

## Scholars and Collectors Among the Sierra Miwok, 1900-1920: What Did They Really Find?

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From 1900 to 1920 anthropologists, scholars, and collectors traveled among the Northern, Central, and Southern Miwok of California's Sierra Nevada mountains. Racing to record a rapidly disappearing and changing culture, they failed to understand the complex changes which the Miwok had already experienced during the previous century, and sometimes misinterpreted or misunderstood the Miwok people they spoke with. In their efforts to collect data on an idealized, pre-contact past, they have provided us with valuable information about the Miwok people, yet they have left us with many puzzles.

Most of these ethnographers and collectors were apparently aware, to some extent, of the population loss that had taken place among the Miwok during the gold rush period. Yet they did not seem to have understood the full impact of those events, or of others that took place before and after the 1850s. By 1900 the Miwok people's culture had already changed drastically due to European and Euro-American influences.

Shortly after 1800, there were a few Spanish forays in Miwok territory in the Sierra Nevada foothills: these were of a transitory nature and had little impact on the Miwok (Cook 1943; 1960; 1962). A small number of Sierra Miwok peoples went to Missions, especially Santa Clara and San Juan Bautista during the 1820s (Randy Milliken pers. com. 1992). After California became a possession of Mexico in 1821, and the subsequent end of the mission system (1834-1836), there were pronounced consequences for Miwok people. Native people who had lived and worked for decades on mission lands left the missions. These people probably included not only Coastal people, but also San Joaquin River groups who had been at the missions since 1811-1816 and east-side San Joaquin tribes who came to the missions since 1822-1824. By the 1840s, deprived of former homelands which were now occupied by Spanish, Mexican, and Euro-American settlers, many of these people traveled to the Sierra foothills and

joined Miwok villages, importing their own, and Spanish, languages, foods, clothing styles, and technologies (Bates and Lee 1990:25-6; Bigelow 1856:130; Broadbent 1964:321, 340, 341; Castillo 1978:104-05; Fremont 1887:444; Morgan and Scobie 1964:106, 123, 129, 144-45; Shipley 1962).<sup>1</sup>

Between 1830 and 1840 diseases of European origin reached epidemic proportions in the San Joaquin Valley, resulting in a staggeringly high death rate among Indian people of Central California. Survivors of decimated villages in the San Joaquin Valley also fled into the Sierra and made their homes with Miwok people there. Such population relocation and losses changed the make-up of Indian villages throughout the Sierra Nevada (Cook 1943:11-2; Latta 1977:109).

From 1840 on, many Miwok villages must have been amalgamations of Miwok, Yokuts, and former Mission Indian groups. Unable, or perhaps unwilling, to subsist solely on native foods, many of these transplanted Indian people recognized a ready supply of meat in the herds of horses that grazed in the Coast Range across the San Joaquin Valley. While horse raiding villages had first developed in 1812-1816 in the San Joaquin Valley, these Miwok horse-raiding villages continued the practice. Indian people raided the ranchos, driving herds of horses into the Sierra, where horse-flesh became a major food source (Bennyhoff 1956:6; Bigelow 1856:130; Broadbent 1974:86-99; Fremont 1887:444; Brown Tadd pers. com. 1984; Morgan and Scobie 1964:123, 129; Wood 1954:16).

As this new horse-centered culture was developing in the 1840s, the discovery of gold in 1848 brought thousands of miners to the Miwok homeland. By 1850 roads and towns were established throughout Miwok territory by gold miners. Most gold rush immigrants were single young men, hoping to get rich quickly and return to homes in the East. They had no long-term interest in California, and many believed that killing Indians was their duty (Bunnell 1880:165; Davis 1911:338; Hurtado 1988:101; Paul 1988:128; Perlot 1985:228). While there were instances of



1. The Central Miwok village of Mass, Sonora, c. 1920 (?). As gold miners left the Sierra, Miwok people often went back to former village sites and inhabited the cabins abandoned by miners. This village was occupied by Miwok people as late as 1950. Courtesy of Mary Etta Segerstrom.

peaceful coexistence between the Miwok and European and Euro-American miners, some Miwok people made sporadic and isolated attacks on Euro-Americans; the Miwok were the subject of organized raids and isolated acts of violence by the miners, as well as the victims of Federal and State punitive expeditions. Miwok people were displaced from their villages and many were killed or died of disease and starvation (Bunnell 1859, 1880; Crampton 1975:15, 34-7; Fletcher 1987:18-20; Hutchings 1856; Lester 1873b:10-11; Morgan and Scobie 1964:120-28, 147, 197, 198, 200; Perlot 1985:138,165; Russell 1951a:55; b 63-71; 1968:15-40). It is estimated that the Sierra Miwok lost more than ninety percent of their population in the sixty years before the 1910 census, shrinking from an estimated 6000 to 9000 people to 670 individuals (Cook 1943:43; Kroeber 1921:54; 1922:445; Levy 1978:402).<sup>2</sup>

Miwok people who survived the gold rush period retreated to villages in the higher elevations of the Sierra. In Tuolumne County, many of the Miwok people who had lived in the Sonora area moved to villages far up the Stanislaus River canyon. Perhaps as early as the 1860s and 1870s, after major placer gold mining activities had subsided, these people moved down into villages such as Potato Ranch or Italian Bar, creating new villages which were an amalgamation of the survivors and offspring of people from villages which had once been at these locations, and villages at lower elevations. As more miners left the Sierra, Miwok people often went back to former village sites from which they had been evicted by miners

two decades earlier and inhabited the cabins abandoned by miners (Brown Tadd pers. com. 1992).<sup>3</sup>

By the 1860s many Miwok people were working for Anglos in hard-rock mining operations. Large Miwok villages (with populations of perhaps over one hundred residents each) sprung up at locations such as Red Cloud in Mariposa County, at about four-thousand feet in elevation between the Tuolumne and Merced Rivers. The Red Cloud village was a large one, apparently inhabited by both Central and Southern Miwok people. With the closing of these mines during the late 1890s (Gudde 1975:142), Miwok people left to seek work in other areas. Some went west to Merced Falls, and later to Yosemite Valley (Bates and Lee 1990:189). Others went north, worked in the logging industry in Tuolumne County, and many eventually settled at the Tuolumne Mewuk Rancheria (Brown Tadd pers. com. 1992).<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 1)

Thus, by the time ethnographers reached the Sierra Miwok around 1900 the Miwok had undergone a multitude of changes. Not only must their culture have changed dramatically, but the Miwok people living in any one location may have originally been from as far as twenty or thirty miles away.<sup>5</sup> This situation was not noted by many ethnographers conducting research over the next fifty years. A. L. Kroeber, writing in 1955, still believed that:

In California, however, the Indians, where they survive at all, mostly dwell today where their great-grandfathers did; or, if they have re-

treated, it is usually only a few miles. They have therefore kept contact or familiarity with their old sod. Their distribution is essentially the 'native' or wild one. (Kroeber 1955:x)

When the ethnographers at the turn of the century began their work among the Miwok, there wasn't much information available to prepare them for their work; there was little published material. The only lengthy published treatise on the Miwok at that time was Stephen Powers' chapters on "The Miwok" and "The Yosemite" in his "Tribes of California" (Powers 1877). These ethnographers were a group of diverse individuals whose methods and reasons for collecting materials and information among the Miwok were often different. Six such ethnographer/collectors stand out for their work among the Miwok: Charles P. Wilcomb, C. Hart Merriam, John W. Hudson, Grace Nicholson, Samuel A. Barrett, and Edward W. Gifford.

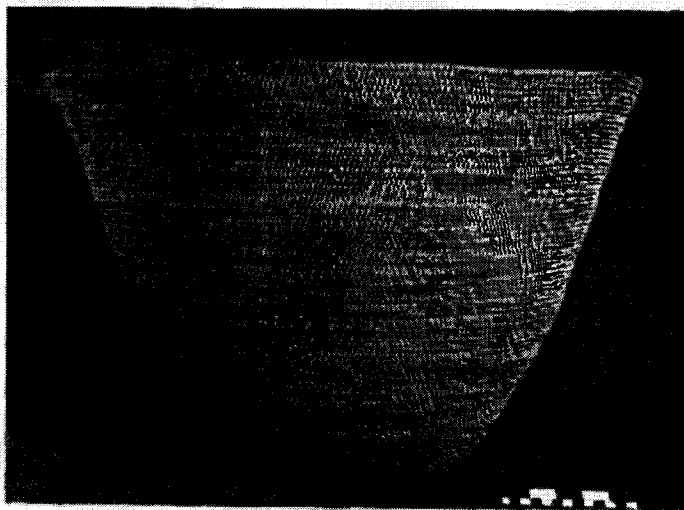
Charles P. Wilcomb is perhaps the most enigmatic of the group. Primarily a collector, he was curator of the Golden Gate Museum and later of the fledgling Oakland Museum. His trips through Miwok territory in 1908 and 1910-11 netted a fine group of materials for the Oakland Museum collections. His entries in the accession book at Oakland generally listed only "East Central California" for his 1908 Miwok collection; in his 1910-11 collection he listed the location, and occasionally the person from whom he purchased each object. Apparently Wilcomb kept a separate listing of his sources, for when he exchanged a large portion of his Miwok collection with the American

Museum of Natural History, and sold another portion to the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, he was able to supply precise village locations for every object. Why he did not enter this information into the Oakland Museum catalog is unknown; perhaps he was protecting his sources from other collectors.

It appears that Wilcomb generally assumed that the objects he collected at any village were representative of the people who lived in the village. A large acorn feasting basket (Oakland Museum, cat. no. 16-1205), for example, was collected from Bill Fuller at Bald Rock (Fig. 2).<sup>4</sup> On the basis of other documented pieces, it can be surmised that the basket was probably made by Fuller's wife, Annie Jack (Fig. 3), a Northern Miwok from Railroad Flat—a post contact village that was an amalgamation of various Indian people. Wilcomb's assumption that artifacts purchased in one location were indigenous to that location was common in California ethnography.

Wilcomb's collection also differs from that of other ethnographers in its assembling of objects that constitute "workshops." While most collectors secured token samples of medicinal and food plants or basketry materials, Wilcomb's collections were more encompassing, pertaining to many different industries, including what appears to be the general contents of a Miwok home. While his Miwok collections of this type are not so thorough as those he made for the Maidu and Patwin, Wilcomb collected great quantities of native foods and baskets that appear to represent sets of baskets used in different processes. While Wilcomb primarily collected to create museum

2. Miwok coiled feasting basket, collected from Bill Fuller, Central Miwok, by C. P. Wilcomb. On the basis of other documented pieces, it can be surmised that this basket was probably made by Fuller's wife, Annie, Northern Miwok. Courtesy of the Oakland Museum, cat. no. 16-1205.





3. Annie Fuller, Northern Miwok, 1913. Annie Fuller lived with her Central Miwok husband Bill Fuller at his village of Bald Rock. Photograph by E. W. Gifford. Courtesy of the P. A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley. neg. no. 15-5544

exhibits, his extensive collections of Miwok and other Central Californian artifacts contain unique materials that allow us to more fully understand native life. It is unfortunate that his relatively early death at the age of fifty, and the subsequent loss of his field notes, prevented his making more contributions to California ethnography (Dawson 1979:64; M. Frye 1979:37; T. Frye 1979).

C. Hart Merriam was an unusual ethnographer among the Miwok. Originally a biologist, Merriam started visiting with Miwok people at least as early as 1898, returning until at least 1920.<sup>7</sup> He never collected for any institution, but he added many Miwok baskets to his personal collection, and made copious notes. While he published little on the Miwok during his lifetime (Merriam 1907, 1910, 1917, 1918), several volumes of his field notes and unpublished manuscripts concerning the Miwok were published posthumously (Merriam 1955; 1966-67, 1979).

Merriam seems to have been a memorable, likeable man. On one of his visits to Yosemite, an Anglo visitor described him as:

A stout jolly, laughing eyed man. His round face full of kindliness. A directness in words that proved the man of the world. A lover of animals surely, but seemed never to impress one with the sentimental side. All was direct, breezy and serious, little poetry, but a rugged love of outdoor life. (Chapman 1901)

Merriam's love of the "outdoor life" included his enjoyment of time spent with native people. While visiting among the Southern Miwok northeast of Mariposa in 1902, Merriam wrote in his diary:

Among white folks I always feel that I am of little account, but I get along all right with Indians and they always like me and treat me well. They (both men and women) often tell me that I am not like other white folks—meaning of course the kind they usually come in contact with. Thank God I'm not. (Merriam 1902:210)

Merriam was interested in native languages, although the orthography he developed to record these languages is less than precise (Heizer 1979:1). He apparently understood the Miwok languages to some extent, which enabled him to comprehend some of the conversations and orations he heard among these people (Merriam 1955:57).

Merriam was an astute observer of material culture, such as basketry. Whereas some ethnographers were forever confused about the relationship between work face and coil direction in basketry, or about the identification of plant species, Merriam had a clear understanding of such details and was usually able to identify plants and technologies accurately. Thus when Merriam found a basket that appeared to be of Western Mono manufacture being made by a Miwok woman in Sonora, he was astute enough to notice the apparent contradiction. When he questioned the maker, he found that she was enamored of the Western Mono style, and had learned from a Western Mono woman who was visiting Sonora (C. Hart Merriam Collection, U. C. Davis, catalog number 146). A Miwok man near Mariposa asked Merriam in 1902 if Merriam could identify where some of their baskets were made. After identifying Northern Miwok, Nisenan and Mono Lake Paiute baskets for the man, Merriam was told by him that "I knew more about baskets than

anyone, white or Indian, he had ever seen" (Merriam 1955:113).

In reviewing Merriam's diaries, it appears that he recorded less as time went by; perhaps on his later visits he was simply enjoying the company of the Miwok people he had met during the previous two decades. During his return visits to Miwok people he was able to re-check information, work on specific projects (such as his interest in Miwok acorn-flour sifting trays), and delve into the backgrounds of at least some of his consultants.

Merriam's collection of 116 Sierra Miwok baskets, now at the University of California at Davis, is important for its inclusion of many unique types, and for the information he recorded about where many of the baskets were obtained by their Miwok owners. Merriam's apparently correct identifications of materials in the baskets is also without comparison among his contemporaries.

John W. Hudson, husband of the famed painter of Pomo people, Grace Carpenter Hudson, collected among the Miwok in 1901 and 1902 (Hudson n.d.; 1901a, b; 1902a, b). His extensive collection was made for the Field Museum of Natural History. Like other ethnographers, Hudson spent very little time at any one location, yet his field notes contain a variety of information not recorded by anyone else. His correspondence with Field Museum Director George Dorsey gives a firsthand account of the difficulties of collecting at the turn of the century, and includes detailed descriptions of many Miwok homesites. Originally a physician, Hudson also commented on the medical conditions of many of the Miwok people he visited.

Unfortunately, Hudson seldom recorded the names of the people with whom he spoke, and, with few exceptions, seldom took photographs. He did not, apparently, understand the complex history of population movements of the Miwok people he visited. Nonetheless, Hudson's collection, while similar to that of S. A. Barrett, is important and his field notes are among some of the most interesting to survive.

Grace Nicholson, unlike her contemporaries, was not associated with any institution, nor was she, by training, a scholar; Nicholson was a dealer in American Indian artifacts who opened a shop in Pasadena in 1902 (McLendon n.d.:217). As early as 1905 Nicholson was obtaining Miwok materials, apparently through collectors in the Mother Lode area (Nicholson 1905). She and her associate, Carrol S. Hartman, traveled and collected among the Miwok during 1912, and apparently in subsequent years.<sup>8</sup>

Nicholson collected for the Indian art (or curio) market, as well as for major museums. Through funds supplied by Lewis H. Farlow, she assembled a large collection of Miwok artifacts for the Peabody Museum at Harvard. A Miwok dance outfit collected at the Northern Miwok village at West Point in 1905 is unique; there are none like it in any other collection. Accompanying the outfit is a letter which states:

As I have it from El Capitan, who is over 50 years of age, the dance had become obsolete [sic] having been done away with for many years. There were a few old men still living who knew it. So Capt. Eph some 6 or 7 years ago got the old men to teach the young men, Capt. Eph included, the then almost forgotten dance, and also the making of the dance suit. One old man knew how to make the net. Only one understood the weaving in of the feathers, and so among them they reconstructed the old time dress and revived the dance. It would be an absolute impossibility to get an old outfit, and, in fact there was only this one—complete suit—in the possession of the few living members of the tribe, as this branch is nearly extinct. (Nicholson 1905: 1-2)

Such information recorded by Nicholson allows us to more fully understand the tremendous cultural loss experienced by the Miwok in the nineteenth century.

Samuel Barrett and Edward Gifford's names are most frequently synonymous with research on the Sierra Miwok. Barrett was sent by A. L. Kroeber of the University of California to collect among the Sierra Miwok in 1906. He assembled a fine collection for the fledgling University Museum, made important photographs at several locations, and collected data that resulted in his publications on Miwok geography and myths (Barrett 1903, 1908a, 1908b, 1919).<sup>9</sup>

Gifford first went among the Miwok in 1913, returning several times through the 1920s. He primarily concentrated on recording data about ceremonial life, and he made an important series of wax cylinder recordings and photographs.<sup>10</sup> Gifford published on Miwok myths, cults, and ceremonies, and prepared additional papers on Miwok shamanism and ceremonies that were unpublished at the time of his death (Gifford n.d.a, n.d.b, 1916, 1917, 1926a, 1926b, 1927, 1944, 1955; Gifford and Block 1930). A. L. Kroeber relied extensively on Gifford's research for his chapter on the Miwok in his "Handbook of the Indians of California" (Kroeber 1922:x). Barrett and Gifford



4. Lena Brown and Mary, Yosemite Valley, ca. 1886. This open-front dwelling is typical of the more permanent Southern Miwok summer homes in Yosemite during 1870-90. Photograph by Taber.

Courtesy National Park Service, Yosemite Research Library, neg. no. RL-1332.

collaborated on "Miwok Material Culture," the primary document on Miwok life, which was published in 1933. Since Barrett and Gifford are the foremost contributors to the written record on Miwok culture, it is in their works that many of the problems which beset early ethnographers are evident.

Barrett's only field work among the Sierra Miwok appears to have taken place from August through October of 1906. Like many ethnographers of his time (Bernstein 1992), Barrett began his work at a reservation. The reservation was near Jackson, and was the only reservation for Miwok people at that time. Subsequently he traveled to other Northern Miwok settlements, and then south among Central and Southern Miwok people. It appears that Barrett stayed within close range of stage lines that ran along today's Highway 49, shipping his materials by Wells Fargo.<sup>11</sup>

From an examination of a list of objects collected by Barrett, it appears that he concentrated on collecting baskets and other larger objects while in the Jackson area; it was not until he reached Sonora that he began in earnest to collect plant specimens and similar, smaller materials. This change of focus is also reflected in Barrett

and Gifford's "Miwok Material Culture," where many more plant names are recorded for Central than for Northern Miwok peoples. Plant names from only one group were frequently listed, however, and plant use was recorded in such a way as to imply that all three Sierra Miwok groups used each plant in the same fashion. Barrett never repeated his trip to secure missing pieces of information, and we are left guessing about the uses of many plants among Miwok groups.

Other problems present themselves in Barrett and Gifford's discussion of the taking of "whitefish" in the higher elevations of the Sierra (1933:189). Firstly, there were no native fish in the higher mountains of Miwok territory; all the fish found there today are descended from introduced fish, some planted as early as the 1870s.<sup>12</sup> The term "whitefish" may refer to Sacramento suckers, which were not planted in higher elevations, and occurred in the foothills and down to the San Joaquin Valley. It is odd, however, that Barrett and Gifford specified that the "whitefish" were speared at higher, rather than lower elevations.

In addition to this frustrating entry for the taking of fish that did not occur where they were said to be, there is a reference to the use of an

obsidian-pointed spear used for fishing. The use of an obsidian-pointed spear for fishing is not recorded for the Miwok or other California people anywhere else. These groups used bone-pointed spears, as bone does not shatter as readily as obsidian. Thus we are left with several questions: what were Barrett and/or Gifford originally told, and why did they believe that fish which never occurred in stated locations were taken by the use of a fundamentally flawed technology, unlike that used anywhere else in the West?

Similarly, Barrett and Gifford's description of a Miwok conifer-bark-slab house is inconsistent with the historic photographic record and oral traditions. The home they described in "Miwok Material Culture" is an unsupported structure, without framework or centerpost. Photographs of such structures taken since 1872 clearly show a pole framework, and the few Miwok elders alive in the past twenty years who actually saw such structures in use—rather than built for display—affirm the necessity for a framework (Fig. 4). C. Hart Merriam even sketched the framework for one such Southern Miwok home (Merriam 1966:126-27).

Today these bark houses have been built repeatedly and have come to epitomize traditional Miwok dwellings; such was probably not the case aboriginally. Brush-covered, dome-shaped dwellings appear in the earliest photographs of Miwok people. Cedar-bark homes require a number of

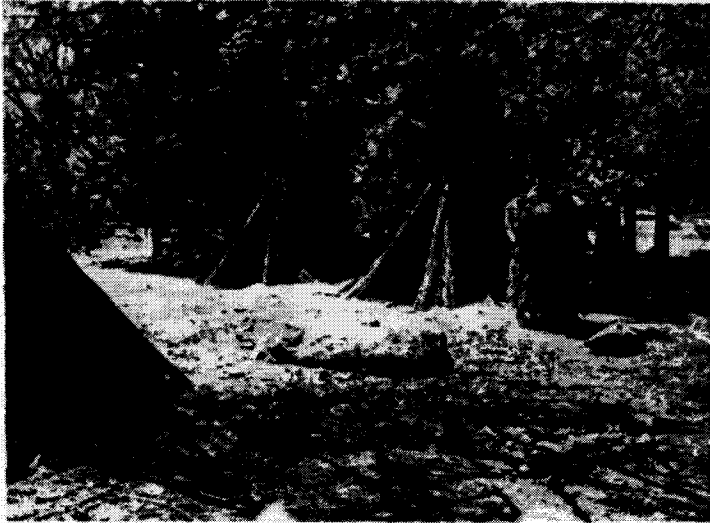
old-growth cedar trees, dead for at least two years (to allow the bark to loosen). A tremendous amount of work, over a very large area, would have been required for the acquisition of enough bark to build one home, let alone a number of them.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, some of the earliest photographs of Miwok bark-covered homes are simple shelters, more for protection from summer sun and transient storms than for year-round use (Fig. 5).

I propose that Miwok people found cedar bark to be much more plentiful and easy to obtain for use in building such structures after the start of Anglo lumbering operations. In support of this theory, most photographs of Miwok homes show the use of commercial sawn lumber in addition to cedar bark. When bark is readily available, conical homes are relatively easy to build, and last a number of years, while brush shelters must be rebuilt frequently and are more difficult to build to effectively shed rain and snow. The knowledge required for the construction of bark houses lives on, easily re-learned and re-invented. Bark homes have been constructed in museum dioramas, at county fairs, in state and national parks and museums; by so doing, we (I count myself in this group) are representing what must be a largely inaccurate picture of "typical" Miwok dwellings (Fig. 6).<sup>14</sup>

The use of information from ethnographers, when combined with oral histories from Miwok people, can further compound problems. When



5. Summer camp, Yosemite Valley, June 1872. This summer camp is probably typical of those occupied by Southern Miwok people in Yosemite Valley. These temporary shelters provided shade and some protection from afternoon thunder-showers. Photograph by Eadweard Muybridge. Courtesy National Park Service, Yosemite Research Library, neg. no. FL-16,632.



6. Reconstructed Miwok Village, Yosemite National Park, 1960s. Demonstration villages of this type have been built throughout the Sierra, and have come to typify Miwok homes. Villages of this type may not have existed aboriginally. Courtesy National Park Service, Yosemite Research Library, neg. no. RL-14299.

S. A. Barrett collected baskets from Rose George Carsoner and Mattie Jim at Railroad Flat, he assumed that they were Northern Miwok baskets made by those women, born in that area. I followed that same assumption for years: my conversations with members of the Carsoner family, all of whom were born after 1906, confirmed that the family was of Northern Miwok ancestry, and had moved to Tuolumne County just prior to 1918. Recently however, I learned that Rose George Carsoner was born at the Central Miwok village at Italian Bar, and only moved to Railroad Flat with her mother when she married Carsoner.<sup>15</sup> I wonder now if what I considered to be a "Railroad Flat style" of basketry was entirely valid—were these women weaving in an East-Central Sierra Miwok style, or were they imitating the work of their husband's relatives? (Bates 1982:15-16; 1986)

Similarly, Miwok people encountered by many ethnographers at the Tuolumne Rancheria, and assumed to be Central Miwok people from Tuolumne, were not.<sup>16</sup> Over the past twenty years I was told repeatedly that certain families had "always" been from near the town of Tuolumne. Through checking death records at the Tuolumne County Recorder's Office, and conversations with Miwok elder Brown Tadd, it has been revealed that none of the people mentioned to me as being "from Tuolumne" were. Fully half of these residents were from a large village connected to the mining operation at Red Cloud, or from Groveland with parents originally from Red Cloud. Red Cloud is only about twenty miles from Tuolumne

"as the crow flies," but the steep and dangerous Tuolumne River Canyon is between them and it lies in Southern Miwok territory. Other residents were from villages at Sonora, the post-gold rush settlements of Potato Ranch and Italian Bar, Bald Rock near Twain Harte (some Bald Rock people were originally from older Sonora and Stanislaus River villages), as well as Railroad Flat. Now when we look at materials collected at Tuolumne or the village of Bald Rock and study the population of those villages at the time of collection, we see that the items collected represent people from a variety of villages in a radius of over twenty miles, as well as people who were descended from former mission neophytes. It becomes clear that we may not know what we thought we knew.

It is now almost too late to check the ethnographic record by obtaining new oral histories that go back to the nineteenth century among Miwok people. Like most Americans today, few Miwok people know much about their family's history, besides a few anecdotes.<sup>17</sup> Just as the Miwok world had changed greatly in the one hundred years before Wilcomb, Merriam, Hudson, Nicholson, Barrett and Gifford worked among them, it has also changed radically since these early ethnographers worked there. Today we are grateful for the work which they did, and for the information they saved. Hopefully, through working with their information and artifacts in combination with oral traditions, period accounts, and public records, we will come to a clearer and more accurate understanding of what the Miwok world was really like. ♦



## Notes

1. The impact of the Spanish/Mission period can not be underestimated. As early as 1845, John C. Fremont fought with Indian people near Mariposa and said that "Many of them had been former Mission Indians and spoke Spanish well" (Fremont 1887:444). Spanish names occurred among Miwok people as early as the 1850s. In negotiations held at Dent and Vantine's Crossing between Federal Treaty Commissioners and seventeen (apparently) Central Miwok leaders, at least seven of the Miwok had easily recognizable Spanish or European names (Cornelius, Jose-Trinidad, Francisco, Manuel, Manuel [Grande] Felipe and Ni-co-las) (Heizer 1972:43-4). Additionally, most elderly Miwok people around 1900 spoke fluent Spanish (Richard Fuller, pers. com. 1970; Brown Tadd, pers. com. 1984). An elderly Miwok woman (Louise Fuentes, c. 1873-1959) remembered that her grandfather, Antone Carlos, was an Indian from Monterey who worked at the mission, apparently Mission San Carlos in Carmel (Tuolumne County Historical Society n.d.). He lived near Algerine during the 1870s, and later moved with his grandchildren to Red Cloud (*ibid*). In 1905 E. L. McLeod found an elderly woman and her brother from the village at Pleasanton living at Lone (McLeod 1905b:2-3). The village at Pleasanton was home to many former neophytes from Mission San Jose.
2. Although the U. S. Census Bureau made a "special effort" to find "persons with a perceptible amount of Indian ancestry" (Cook 1976:60-1), it is possible that they missed certain Miwok people. At the turn of the century Dr. J. W. Hudson (n.d.:69) remarked on the inaccessibility of many Miwok homes, stating that some "live on Chowchilli [sic] river in almost inaccessible nooks, and [are] compelled to descent [sic] 2500 to 3000 feet from the table land afoot to reach them, and often at forty degrees angle." While collecting material near Jackson, he remarked "The Rancherias are widely and inconveniently scattered in this district" (Hudson 1902b:2).
 

C. P. Wilcomb, curator of the Oakland Museum, echoed Hudson's sentiments when he wrote about his collecting trip during January 1911:

The Curator left the museum for Murphy's [sic], arriving that evening. After a brief canvass of that neighborhood, where different camps were visited with successful results, he proceeded to Jamestown, and then in order to Sonora, Soulsbyville, Tuolumne, Angels, San Andreas, Jackson and Lone. Making those points his headquarters, he drove out to the homes so Indians in the different scattered localities. Altogether, twenty-five families were visited. . . . The Miwoks belong to the Moquelumanan linguistic stock and are no longer found in settlements, but in camps scattered in the mountain districts, usually one, two or perhaps three huts in a place. Comparatively few Indians remain. (Wilcomb 1979:64-5)

It would seem that, with so many scattered settlements as described by these ethnographers, that it would have been easy for the U.S. Census Bureau to have missed at least some Miwok people.
3. A check of death records for Miwok people in the Tuolumne County Recorder's Office in Sonora confirms that a number of Miwok people were born at these village locations during the 1870-90 period. Still, these higher-elevation villages on the Stanislaus drainage were not immune from retaliatory attacks by miners. Miner William Perkins' journal details how he and group of miners from Sonora destroyed three such high-elevation villages and killed a number of Indian people on the upper reaches of the Stanislaus in 1850 (Morgan and Scobie 1964:120-27). Perkins also cites other attacks on the Miwok, giving the impression that such forays were not uncommon (*ibid*:120, 128, 129, 176).
4. Again, death records in the Tuolumne County Recorder's Office in Sonora for a number of Miwok people reveal that a great number of people (members of the Bill-Bailey family, Bill Tadd and others) were born at Red Cloud after 1860. With such wide-scale population movements taking place, it is difficult to understand how Barrett (1908) and others (cf. Heizer 1966) were able to assign such precise boundaries between the Northern, Central and Southern Miwok. This problem is too complex to address here, but elderly Miwok consultants recognize less precise boundaries between their people. The relocation of Miwok people by the 1870s may have contributed to the blurring of the border between the Southern and Central Miwok in the Groveland-Red Cloud area.
 

Additionally, boundaries in the high Sierra Nevada as proposed by Barrett (1908a:356, plate 1) were apparently not recognized as such by the Southern Miwok at the end of the nineteenth century. The upper Tuolumne River watershed, assigned by Barrett to the Central Miwok (*ibid*), was used with regularity by the Mono Lake Paiute and Southern Miwok (Bates and Lee 1990:33; Bennyhoff 1956:7). A new approximation of the Central-Southern Miwok boundary in this area has been published (Bates and Lee 1990:fig. 31), but this should be viewed as only an approximation.
5. At least some Indian people may have been from much farther away. A traveler in Yosemite about 1880 met an aged Indian medicine man hiding in a deep mountain canyon. The Indian had fled from three hundred miles to the north, as he had lost a patient and was going to be killed (Lewis 1881:132-33). While this may be an isolated occurrence, it does show that at least some Indian people in California were traveling great distances during the 1880s.
6. Wilcomb recorded his place of collection from Fuller as "Baron's" [sic], the name of the closest store to Fuller's home at Bald Rock. It is unclear whether Wilcomb simply met Fuller at Barron's, or if he used that name because it was the closest landmark. My thanks to Mrs. Irene Barron of Sonora for identifying the store and locating "Baron's."
7. Merriam's field journal for 1898 mentions a visit with Miwok people (1898:93). However, in 1902, in a discussion of the Miwok flat, coiled acorn-flour sifting tray, he stated, "I have been purchasing these for years, from Yosemite Indians and Indians as far north as Sonora and Murphys" (1955:114). A check of the catalog cards Merriam kept for his basket collection indicates that, while some baskets were purchased in 1899, the Miwok baskets (including these acorn-flour sifting trays) were purchased beginning in 1900 (Merriam n.d.nos. 139-251; 917-19). Additional confusion arises from the statement probably made by Merriam's daughter that he had collected baskets for

over fifty years (Anon. n.d.). Assuming these were the last fifty years of his life, Merriam would have had to begin collecting in 1892 (Anon. n.d.). It does not seem to be possible at this time to clearly ascertain the year in which Merriam began collecting.

8. While a major archive of Nicholson's papers is at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, it appears to be incomplete. None of her diaries are known to exist for 1903, 1904, 1905, and 1908, while there are diaries that document Nicholson's collecting trips in the years from 1906-1915 (McLendon n.d.:218). In a copy of a letter Nicholson wrote in 1903, she says: "Only last week I recieved a 'string' invitation from the Miwoks. A friend who was there said that three old Baskets [sic] he had offered a large sum of money for were destroyed" (Nicholson 1903:3).  
From this, it would seem that Nicholson was collecting among the Sierra Miwok by 1903. Judging from letters to her from E. L. McLeod of Volcano, Nicholson was regularly buying Miwok baskets and other items from McLeod by 1905, and through at least 1907 (McLeod n.d., 1905a and b, 1906, 1907). In 1909, she was buying Miwok items through the Stephen Brothers in Murphys (Stephens Brothers 1909). A letter to Nicholson from the Miwok woman Mrs. John Eph dated 1910 indicates that Nicholson was collecting Miwok material during 1910 (Eph 1910). In her 1910 diary, Nicholson mentions collecting among Miwok people in Mariposa County (Nicholson 1910). Nicholson's 1912 diary details her trip to Yosemite and her photograph albums also show she was here at that time. In 1914, Nicholson was in contact with Mrs. Boysen of Yosemite, about the possible purchase of Boysen's basket collection (Boysen 1914). Another batch of Nicholson's photographs are at the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology at U. C. Berkeley. Although these photos are not dated, as is an accompanying inventory of baskets sold by Nicholson, they do show Miwok materials (including the dance outfit from West Point). Another group of photographs taken by Nicholson (a set of which is in the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque) indicates that she re-visited Yosemite, and possibly Tuolumne County, in the 1920s (this can be determined from the ages of two of the Miwok people she photographed in Yosemite, John and Chris Brown). In some brief autobiographical notes, Nicholson noted that between 6 June and 20 June 1927, she made a trip to northern California, which included Yosemite (Nicholson n.d.).
9. Barrett apparently returned to the Miwok during the 1950s as part of the American Indian Film project at U. C. Berkeley. While I have not yet consulted the film archive at U. C. B., his assistant on that project related that they visited some of the same places Barrett had been in 1906, and that he thought they filmed soaproot brush manufacture somewhere among the Sierra Miwok (David Peri, pers. com. 1979).
10. Gifford mentions that he worked among the Central Miwok in 1913, 1914, and 1915 (n.d.a; n.d.b; 1916:140; 1926:391) and later "during the second and third decades of this century" (Gifford 1955:26). He apparently continued interviewing consultants into the 1920s. It was then that he engaged the services of at least one Central Miwok speaker, John Kelly, who had acted as interpreter for Gifford when Gifford worked near Jamestown with Kelly's grandfather in 1914. Gifford

also brought Kelly to Berkeley to translate many wax cylinders (which had been recorded by Gifford), particularly those made by Kelly's grandfather, Tom Williams (John Kelly pers. com. 1968).

11. Data for this discussion of Barrett is largely drawn from accession and catalog records at the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.
12. Sue Fritzke, Resources Management Specialist, and Linda Eade, Research Librarian in Yosemite National Park, have supplied this information. Files at Yosemite National Park, too extensive to cite here, refer in detail to the lack of fish at higher elevations and the subsequent planting of fish in the high elevation lakes and rivers by sheepmen, the U.S. Army, and others. The high waterfalls, once common on Sierra rivers (such as those in Yosemite and Hetch Hetchy Valleys on the Tuolumne and Merced River drainages) prevented the movement of fish into higher elevations.
13. Even Yosemite Valley, one of the few higher elevation areas in which Miwok people lived, probably did not aboriginally have enough cedar trees to provide bark for building entire villages of bark homes. Nineteenth-century photographs show that oaks, not conifers, were predominate in the Valley, and there were many wide-open, park-like expanses. Lumbering operations in Yosemite Valley in the late nineteenth century provided Miwok—and Mono Lake Paiute—people with the necessary bark, discarded lumber, and slash necessary to build such homes.
14. Representations of such Miwok homes can be found in miniature at the Southwest Museum, the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of Natural History, and at Yosemite National Park; life-size exterior settings can be found at the Mariposa History Center, Yosemite National Park, Chawse (Indian Grinding Rocks) State Park (near Jackson), the U.S.F.S. Ranger Station at Pinecrest, and in an interior exhibit at the Haggin Museum, Stockton. Similar examples have been used in temporary exhibits at the Haggin Museum, the California Academy of Sciences in San Francisco, and the Mariposa County Fair, to name but a few. Additionally, a number of bark homes can be found on private lands held by Miwok and non-Miwok people in Mariposa County and, I am told, in Tuolumne, Calaveras, and Amador Counties.
15. I had not found any conflicting information until this year, on a visit with Miwok elder Brown Tadd, who died at the age of eighty-three in October 1992, as this paper was being prepared. Tadd told me of an event that took place over fifty years ago. One evening Tadd was visiting with Tom Carsoner, who told him how he was related to Tadd by marriage, and that Carsoner's wife, Rose, was a close relative to Tadd's mother, Minnie. Both Minnie and Rose were born at the Central Miwok village at Italian Bar, and their families were from the Sonora area prior to the gold rush. Carsoner said he had met Rose at a "Big Time" at Italian Bar, and then taken his wife to live among his people at Railroad Flat. Carsoner brought his family back to Tuolumne County in search of work prior to 1918, when his wife died in the influenza epidemic. This information had not survived among the descendants of the Carsoner family with whom I spoke; Rose's death while her children were small, and the subsequent scattering of the children away from their father seem to have been factors.

Gifford, like Barrett, was also occasionally confused as to the origin of his Miwok consultants. For example, in "California Anthropometry" (1926c), he published photographs of several Miwok people. He was correct in labeling Mrs. William Fuller a Northern Miwok (286, plate 27), although he met her at the Central Miwok village of Bald Rock. However, he listed Lena Cox as Central Miwok (286, plate 29) and Richard Hale as Southern Miwok (286, plate 30). Hale was from the post-contact village at Red Cloud, as was Cox's (whose maiden name was Thompson) family, although Lena could have been born after the family moved to Groveland. Such conflicting data makes clear-cut identifications of many Miwok families as Central or Southern impossible. Additionally, Ella Gibb is identified as Southern Miwok (288, plate 31) while her children refer to her as Chukchansi Yokuts (Les James pers. com. 1974).

Gifford also listed Mrs. A. H. (Bessie Carsoner) Delavega, whose mother was Central Miwok from Italian Bar, as Northern Miwok (1926c:303). Likewise, he listed Bert Fuller as half Northern Miwok, one-quarter white and one-quarter Central Miwok (*ibid*). Bert Fuller was actually the son of a Northern Miwok mother (Annie Fuller) and a Northern Miwok father (Pedro O'Conner) (Brown Tadd pers. com. 1992). He took the Fuller name after his mother's marriage to William Fuller, a half white, half Central Miwok man (Dorothy Stanley pers. com. 1980; Brown Tadd pers. com. 1992).

16. Gifford, at least, knew Sophia Thompson was from the Groveland area (Gifford 1955:308), but did not record that she was originally from Red Cloud. It is not known whether Gifford knew Thompson was from Groveland because he met her just prior to her move from Groveland to Tuolumne, or because he elicited the information from her at Tuolumne.
17. While a few Miwok people have knowledge of their family's past, most whom I have spoken with generally know little about things which happened during or prior to their childhood. The deaths of Miwok people born during the 1880-1920 period in the last twenty years has left few living Miwok who know about late nineteenth and early twentieth century Miwok culture and history. Few speak the Miwok language, and some, in an effort to identify with their Indian heritage, have embraced pan-Indian religious beliefs which include the use of sweat lodges and catlinite pipes. Many Miwok people now speak of themselves as "brothers and sisters," including in that terminology all the Sierra Miwok groups. Twenty years ago Miwok elders would have cringed at that concept, as they adamantly spoke of their "own people," meaning small groups within the Southern, Central or Northern Miwok. There were historically other barriers to such a family concept: for example, Central Miwok people did not trust the Southern Miwok, as they feared their poison doctors.

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