

## ACORNS AND MANZANITA CIDER In Search of the Original “California Cuisine”

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TODAY, ONE CANNOT DISCUSS FOOD IN CALIFORNIA without thinking of “California cuisine,” popularized by chef Alice Waters and her Berkeley restaurant, Chez Panisse. This culinary style calls for fresh and local ingredients, cooked with minimal preparations. Yet, ironically, its dominant models are derived not from California itself but from Mediterranean Europe, which has a similar climate. What, however, of the original California cuisine, the foods eaten by the aboriginal inhabitants of the state before Euro-American settlement? In fact, for over a century anthropologists at the University of California have endeavored to document and analyze this culinary world.<sup>1</sup>

Diversity, both natural and cultural, has long been the dominant feature of Native California.<sup>2</sup> In fact, what is now the state of California was not a natural Native region. Along its borders—to the north, east, and south—lived populations whose cultural centers lay outside the state. Only in the central region, the great interior river valleys to the coast, lived societies with a distinctive Californian lifestyle. This geographical diversity was mirrored in a cultural and linguistic variation. At contact, there were at least one hundred



Three forms of acorn (right-left): whole, shelled, meal; with baskets, soaproot brush, looped stirrer, cracking rock. Photograph by Dugan Aguilar. Maidu Big Time, Oakland Museum of California, Oakland, California; summer 1997. *Courtesy of the photographer.*

distinct ethnic groups, numbering more than 310,000 individuals, the most densely settled region on the continent. While communities were usually small, they ranged in scale from fifty to five hundred people; and while generally egalitarian, some were stratified into rich and poor, noble and commoner. Nor have these cultures remained static during their more than 13,000 years in the region. For instance, the common staple of acorns was not widely exploited until 4,000 to 1,000 years ago, depending on the area.<sup>3</sup>

Paralleling this cultural diversity was a culinary one. While the acorn was something of a regional staple, it did not play the same role as the buffalo on the Plains or corn in the Southwest. Foods taken from the natural world will clearly vary as the environment changes—from dry southern deserts to dense northern forests. Native cultures in what is now the state of California may be grouped into three regions with centers outside the state—the Northwest, the Great Basin, and the Southwest—leaving central California as a unique area. These four regions also have corresponding gastronomic bases: salmon in the Northwest, pine nuts in the Basin, desert and domesticated plants in the Southwest, and acorns and seeds in central California.<sup>4</sup>

Because of its fundamental and holistic nature, food has long been a critical subject of anthropological study. Simultaneously natural and cultural, it unites the physical/biological side of humans with the social/symbolic aspects. Food has remained at the center of anthropological study of the aboriginal peoples of the region. This essay traces the subject of California Indian food as studied by anthropologists at the University of California—primarily at Berkeley but also at other campuses—since the founding of the department and museum of anthropology in 1901.<sup>5</sup>

### First Impressions (1850–1901): Before Alfred Kroeber

Our first descriptions of California Indian foods by non-Indian writers are stray comments in accounts by explorers and other travelers, followed by those of settlers. During the mission period, there was a conscious effort to change the food habits of the Native population, but this palled in the face of the more massive trauma that followed in the wake of the Gold Rush. Almost without exception, during this initial period when observers described Native Californians' food habits, it was to castigate them, finding yet one more reason to marginalize Indians as uncivilized.



An Indian woman (probably Maidu or Sierra Miwok) gathering acorns. Probably by Charles Nahl, published in *Hutchings' Illustrated California Magazine*, 1859.

Food, a basic cultural expression, was naturally at the heart of American settlers' views of Native Californians. As a mode of subsistence, farming was commonly believed to be inherently superior to hunting and gathering, and Natives were derogatorily referred to as "Diggers," for their customs of digging for roots and bulbs. For instance, T. Butler King, in his official report on conditions in California in 1850, described the state's Indians as "the lowest grade of human beings. They live chiefly on acorns, roots, insects, and the kernel of the pine burr; occasionally they catch fish and game. They use the bow and arrow, but are said to be too lazy and effeminate to make successful hunters. They do not appear to have the slightest inclination to cultivate the soil, nor do they attempt it."<sup>6</sup> To many settlers,

Native Californians were little more than animals, obtaining whatever was available. According to the *San Francisco Bulletin* of 1857, they fed “on roots, snakes and insects, and on the grasses of the fields like beasts.”<sup>7</sup> The animal comparison was underlined by accounts of hunters eating blood and innards; when whites sampled such staples as acorn mush or bread, they found them uniformly unpalatable. In fact, Native peoples were skilled hunters and gatherers who carefully cultivated wild plants and animal resources, and some, in the south, were indeed farmers. Still, compared to Anglo-Americans, they did consume a wider variety of foods and ate foods that the new settlers did not. Attitudes toward foods thus became part of the ammunition used to suppress and exterminate the Native populations of the state.<sup>8</sup>

The situation changed in 1877 when Stephen Powers, a journalist sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution, published the first systematic commentary on Native Californian cultures. A pioneer in what he called “aboriginal botany,” Powers frequently supplied good, basic descriptions of culinary practices. For instance,

It is surprisingly what a number of roots, leaves, berries, and nuts, the squaw will discover. She will go out in the spring with nothing but a fire-hardened stick, and in an hour she will pick a breakfast of green stuff, into which there may enter fifteen or twenty ingredients. Her eye will be arrested by a minute plant that will yield her only a bulbous root as large as a large pea, but which the American would have passed unnoticed.<sup>9</sup>

Around the same time, Native Californians were being described by historian and author Hubert H. Bancroft. Although based more on compilation and less on observation, Bancroft’s several volumes on Native peoples summarized much of what had been written about them up to that point.<sup>10</sup>

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, American anthropology became a professional discipline, centered at the Smithsonian’s Bureau of American Ethnology (beginning in 1879) and Harvard’s Peabody Museum (from 1866). Frederic W. Putnam at Harvard, who would also become the first director of Berkeley’s anthropology museum, conducted field research on the state’s ancient cultures during the federal survey led by George Wheeler, 1876–78. By the end of the century, anthropologists were beginning to systematize what was then known about Native American cultures. Using cultural comparisons, these scholars tried to delineate the continent’s basic cultural regions. Food, which they considered under the category of “subsistence,” was one of the critical criteria for the classification of peoples. In a materialist era, the tangible—if not indeed edible—was naturally of great concern to scholars. Faced with the problems of classifying diverse artifacts, American museum anthropologists of the time—for example, Otis T. Mason at the Smithsonian and Clark Wissler of the American Museum of Natural History—divided the continent into regions such as the salmon area, maize area, bison area, and the like. When considering foods, Mason characterized California and the rest of the Pacific Coast as a fish and nut region.<sup>11</sup>

With the exception of scattered observations, the Powers volume, and Mason’s brief remarks, the study of California Indian food essentially did not exist before 1901. At the University of California (founded in 1868), there was no place for it in the curriculum. The College of Agriculture did not consider the subject because Native peoples of the state were thought, mistakenly, to lack farming; the biologists and geologists who did field research in the state did not consider humans; and the historians saw no evidence of written history among the Indians.<sup>12</sup> A new discipline was required.



Mrs. Freddie (Hupa) leaching acorn meal. Hoopa Valley, Trinity County; November 1901. Photograph by Pliny E. Goddard. *HMA* 15–3329.

### **The Foundation (1901–1925): Alfred Kroeber’s Survey of California Indians**

The scholarly study of Native food customs in California had to await the establishment of a department of anthropology, founded by patron Phoebe A. Hearst in September of 1901. This area of research became the specialty of the department’s first professor and curator, Alfred L. Kroeber (1876–1960). Kroeber had been trained by famed anthropologist Franz Boas at Columbia, where he obtained his doctorate in 1901. One needs to remember here that 1901 was quite early for the teaching of anthropology anywhere in America.<sup>13</sup> Berkeley had the first department west of Chicago; its only predecessors being Harvard, Pennsylvania, Columbia, and Chicago—all of which had begun only in the 1890s.

As anthropology professor until his retirement in 1946, Alfred Kroeber came to define and then dominate the study of California Indians. Because so little was known, he set out to systematically document and describe the region’s Native cultures. Kroeber’s own field research focused on the Yurok of the Klamath River region, but he also conducted important studies among the Mohave, Pomo, and Yokuts. In 1903 this work was formally organized as the Ethnological and Archaeological Survey of California. This project drew upon the efforts of several generations of graduate students. Among the first group of students and colleagues were Pliny E. Goddard, who taught along with Kroeber until 1909; Samuel A. Barrett, the department’s first doctorate in 1908; and Edward W. Gifford, who joined the university museum in 1911.

In the face of what was widely believed to be an inevitable extinction—culturally, if not physically—Kroeber defined his basic mission as cultural documentation and salvage. The department’s anthropologists were motivated by their desire to produce a baseline description of Native customs before western contact. To overcome their lack of written documents, Kroeber and his colleagues created their own: artifact collections, sound recordings, photographs, written observations of behavior, and oral history testimony. Another clue to the

past was the present distribution of cultural traits, and throughout his life Kroeber focused on geographical issues of mapping and regional delineations.

Their productions were very descriptive, but in its time such an approach represented a radical departure from existing scholarship. As we have seen, until Kroeber there had been no serious scholarly attention to Native California. More importantly, these anthropologists were motivated by an ethic of cultural relativism. They treated Native cultures as inherently complex and sophisticated, as deserving of respect and scholarly attention as the achievements of the ancient Greeks or Shakespeare.

By 1910 Kroeber had completed the bulk of his fieldwork on California Indians, and by 1917 he had essentially finished his manuscript for the *Handbook of the Indians of California* (1925).<sup>14</sup> This summary volume became the definitive overview of the state's Native cultures. It was structured by tribe, with several concluding regional and comparative generalizations.

Naturally, the foods and food practices of the California Indians were dominant topics of this research project. On the one hand, Kroeber carefully described specific tribal customs. For example, among the Yurok, he noted: "The old custom was to eat only two meals a day and theory made these sparing. Only a poor fellow without control would glut himself, and such a man would always be thriftless. Most men at least attempted to do their day's labor, or much of it, before breakfast, which came late. . . . The evening meal came toward sunset." On the other, he sought to make regional generalizations: "Plants appear to have furnished a larger part of the diet than animals in almost all parts of California. Fish and shellfish were probably consumed in larger quantities than flesh in regions stocked with them. . . . Of game, the rodents, from jack rabbits to gophers, together with birds, evidently furnished more food the seasons through than deer and other ruminants."<sup>15</sup>

While the University of California was at the center of this research, it was not alone. Kroeber had both collaborators and competitors. Among the former were independent scholars such as Philip S. Sparkman, shopkeeper and student of the Luiseño, and anthropologist (and later president of the University) David P. Barrows, who researched the Cahuilla. The university also made use of the research and collections of Roland B. Dixon, sponsored by the American Museum of Natural History, who did fieldwork among the Maidu and Shasta in the northern part of the state.

Kroeber's competitors were associated with Chicago and Washington. Among these were Dr. John W. Hudson, a retired physician turned independent collector and scholar. At first, Hudson studied the Pomo, who lived around his home in Ukiah,



Alfred and Theodora Kroeber, at their cabin, Sigonoy, near Orick, Humboldt County. Photographer unknown, 1931.

HMA.

Mendocino County, but between 1900 and 1905, he conducted field research and collected throughout the state, funded by the Field Columbian Museum of Chicago. Another leading Californianist was C. Hart Merriam of the U.S. Biological Survey and later the Smithsonian. Although trained as a naturalist, he became increasingly interested in Native peoples of California and spent the last years of his life in Berkeley. Kroeber had problems with the idiosyncratic linguist John P. Harrington, of the Smithsonian's Bureau of American Ethnology. Geographically, Harrington emphasized California's coastal peoples, such as the Ohlone (Costanoan) living around the San Francisco Bay area, and the Chumash, residents of the Santa Barbara region. All three of these scholars compiled a great deal of information on California Indian food, but for varying reasons, none of them were as effective as Kroeber in publishing their research. Consequently they had relatively little influence on the study of the subject until their archives were made available in recent years.

Kroeber's California research was part of a broader investigation of Native American food customs. The comparative approach, popular in the late nineteenth century, was soon superseded by the intensive study of individual cultures, but food remained at the center of investigation for many researchers. Among the classics of early culinary anthropology were Frank Hamilton Cushing's 1885 study of Zuni corn and the collection of Kwakiutl recipes published by Franz Boas and George Hunt in 1921.<sup>16</sup> Due to Kroeber's fundamentally comparative interests, however, until recent times Californian food was never documented in such an intensive study.

### **Mapping and Monographs (1925–1935): Alfred Kroeber's Second Survey**

In the mid-1920s and 1930s, Kroeber sent out a second generation of students to research Native Californian cultures. Students such as Anna Gayton, Cora Du Bois, Julian Steward, and Philip Drucker were part of the Culture Element Distribution Survey, an attempt to comprehensively map Native cultures of western North America. Working under the stimulus of statistics and mathematical modeling, Kroeber instructed his students to note the existence or absence of discrete cultural traits, reported as pluses and minuses, and published in the *Anthropological Records* series. One problem with this methodology, noted by the students themselves, was that such an atomistic approach ignored the systematic holism of Native cultures. A list of traits could not capture how the different aspects of a culture were related to each other, nor what they meant to their subjects.

Yet the field work generated a great deal of new data, with reports from many groups not previously contacted by Kroeber and his first generation of graduate students, or in more depth for those, such as the Pomo, that had been. At the same time, however, most students also compiled more discursive tribal ethnographies, which naturally highlighted food. Although treated most fully under headings of "food" or "hunting" and "plant gathering," the topic of food was also spread throughout these cultural accounts; for instance, birth and puberty food taboos were considered under the "life cycle."

In striving for comprehensive documentation, Alfred Kroeber and his students have given us our best descriptions of California Indian food, but there is much they did not consider, especially in regard to cooking and eating behavior. One of the principal reasons is that so many of them were doing salvage or memory ethnography. That is, they were interviewing people, especially elders, about customs from former times instead of observing and talking about current practices. Some important traditional food practices did survive during the first half of the twentieth century and could be observed, as, for example, in Barrett and Gifford's 1933 account of Sierra Miwok acorn processing.<sup>17</sup> In general, however, Native food systems had substantially changed since contact, and most anthropologists did



Mohave serving bowl (1–13771) and spoon (1–1749), Karuk basket (1–1790) and Yurok spoon (1–2069). Photograph by Eugene R. Prince. Illustration in Jacknis, 2004:83. *HMA*.

not want to describe such creole, or mixed, customs.

Another limiting factor is that many of the Berkeley students in the 1930s were in the field for only a few months over the course of one or two summers. One of the exceptions, Cora Du Bois, who was assisted by linguist Dorothy Demetrocopoulou, spent many months among the Wintu over several years between 1928 and 1932.<sup>18</sup> Du Bois attempted to produce more social descriptions of actual food behaviors and customs. For instance, in describing the cooking of acorn bread, she wrote (in the telegraphic style of the survey): “For baking, large center pit dug with series of smaller ones around it. Batter allowed to bake all night. One woman appointed to remove bread (sau) in the morning. All gathered then with much merrymaking and hilarity except on part of baker. The bread black in color; its darkness a measure of its palatability. Successful cook requested to bake at dances or meets, a mark of distinction in which women took pride.”<sup>19</sup> The example of Du Bois, who did some of the best culinary ethnography, also calls attention to the predominance of male ethnographers, who tended to interview men. Because women did the great bulk of the collecting and processing of plant foods and most of the cooking, much information went unrecorded.

As he moved beyond cultural presences and absences, Kroeber began in the 1930s to consider more deeply the relation of culture to geography and the environment.<sup>20</sup> In this, he was stimulated by his conversations with Carl Sauer, Berkeley geography professor from 1923 to 1957. In turn, Kroeber’s example encouraged students such as Anna Gayton and Julian Steward to analyze how social organization might be functionally related to environmental factors.<sup>21</sup>

As Kroeber’s career lengthened, however, his approach to culture came to seem more old-fashioned. In this period, from about 1925 to 1945, anthropology was adopting a more integrative approach. In the British tradition, food was important in the functionalist studies of Bronislaw Malinowski in the Trobriand Islands of the South Pacific and his student Audrey Richards among the Bemba of East Africa.<sup>22</sup> In America, the so-called “culture and personality” school, which followed during the 1930s and 1940s, focused on how attitudes

toward food were developed in particular cultures and how food affected people's social and psychological relations. These methods were predicated on observation of cultural practices. While that would have been possible in Native California, because Kroeber and his colleagues defined authentic culture as occurring only in the pre-contact past, different concerns and different methodology were employed.

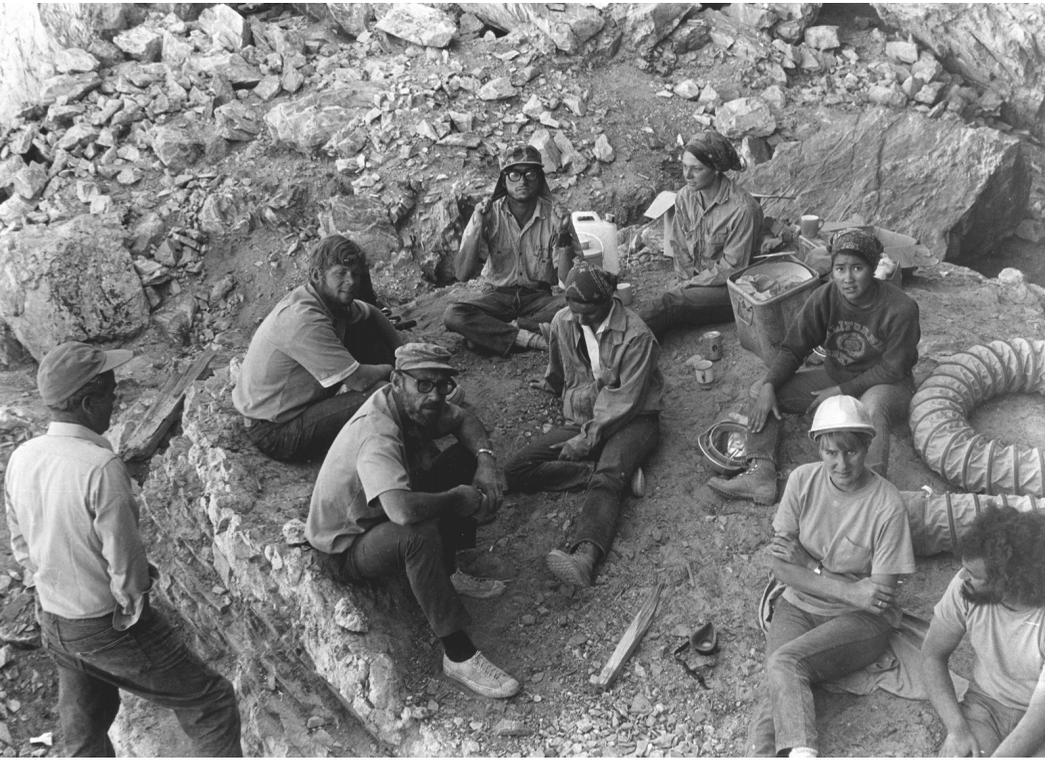
### **The Discovery of History (1947–1960): Robert Heizer and Sherburne Cook**

After Kroeber's retirement in 1946, the study of California Indian cultures, including their cuisines, was carried on at the university by archaeologist Robert F. Heizer (1915–79) and his colleague Sherburne F. Cook (1896–1974), a physiologist turned demographer. Both men focused on the ecological aspects of the subject, and both made important contributions to ethnohistory.

A Berkeley graduate (PhD, 1941), Robert Heizer sought to develop areas neglected by his mentor, most especially the accumulation of a systematic regional collection of archaeology. From 1948 through 1960, he directed the University of California Archaeological Survey, which vastly expanded the anthropology museum's collections from prehistoric California and Nevada. Much of the work was salvage, stimulated by the state's rapid population growth and subsequent land development. Beyond accumulating collections, Heizer's main goal was to establish a basic description of the aboriginal cultures of Californian prehistory. In his later life Heizer became an ethnohistorian, using written and visual sources to reconstruct the history of California Indian peoples following white contact. For instance, he spent a great deal of time editing C. Hart Merriam's ethnographic papers, which had been donated to the anthropology department in 1950.<sup>23</sup> And it was Heizer who firmly established the extent of the systematic genocide of the nineteenth century, which has become the foundation for all subsequent work in this area.<sup>24</sup> In the wake of the Second World War, this became a resonant theme. While Kroeber was certainly familiar with at least some of these facts, he chose to ignore them.<sup>25</sup>

These historical themes were picked up by Heizer's friend and colleague Sherburne Cook, who focused on demography and population trends. Cook had studied history before shifting to biology, and soon after obtaining his PhD in physiology from Harvard, he joined the physiology department at UC Berkeley, where he taught from 1928 until 1966. While noted for his research on cell biology and vitamins, Cook had a parallel career as an ethnohistorian. At Berkeley, he collaborated with anthropologists Robert Heizer and Alfred Kroeber, geographer Carl Sauer, and Latin American historians Leslie Byrd Simpson and Woodrow Borah. His later work was profoundly interdisciplinary, and he made important contributions to archaeological methods, the estimation of aboriginal Native populations, the determination of diet from chemical residues in bones, and the study of post-contact changes in Native health. His innovative use of sources included mission records, censuses, newspapers, and manuscripts in the Bancroft Library at UC Berkeley. Until Cook's research, most anthropologists avoided such archival analysis in favor of reconstructions of aboriginal cultures based on oral testimony.

In his 1941 study, *The Mechanism and Extent of Dietary Adaptation Among Certain Groups of California and Nevada Indians*, Sherburne Cook produced the best single description of how Native Californians changed their eating habits in the years following their contact with Euro-Americans. Applying a rigorously scientific method to his documentation, Cook considered both the "factors governing the availability of white food" and the "factors governing the availability of Indian food." He dealt also with the problem of taste and the role of social factors. His finding, for example, that an aboriginal diet had endured longest among the



Robert F. Heizer (third from left), UC Berkeley professor, and Albert B. Elsasser (far left), Hearst Museum research anthropologist, with student crew. Lovelock Cave site, Churchill County, Nevada, spring 1969. Photograph by Fred H. Stross. *HMA no negative number.*

more rural, poorer, less educated, and older population has remained a valid generalization, as has his note that the old ways have been retained for use in ceremonies.<sup>26</sup>

Overall, however, these postwar years witnessed the gradual but substantial decline in the study of food and cuisines in anthropology. With the expansion of the discipline, anthropologists moved to other concerns, such as peasant societies, and political and economic systems. One could imagine the continuing relevance of food for such research, but it was not to be. One reason perhaps, as Sidney Mintz has argued, is that in the small-scale societies studied by anthropologists, most of the production and preparation of food was performed by women and most of the early investigators were men.<sup>27</sup> Even female scholars were reluctant to study the subject out of fear of not being taken seriously.

### **Cultural Survivals and Reconstruction (1960–1965): Theodora Kroeber and Samuel Barrett**

Despite this discovery of history by Heizer and Cook, just as Alfred Kroeber died, in 1960, his earlier ahistorical work was revived and extended by two of his close associates—his wife, Theodora, and his first doctoral student, Samuel Barrett.

In 1961, Mrs. Kroeber published *Ishi in Two Worlds*, a best-selling volume that recounted the story of Ishi (ca. 1860–1916), the last Yahi Indian and apparently the last Native Californian to live his life essentially outside of western culture.<sup>28</sup> Having finally lost his family, in 1911 Ishi wandered into the town of Oroville. For the last five years of his life, he resided at the university anthropology museum in San Francisco. In telling his story, Theodora Kroeber was encouraged by Robert Heizer, who had compiled many of the original archival and

out-of-print sources. Like Heizer but unlike her husband, Theodora Kroeber acknowledged the genocide of Californian Indian peoples. At the same time, however, her complex work combined direct archival sources for the period between 1911 and 1916 with imagination and historical reconstruction for Ishi's previous life.

This mixed style applied to her discussion of Ishi's food. While she was able to draw on contemporary accounts of the changed diet Ishi adopted during his life at the museum, she had to resort to ethnographic reconstruction in order for her readers to get a sense of what Ishi's life was like before he was discovered. In this she was anticipated by her husband, whose photos she included in her book.<sup>29</sup> In 1914, Alfred Kroeber and a party of his colleagues took Ishi on a trip back to his homeland in Deer Creek, Tehama County. A highlight of the trip was the production of about 150 photographs in which Ishi, stripped to a loincloth, acted out his former lifeways. Along with staged fishing and rabbit hunting was a dramatic sequence of deer butchering. It appears that Ishi has killed the animal with his bow and arrow, but an account by his friend, the physician Saxton Pope, reveals that on this trip, Ishi was unsuccessful with his bow and arrow. The deer must have been shot with a rifle so that Ishi could then be photographed removing an arrow from the deer's side before proceeding with the skinning and butchering.<sup>30</sup> There is a long tradition of such posing and staging in ethnographic photography—Edward S. Curtis being perhaps the most famous instance—but it is usually not perceived until years later.

Samuel Barrett, who adopted similar methods in his film work, was even more reactionary. In the 1950s, Barrett had returned to his alma mater to direct a massive film project for the Lowie (now Hearst) Museum (ca. 1957–65), which extensively recorded California Indian food customs.<sup>31</sup> The four food-related films by the American Indian film project



Staged photo of Ishi pulling an arrow from a deer. Photograph by Alfred L. Kroeber; Mill Creek area, Tehama County; May 1914. Published by Theodora Kroeber in *Ishi in Two Worlds*. HMA 15–5706.



Samuel A. Barrett filming a Klamath woman grinding wokus bulbs for food. Photograph by crew of American Indian Film Project; Klamath Lake Reservation, Chiloquin, Oregon; 1960? HMA 25-4453.

include *Acorns: Staple Food of California Indians* (Kashaya Pomo, 28 min., 1962), *Beautiful Tree: Chishkale* (Kashaya Pomo tan oak acorn, 20 min., 1965), *Buckeyes: Food of California Indians* (Nisenan, 13 min., 1961), *Pine Nuts* (Paviotso, Paiute; 13 min., 1961).<sup>32</sup>

Like Theodora Kroeber with Ishi, Barrett resorted to cultural reconstruction to depict Native customs. While some traditional food practices were still current, they were becoming more and more circumscribed. Barrett brought out old baskets from the museum for his main actor, Kashaya Pomo Essie Parrish, to use in her acorn processing and cooking, insisting that only the old ways be documented. In one of the films (*Beautiful Tree*), however, there is a concluding depiction of contemporary food practices: grinding acorns with a meat grinder, using a sink and metal pails. This was the exception that proved the rule, as the filming of this innovative practice was due to the insistence of David W. Peri, a Bodega Coast Miwok anthropology student who worked as a production assistant.<sup>33</sup>

Although seemingly independent, the projects of Theodora Kroeber and Barrett actually shared many important features. Both were rooted in the early thought of Alfred Kroeber; they knew him intimately and were bound by his view of cultural authenticity and survivals. According to this position, Indians were only authentic in their state before western contact. The paradox was that since they could not know this state directly, they had to reconstruct it by various means, visual as well as verbal. For both, this action was justified by their popularizing mission. They were seeking to make anthropological scholarship accessible—and literally, sensible—to a broad public.

### **Ecology and Archaeology (1965–1985): After Kroeber**

In the decade following the death of Alfred Kroeber, the study of California Indians—in-

cluding their food—began to change in several important ways. First, the field moved largely from the anthropological subdiscipline of ethnography, based on observation and interviews, to archaeology, based on excavation. More importantly, like much of the larger discipline of anthropology, there was a substantial shift from a Boasian tradition of cultural description to a new emphasis on cross-cultural comparison and explicit theoretical analysis. In the Californianist realm, this took the form of a concern with ecological adaptation. Underlying these trends was an institutional shift of the study of California Indians to other University of California campuses, most notably UCLA and UC Davis.

At UC Berkeley, the department lacked a Californianist ethnographer following the death of Edward Gifford in 1959. During these years, with the gradual cessation of his archaeological excavations, Robert Heizer increasingly focused on his ethnohistorical research, and until his death in 1979 guided all students interested in California Indians.<sup>34</sup> The next ethnologist to research Native Californians was William S. Simmons, who taught from 1967 through 1998. Although trained as an Africanist, during the 1980s Simmons began to focus most of his research on California Indians, especially along ethnohistorical lines. None of this, however, was directly on food, and no Californianist ethnologist has since replaced him.<sup>35</sup>

There is no clear explanation for this decline in Californianist ethnography, but several factors suggest themselves. On the one hand, many anthropologists believed that acculturated Indians had lost most of the cultural features that had made them distinct. At the same time, the rise of the civil rights and Red Power movements led Native communities throughout North America to oppose the anthropological control of their representation. One anthropological response to this new situation was a shift from participant-observation in contemporary Indian communities to historical reconstruction, an approach pioneered by Robert Heizer. Scholars began to mine the extensive field materials of C. Hart Merriam



Lowell Bean and Katherine Saubel (Cahuilla). Dinner in the Canyons fundraiser for the Agua Caliente Cultural Museum, Andreas Canyon, Palm Springs, California, October 2005. Photographer unknown. *Courtesy of Agua Caliente Cultural Museum.*

and John P. Harrington, as well as that of Kroeber.<sup>36</sup> At the same time, archaeology was going through its own challenges. Marked perhaps by the formal end of the University of California Archaeological Survey in 1960, there was a gradual decline in university-sponsored research in favor of research carried out by contract archaeologists, funded by governmental agencies and construction projects.

The theoretical thrust of much of this Californianist research, in both ethnology and archaeology, was toward human ecology.<sup>37</sup> Such a perspective was natural, coming in an era that witnessed a growing sense of environmental crisis, eloquently described by authors such as Rachel Carson, Stewart Udall, and David Brower. And, as Bean and Blackburn observe, interest in the environment had been stimulated by the extensive anthropological research of the 1950s relating to the settlement of Native land claims; this dealt largely with questions of aboriginal territories, land use, and population.<sup>38</sup> For the most part, this activity was centered outside of Berkeley, although it was stimulated by the work that Berkeley graduate Julian Steward had conducted in the Great Basin while a postdoctoral fellow at the university from 1933 to 1936.

In ethnology, this ecological approach was developed by Lowell J. Bean (b. 1931), currently the senior scholar in California Indian studies. Trained at UCLA, Bean was awarded his anthropology doctorate in 1970 for a dissertation on “Cahuilla Indian Cultural Ecology.”<sup>39</sup> For most of his professional career (1966–92), he taught at California State University-Hayward, where he is now professor emeritus of anthropology. Bean has worked principally with the Cahuilla of southern California, since 1958, but he has also done field work among the Pomo, Luiseño, and Serrano. In addition to interests in social organization and religion, he has published much on ethnobotany and cultural ecology. Bean’s *Temalpakh (From the Earth)*, which he wrote in collaboration with Cahuilla elder Katherine Siva Saubel, is an exhaustive account of how one people classify and make use of their plant world.<sup>40</sup> Bean was also one of the pioneers in considering the role of human-set fires in increasing local plant yields.<sup>41</sup>

At the same time that interest in California Indians declined at Berkeley, it expanded at other University of California campuses. To some extent, this merely followed the gradual establishment of anthropology departments throughout the system, including Davis (1962), Riverside (1963), Los Angeles (1964), Santa Barbara (1964), San Diego (1968), and Santa Cruz (1968). In many of these schools, anthropology classes had been taught for a while, often in combined social science departments, before becoming independent programs.<sup>42</sup> But to a great extent, these additions also reflected the national expansion of the discipline of anthropology during the 1960s, appealing as it did to the maturing baby-boom generation.<sup>43</sup>

In many ways, the campus with the most active current interest in Native Californians is Davis.<sup>44</sup> At Davis, as in most of the university’s anthropology departments, the only professors who concentrated on California Indians were archaeologists. Although its first professor—and the first UC Davis anthropologist to work in California—was a linguist, David L. Olmsted, he was soon joined by archaeologist Martin Baumhoff in 1957. In fact, Baumhoff (1926–83), a Heizer student, was a pioneer of the ecological approach, used in his doctoral dissertation, “Ecological Determinants of Aboriginal California Populations” (accepted in 1959 and published in 1963).<sup>45</sup> Here, Baumhoff considered the quantity and quality of food resources (acorns, fish, game) as causal factors for the size and organization of Native societies in the state. His study was notable for its integration of ethnological and archaeological perspectives.

At Davis, again like most campuses, anthropology shares its concern with Native Californians with the field of Native American studies. Most Native American studies programs,

like the one at Davis (1969), began in the late 1960s, with the rise of a political consciousness among American ethnic minorities. While most programs are provisional, somewhat under-funded, and often included in larger ethnic studies departments, at Davis the program gained departmental status in 1993, making it “the only such department in the UC system.”<sup>46</sup> While noted for their interdisciplinary nature, Native American studies programs, at least in California, have rarely dealt with issues of food. This may be due to a concern for more contemporary problems deemed more urgent (although the crisis in contemporary Native American food practices is now attracting attention).<sup>47</sup>

Many of the California campuses focus on Natives of their surrounding region. In the south, for example, there was a natural focus on the local Chumash in the Santa Barbara area. Thomas C. Blackburn, professor emeritus of anthropology at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, has spent much of his career working with the John P. Harrington papers, housed at the Smithsonian’s National Anthropological Archives.<sup>48</sup> His colleague, archaeologist Travis Hudson (1941–85), was curator of anthropology at the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History. Blackburn and Hudson collaborated on an important five-volume work on Chumash material culture (1982–87), which included a comprehensive discussion of food-related objects.<sup>49</sup>

This period was marked by several trends. First, although the basic cultural description of the Kroeber period was supplanted by a more analytical approach, it maintained his interest in the role of the environment. Moreover, it revealed a view of aboriginal peoples as more active in forming their environment than his earlier image of a relative Native passivity in the face of abundant food resources. Finally, while the ecological analyses of the 1960s and 1970s were a direct response to similar work in contemporary American anthropology, it was not until the following decades that similarly innovative analyses of food in culture would be applied to California.

### **Renaissance (1985–2005): Native California and California Cuisine**

The past two decades have seen an explosion of interest in the cultural study of food, as well as in the specific discipline of anthropology. The study of cultural symbolism in food by Claude Lévi-Strauss and Mary Douglas in the 1960s was followed by the more materialist analyses of Marvin Harris, Jack Goody, and Sidney Mintz.<sup>50</sup> Today, nutritional anthropology is an active scholarly specialty.<sup>51</sup> Anthropology has also joined with folklore, history, and journalism in a new interdisciplinary field which may be called foodways, represented by periodic conferences at Oxford University, the journal *Gastronomica* and the magazine *Saveur*, and popular writers like Waverley Root, Alan Davidson, and Raymond Sokolov.<sup>52</sup>

At the same time, there has been a remarkable cultural revival among California Indians. This, too, has taken many forms—from assertions of treaty rights and renewed political recognition to a ceremonial revival. Some events, such as the so-called “Big Times,” are open to Native and non-Natives alike. Here Native foods like acorn soup and roasted salmon are offered in conjunction with the sale of arts, including food-related items like baskets and carved wooden paddles for stirring the acorn mixture.

This activity was encouraged and widely broadcast by Berkeley author, editor, and publisher Malcolm Margolin (b. 1941). As founder of Heyday Books, Margolin has made use of university resources while remaining fiercely independent of it. Since 1987, Margolin and his magazine *News from Native California* have played a critical role in fostering a renaissance of contemporary California Indian culture. He has acted primarily as a catalyst by publicizing and offering a forum for Native activities. In this, he has taken a decidedly nonacademic approach in his writing and publishing, trying to appeal to Natives and a



Mary Eslick and her sister Bertha Peters (Yurok) demonstrating acorn soup cooking (left-right). Gathering of the California Indian Basketweavers Association, Ferndale, Humboldt County, June 1996. Photograph by Dugan Aguilar. *Courtesy of the photographer.*

general educated readership. For many years, *News* has published the writing of Beverly R. Ortiz (b. 1956), who is completing her anthropology doctorate at UC Berkeley. Among her long series of articles on crafts and skills are many on food.<sup>53</sup> With Julia Parker (Kashaya Pomo), Ortiz has written perhaps the best single book on California Indian food, *It Will Live Forever: Traditional Yosemite Indian Acorn Preparation*.<sup>54</sup> Recently, *News* published a special issue on food, and there are plans for a Native cookbook.<sup>55</sup>

One of the most important trends of recent years, one supported by *News*, has been the rise to prominence of Native authors and artists. Two such pioneers were David W. Peri (1939–2000) and Kathleen R. Smith (b. 1939). A founding editor of *News*, Peri (Bodega Coast Miwok) had assisted Barrett with the American Indian Film Project. An artist and cultural consultant, Smith (Dry Creek Pomo/Bodega Miwok) was working on a Native cookbook. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Peri<sup>56</sup> and Smith<sup>57</sup> published a series of evocative essays about California Indian food from a Native perspective. While Peri had some ties to the University of California, so far most Native commentators on food come from outside the academy.

This recent interest in food and cuisine has been matched by a related one in environmental management. (In fact, for many years Ortiz has worked as a park ranger.) One of the current leaders in the field is M. Kat Anderson, of the Plant Sciences department at UC Davis. A 1993 graduate of Berkeley's College of Natural Resources, Anderson has devoted her career to exploring the role of Native Californians in "tending the wild."<sup>58</sup> Through intentionally set fires, pruning, and harvesting practices, they were able to increase the quality and yield of plants used for food and materials. This line of ecological research, a refinement of the

insights from the early 1970s, is appropriate to the Davis campus, home to the university's College of Agriculture.<sup>59</sup>

In Californianist archaeology, as well, environmental concerns have continued to the present.<sup>60</sup> In fact, some of it directly contradicts popular ethnographic theories. Kroeber's views of a relative abundance of food resources in the region has recently been challenged. Opposing the view that Native Californians were effective managers of their habitats, some archaeologists have argued for a more precarious view of resource fluctuation and scarcity. In fact, these scholars claim that in some instances the actions of aboriginal peoples caused the decline and even extinction of plant and animal populations.<sup>61</sup> The question remains unresolved, but one might note that these two positions are contradictory only if each is held as a complete explanation.

At Berkeley, archaeology has taken a more historicist road. Although Heizer died in 1979, he was not replaced until 1987, when Kent Lightfoot joined the faculty. With a specialty in the contact and mission period of California, Lightfoot's work is an example of the extension of archaeology into historical times, thus blurring disciplinary distinctions between ethnology, archaeology, and history. In an expansion of Cook's research project, Lightfoot has reconstructed how Native food customs changed during a period of forced acculturation.<sup>62</sup>

My own work as curator at the Phoebe Hearst Museum has been part of these recent trends. Coming to Berkeley in 1991, in the midst of the Native cultural revival, I applied my long-standing interest in the anthropology of food to its Californian incarnation. This led to a major exhibition that I curated: "Food in California Indian Culture" (1997–2000), the first topical exhibit at the Hearst Museum specifically devoted to this important subject.<sup>63</sup> Accompanying this show during its first year was a display of the work of Native American photographer Dugan Aguilar ("Nuppa—Acorn Soup," 1997–98). This work has also led to the development of a related teaching kit for elementary/secondary school students and an anthology of classic writings, *Food in California Indian Culture*.<sup>64</sup>

The contributions of Ortiz and myself differ considerably from earlier scholarship. Much of the previous literature on the subject has tended to focus on descriptions of ingredients and gathering procedures, often from an archaeological perspective. More recent work, based on observations and testimony from the cooks themselves, offers us a better sense of what might be called "cookbook information," such as how foods were (and are still) prepared, who cooked and served, and how and when meals were eaten. If most of the earlier research may be called "nutritional" (the science of nourishment or feeding), one might consider the more recent work to be "culinary" (of the kitchen and thus of cooking) or "gastronomic" (the arrangement or laws of eating; literally, of the stomach).

My work attempts to apply the perspective of contemporary culinary analysis to the rich accumulations of museum and archival collections. This retrospective approach has become a dominant theme in the study of Native peoples, especially at the University of California. With the Berkeley anthropology collections now over a century old, these holdings are drawing new attention. Artifacts have been photographed, documents microfilmed, wax cylinder recordings transferred to tape, and photographs digitized and placed on the Internet. All of this has made these collections much more accessible to the descendants of their original Native subjects, allowing them to determine how they wish to be represented. Furthermore, as the product of successive generations of scholars, these rich materials may also form the basis for the exploration of disciplinary histories, as this essay shows.<sup>65</sup>

## Conclusion

The story that we have narrated in a Californian context mirrors larger trends in American anthropology, as well as in the broader study of food, particularly that from a cultural perspective. Food went from a fundamental concern at the beginning of American anthropology in the late nineteenth century to a minor interest in mid-century. Its recent explosive attraction has undoubtedly coincided with a more general appreciation of food in the culture at large.<sup>66</sup>

This greater culinary sensitivity has called forth much new work on Native American foods.<sup>67</sup> The greatest interest has been devoted to agricultural groups in the Southwest. Among the hunter-gathering peoples, the harvest of Minnesota's wild rice has been commercialized, and now bison is being farmed on the Plains. Of the distinctive Native Californian foods, only the salmon—and to a lesser extent shellfish such as crabs, clams, and abalone—have become widely consumed by the non-Native population, and most of these are found in the Northwest as well (with quite similar species on the East Coast and Europe). California has been left out of the array.<sup>68</sup> The Slow Food movement and its cultivation of heritage foods has not yet had a perceptible impact on the subject of California Indian foods, but this is sure to change in the coming years. In fact, one of the main reasons for a renewed interest in Native foods, from both Native and non-Native, is the concern for nutrition, obesity, and health, and the realization that Native practices were much healthier than most current diets.<sup>69</sup>

In considering the principal themes in this history, one must first realize how fundamentally anthropologists changed common views of aboriginal cuisines, replacing a prejudiced view of animalistic habits with one of sophisticated knowledge and custom. Next there has been an enduring interest in geographical and environmental issues, as well as the persisting dominance of a Kroeberian paradigm of salvage and historical reconstruction. On the other hand, among the discontinuities are some relatively recent developments: a use of historical sources and a focus on specifically culinary issues, as well as the expression of previously muted voices of women and Native people.

This story has also revealed the importance of regional issues. Like regional scholarship across the humanities and social sciences, particularly that concerning Native Americans, the study of California has been localized within the region. This has meant that most scholars have been affiliated with the University of California and in particular its Berkeley campus; but especially in more recent years, also at Davis. Almost all have been anthropologists, but less so recently, and while there has been a general shift in subdisciplinary focus from ethnology to archaeology, recent years have seen a revival of interest by ethnologists. At the same time, it should be clear that the narrative recounted here actually serves as a trace of the entire history of anthropology as a university subject in the state, especially during the first half of the twentieth century.

As the present volume of the *Chronicle* demonstrates, the University of California has made important contributions to the study—and even production—of agriculture and food, subjects for which the state has become world-renowned. In this history, however, the aboriginal contributions have been obscured. Even when discussed, the diverse and sophisticated range of Native foods has been pejoratively reduced to “acorn mush.” All current inhabitants of the state have much to learn from the example of these indigenous foodways. Bread and wine need to share the table with acorns and manzanita cider.

## ENDNOTES

This essay was stimulated by my editing of the anthology *Food in California Indian Culture* (Berkeley: Hearst Museum of Anthropology, 2004). Accordingly, I repeat my indebtedness to the many colleagues and friends cited therein, as well as Margaret Dubin. It also grows out of my participation at a conference held in March of 2005 at the Pacific Regional Humanities Center, UC Davis, "Beyond Consuming: Food, Wine and Culture in the Pacific United States," where I spoke about "The Original 'California Cuisine': Foodways of the California Indians."

- 1 It is important to emphasize that this essay can serve only as an overview of the study of California Indian culture and food customs, summarizing and simplifying a vast and complicated subject. For further bibliographical references the reader might start with the citations in my *Food in California Indian Culture*.
- 2 For a useful general overview of Native Californian cultures, with an excellent chapter on their food, see Robert F. Heizer and Albert B. Elsasser, *The Natural World of the California Indians* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 82–113.
- 3 For good overviews of these pre-contact developments, see Joseph L. Chartkoff and Kerry Kona Chartkoff, *The Archaeology of California* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984); Brian Fagan, *Before California: An Archaeologist Looks at Our Earliest Inhabitants* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003).
- 4 See Jacknis, *Food in California Indian Culture*, 8–9.
- 5 For brief reviews of the history of Californianist anthropology, see Robert F. Heizer, "History of Research," in Robert F. Heizer, volume ed., *California*, William C. Sturtevant, general ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 8 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 6–15; Sylvia Brakke Vane, "California Indians, Historians, and Ethnographers," *California History*, 71:3 (1992), 324–41.
- 6 Cited in James J. Rawls, *Indians of California: The Changing Image* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), 190.
- 7 *San Francisco Bulletin*, June 29, 1857. Cited in Rawls, *Indians*, 191.
- 8 Cited in Rawls, *Indians*, 190–95.
- 9 Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California*, Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: Department of Interior, U.S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountains Area, 1877). Reprint ed., Robert F. Heizer, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 420.
- 10 Among Bancroft's works on California Natives was *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. 1 (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft, 1883).
- 11 Otis T. Mason, "Influence of Environment Upon Human Industries or Arts," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1895* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1896), [639–65] 651, 658.
- 12 This sweeping generalization must be qualified with notice of John C. Merriam, professor of geology (1894–1920). As part of his paleontological investigations in the state, Merriam actually did research on the ancient prehistory of its Native inhabitants, and was on the original advisory board of the Department of Anthropology. None of his research, however, considered Native food customs. On the other hand, collections of Native Californian artifacts did exist as part of natural science collections in South Hall; see Ira Jacknis, "A Museum Prehistory: Phoebe Hearst and the Founding of the Museum of Anthropology, 1891–1901," in "The University at the Turn of the Century, Then and Now," Roberta J. Park and J. R. K. Kantor, eds., *Chronicle of the University of California*, no. 4 (2000), 47–77.

- 13 For further information on the founding of the department and its context, see Jacknis, “A Museum Prehistory.”
- 14 Because of the world war, however, the federal government was not able to publish it until 1925. Alfred L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, no. 78 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1925).
- 15 Kroeber, *Handbook*, 84, 814.
- 16 Frank Hamilton Cushing, *Zuni Breadstuff*, Indian Notes and Monographs, vol. 8 (New York: Museum of the American Indian, [1884–85] 1920); Franz Boas and George Hunt, *Ethnology of the Kwakiutl*, 35th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1913–1914 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1921).
- 17 Samuel A. Barrett and Edward W. Gifford, *Miwok Material Culture*, Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, 2:4 (Milwaukee: Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, 1933), 117–376.
- 18 The exact details of Du Bois’s Wintu fieldwork are vague because her field notes have not been located.
- 19 Cora A. Du Bois, *Wintu Ethnography*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 36:1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1935), [1–148] 19; reprinted in Jacknis, *Food*, p. 253.
- 20 Alfred L. Kroeber, *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 38 (1939).
- 21 Anna H. Gayton, “Culture-Environment Integration: External References in Yokuts Life,” *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 2 (1947), 252–67; Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, no. 120 (1938).
- 22 Bronislaw Malinowski, *Coral Gardens and Their Magic* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1935); Audrey I. Richards, *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia: An Economic Study of the Bemba Tribe* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939).
- 23 The Merriam collection on Californian ethnography was transferred from the UC Department of Anthropology to the Bancroft Library in 1977 and 1979. See C. Hart Merriam, *Studies of California Indians*; edited by the staff of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955).
- 24 Robert F. Heizer and Alan F. Almquist, *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination under Spain, Mexico and the United States to 1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971); Robert F. Heizer, ed., *The Destruction of California Indians: A Collection of Documents from the Period 1847 to 1865 in which Are Described Some of the Things that Happened to Some of the California Indians* (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1974).
- 25 Thomas Buckley, “‘The Little History of Pitiful Events’: The Epistemological and Moral Concerns of Kroeber’s Californian Ethnology,” in George W. Stocking, Jr., ed., *Volksgeist as Method and Ethic: Essays on Boasian Ethnography and the German Anthropological Tradition* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 257–97.
- 26 Sherburne F. Cook, *The Mechanism and Extent of Dietary Adaptation Among Certain Groups of California and Nevada Indians*, *Ibero-Americana*, 18 (1941), 1–59. Reprinted in *The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), [449–507] 499.
- 27 Sidney W. Mintz, *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom: Excursions into Eating, Culture, and the Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), 3–4.
- 28 Theodora Kroeber, *Ishi in Two Worlds: A Biography of the Last Wild Indian in North America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961).

- 29 T. Kroeber, *Ishi*, Deluxe, Illustrated Edition (1976), 182.
- 30 Saxton T. Pope, *Yahi Archery*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 13:3 (1918), 128. See Ira Jacknis, “‘The Last Wild Indian in North America’: Changing Museum Representations of Ishi,” in Daniel J. Sherman and Anne Higonnet, eds., *Museums and Difference* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, in press).
- 31 Samuel A. Barrett, “American Indian Films,” *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers*, no. 25 (1961), 155–62; Ira Jacknis, “Visualizing Kwakwaka’wakw Tradition: The Films of William Heick, 1951–1963,” in Wendy C. Wickwire, ed., “Ethnographic Eyes: In Memory of Douglas L. Cole,” *BC Studies*, special issue, nos. 125/126 (2000), 99–146.
- 32 Until recently, all the films in the American Indian series were distributed by the University of California Extension Center for Media and Independent Learning. They are no longer available, but reference copies may be viewed at the Phoebe Hearst Museum and other library collections. The extensive unedited footage is also preserved in the Hearst Museum archives.
- 33 William Heick, personal communications, September 1996, July 1997.
- 34 One of Heizer’s students was Sean L. Swezey, who earned a BA (1975) and MA (1976) in anthropology before getting his doctorate in entomology (1982). Swezey published an important literature review of subsistence rituals in Native California. Sean L. Swezey, “The Energetics of Subsistence-Assurance Ritual in Native California,” *Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility*, 23 (1975), 1–46. Excerpts reprinted in Jacknis, *Food*, 353–81.
- 35 At the Lowie Museum during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, California research was conducted by Lawrence E. Dawson, a botany major who focused on basketry, and Albert B. Elsasser, a Heizer doctoral student who also collaborated with Theodora Kroeber on ethnohistorical books and exhibits. Both had strong archaeological and object interests which were expressed more in exhibits than in publications. Neither worked specifically on food.
- 36 It was during this period (1970) that the extensive anthropological archives at Berkeley were inventoried and transferred from the department and museum to the Bancroft Library. See Ira Jacknis, “The Creation of Anthropological Archives: A California Case Study,” in William L. Merrill and Ives Goddard, eds., *Anthropology, History, and American Indians: Essays in Honor of William Curtis Sturtevant*, Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology, no. 44 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2002), 211–20.
- 37 For a good overview of this work see two anthologies: Lowell John Bean and Thomas C. Blackburn, eds., *Native Californians: A Theoretical Perspective* (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1976); Thomas C. Blackburn and Kat Anderson, eds., *Before the Wilderness: Environmental Management by Native Californians* (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1993).
- 38 Lowell John Bean and Thomas C. Blackburn, eds., “Introduction,” *Native Californians: A Theoretical Perspective* (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1976), [5–18] 6.
- 39 Bean’s principal mentors were Ralph Beals (PhD, UC Berkeley, 1930) and Wendell Oswalt (PhD, Arizona, 1959), both of whom had strong ecological interests.
- 40 Lowell John Bean and Katherine Siva Saubel, *Temalpakh (From the Earth): Cahuilla Indian Knowledge and Usage of Plants* (Banning, CA: Malki Museum Press, 1972).
- 41 Lowell John Bean and Harry W. Lawton, “Some Explanations for the Rise of Cultural Complexity in Native California, with Comments on Proto-Agriculture and Agriculture,” *Ballena Press Anthropological Papers*, no. 1 (1973), v–xlvi. See also Henry T. Lewis, “Patterns of Indian Burning in California: Ecology and Ethnohistory,” *Ballena Press Anthropological Papers*, no. 1 (1973), 1–101.
- 42 For instance, at UCLA anthropology instruction was first offered in 1936. A joint Department of Anthropology and Sociology was begun in July, 1940, but an independent department of anthropology was not established until July, 1964.

- 43 Thomas C. Patterson, *A Social History of Anthropology in the United States* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2001), 107.
- 44 Richard Curley, "Anthropology," in Ann F. Scheuring, *Abundant Harvest: The History of the University of California, Davis* (Davis: University of California, Davis History Project, 2001), 336–37.
- 45 Martin Baumhoff, *Ecological Determinants of Aboriginal California Population*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 49(2) (1963), 155–236.
- 46 Martha Macri, "Native American Studies," in Ann F. Scheuring, *Abundant Harvest*, 335. At UCLA, the American Indian Studies Program, which began in 1970, at first dealt only with research, grant-writing, a library, publications, and curriculum development; teaching did not start until 1975.
- 47 A sign that things may be changing, although not specifically in California, is the recent book by Devon Mihesuah (Choctaw)—formerly at the University of Northern Arizona and now at the University of Kansas—one of the leading scholars in Native American studies. Significantly, her approach features not aboriginal customs but contemporary issues of health and fitness. Devon Abbott Mihesuah, *Recovering Our Ancestors' Gardens: Indigenous Recipes and Guide to Diet and Fitness* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005).
- 48 Blackburn first treated Harrington's Chumash narratives in his 1974 doctoral dissertation for UCLA, which he published in a revised version. Thomas C. Blackburn, ed., *December's Child: A Book of Chumash Oral Narratives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).
- 49 Travis Hudson and Thomas C. Blackburn, *The Material Culture of the Chumash Interaction Sphere*, vol. II: *Food Preparation and Shelter* (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press/Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, 1983).
- 50 For key anthropological studies on food since the 1960s, see Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked*, John and Doreen Weightman, trans. (New York: Harper and Row, 1964 [1969]), *The Origin of Table Manners*, John and Doreen Weightman, trans. (New York: Harper and Row, 1968 [1978]); Mary Douglas, "Deciphering a Meal," in *Implicit Meanings* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), 249–75; Marvin Harris, *Good to Eat: Riddles of Food and Culture* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985); Jack Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine, and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology* (Cambridge, Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Sidney W. Mintz, *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom: Excursions into Eating, Culture, and the Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996).
- 51 For general reviews of nutritional anthropology, see Carole Counihan and Penny van Esterik, eds., *Food and Culture: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Sidney W. Mintz and Christine M. Du Bois, "The Anthropology of Food and Eating," *Annual Reviews of Anthropology*, 31 (2002), 99–119.
- 52 For good summaries of this more general literature on food, see Alan Davidson and Helen Saberi, eds., *The Wilder Shores of Gastronomy: Twenty Years of Food Writing* (Berkeley: Ten Speed Press, 2002), and Mark Kurlansky, *Choice Cuts: A Savory Selection of Food Writing from Around the World and Throughout History* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2002).
- 53 Among the food-related articles of Beverly R. Ortiz are "Things Have Changed," *News from Native California*, 2:6 (1989), 22–24; "Food for Sharing," *News from Native California*, 3:3 (1989), 25–27. These are reprinted in Jacknis, *Food*, 421–34.
- 54 Beverly R. Ortiz and Julia F. Parker, *It Will Live Forever: Traditional Yosemite Indian Acorn Preparation* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1991).
- 55 Margaret Dubin and Sara-Larus Tolley, eds., "Seaweed, Salmon, and Manzanita Cider: A California Indian Feast," *News from Native California*, 18:2 (2004), 17–32.
- 56 David W. Peri, "California Fry Bread," *News from Native California*, 1:2 (1987), 17–18; "Cooking with Acorns," *News from Native California*, 1:4 (1987), 22–23; "Venison: Indian Beef (On Deer and Preparing Venison for Cooking or Why Things Are and How They Came to Be That Way), parts I and II," *News from Native California*, 1:6, 4–5; 2:1 (1988), 14–15. Reprinted in Jacknis, *Food*, 401–13.

- 57 Kathleen R. Smith, “You’ll Never Go Hungry: Food Traditions of One Dry Creek Pomo/Bodega Miwok Family,” *News from Native California*, 4:2, (1990), 4–5; “Crab Louis and the Jitterbug,” *News from Native California*, 5:2, (1991), 14–16. Reprinted in Jacknis, *Food*, 414–20.
- 58 M. Kat Anderson, *Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California’s Natural Resources* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).
- 59 Sean Swezey, Heizer’s former student, is now also at Davis—as director of the Sustainable Agriculture Research and Education Program.
- 60 See Chartkoff and Chartkoff, *Archaeology of California*; Fagin, *Before California*.
- 61 L. Mark Raab and Terry L. Jones, “The Rediscovery of California Prehistory,” in Raab and Jones, eds., *Prehistoric California: Archaeology and the Myth of Paradise* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2004), 1–9.
- 62 Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), e.g., 60, 78–79.
- 63 A condensed version of this exhibit is currently on display at the Hearst Museum in the Native California Cultures gallery, opened in February of 2002.
- 64 Ira Jacknis, “Introduction: Notes Toward a Culinary Anthropology of Native California,” in Jacknis, *Food*, 1–119.
- 65 Lee Davis and Don Koué, *Going Home: The California Indian Library Collections Manual* (Berkeley: California Indian Project, Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, 1989); Ira Jacknis, “The Creation of Anthropological Archives.”
- 66 Leslie Brenner, *American Appetite: The Coming of Age of a Cuisine* (New York: Avon, 1999), 190–91.
- 67 For example, Fernando and Marlene Divina, *Foods of the Americas: Native Recipes and Traditions* (Berkeley: Ten Speed Press, 2004).
- 68 Nothing distinctly Californian seems to be served at the café at the new National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, and in the museum’s new cookbook (Divina and Davina) only one recipe is clearly from California (acorn bread, p. 158).
- 69 Mihesuah, *Recovering Our Ancestors’ Gardens*.