this statement, but we learn nothing about the Mohave and their relationship with the whites. Moreover, it is somewhat disconcerting to have the Mohave introduced, if only vaguely, and then quickly dropped. The next article deals with a white man who raped an Indian woman and then killed an Indian man who attempted to intervene.

The same criticism leveled at *Diggers* can be applied to *Destruction*—the documents deal mainly with northern California and are often irrelevant. *Destruction*, however, is a more ambitious undertaking in that it contains not only newspaper articles but letters of army officers, superintendents of Indian affairs, and Indian agents. But Heizer falls into the same trap with *Destruction* as he did with *The Other Californians* in that the documents often tell us much more about white men than about Indians. And, ironically, many of those who wrote the documents were quite sympathetic to the Indians. For example, in a letter to his colonel, an army captain expresses a genuine concern for the Indians in his district:

> I would respectfully call your attention to the necessity of publishing some decree forbidding all persons from trespassing upon the Indians, [as] there are some who go among them for no good purposes, get into difficulties with them, and are driven off [p. 8].

Statements such as this could give some readers the impression that the white man wasn't so bad after all. This impression, of course, is just the opposite of what Heizer intended to create. Only through the painstaking process of extrapolating relevant information from the documents and then weaving this information into a historical narrative could Heizer actually have achieved the goal he set for himself—to explain how the destruction of the California Indians came about. This task he was not willing to undertake. But, then, neither is anyone else.

The Costanoan Indians: The Indian Culture from the Mouth of the Sacramento River, South to Monterey and Inland Past the Salinas River. *R. F. Heizer,* Ed. Cupertino, California: California History Center, De Anza College, Local History Studies 18. 1974. 116 pp.

Reviewed by A. B. ELSASSER
R. H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology
University of California, Berkeley

Despite the splendid opportunities offered the Spanish missionaries to record the customs of the native Californians they were sent to convert to Christianity, with few exceptions little has come down to us from the padres or their contemporaries which tells of