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Ramona's Baskets: Romance and Reality

JUDITH K. POLANICH

Their baskets made out of split rushes are too well known to require description; but though waterproof, they were used only for dry purposes. The vessels in use for liquids were roughly made of rushes and plastered outside and in with bitumen or pitch, called by them sanot.

—Hugo Reid I¹

Despite Hugo Reid's confident words, the baskets he described, coiled bowls and asphaltum-coated water bottles, find no place in *Ramona's* pages.² Nor do the coiled trinket baskets so avidly sought by later collectors. Although seemingly atypical, *Ramona's* baskets are worthy of serious study because of the otherwise scanty record we have of Southern California basketry during the thirty years between Reid's 1852 account and the publication of *Ramona* in 1884. In this paper, I will review the descriptions of basketry in *Ramona* and discuss the literary accounts, basketry collections, and ethnographic experiences of Helen Hunt Jackson which may have inspired these passages. I will then analyze *Ramona* as an ethnohistorical record of Southern California basketry during the years in

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question. Finally, I will attempt to assess the influence that *Ramona* had on the "basket mania" which arose at the end of the century.³

HELEN HUNT JACKSON AND RAMONA

Helen Hunt Jackson began her writing career in 1865 at the age of thirty-five. During the next twenty years she produced "poems, travel sketches, children's stories, and essays under the gender-obscuring bylines of H.H. or Saxe Holm,"⁴ but in 1879 she attended a presentation that changed her life and gave us *Ramona*. She heard of the trials endured by the Ponca Indians at the hands of the U.S. government and was transformed into a dedicated reformer.

In 1881 she published *A Century of Dishonor*, a collection of tribal injustices.⁵ In 1883, as a result of this diatribe and her tireless campaign for Indian rights, she was appointed a commissioner of Indian Affairs and assigned to report on the condition of California's then-called Mission Indians. She wove the sights and stories encountered in California into the story of *Ramona*.⁶

RAMONA'S BASKETS

Baskets are unimportant both to the plot of the novel and to its heroine. In all, only the half dozen passing references to baskets described below are scattered throughout the book.

Child of an Indian woman and a white man, the fictional Ramona was raised by a Californio family who kept her parentage secret. When Alessandro, an Indian sheepshearer employed by the family, falls in love with Ramona he courts her with gifts, including a feathered basket. Ramona's guardian refuses permission to marry and reveals her secret identity, so the couple elope with their all belongings in a net. On the trip, Alessandro laments Ramona's lack of a basket hat to shield her forehead from the net's tumpline. Traveling through the San Pasqual Valley towards sanctuary, Ramona notes the large flat baskets holding grapes drying in the sun and the old women sitting on the ground weaving baskets. Later, Ramona admires the large woven outdoor granaries and hopes that Alessandro will make her one for their new home. Their baby is born and is cradled in a small version of the granary, set on legs. Finally, after the baby's death, as Alessandro's

reason crumbles under the assaults of post-Mission Indian reality, Ramona exchanges baskets and lace for flour at the store. The fictional Ramona was alienated from her Indian heritage and finally deserted it altogether after Alessandro's murder. She remained in many ways an outsider, a Californio maiden not an Indian.

And Alessandro had brought her beautiful baskets, made by the Indian women at Pala, and one which had come from the North, from the Tulare country [sic]; it had gay feathers woven in with the reeds, red and yellow, in alternate rows, round and round. It was like a basket made out of a bright colored bird.⁷

Rancho Camulos, home of the Del Valle family, is the acknowledged inspiration for the Moreno rancho of the novel.⁸ On Helen Hunt Jackson's visit to Camulos one morning in January of 1882, she soaked up the details of architecture and atmosphere which she then lavished on the fictional Ramona's home. Jackson must also have heard the dramatic true story of Guadeloupe Ridley, whose ancestry—an Indian mother and an Anglo father—and, more importantly, whose upbringing—adopted into a Californio family—are the formula for the tragedy of Ramona.⁹ Several other Camulos girls are reflected in the fictional account, but it is Guadeloupe's reality that provided the spark for the romantic inspiration of Ramona.

The Del Valle basket collection, too, may have inspired Helen Hunt Jackson. The collection of sixteen baskets was donated to the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History in 1934 by the family heirs.¹⁰ Most of the baskets are clearly from Southern California, but three unusual "foreign" baskets are from the north, from Sonoma County. They may have provided the idea for Alessandro's gift to Ramona.

In December of 1851 the heir to Camulos, Ygnacio Del Valle, married Ysabel Varela. For Ygnacio, this marriage was his second chance at a family. All his children from his previous marriage had died as infants, and in 1847 he lost his first wife in childbirth with his fifth child. Despite his new marriage, in January 1852 he had to leave his bride and travel north to attend to state business. On this trip, he spent the weekend as the guest of Mariano Vallejo at his Sonoma adobe. Family lore recounts that he borrowed his host's shirt and did not return it for thirty years.¹¹

Vallejo's shirt may have traveled south with other souvenirs of the weekend: the Pomo and Coast Miwok baskets now in the Del Valle collection. One Pomo basket is decorated with one-fourth real coins minted in 1843 and 1847. Miniature dolls and red, white, and blue dangles hang from the rim. Remnants of feather decoration may be seen on the outside, and clam shell disc beads complete the rim.

The Coast Miwok basket, now on permanent exhibit in the Native American Hall at Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, was once covered in feathers with a pattern of white glass beads and a rim of clamshell disc beads. This basket is very similar to several other baskets, two of which are documented. One, covered in red and black feathers, is from Sonoma Valley; the other, covered in red, yellow, and green, is from Stewart's Point in western Sonoma County.¹² Now at the State Department of Parks and Recreation, both were collected in the early twentieth century by Charles Wilcomb, but similar baskets were sailing from the Fort Ross landing as early as 1840 and are now in collections in Munich and Leningrad.¹³

The possibility that these baskets were given to Ysabel by Ygnacio on his return is suggested by the passage quoted above, when Alessandro brings a feathered "Tulare" basket to Ramona. This romantic episode may reflect another's exotic gift to his beloved: Ygnacio's gift to his bride, Ysabel.

A far more prosaic possibility is that Jackson was repeating the literary formula of earlier observers. Stephen Power's *Tribes of California*, in print since 1877, would have been familiar reading for Jackson.¹⁴ Of the half dozen extended references to basketry in Powers, two of them focus on feathered baskets, one from the Pomo and one from the Chukchansi Yokuts.¹⁵ The ease with which exotic feathered baskets captured the reader's imagination might have suggested Alessandro's gift, despite its obviously foreign origin.

Ramona laughed. "Do you remember the day you showed me how the Indian women carried so much on their backs: I did not think then that I would use it [the net] so soon. But it hurts my forehead, Alessandro. It isn't the weight but the strings cut. I couldn't have carried it much farther!"

"Ah, you had no basket to cover the head," replied Alessandro.¹⁶

From the intentional exoticism of feathered baskets to the commonplace of a basketry hat, Jackson's words underscore the diverse origins of *Ramona's* baskets. As early as 1778, engravings of Southern California Indians carrying burdens in nets, their heads protected with basket hats, circulated in Europe.¹⁷ Burden nets were part of the Southern California scenery, surviving into the twentieth century to be photographed by John Harrington as late as 1925.¹⁸ Basket hats from the tribes of the Transverse Range north of Los Angeles comprise a quarter of the Del Valle basket collection. Small and finely made, they made good collectibles for those Angelinos who—like the Del Valles, Coronels, and Helen Hunt Jackson herself—were sympathetic to Indian causes. Still in traditional use, the baskets provided protection from the tumpline or ready cash, depending on circumstance or need.

When they rode down into the valley, the whole village was astir. The vintage-time had nearly passed; everywhere were to be seen large, flat baskets of grapes drying in the sun. Old women and children were turning these, or pounding acorns in deep, stone bowls; others were beating the yucca-stalks, and putting them to soak in water; the oldest women were sitting on the ground, weaving baskets. There were not many men in the village now; two large bands were away at work, one at the autumn sheep-sheering, and one working on a large irrigating ditch at San Bernardino.¹⁹

This reference suggests the place that baskets found in the new economy brought by the white conquerors. While seed beaters and water bottles became scarce as the seed-gathering and mobile economy of traditional Indian life was supplanted by agriculture and wage labor, new uses were found for Indian baskets from one end of California to another. After the turn of the century, among the Pomo of the North Coast Range, traditional baskets were used to gather and dry hops.²⁰ Among the Western Mono of the Sierra Nevada, baskets used to winnow acorns also served in the bean fields.²¹ Whether winnowing beans or drying grapes, Indian baskets were still in use.

Helen Hunt Jackson probably observed this scene in her travels though Southern California. No details are given about the baskets in use or the ones in the making, but the description vibrates with life and internal evidence, suggesting that it was taken directly from Jackson's observations.

The paragraph points out another inevitable consequence of a wage economy: only the old women were making baskets. Young women could work as laborers or wash women and thus trade their labor for cash or commodities.²² Basketry became the province of the elderly, a circumstance which led to its decline but which also gave it authenticity in the following decades of collector mania.²³

Here and there, between the houses, were huge baskets, larger than barrels, woven of twigs, as the eagle weaves its nest, only tighter and thicker. These were the outdoor granaries; in these were kept acorns, barley, wheat, and corn. Ramona thought them, as well she might, the prettiest things she ever saw.

"Are they hard to make?" she asked. "Can you make them, Alessandro? I shall want many."²⁴

These outdoor granaries, too, must have been observed by Jackson. They were a picturesque part of life among the Southern California peoples she visited.²⁵ However, her choice of descriptive trope, comparing Indian weavers to eagles, is typical of the age.²⁶

In a rustic cradle, which Alessandro had made, under her direction, of the woven twigs, like the great outdoor granaries, only close woven, and of an oval shape, and lifted from the floor by four uprights of red manzanita stems, in this cradle, on soft white wool fleeces, covered with white homespun blankets, lay Ramona's baby, six months old, lusty, strong, and beautiful, as only children born of great love and under healthful conditions can be."²⁷

In contrast to the commonplace of granaries, the cradle for Ramona's baby seems unique. As described, the "rustic cradle" has no counterpart in other literary descriptions or museum specimens. Southern California baby cradles were normally constructed for carrying infants on the mother's back. A frame was constructed of wood and the infant bound into the wrappings with soft straps.²⁸ Ramona's cradle is clearly like the Anglo counterpart in which the infant is cradled, not bound, and free to move about. Since outdoor granaries were often lifted off the ground on a platform with legs,²⁹ Jackson may have invented the small version for the novel.

Although it seems entirely a creative artifact of the author, a departure from the reality and a flight into romance, there is some evidence that Jackson may have actually observed such a cradle and that the circumstances under which she saw it made its inclusion in *Ramona* inescapable:

Mary had taken her guest to see the interior of one of the picturesque adobe houses on the bluffs [at Saboba]. There Helen had seen a baby lying ill in a cradle of twigs woven together, and the mother praying silently over her. When Helen asked about a doctor, the young mother said with quivering lips, "We sent for one, but he refused to come."³⁰

The death of Ramona's baby when a doctor refuses to travel to the reservation is the final pivot point of *Ramona*. The baby's death is the blow which fells Alessandro and leads to his subsequent mental confusion, horse theft, and finally to his own murder. Despite the improbable construction of the cradle, Jackson may have observed something similar during her visit at Saboba. Exactly what it was remains to be seen.

[Ramona] had gone to the store and post-office several times, to exchange baskets or lace for flour...³¹

In the early 1880s, baskets were still being exchanged for commodities, as evidenced in the passage above. Those women who still made baskets could find a market for them among local shopkeepers and residents who were sympathetic to their needs. Money undoubtedly changed hands, but often food or clothing was offered instead.

The very localized nature of these transactions, between Indian women and their white patrons, produced collections of baskets characteristic of the social networks involved.³² These collections, made from local sources, reveal an influx of "foreign" baskets into nineteenth-century Los Angeles and point to a possible shortage of local products.

The Del Valle collection of sixteen baskets contains only five typical of traditional Southern California weavers. The remainder come from the north: three Pomo/Coast Miwok feathered baskets; one Yokuts basket; and the rest, including four hats, from Tubatulabal and Panamint Indians to the northeast. As the Del Valle rancho, Camulos, was at the south end of the Tejon pass, many of the baskets that found a home at Camulos

must have traveled that road. The local baskets are divided between those made for sale and those that survived from traditional life. Thus, the collection grew from baskets that were brought to the Del Valle family and, with the probable exception of the Pomo/Coast Miwok baskets, were not acquisitions of enthusiastic collectors.

Although we cannot be sure that Jackson actually saw the Del Valle baskets, they may have been described to her by her good friends in Los Angeles, the Coronels.³³ She spent many hours with the family and certainly saw their own collection. The Coronel collection, too—reportedly “presented to Don Antonio by the Chiefs of the different tribes in appreciation of his acts of kindness to them”³⁴—reflects the residue of traditional Southern California craft and products of neighboring tribes, in this case, tribes to the east as well as the north. Of the fifty baskets, an early exhibition catalog identifies only half as Mission.³⁵ The remainder come from the Pima and Apache to the east and the Paiute, Yokuts, and “Kern County” peoples to the north. Only one piece is from the far north, a “Hopa” (Hupa) basket.

RAMONA AND HELEN HUNT JACKSON'S BASKETS

...the mail brought [to Helen's home in Colorado Springs] laces, baskets, rugs, and handcraft of every kind that she had purchased on her California tour...³⁶

The Baskets

Helen Hunt Jackson's own collection, now at the Colorado Springs Pioneers Museum, has a profile remarkably similar to the Californio ranch collections. Of the eighteen baskets, eight are cataloged as Mission. Two baskets are Tlingit, one Hopi, one Panamint, and the remaining six are cataloged as Yokut (Yokuts), although some are made from materials more familiar to the Tubatulabal and Panamint.³⁷

Have you been up the Verdugo canon [sic] to get those two baskets I ordered from the old Indian woman there? I fear

she will think me a "lying white" if she does not get the money before long.³⁸

Jackson, however, cannot be characterized as a passive collector. Unlike the Del Valles and Coronels, Californio families resident among the Indians for many years, Jackson avidly sought out baskets on her travels through Southern California and, as evidenced above, apparently placed orders for baskets after her broken leg made traveling among the weavers impossible. Her collection is the result of active intent not passive propinquity. Nevertheless, she apparently collected only from the Indians among whom she traveled, not from secondary sources, giving us a firsthand look at what was available in the Los Angeles Indian community between 1880 and 1885.

The influx of foreign baskets into a basket vacuum is documented for other areas in California. Among the Miwok to the north, heavily repaired mush boilers originally made by the neighboring Western Mono, were in frequent use.³⁹ The Miwok had been devastated by the Gold Rush, their communities destroyed and their lands usurped by miners, while the Western Mono communities were less affected. Thus, the Western Mono could afford new baskets when theirs became worn, trading their castoffs to the neighbors. After the turn of the century, at the start of the basket boom, Western Mono baskets were often sold in nearby Yosemite where tourists were plentiful and purchased souvenirs.⁴⁰ The situation in Southern California may have been similar.

Illustrations

Wherever she went, Helen bought baskets and lace to be photographed for her magazine series.⁴¹

Jackson may have intended her collection to illustrate the articles she was writing, but there is every reason to believe that Jackson's trip through Southern California took place during an era before baskets had become an inevitable icon of California Indian identity. Popular illustrations of California Indians did not privilege baskets before 1890, as they did after the onslaught of basket mania. Of the 321 illustrations of California Indians known to have been made before 1880, only fifty-six depict baskets, many of them hats or baby baskets.⁴²

Popular impressions of California Indian life were equally informed by images of Indian houses and the spectacular landscape of which Indians were considered a natural part.

Jackson was accompanied on her California travels by Henry Sandham, an artist for *Century Magazine* who produced illustrations for the articles she sold to them.⁴³ *Ramona*, however, was first serialized for The Christian Union and Sandham's "Ramona" paintings did not appear until 1900, when the Pasadena Edition of the novel was produced. The paintings focus on the romantic episodes of the novel, not on the artifacts Helen was collecting.

Inspiration

From the spacious corner apartment,...every vestige of modern furnishings had been removed...for samples of those exquisitely wrought baskets of the Mission Indians of California...Place had been found, space abundantly conspicuous too, for specimens of drawn work, for which the tribal women of Saboba were and yet are particularly noted.⁴⁴

Jackson certainly used the baskets she collected as inspiration during her writing. Her studio in Colorado Springs, as described above by Davis, contained artifacts from many Indian groups in addition to the California baskets and lace. But *Ramona* was not written there. Ill and unwilling to face another Colorado winter, Jackson moved to the Berkeley Hotel in New York, bringing her collection with her to surround her during the actual writing of the novel:

I wish you could see my rooms [in New York]. What with Indian baskets, the things from Marsh's, and the antique rugs, they are really quite charming, luckily for me who have been shut up in them by the solid work.⁴⁵

However, it is evident that the passages in *Ramona* were only remotely connected to Jackson's collection itself. Her baskets were coiled bowls, trays, and trinket baskets, not *Ramona's* singular artifacts. The great paradox of her collection is that it provided inspiration for Jackson during the days she was writing about such different baskets. Ironically, the novel, with its few basket passages, helped generate the basket mania which

began in the early 1990s and occupied a generation of weavers throughout California.

RAMONA AND BASKET MANIA

...the amateurs and aesthetic collectors were first stimulated by Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson who visited all the mission tribes in 1883 as a special agent sent by Secretary Teller. She then gathered materials for *Ramona* and *A Century of Dishonor*, and collected baskets by the score. Her moves from one mission and rancheria to another were exactly announced by the arrival at her Los Angeles hotel of great nests and strings and crates of baskets.... In the years since, basket collectors have become legion; baskets have risen ten times in price, and New York's largest jeweler has vainly tried to keep a small supply on hand, easily getting thirty or forty dollars for the roly-poly meal-baskets Mrs. Jackson bought for the smallest silver bit.⁴⁶

It is evident that Jackson's personal collection did not itself generate the boom in basket collecting. However, *Ramona* did. Publication of *Ramona* brought sympathy for the plight of the Indian and a romantic glow to "California pastorale." In concert with a new appreciation for craftsmanship and use of natural materials fostered by the emerging arts and crafts movement, portrayal of Indians as worthy and romantic figures ushered in the era of great artifact collections. "Indian corners" became the vogue in domestic decoration.⁴⁷ Exhibitions and fairs featured Indian demonstrators.⁴⁸ Great museums employed agents to scour the remaining Indian encampments for artifacts.⁴⁹ Dealers thrived.⁵⁰ Before the 1880s and the publication of *Ramona*, few Euro-Americans sought Indian baskets.⁵¹ *Ramona* turned the tide in American sympathies and made Indians fashionable; thus their arts and crafts were collected.

Rosaria told me that the needle work upon the sheet was done by her mother who had been dead for many years and she did not like to sell it, but when I told her that my friend [Helen Hunt Jackson] was going to show it to the American people who did not know that the Saboba people were not wild Indians but could do just as beautiful things as we, she cheerfully yielded and told me I could send it.⁵²

If this passage is to be believed, Jackson evidently intended that baskets and lace, one indigenous, the other mission-taught, should demonstrate to Euro-Americans the worthiness of Indians.⁵³ The fine character of the artistry would stand for the high character of the Indian.⁵⁴ However, in creating Ramona and Alessandro as worthy, highly principled, and sympathetic figures, Jackson made Indian crafts respectable and collectible.⁵⁵

Jackson died the year after *Ramona's* publication. She did not survive to see the basket boom, an unintentional outcome of her creation.⁵⁶ Nor did she witness the marketing of the Cahuilla Ramona, Ramona Lubo.⁵⁷ Married to the doomed Juan Diego, whose death was the model for Alessandro's, she survived him and lived until 1922. After the publication of *Ramona*, she became a tourist attraction, selling baskets to tourists who were convinced that she was the "real Ramona."⁵⁸ In the popular mind, Ramona Lubo became the living artisan of Ramona's baskets.

CONCLUSIONS

As is readily apparent, the baskets known to Hugo Reid had disappeared by the time Helen Hunt Jackson reached Southern California thirty years later.⁵⁹ The coiled bowls (to hold dry foods) were apparently not in customary use. Few of the bowls in the Del Valle or Coronel collections show any sign of wear.⁶⁰ Water bottles were nowhere in evidence and are known best from archeological context.⁶¹

Ramona's pages may document the continued use of basket hats north of Los Angeles, use supported by their presence in collections. Baskets may also have been put to agricultural use, as seen in the grape harvesting passages. Rough "baskets," like the outdoor granary, continued to find domestic use among Indians, providing storage for the Indian families and picturesque village scenes for the traveler. The continuing tradition of coarse woven baskets may also have been adapted to new use, as suggested by the unique cradle described in *Ramona*. Baskets were sold, as they were to Jackson, or they could be traded for food, as with the fictional Ramona. Weaving continued, as *Ramona* testifies, but it may have been an activity restricted to the elderly.

Although indigenous weaving may have been at a low ebb, baskets were still in circulation and, as evidenced by the percentage of foreign baskets in the three collections discussed, they were entering the "basket vacuum" of the Los Angeles basin from the surrounding areas. The Coronel collection, "presented to Don Antonio by the Chiefs of the different tribes in appreciation of his acts of kindness to them,"⁶² clearly demonstrates the place that baskets held in interethnic ceremonial exchange. That the baskets may have been made by women in Arizona or Nevada did not negate their use as ethnic markers of Indian identity.

Baskets may still have been used in social transactions between Indians, as described in Alessandro's gift of the feathered basket, but they undoubtedly were used in commercial transactions between Indians and Anglo-Americans. Whatever their motives, local shopkeepers and visitors bought or traded for baskets, and local residents acquired small collections.

The way in which the three collections reflect their origins demonstrates the lack of intensity that characterized basket collecting before *Ramona*. In each case, the Mission baskets comprise about half of the collections. The Del Valle collection, from Camulos on the northern edge of Los Angeles, also has baskets from the Indians to its north and northeast. The Coronel collection, from El Retiro in eastern Los Angeles County, has additional baskets brought from Pima and Apache tribes in Arizona and Paiute peoples in Nevada by Cahuilla chiefs. Helen Hunt Jackson's collection, purchased throughout Southern California on her travels, contains Yokut baskets from the tribes to the north and a Panamint basket from the desert. All three collections contain at least one foreign "exotic." In the Del Valle collection, there are three Pomo/Coast Miwok baskets. In the Coronel collection of fifty, one is a "Hopa" [Hupa] from northwest California. In Helen Hunt Jackson's collection, two are Tlingit and one Hopi. This very low percentage of exotic specimens together with the weight of Mission baskets and residue of foreign baskets testifies to the character of baskets available in Southern California between 1850 and 1880, before the basket craze began.

Finally, following George Wharton James, I assert that Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona* helped to turn the tides of public opinion. By portraying Indians as admirable human beings, sadly defrauded by circumstance, she constructed the sentiment necessary to the Victorian housewife's collection of Indian crafts.

That the collecting craze did not include the Indian drawn work and laces which Helen collected as avidly as she did baskets and which inspired the acquisitive efforts of friends on her behalf, is beyond the scope of this article. By portraying Indians in a romantic light, she brought about a new attitude towards Indians. That it had consequences she never foresaw is undeniable. Despite her earnest efforts and virtuous intentions, *Ramona* ushered in a new era of objectification and appropriation, in which the crafts of Indians could be admired at the same time its makers were disenfranchised and in which baskets disappeared from Indian communities to take up residence in Victorian parlors and museum shelves. Some of *Ramona's* baskets are in the pages of the novel; some were the inspiration for Jackson's writing; and some were baskets yet unmade, for surely the baskets woven years later by Indian women for white customers under *Ramona's* influence are also *Ramona's* baskets.

The entire apartment bore an aspect of unmistakable, if unintended, barbaric splendor. There were in the large collection no baskets made by Ramona; because there never was a Ramona, save in the mind of the gifted author, nor did she ever pretend that there was.⁶³

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NOTES

1. Hugo Reid, "Letters on the Los Angeles County Indians, Letter No. 11, Traffic and Utensils," in Susanna Bryant Dakin, *A Scotch Paisano in Old Los*

Angeles: Hugo Reid's life in California, 1832-1852 derived from his correspondence (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1978 [1939]), 243-244. Hugo Reid's letters were first published in the *Los Angeles Star*, beginning on February 21, 1852. They have been reprinted several times, both prior and subsequent to Dakin, who provides a publication history to 1939. The original manuscripts are in the Antonio F. Coronel collection at the Sever Center for Western History, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History. Contra Dakin, the letters critical of the missions remain in the manuscript collection today.

2. Helen Hunt Jackson, *Ramona* (1884; reprint, New York: Signet Classic, 1988).

3. John M. Gogol, "The Golden Decade of Collecting Indian Basketry," *American Indian Basketry and Other Native Arts* 5 (1985): 12-29.

4. Michael Dorris, "Introduction," in Jackson, *Ramona*, vi. For a complete analysis of Jackson's impact on Indian reform, see Valerie Sherer Mathes, *Helen Hunt Jackson and Her Indian Reform Legacy*, American Studies Series, ed. William H. Goetzmann (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990).

5. Helen Hunt (H.H.) Jackson, *A Century of Dishonor: A sketch of the United States government's dealings with some of the Indian tribes* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1889).

6. *Ibid.*, 458-514, reprinted as an appendix, "Report on the Condition and Needs of the Mission Indians of California, Made by Special Agents Helen Jackson and Abbott Kinney, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs."

7. Jackson, *Ramona*, 109.

8. Wallace E. Smith, *This Land Was Ours: The Del Valles and Camulos* (Ventura: Ventura County Historical Society, 1977).

9. Smith, *This Land*, 162.

10. Del Valle Collection, Accession A.3580, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History.

11. Smith, *This Land*, 83.

12. California State Department of Parks and Recreation, Museum Resources Facility, Hall Collection of Indian Basketry of North America, No. 5947 and No. 6242.

13. Thomas C. Blackburn and Travis Hudson, *Time's Flotsam: Overseas Collections of California Indian Material Culture*, Ballena Press Anthropological Papers No. 35, ed. Thomas C. Blackburn (Menlo Park and Santa Barbara, California: A Ballena Press/Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History Cooperative Publication, 1990), 207, 151.

14. Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (1877; reprint, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976).

15. *Ibid.*, 187, 387-388.

16. Jackson, *Ramona*, 193.

17. Theodora Kroeber, Albert B. Elsasser, and Robert F. Heizer, *Drawn from Life: California Indians in Pen and Brush* (Socorro, New Mexico: Ballena Press, 1977), 70.

18. Alfred L. Kroeber, "Ethnography of the Cahuilla Indians," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, 8:2(1908): 43-44. See also photograph by John P. Harrington at Cupa, ca. 1925, fig. 4 in Lowell John Bean and Charles R. Smith, "Cupeno," *Handbook of North American Indians*, William C. Sturtevant, general editor, *Volume 8, California*, Robert F. Heizer, volume editor (Washington, DC: The Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 590.
19. Jackson, *Ramona*, 243.
20. Laura Fish Somersal, personal communication. Elsie Allen, *Pomo Basketmaking: a supreme art for the weaver* (Happy Camp, California: Naturegraph Publishers), 9-12, recounts work in the hop fields. For a general discussion of the employment of Indians in agriculture, see James J. Rawls, *Indians of California: The changing image* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984).
21. Judith K. Polanich, "Field Notes, Western Mono" (manuscript in possession of the author).
22. Rawls, "The Varieties of Exploitation," *Indians*, 109-134.
23. John W. Hudson, "Pomo Basket Makers," *The Overland Monthly* 21 (June 1893): 561-578.
24. Jackson, *Ramona*, 246.
25. Kroeber, "Cahuilla," 42-43, pl.2.[?]
26. Indians were often compared to animals in nineteenth century accounts. For an example certainly known to Jackson, see Powers, *Tribes*, 47, in which the "swarthy Yurok creeping on all fours out of their round door-holes" reminded him of black bears.
27. Jackson, *Ramona*, 251
28. Raul A. Lopez and Christopher L. Moser, *Rods, Bundles and Stitches: A century of Southern California basketry* (Riverside: Riverside Museum Press, 1981), 56.
29. Photograph by C.C. Pierce at Torres-Martinez Reservation, 1903. Figure 5 in Lowell John Bean, "Cahuilla," *Handbook of the North American Indians*, William C. Sturtevant, general editor, *Volume 8, California*, Robert F. Heizer, volume editor (Washington, DC: The Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 578.
30. "There Helen had seen a baby lying ill in a cradle of twigs woven together..." Evelyn L. Banning, *Helen Hunt Jackson* (New York: The Vanguard Press, 1973), 173-174.
31. Jackson, *Ramona*, 289
32. For a general discussion of changing patterns in collector behavior using examples from Northern California, see Dorothy K. Washburn, "Dealers and Collectors of Indian Baskets at the Turn of the Century in California: Their effect on the ethnographic sample," *Empirical Studies in the Arts* 2 (1984): 51-74. For Southern California examples, see Christopher L. Moser, "Collecting and Collectors," in Lopez and Moser, *Rods*, 162-207. For Central California, see Craig D. Bates and Martha Lee, *Tradition and Innovation: A basket history of the Indians of the Yosemite-Mono Lake Area* (Yosemite National Park: The Yosemite

Fund, 1990), 1-13.

33. George Wharton James, "The Coronels and the Author of *Ramona*," in *Through Ramona's Country*, 1908, by Edith E. Farnsworth (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1913), 309-313.

34. Coronel Collection, Accession A.110.58, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History.

35. Ibid.

36. Banning, *Jackson*, 197.

37. Helen Hunt Jackson Collection, Accession A-61, Colorado Springs Pioneers Museum, Colorado Springs, Colorado.

38. Carlyle Channing Davis and William A. Alderson, *The True Story of Ramona: Its facts, fictions, inspiration and purpose* (New York: Dodge Publishing Company, 1914), 182.

39. Bates and Lee, *Tradition*, 60.

40. Ibid., 73, 117.

41. Ruth Odell, *Helen Hunt Jackson* (New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939), 192.

42. Kroeber, Elsasser, and Heizer, *Drawn*.

43. Odell, *Jackson*, 192. Davis and Alderson, "Henry Sandham, the Artist of Ramona," in *True Story*, 234-255, provides a more complete account of their collaboration.

44. Davis and Alderson, *True Story*, 63-64.

45. Letter to "Co" (Abbott Kinney, her co-agent) in James, *Ramona's Country*, 336.

46. Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore, "Indian Baskets, *Harper's Bazaar*, 27(1894): 704-706. Cited in Washburn, "Dealers," 55.

47. Gogol, "Golden Decade," 15.

48. Curtis M. Hinsley, "The World as Marketplace: Commodification of the Exotic at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893," in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, *Exhibiting Cultures: The Politics and Poetics of Museum Display* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 344-365.

49. Otis Tufton Mason, "Aboriginal American Basketry: Studies in a Textile Art Without Machinery," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the Year Ending June 30, 1902* (1904; reprint, Glorieta, New Mexico: The Rio Grande Press, 1972), 541-545, provides a list of public and private collections amassed before 1902.

50. Washburn, "Dealers."

51. Bates and Lee, *Tradition*, 4.

52. Odell, *Jackson*, 189-190.

53. The Coronel Collection contains many examples of Indian-made lace and drawn work.

54. James, *Ramona's Country*, 215 et seq.

55. Washburn, "Dealers," 55. For general discussions of the changing white image of American Indians, see Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979) and Rawles, *Image*.

56. Odell, *Jackson*, 219.
57. Christopher L. Moser, *Native American Basketry of Southern California* (Riverside: Riverside Museum Press, 1993), 85.
58. James, *Ramona's Country*, 153-166.
59. Dakin, *Scotch Paisano*, 244.
60. Del Valle A.3580.34-1443 is such an exception. The basket has seen much use and was repaired sometime in its history with tar and cotton rags.
61. One such collection from Piru Canyon near Camulos, A. 3306 is housed at the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History. Most are heavy-duty coiled ware, probably used for large storage containers, but there are also twined water bottles like those described by Reid.
62. Coronel Collection Accession records.
63. Davis and Alderson, *True Story*, 65.