

**The Kawaiisu of South-Central California:
Creating a New Identity**

by

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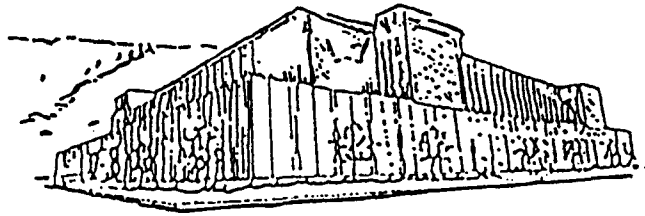
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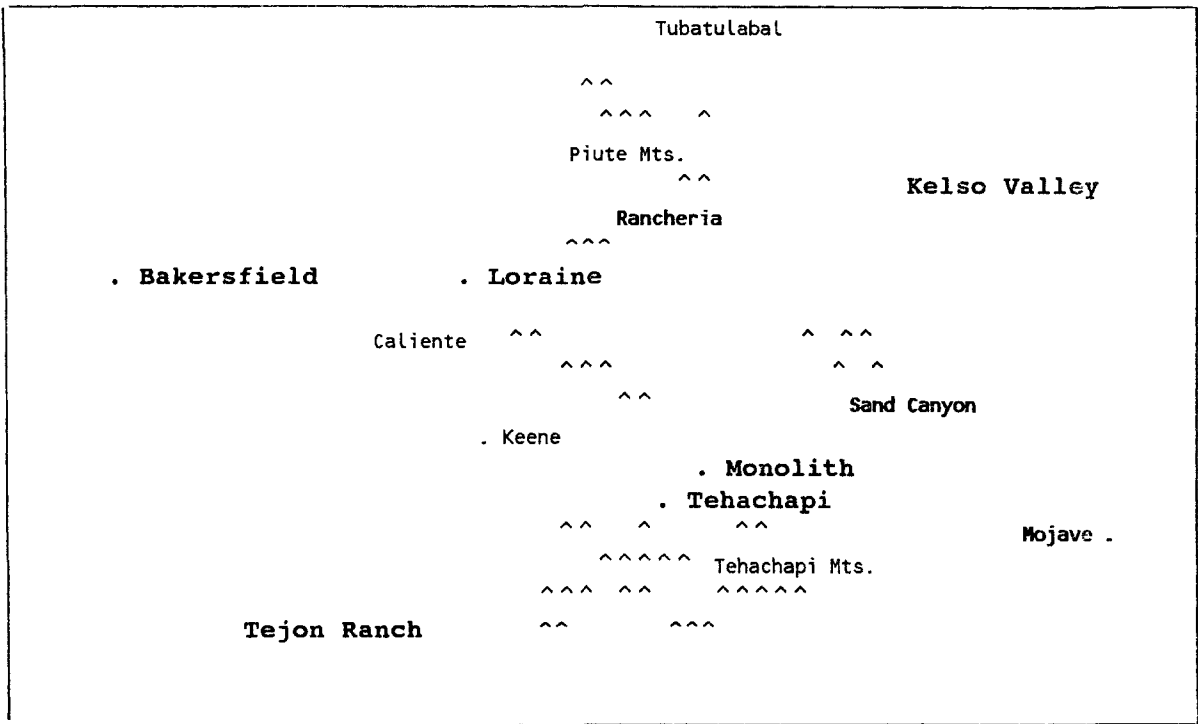
This research represents an introduction to the recent history and experiences of the Kawaiisu of south-central California. Using phenomenological concepts of identity construction and culture as strategy, this thesis traces over five generations of Kawaiisu individuals. It represents three different families, each telling in their own words about their life experiences. Preceding research of Kawaiisu people has focused upon the vanishing material *culture*. In contrast, this research views traditional Kawaiisu culture as the basis of strategy for action which has facilitated Kawaiisu survival. Additionally, through their experiences, the socially constructed nature of identity and culture emerges.

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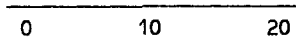
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KAWAIISU TERRITORY



Miles



Source: Zigmond, 1980

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Leslie J. Zaglauer

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Remembering the Kawaiisu

The museum in the small town of Tehachapi, California is in what long ago was the school library, an old building with stucco walls, wood floors, and Spanish tile. One room, approximately fifty by twenty feet, houses the entire display of Tehachapi valley history. Photographs of the town founders and their brief biographies line the walls along with snapshots of important events in the town's history. Display cases hold pioneer artifacts, old clothing, old saddles used by local bandits, books, and tourist souvenirs. One display case and a portion of a wall are devoted to the original inhabitants of the Tehachapi area who are now known as the Kawaiisu.

Books written by scholars describing the pre-contact cultures of California Indians lie open in the display case to the page or two written exclusively about the Indians of the Tehachapi valley. There are a few artifacts, arrowheads, rock mortar bowls and pestles, and a story or two relating to the mystical spirit world of the local Indians. The lack of biographies telling something about who some of those people were makes it seem as though they

were invisible and unknown, and to many non-Indian locals, perhaps they were. It isn't that they were entirely unknown, they were just not being remembered as active and interesting participants in the history of the region. Those who were depicting the original inhabitants were, perhaps, engaged in showing the pre-contact way of life as a backdrop to the history of American pioneers, rather than acknowledging that Kawaiisu people worked for and lived side-by-side with the American settlers and continue to do so today.

Although few in numbers today (approximately 150 as estimated by Kawaiisu informants), Kawaiisu people still exist. They possess a unique identity that is revealed by stories telling of a heritage that is their own. By focusing on the material aspects of traditional (pre-contact) Kawaiisu culture, scholars and other observers have overlooked the very essence of what it means to be Kawaiisu and how this meaning has changed over time and continues to change. By looking for only the most obvious ways in which Kawaiisu individuals differ from whites in such things as language, skin color, religious practices, and dietary preferences, scholars and others have neglected to see what is distinct about Kawaiisu reality in both the recent past, since the arrival of Americans to their homeland, and the present.

Researchers have recorded and attributed certain traits to the Kawaiisu, and attached social significance to those traits. In this process of classification, specific traits are regarded by researchers as socially significant while others are not. In the academic world, actual behaviors and social practices alone have become the criteria for defining what it means to be Kawaiisu. This form of classification provides ways in which scholars, laymen, and the group being classified (in this case, the Kawaiisu) may "socially perceive and ignore, recognize and misrecognize, be and act" (Brown, 1993). In other words, such classifications become "definitions of personhood" (Brown, 1993). Geertz (1973) asserted that human beings could not be defined by actual behaviors alone just as they could not be defined by innate capacities alone. Geertz acknowledged that social scientists were in the habit of defining people largely by their behaviors. These definitions have traditionally reflected the world view of a privileged group of scholars and not the world view of the group being defined.

In the process of collecting and classifying information, countless local or regional histories that tell the stories of families and communities are disregarded, deemed boring or unworthy by academia. The history and life experiences of minorities and women have traditionally been excluded from the realm of academia, often resulting in the loss of knowledge about their heritage and experiences.

Fortunately, many once excluded groups are now making their presence known in academia and in the political sphere and are retrieving their heritage (Andersen, 1992).

One way to retrieve this heritage is through the telling of stories and life experiences. With the benefit of remaining Kawaiisu elders providing a bridge to the past, this thesis is an effort to ensure that some of the details of recent Kawaiisu history are not lost and that their stories and life experiences are told, not only from their perspective, but as reported and analyzed by an insider. The people who share their stories are related to me either by blood or are distant kin. With the population of about only 150, anymore, all Kawaiisu are kin. I have asked the informants to tell about their own lives and by doing so, their distinct identity as Kawaiisu emerges from their own words.

Previous Research

There have been various mentions of the Kawaiisu in larger reference texts about California tribes and/or western United States tribes (Hodge, 1907; Kroeber, 1925; Hart, 1967, among others). The name "Kawaiisu" is a recent invention, interpreted from the Yokutsan languages recorded by Alfred L. Kroeber. The name was applied to the tribe of the Tehachapi valley area in the 1907 Handbook of American Indians, Volume I (Hodge, 1907) and has been used by researchers ever since (Zigmond, 1986). The term "Kawaiisu"

will be used here, but I will discuss the nomenclature of the term at greater length in chapter three.

Dr. Maurice M. Zigmond spent several months conducting fieldwork among the Kawaiisu in the late 1930's and again in the early 1970's. Zigmond's extensive studies culminated in published books and articles on Kawaiisu geography (1938), plant usage (1981), mythology (1977, 1988), basketry (1978), and a Kawaiisu dictionary (Munro & Zigmond, 1984). His associate, Stephen C. Cappannari, also conducted fieldwork during the late 1940's and collected information on Kawaiisu language, as did Dr. Sheldon Klein during the late 1950's and again in the early 1980's. The researchers mentioned above have each spent a considerable amount time speaking directly with the Kawaiisu individuals in their homes and their research remains vital to the existing knowledge of Kawaiisu culture.

A few researchers have published limited works pertaining to different aspects of Kawaiisu culture, such as kinship terms (Gifford, 1917, cited by Zigmond, 1986). Archeologists have, over the last 20 years, analyzed pictographs and rock mortar holes, as well as house rings which indicate Kawaiisu settlement sites (cited in Zigmond, 1986). Additionally, local historians have interviewed Kawaiisu people and told parts of their stories, but the stories have been recounted through the filtered perceptions of the authors (Barras, 1984; Powers, 1981; Wortley, 1972).

Research into non-material aspects of culture and identity that is from a Native point of view is rare in the academic world, especially research that pertains to non-federally recognized or landless tribes or bands. In recent years, California Indians have taken the initiative in telling their own stories in publications, such as the quarterly periodical, News From Native California: An Inside View of the California Indian World. This and other local publications and newsletters provide a forum for the telling of the history and experiences of California Indians from their own perspective.

Research Objectives

Today, numerous tribes like the Kawaiisu are not recognized by the federal government, while other tribes established special relations known as the federal trust relationship (which includes federal aid and protection). As a result of the federal government's refusal to recognize all tribes, numerous tribes in California as well as in other states, have been declared extinct or non-existing in a political sense. Despite not having a political relationship with the federal government, it is known among locals, especially Native peoples, that many such groups are in fact not extinct, politically or culturally (Castillo, 1994: 334). The founders of the Tehachapi Museum may have regarded the Kawaiisu culture to be extinct since the Kawaiisu are not a federally recognized tribe and the pre-

contact culture is no longer practiced. Others, including anthropologists and historians and local observers, have made the same assumption: "A tribe called by themselves Tahichapahanna...is now extinct" (Powers, 1877: 393, in reference to the Kawaiisu). "They slowly lost their culture, assimilated the whiteman's way, and except for a handful of families still in the region, have disappeared completely from the land." (Barras, 1973). "There is nothing in the day-to-day life of the modern Kawaiisus that would identify them as Indians." (Zigmond, 1986). These statements characterize cultures as static entities, resigning the Kawaiisu to a past tense orientation. The Kawaiisu are depicted as passive to external forces, rendering a Kawaiisu identity no longer viable.

Kawaiisu informants knowledgeable in traditional Kawaiisu practices have been asked by researchers to describe such practices, as well as the pre-contact Kawaiisu material culture. Seldom have Kawaiisu individuals been asked to talk about their lives and their perceptions of their world. It is as though once the Kawaiisu obtained jobs, sent their children to school, and began to attend church, they relinquished their claim to a unique identity and were no longer of interest to observers who were quick to declare the Kawaiisu extinct. Forbes (1969: 130) describes this phenomenon:

"Indian culture," in brief, is perceived of as being a static thing which no longer exists

(except perhaps in Arizona and New Mexico). It is generally described by laymen as an unchanging set of behavioral patterns and material objects uniformly used in the same way by all of the people in the "tribe" or group under discussion. This viewpoint conveys a false impression of what "culture" is and may also serve to confuse pupils of both non-Indian and Indian background....This erroneous belief serves to deprive Indians of today of a sense of identity as Indians since most of them obviously can not live as native people did a century ago.

Interestingly, I found that the interviewees in this study were quick to tell me the same thing, that they did not know very much about "Indian things" and that they did not know if they would be of much help to me. They assumed that I wanted to know about traditional Kawaiisu material culture, Kawaiisu in the past tense. It has been common for observers to say that the Kawaiisu "lost their culture" and have become assimilated, but cultures are far from static entities. Cultures change and what was practiced at one time may not be practiced in the present for many various and valid reasons, as new ways of responding to a changing world are created and adopted. Cultures transform and take on new characteristics. In this process, something of the original culture may exist, but it may be obscured by the adoption of parts of another culture. Moreover, the loss or transformation of different aspects of a culture does not always mean a loss of identity.

This research will introduce the reader to the lives of a virtually forgotten and misrepresented people, their changing culture, and their perception of a Kawaiisu

identity. In their own words, seven Kawaiisu tell about their lives. Through their life stories, the influences and their responses to a rapidly changing world are brought to light and the dynamic nature of culture can be seen. Their stories represent a historical record which has gone largely untold. Using interviews of five Kawaiisu members gathered in the summer of 1994 and interviews of a Kawaiisu couple gathered by Dr. Klein in 1958, this thesis will explore the assumption that Kawaiisu culture is "lost" by looking at why different aspects of Kawaiisu culture were transformed or eliminated. I maintain that the transformation of a culture does not mean that a culture is lost. This study will also examine the process of maintaining a Kawaiisu identity. Of special interest is the process by which traditional practices and life ways endure not only as reinforcers of identity, but also as mechanisms that facilitated the gradual, but ongoing, transformation of Kawaiisu culture to adapt to contemporary needs.

This thesis traces over five generations some of the interactions, the conflicting, mixing, and merging of the Kawaiisu with the dominant white community. The goal of this study is not to develop generalizable theories about the processes of assimilation, loss of culture, and maintenance of identity, but to examine one culture and explain how the people known as Kawaiisu, undergo such dynamic processes.

Methodology

To better understand the experiences of the Kawaiisu over time it is important to be aware of the historical context and some of the larger historical trends taking place in California. Technical as well as nontechnical literature (documents, manuscripts, biographies, etc.) were researched in order to provide a brief overview of the history of Indian and white relations of California and of the Tehachapi area which precedes the presentation of the interviews. Kawaiisu voices are included in the historical overview. Knowledge of the local historical context facilitates a greater understanding of the world of the Kawaiisu.

According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), the library is full of "voices begging to be heard" and in the process of researching, I stumbled upon an interview conducted by an anthropologist in 1938 with an elderly woman of the neighboring Tubatulabal tribe who spoke, in her own words, of her interactions with the Kawaiisu (Voegelin, 1941). This and other accidental discoveries of interviews are voices with stories to tell. I was also furnished with taped interviews of an elderly Kawaiisu couple conducted by a researcher almost 40 years ago (Klein, 1958). In these tapes, the couple spoke about their daily lives and perceptions of spirituality and God, which differed from their non-Indian neighbors.

In addition to library research, I conducted fieldwork involving in-depth interviews. Presently, there are only three Kawaiisu families living in Tehachapi proper. I interviewed five members from two families. Their ages ranged from thirty-five years to seventy-eight years of age. The interviews were conducted in their homes and, with their permission, tape recorded. The interviews were informal and unstructured and began with very open questions. The initial interview questions focused on three areas:

1. Traditional Kawaiisu culture, such as the use of Kawaiisu language, practice of traditional ceremonies, and usage of traditional medicines or foods.
2. Each interviewees' perception of Kawaiisu culture.
3. Each interviewees' life experiences, focusing upon school, work, religion, and community involvement.

I was interested in the experiences of individuals as well as their family history and cultural practices. I asked informants to tell me about their public education, work history, and church/religious experiences in addition to family life. Questions about traditional Kawaiisu culture uncovered generational as well as gender differences in levels of knowledgeability of traditional practices. I asked questions such as:

Can you tell me about the practice of traditional ceremonies by your family, such as singing, dancing, sweat lodge?, etc.

Such open-ended questions served as jumping-off points for further elaboration and more specific questioning.

Kawaiisu Informants

In keeping with the focus on a changing Kawaiisu culture and identity over time, the informants were chosen to represent four generations from three Kawaiisu families.

Voices of the past were provided by:

Fred and Rosie (husband and wife) in their late 60's or early 70's at the time of their interviews, conducted by Dr. Sheldon Klein, in 1958. Both were born and raised in Kelso Valley.

Voices of the present were:

Clara was born in 1919 and she grew up in the Piute Mountain area. She was married to a Kawaiisu, Ed (now deceased); they were the last Kawaiisu couple. She currently resides in Tehachapi. The other adult informants all have non-Indian spouses.

Harold is Clara's son. He was born in 1945 and raised in the Tehachapi and Piute Mountain areas and he also resides in Tehachapi.

Andy was born in 1917 in Sand Canyon near Monolith. He grew up in and around that area and has lived in Tehachapi proper since the early 1960's.

Carmen is Andy's daughter, she was born in Tehachapi in 1939 and raised in Monolith, Mojave, and the surrounding area of Tehachapi. Carmen lives in Montana.

Monty is Andy's son, he was born in Bakersfield in 1959 and raised in Tehachapi where he now resides.

These informants shared extensive information about their lives, their family histories and their feelings. This research departs from previous research on Kawaiisu culture in methodology and perspective. Not only will some Kawaiisu members tell their own stories in their own words,

but my perspective is from the inside, as I am a Kawaiisu descendant.

Insider Research

One advantage to insider research is that distrust and hostility toward the researcher are sometimes diffused (Zinn, 1979). The fact that I am an insider made interviewees feel at ease to talk about some sensitive family issues. Another researcher, if they could acquire such information, might be inclined to use it if it seemed relevant. I feel a responsibility to protect their privacy and would therefore not reveal sensitive family issues. It was clear to me that I was not seen by them as a researcher, but as a granddaughter, niece, cousin, daughter of a family friend, etc. Moreover, I was not sure that I wanted them to see me as a researcher because of sterile connotations that the role of a researcher evokes.

When I first began asking family members about their lives, I worried about how I was going to be a "good" social scientist and remain objective. There were some stories that I had heard and many that I hadn't. Various memories returned to me when I listened to their stories. Throughout the interviews and our casual conversations that followed, I felt a mixture of pride in the unique history of my family and the strength and persistence of our ancestors to adapt and survive despite many hardships. I also felt nostalgic for times past and people long gone. I wondered how I could

suppress those emotions and soon came to realize that I cannot, nor should I attempt to deny them.

Andersen and Collins (1992: 4) submit that "engaging oneself at the personal level is critical to thinking inclusively." Thinking inclusively involves "valuing" the experiences of "those who have been excluded and questioning assumptions made about all groups" (Ibid). Searching out one's own feelings is a prerequisite to thinking inclusively. We are a part of the social world we study and systematic inquiry into the social world we wish to study is essential. Careful personal reflection is a part of that inquiry. Seen in this way, personal reflection is no less important than analyzing the data.

To know more about ourselves, we often look to where it is we come from. In that sense, this thesis represents a personal endeavor for me. My experiences in researching the history of my family have resulted in a mixture of feelings that are difficult to describe. I feel a new connection to my ancestors and I feel newly attached to my heritage, not as simply "American Indian," but as a Kawaiisu.

CHAPTER II

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Culture not only shapes our perceptions of ourselves and others, but culture also directs our actions and culture is always changing. To underscore this dynamic nature of culture, the commonly emphasized notion of culture as something that the Kawaiisu "lost" will be replaced with the notion of culture as something that the Kawaiisu have used and adapted. The nature of this study requires theoretical guideposts that are sensitive to the importance of everyday routines and cultural practices which shape our perceptions and create and recreate social realities and identity. As we will see, culture can be thought of as a tool kit of social practices, beliefs, and behaviors that influences how we respond to our changing surroundings.

Since research into culture and identity should not (and really cannot) be examined apart from historical context, it is necessary to draw from a conceptual framework which acknowledges that "interactions are thoroughly imbued with history" (Abrams, 1982: 2). With the presumption of socially constructed realities as a fundamental tenet of phenomenological theories, there is an implicit appreciation of the historical nature of social phenomenon as continuous social processes. As Berger and Luckmann see this social

process, we "not only live in the same world, we participate in each other's being" and this is an ongoing process (1966: 130).

Culture as Strategy

The focus here shifts from the loss of material culture to how culture can be the basis for action. Kawaiisu individuals have used and continue to use their culture as a strategy of action to define their responses to a changing world. Swidler conceptualizes culture as consisting of "symbolic vehicles of meaning, including beliefs, ritual practices, art forms, and ceremonies," essentially, the "rituals of everyday life" (1986: 273). These symbolic vehicles represent the components of a shared reality consisting not only of material representations of culture, but also stories, habits, and world view.

Swidler describes culture as a system of interrelated parts which inform strategies of action. "Strategy" is defined as a "general way of organizing action" (Swidler, 1986: 277). She gives examples of strategy such as, depending upon a network of kin or relying upon a marketable skill that might allow one to reach several different life goals. Strategy then, is not to be considered a conscious plan or scheme to attain a specific goal. Swidler uses the metaphor of a "tool kit" to explain that culture provides tools for influencing action. Individuals draw from

different parts of their culture to determine a line of action:

Both individual and groups know how to do things in different circumstances. People may have in readiness cultural capacities they rarely employ; and all people know more culture than they use (Swidler, 1986: 277).

The above passage points out that individuals have varying degrees of knowledge ("of how to do things in different circumstances") and varying degrees of "cultural capacities" which inform strategies of action. Swidler also notes that people do not use all of the "tools" that are available to them in their "tool kit" ("people know more culture than they use").

The concept of culture as the basis of strategies of action will be used to portray the responses of Kawaiisu families and individuals to their changing world. We can know part of what influenced the strategies of groups and individuals by considering what is available to them in their cultural "tool kit," but in order to better understand the development and maintenance of social realities, we also need to consider interactions between groups and individuals. Strategies of action employed are based upon available cultural tools or symbolic vehicles. Symbolic vehicles are the glue that binds individuals together through a process of creating and recreating social realities. Through this process, cultural items (symbolic

vehicles) are interchanged as a culture is defined and redefined (Nagel, 1994).

The Social Construction of Reality

Phenomenology asks us to question our taken for granted notions and this requires being open to the perceptions and experiences of social actors (Wallace & Wolf, 1991). Berger and Luckmann (1966) focus on the process whereby social actors create and recreate a shared reality through their interactions. It follows that social realities are socially constructed and socially maintained. Berger and Luckmann identify three elements in the dialectical process of reality construction, they are: externalization, objectification, and internalization. These three elements are ongoing, occurring simultaneously and not as a sequence of events. Externalization, objectification, and internalization cannot be considered separately, but are all a part of the flow of interactions that create social realities, including identity.

Externalization refers to the process of creating social worlds. In sum, "social order is the result of past human activity and exists only insofar as human activity continues to produce it" (Berger & Luckmann, 1966: 52). In other words, externalization is the actual forging of interactions whereby individuals are active participants in the formation of social realities. As products of the past, social realities are subject to change. Friendships and

business partnerships are two examples of active formation of social realities through social interactions.

Throughout the interviews, Kawaiisu informants mention various individuals with whom they interacted either through work, school, church, or other community involvement and individual endeavors. Through these interactions, an Indian identity (and later a Kawaiisu identity) emerged and has been maintained as a result of Kawaiisu interactions with non-Kawaiisu. Social realities, even as they are emerging, come to be seen as a part of the natural order of things by the social actors involved. What was once perceived as a taken for granted social reality is now viewed with nostalgia, regret, curiosity, or a number of other emotions as we operate from our newly formed and always changing social realities.

Through the process of objectification, everyday life is perceived as objective reality complete with consequences for individual action. Everyday life is seen as a part of the natural order of things in general, rather than a product of human interaction. Everyday life would not be possible if it were not for the objectification of objects that "proclaim the subjective intentions" of individuals (Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 35). The ability to objectify social reality provides an essential sense of security or confidence that "the natural and social worlds are as they

appear to be, including the basic existential parameters of self and social identity" (Giddens, 1984: 375).

Kawaiisu individuals, as they first entered into the social and economic structures of the white community, found themselves faced with a social reality that was not of their creation. As a result, they found themselves excluded from or on the periphery of social activities, unable to feel the same sense of security in the objectified reality of their white counterparts. Gradually, their social reality expanded to include increased interactions with non-Indians with the effect of creating, through interactions, a new social reality. This did not signal the end of exclusion or the automatic acceptance and understanding of non-Kawaiisu values and life ways.

Using their own cultural resources, Kawaiisu families made sense of their changing reality in their own way and adjusted to the requirements of a new world in a process Berger and Luckmann call internalization. Internalization is a concept analogous to socialization in that individuals take on values and social norms. In the process of internalization, individuals are "conforming to the expectations of existing social institutions and they are also recreating that institution" (Wallace & Wolf, 1991: 316).

Berger and Luckmann refer to two phases of internalization, primary and secondary socialization.

Primary socialization is the initial socialization an individual undergoes beginning at birth with the formation of bonds to significant others with whom they identify emotionally. Secondary socialization is the "internalization of institutional or institution-based subworlds" (Berger & Luckmann, 1966: 138). Essentially, primary socialization takes place at home, in the presence of family or kin networks and secondary socialization takes place outside of the home. The formation of identity is all a part of this process.

Individuals obtain the foundation of their identity through emotional bonds formed during primary socialization as an individual's "first world is constructed," which is a process mediated by significant others (Berger & Luckmann, 1966: 135). Humans are motivated to a large degree by emotional attachments to others and affective commitments, but the study of emotions by sociologists has only recently begun to receive greater attention (Thoits, 1989). Emotional attachments are crucial in the formation of identity as individuals are more likely to "enact identities to which positive affect is attached and will attempt to deny identities associated with intense negative affect" (Stryker, quoted in Thoits, 1989: 332). A child will internalize the world of her significant others as the "only existent and only conceivable world" (Berger & Luckmann, 1966: 134). Primary socialization ends with the formation

of a self-identification reflecting the reality of the significant others in the life of a child.

Berger and Luckmann hold that a society in which socialization is complete at the primary level would be a society with a simple "stock of knowledge" or conceptions of appropriate beliefs and behavior. All knowledge would be "generally relevant with individuals varying only in their perspectives of it" (1966: 138). They point out that in most societies, there is some form of division of labor and specialization of knowledge, such that socialization ending at the primary level would not be conceivable. Therefore, socialization continues at a secondary level.

Through secondary socialization, identity becomes the product of a dialectical process "involving internal and external opinions and processes, as well as the individual's self-identification" (Nagel, 1994: 154). As a part of the internalization process, external opinions contribute to identity formation. Individuals come to perceive themselves according to the mirror that is held up to them by those in positions of authority as they enter into the secondary socialization process. Identity formation is never really complete, but continues as individuals are confronted with the need to learn how to maneuver in a world of institutions.

Institutions represent those more durable social practices that have structural properties which stretch

through time and space. Giddens defines structural properties as "structured features of social systems," and these structured features are the "rules and resources recursively implicated in the reproduction of social systems" (Giddens, 1984:377). There are two categories of rules. One category pertains to social life, which may be unspoken rules, or general procedures involved in the continuous reproduction of social activity ("stocks of knowledge" learned in primary socialization). These rules are often taken for granted knowledge that shapes world views and enables individuals to, at some minimum level, function in the world. The other category of rules are codes of signification which are the formalized rules and laws in, for example, any institution such as the legal system or a bureaucracy. We become acquainted with this category of rules in the secondary socialization process as we are sent to schools, churches, and enter the labor market.

Giddens also acknowledges two categories of resources. Authoritative resources stem from the "co-ordination of social action" by groups or individuals (police, judges, school teachers, etc.) who have the capacity to harness the activities of human beings as a result of the power some social actors have over others (Giddens, 1984: 373). Allocative resources involve the control of material products in the material world derived from human dominion

over nature (Giddens, 1984: xxxi). Obviously, these resources are not evenly distributed nor do they operate or are put to use to the benefit of everyone.

Social actors use rules and resources to reproduce or recreate structural principles and institutions through time and space. In other words, structures and symbols are not alien to social actors. Social actors use structure in the same sense that they use culture. Groups and individuals who know the ropes, that is, have knowledge of the rules and have greater resources or access to resources, are able to use rules and resources to their benefit. Rules and resources are subject to manipulation and change by groups or individuals who have greater resources and knowledge of the rules and it is here that we see one connection between knowledge and power (Foucault, 1984).

To summarize, human social activities are recursive; social actors produce and reproduce, as well as recreate them, through their activities. Thus, human activity occurs as a continuous flow stemming from the reflexive form of knowledge carried by individuals. As Giddens states, "To be a human being is to be a purposive agent who both has reasons for his or her activities and is able, if asked, to elaborate discursively upon those reasons," (1984: 3). Individuals equipped with varying levels of knowledge (i.e., cultural tools, and knowledge of rules) and access to

resources, are involved in the reproduction of structure and that includes culture and identity.

The above concepts will allow for a portrayal of Kawaiisu individuals as active participants in the history of the local region, in the creation of their reality, and in their struggle to understand the "rules" (structures and symbols) of the world around them. We will see some of their individual responses to change, as opposed to viewing the Kawaiisu as a homogeneous group all responding to a changing world by abandoning their traditional culture and their unique identity. We will also see how their present identity is the product of primary and secondary socialization.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Although it is helpful to situate the historical circumstances of the Kawaiisu within historical trends in California, this chapter is not about setting the record straight, in terms of clearing up any historical inaccuracies as reported by non-Kawaiisu historians and Kawaiisu informants. Instead, this chapter is about providing a forum for a different side of history.

The stories told by the Kawaiisu of historical events involving encounters with American newcomers since the 1860's provide Kawaiisu individuals with a sense of origin. This sense of origin colors how Kawaiisu individuals perceive themselves, their people, and their ancestors and forms a part of Kawaiisu identity today.

Non-Kawaiisu versions of history reflect the reality of distant observers or pioneer accounts and, as a result, may misrepresent Kawaiisu reality. A clear example of misrepresentation is found in the use of the term "Kawaiisu" by anthropologists. Not only is the usage of the term "Kawaiisu" an example of misrepresentation of Kawaiisu reality, it is also an example of how the Kawaiisu have adopted and adapted the term to suit their needs.

Being a "Person"

The word "Kawaiisu" is a relatively recent invention. In fact, there is some confusion surrounding the origin of the word and questions by outsiders as to the proper designation (Zigmond, 1986). Andy illustrates:

The Indian people, they called themselves "niwi." Kawaiisu, was the tribe that was here. They didn't call themselves that because they didn't know how to say it. Piute and Kawaiisu, they are both the same language, the Shoshone were on the desert, that's what John Marcus (Andy's grandfather) was, he spoke their language and this language (Kawaiisu), but he couldn't speak the Tubatulabal language.

Andy refers to his people as "Indian" which was a term commonly used by the Kawaiisu as it was commonly applied to them by local American settlers. "Niwi" is a generic term for 'person' or 'human being,' in plural form "niwiwi" or 'people' (Zigmond, 1986: 410). They applied this word to themselves and to members of other tribes or bands.

Andy emphasizes language and place with reference to a group designation. John Marcus, for example, came from the desert and spoke two languages. Boundaries between groups were most obviously marked by language, but boundaries were often permeable. John Marcus, a Panamint Shoshone, had crossed one boundary to the Kawaiisu, but not the boundary to the Tubatulabal as he did not speak their language. Several Kawaiisu around the turn of the century were bilingual and sometimes multi-lingual, showing that they were capable of crossing boundaries. Permeable boundaries could

be attributed to how the Kawaiisu viewed outsiders. Forbes (1969: 27) points out that most Native Americans of California had "no concept of conquering or exploiting other peoples" which promoted a sense of tolerance of different customs and "purely individual behavior." Such tolerance would have facilitated the crossing of boundaries.

Nevertheless, tribal groups would most likely have had names distinguishing other tribal groups and the word "Kawaiisu" is reportedly a derivative of one of those names, possibly from the Yokut (Kroeber, 1925: 602). In an interview with an anthropologist in the 1930's, Fred gave the word "Kohaizi'wa" as the designation for the people living in Kawaiisu territory (Driver, 1937). Carmen's grandmother told her that they were "Kohaizi'wa," but neither Fred or Carmen knew what the word meant.

"Kawaiisu," "Piute," "Tahichapahanna," and "Niwi" are among the names anthropologists and observers have applied to the native people of the Tehachapi area (Powers, 1877; Wortley, 1972; Barras, 1984). Even though "Niwi" is a Kawaiisu word, it was not applied by the Kawaiisu in reference only to themselves, but to all individuals in surrounding tribal groups.

According to Forbes (1969: 27), most California Indians lived within small groups of 50 to 500 persons. Given the permeable boundaries of small groupings, a strong group identity with respect to other small tribal groups may not

have been as rigidly enforced and therefore of less significance to some individuals within tribal groups. In other words, some "Niwi" came from the desert, some "Niwi" came from the valley and so forth. The word "Niwi" was not applied to American newcomers.

The Kawaiisu have a word for the American settlers which both Andy and Carmen told me translates into English as meaning "dirt" or, more precisely, something that "comes from the dirt." Since the Kawaiisu used place to identify other native peoples (i.e., "desert Indians" or "Tejon Indians"), I believe that the word for Americans might have meant that it seemed as though the Euro-Americans materialized from the earth, similar to the expression, 'out of thin air.' Just for the sake of speculation, it seems plausible that upon meeting such vastly alien people as the Spanish and English speaking Euro-Americans, not knowing their language or their origins, it would certainly seem that such people had risen from the earth. Of course, it could have emerged to become a derogatory term for Americans.

At any rate, though not a traditionally used designation, "Kawaiisu" is a word that has generally been adopted by the people who have been known by others by several different names, or simply as "Indians" by the white settlers. The Kawaiisu have long accepted the term "Indian" and refer to themselves as Indian. When they talk

about using their native language they refer to "Indian" or "talking Indian."

Even though (using Andy's words) they "didn't know how to say 'Kawaiisu,'" I will continue to use the word "Kawaiisu" since, as the official academic classification, the word has been adopted by the younger generation of Kawaiisu who are attempting to gain recognition from the federal government as a viable tribal entity. The younger generation has learned that recognition and survival as a political entity means adapting to the language and system of classification of the federal government. They were not always "Kawaiisu," but they are now and they continue to create and recreate what it means to be Kawaiisu.

Population

Over the last 100 years, survival as a political entity has been overshadowed by the challenge of physical survival. The Kawaiisu were invisible to American settlers passing through Tehachapi in the 1870's, prompting one passerby to declare the Kawaiisu extinct. They were not extinct, but were a part of the economic structure of the local communities and were gradually being drawn into the local schools and churches. The Kawaiisu population, however, had declined significantly by the end of the nineteenth century. By 1860, diseases including malaria, measles, diphtheria, and syphilis had devastated the Indian population of California (Cook, 1955). The depopulating effects of

disease had peaked by 1900, thereafter the population decline slowed and only in this century has the Indian population of California been able to increase (Hurtado, 1988).

The Kawaiisu population declined rapidly around the turn of the century. Kroeber (1923: 603) speculated that the Kawaiisu population had dwindled to 150 by the turn of the century from an estimated pre-contact population of 500. Dr. Zigmond, a linguist conducting field research in the Tehachapi area, placed the Kawaiisu population at around 100 in 1936. According to Powers, a local historian, pioneer families of the Tehachapi region fell victim to diseases, such as diphtheria, which made "serious inroads in large families" and in many families, few children "lived to maturity" (Powers, 1994). Kawaiisu families experienced the same deadly fate.

When Rosie was about eight (around the turn of the century), her mother died leaving her older sister to look after the children while their father worked as a cowboy. She also lost her brother and two sisters, no one knew why: "I thought about them all the time. I cried all the time," she said. Her brother and sisters were in their late teens or early twenties at the time of their deaths. The cause of so many child deaths was inexplicable to the Kawaiisu, although some attributed the deaths to otherworldly forces including witchcraft (Voegelin, 1941).

Andy vividly recalls the frequency of unexplained deaths and the number of children born to Kawaiisu parents living near Monolith who did not live to maturity or died as young adults. Such was also the case in his immediate family:

My grandmother, I don't know how many children she had, but there wasn't a one who ever lived to be very old. I don't know why. There was one who lived, Kate, but she was kind of an invalid. She finally died. Grandma was by herself. I often wondered why kids died. Why? You know I got to realizing why they died, I still think it is because he (grandfather) used to dig their graves himself, and that's not a good thing to do, to dig the graves of your family yourself. I think that's where the mistake was made by doing that. They all died, every one of them.

To dig graves for one's own children is bad luck according to Andy and could cause the death of siblings. At the time that many of the child deaths Andy spoke of occurred, some 60 to 80 years ago, Kawaiisu families did not seek explanations for the death of their children from medical science. Instead, they generally relied upon their own traditional medicines and healers and came to terms with their losses through explanations that reflected their own reality. The death of so many Kawaiisu children truly perplexed him. Carmen confirmed that not only did children frequently die, but several adults had died at a relatively young age, in their early fifties. Moreover, some Kawaiisu couples, like Fred and Rosie (for unknown reasons), did not have children. These factors all contributed to the

population decline and the loss of knowledge of traditional Kawaiisu life ways.

As stated above, it has only been within this century that the Indian population of California has been able to increase, but according to one observer (Zigmond, 1986), the Kawaiisu are well on their way to vanishing. Using the ability to speak the Kawaiisu language as one criteria for determining who should be considered Kawaiisu, Zigmond (1992) estimated the Kawaiisu population to be about 30 in 1984. According to Carmen, less than half of his last estimation of 30 are able to speak the native language so some other criteria must be involved in Zigmonds' estimate.

In contrast to the diminished number reported by Zigmond, Harold affirms that the Kawaiisu number "approximately 125 to 150, and that includes all of the children that's in our little tribe." Carmen agrees with Harold's estimation. From a member's view point, language alone is not the sole criteria for being Kawaiisu. Being family, that is, being a direct descendant qualifies as the prevailing criteria for being Kawaiisu.

Kawaiisu Territory and Neighboring Tribes

The traditional homeland of the Kawaiisu lies between the Mojave Desert and the San Joaquin Valley, surrounded by the Piute and the Tehachapi mountains, in the Sierra Nevada range (Zigmond, 1938, see map, pp. iv). Traditionally, the Kawaiisu lived in loosely organized extended family

groupings; kin reunited for hunting parties and food harvests, spending months at a time together before returning to their home base. Political and social organization was minimal. Fred, as well as other informants, had reported to an anthropologist in the 1930's that the Kawaiisu people traditionally recognized only one leader for the entire area. This person, usually male, was responsible for the redistribution of wealth (game and food harvests) and was respected for his generosity and ability to provide the most food at feasts. He was a provider and a negotiator, as he was called upon to settle disputes (Driver, 1937: 58).

Other respected members of the community included curing and weather shamans. Curing shamans possessed a connection with the realm of the extra ordinary and had knowledge of local plants used for medicines, while weather shamans could summon the powerful realm to produce climatic changes (Driver, 1937). In the late 1800's, knowledge and services were shared with neighboring tribal members, such as the Tubatulabal, who often sought the aid of Kawaiisu curing shamans and the services of a Tejon weather shaman (Voegelin, 1941).

The Kawaiisu participated in a trade network which extended from the Southern Yokut to the eastern tribes of the Panamint range area, which facilitated interaction between the tribes of the region (Arkush, 1993).

Neighboring tribes included the Tubatulabal to the north, the Southern Yokuts to the west, and the Kitanemuk and Serrano to the south (Zigmond, 1986). Generally peaceful relations with neighboring tribes facilitated the movement of the Kawaiisu beyond their core area which enabled them to move freely in order to obtain desert plants and wild game (Zigmond, 1986).

Prior to the influx of Euro-American settlers, the Kawaiisu joined the Yokuts, Chumash (a coastal tribe), and Tubatulabal on an annual antelope drive (Voegelin, 1938). Other tribes may have traveled to Kawaiisu territory to harvest pine nuts (pinones). Rosie describes the gatherings she attended where the harvest was a festive occasion, a time for relatives who lived far away to join with family:

Going up on Piute mountain to gather pinones.... there was so many Indians up there, I can't even remember. It was good because there was a lot of them, there was a big camp of them. We got so many pinones that we used to have to pack them on our horses and we would have to walk, leading the horses back.

Pine nuts were a popular dietary staple and trade item (Arkush, 1993). The trade network gave the Kawaiisu access to goods that were not a part of their material culture, such as horses and glass trade beads, thus fostering early historic cultural change (Arkush, 1993). Ancestral Kawaiisu culture was not so rigid, but was fairly accommodating and flexible. This trait allows for the easy adoption of European material cultural elements. The Kawaiisu continued

the process of adapting and assimilating the unusual into their own culture, just as they had done with material cultural elements of other tribes. The introduction of European cultural elements into Kawaiisu culture, however, did not dramatically transform Kawaiisu belief structures or the reality and routine of everyday life. Disruption in every day routines and reconstruction of beliefs occurred as newcomers began to settle in Kawaiisu territory.

Newcomers in Kawaiisu Territory

Earliest encounters between the Spanish and Yokuts of the south-central California interior occurred in 1772 and resulted in peaceful exchanges of goods including glass beads which became a part of the native trade system. These were transported to eastern tribes along established trade routes (Arkush, 1993). By the early nineteenth century, encounters became increasingly violent with Yokut resistance to missionary recruitment and Spanish military expeditions into the interior to capture runaways and retrieve stolen property (Arkush, 1993). From about 1769 to 1821, interior tribes, such as the Yokuts, were subject to Spanish raids for converts and taken to coastal missions. Inter-marriage between Spanish-speaking persons and tribal members was encouraged in order to "hispanicize" the California Indians (Forbes, 1969: 32).

The Spanish and Mexican cultures had their initial influence on Kawaiisu culture via the trade network with the

Yokut and social ties to the Tejon Indians. Trade networks linked the Kawaiisu to the Yokuts (Arkush, 1993). Physical proof of the trade network could be found in and around Kawaiisu burial grounds where glass trade beads were scattered and burned along with all of the possessions of the deceased so that the soul of the deceased person would have those possessions in the next life. This was a traditional practice of the Kawaiisu.

Some observers speculate about encounters between the Kawaiisu and Spanish explorers, such as Father Francisco Garces in 1776, or later Spanish soldiers (Zigmond, 1986; Barras, 1973; Wortley, 1972). Such contact, if it did happen, would have most likely been incidental meetings and not any kind of sustained contact that would have greatly transformed Kawaiisu culture. Sustained contact with Europeans began with the Mexicans in the 1840's.

Prior to the arrival of Americans, some Kawaiisu men worked for Mexican ranchers. Created by General Beale in 1852 and used for only a few years as a reservation for San Joaquin valley tribes, the Sebastian or Tejon reservation reached well into the western portion of Kawaiisu territory (Bermeister, 1977). Beale converted the defunct reservation into a cattle ranch and he hired local Indians and Mexicans. Along with Kawaiisu men, southern Yokuts also worked on the Tejon ranch. The Yokuts working at Tejon came to be known by the Kawaiisu as the "Tejon Indians." According to

informants, intermarriage between Tejon Indians and Mexicans occasionally occurred. The introduction of Mexican culture marked the beginning of an acceleration of change for Kawaiisu culture.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, with the advent of statehood, American miners and settlers began pouring into California to stake their gold claims and build their homesteads. Upon their arrival, Americans commonly found that native peoples had been integrated into local economies (Hurtado, 1988). Largely accustomed to the exclusion of Indians from their communities, this posed an unusual circumstance for the Americans. California Indians had been brought into local economies by the Spanish and Mexicans who did not have the same need to segregate the Indians that the Americans displayed. California Indians were exploited as laborers, first by the Spanish mission system and then Mexican ranchos. Eventually, American settlers would also come to value the Indians as a source of cheap labor (Forbes, 1969).

Conflict and contact with the Americans further spurred the transformation of Kawaiisu culture. The following is a brief overview of conflict between American newcomers and native peoples.

Conflict and the Massacre of 1863

The conquest of much of California during the 1800's was a joint effort by the military and armed civilians

(Hurtado, 1988; Forbes, 1971). Contact between native peoples and Euro-Americans was often marked by severe brutality. White settlers scrambled to stake their land claims at the expense of the original inhabitants, often putting forth the belief that Indians "possessed no property rights...and were trespassers on the public domain." The perception that Indians had no property rights led to the passage of legislation in California that made it legal to detain any Indian if they were deemed to be a vagrant and sold at auction for slave labor (Forbes, 1969: 60). Caught between the miners, farmers, and ranchers, native peoples gradually found themselves edged out of their homeland, left to occupy the peripheries of white towns and settlements, working at wage labor jobs if necessary and possible.

California was also the testing ground for the creation of reservations. As noted, the Tejon Indian reservation was established by General Beale in 1852 in a mountain pass at the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley. Beale reported that 2,500 of the southern San Joaquin Valley Indians had been removed to the reserve, although the number may have been 1,200 (Burmeister, 1993; Forbes, 1969: 64). The southern San Joaquin Valley Indians included southern Yokut, or Tejon Indians, and may have included some Kawaiisu.

The Kawaiisu territory gradually became occupied by small Euro-American settlements and was plagued by a somewhat subdued gold rush fever in comparison to the gold

rush that swept northern California. The local gold rush did result in skirmishes between the Kawaiisu and miners in the area. Problems arose from alleged cattle and horse thievery by the Kawaiisu and the abduction of Kawaiisu women by the whites (Zigmond, 1986). Rumors about an intertribal uprising began circulating among white settlers who feared that the Indians would attack the town of Keyesville in Tubatulabal territory. The rumors led to the massacre in 1863 of 35 unarmed Indian men (Tehachapi, Tubatulabal, and Owens River tribes) by a Calvary troop sent from Fort Tejon and later from Fort Leonard, located in Kawaiisu territory:

In April 1863, Captain Moses McLaughlin and his soldiers slaughtered 35 men...near Keyesville. McLaughlin and his men then marched over Walker Pass to Camp Independence. In July, McLaughlin again crossed Walker Pass, this time to herd more than 900 Indians from Owens Valley to Sebastion Reservation. So many of the Indians escaped from the reservation that a temporary United States Army post, known as Fort Leonard, was established in 1863 near Weldon to capture escapees (Burmeister, 1993).

Kawaiisu elders continue to tell their children and grandchildren about this event. The powerful imagery of the story continues to be a part of Kawaiisu reality that reinforces a Kawaiisu identity. According to the story, when Calvary troops were marching through Kawaiisu territory with the caravan of Indian prisoners, the soldiers swept the area to capture more prisoners. Kawaiisu women hid in the caves of Sand Canyon (east of present day Tehachapi). Some Kawaiisu were killed in the resistance while others were

captured and taken away. So as not to be discovered, the women in the caves were driven to smother their crying babies. Andy tells of the incident and of the permeable boundaries between the Kawaiisu and Tubatulabal:

They fought those soldiers over there (Sand Canyon), a lot of those women killed their babies to keep the soldiers from finding them. They killed their babies. They were hiding there in the caves and they were trying to be quiet. That was when they came to take them over to Tejon. They took Juan La Sada, grandma's uncle, he spoke this language, and he also spoke the Tubatulabal language, that's hard to speak. Grandma used to speak it, and Martina and Rosie H__, they were from the Tubatulabal tribe.

Martina and Rosie H__ were Andy's relatives. Harold and Carmen tell the same version of the story and Harold reminds me, "If it weren't for what those women did (killing their babies), we wouldn't be here." His comment makes a profound impression which tends to promote a strong connection to the past and connection to a Kawaiisu identity.

By 1859, the reservation at Tejon had been essentially forsaken by the federal government as a result of misappropriation of funds by local officials which left the Indians at the reservation without food and supplies. The Tejon Indians were living in "native-style housing" and were forced to forage for food (Forbes, 1969: 64). According to Forbes (1969), the labor of the Tejon Indians was sold to whites by local government officials. Eventually, General Beale became the owner of Tejon and used the local Indians

as laborers (Forbes, 1969: 64). Tubatulabal and Kawaiisu were among those living at Tejon and working for Beale.

Many Kawaiisu and Tubatulabal returned to their homes.

A white settler remembered:

Many of them escaped from the reservation and returned to their homes, often killing stock to subsist upon during their flight, but they never attempted to bother the whites again. The squaws returned in a very depressed condition...the white-folks felt very sorry for them and helped them out all they possibly could, but no one could ever patch up their broken faith in their white brothers. The old village had to be burned because they had to rid themselves of the horrible witch spirits which they believed caused the catastrophe (Parker, 1938).

Tejon and Mexican Culture

After the 1863 massacre, the connection to Tejon intensified as intermarriage between the southern Yokuts (Tejon Indians), Kawaiisu, and Tubatulabal increased. As already noted, the social structure of traditional Kawaiisu culture was somewhat flexible and permeable boundaries between tribes existed. Francis Phillips recalls relatives who married Tejon men and lived at Tejon or returned to Canebrake in Kawaiisu and Tubatulabal territory (Voegelin, 1941). Travel between Tejon and the Kawaiisu homeland frequently occurred well into the twentieth century. Clara remembers that when she was a child, her parents traveled to Tejon for social occasions:

Tejon people used to come around and I remember my folks used to go over there. They was going over there for dancing and partying...white-man dance. I didn't like going over there.

Andy said that when he was a child, his family would also go to Tejon, but that they didn't go there too often because of the rowdy crowd that would assemble for social gatherings.

Since the Tejon ranch had been established by the Mexican government, Tejon Indians were in many instances products of Mexican influence, if not biologically then socially. The Mexican culture mixed with the Kawaiisu as intermarriage between the tribes increased as evidenced by the number of Kawaiisu who were fluent Spanish speakers.

Clara relates:

Mom could speak Spanish and she could speak the South-Fork language (Tubatulabal), she could speak that. She used to play with kids when she was a girl over there. Mother spoke it (Spanish) well, and Rafeal, my brother, and my father did, they spoke it very well. I didn't learn it, Pauline (sister) either, just a few words here and there.

Many Kawaiisu, during the late 1800's, spoke Spanish, in addition to the languages of neighboring tribes and some English. Andy affirms:

When I was a boy, they very seldom spoke English, they spoke Indian. They also knew how to speak Spanish. A lot of the Mexican people used to come over there and buy chickens, they had to talk Spanish to them.

The informants refer to speaking the Kawaiisu language as speaking "Indian."

The Spanish speaking Kawaiisu were able to communicate with the Mexican families who moved to the Tehachapi area. Not only could many Kawaiisu speak Spanish, but the Kawaiisu families with men employed by the Monolith cement plant in

the early part of this century often lived in the segregated housing that was provided by the cement plant. Indian and Mexican families were assigned to their own area of housing. Andy describes what it was like when his father worked at the cement plant:

There was houses there for the people that worked there. There was a lot of white kids there. The Mexican people lived west of the cement plant across the track because they weren't allowed over there where the whites were. But still they went to school over there at the Monolith school. That was funny, I used to think, 'my goodness.' A Mexican man and his wife, I think, baptized one of my grandma's children, I don't know. He was real nice man. We went over to his house and ate over there, boy they had everything. There was a lot of nice people over there, and we lived over there too. When my dad was working at the cement plant we lived over there. That's why we moved over to Monolith. Then we had that property over there too.

Informants frequently recall numerous individuals who, like the "nice Mexican man," were "nice" to them and to the Indian people. Such individuals apparently treated the Kawaiisu with kindness and generosity and did not "look down their noses at the Indians," as Carmen says. Inter-marriage with Tejon Indians and amicable social interaction with Mexican families of Tehachapi and Monolith facilitated the adoption of some aspects of Mexican material culture.

Mexican culture was adopted in the form of language and food items, such as beans and tortillas. The most apparent indication of the cultural influences converging upon the Kawaiisu were the adopted names which were sometimes Euro-

American and sometimes Mexican and included surnames like Girado and Chico or Greene and Collins. Harold recounts:

They were pretty well adapting in to different cultures. The Mexican culture played a strong part in our heritage, we had the tortillas and beans, that was our diet. I was under the impression that it was Indian food, but come to find out when I started going to school I learned it was Mexican food. (Laughing) Yeah, we all ate tortillas and beans. Some of them spoke Spanish, and we had Spanish last names like Lopez, you know.

Carmen recalls similar memories of the adoption of various aspects of Mexican culture and she even spoke Spanish, although not as fluently as Andy or her grandmother. Beyond Carmen's generation, Spanish fell out of use as intermarriage between Kawaiisu and whites occurred and children began attending modern public schools.

The informal socio-political structure of family groupings equipped the Kawaiisu with an ability to gradually accommodate to change in their own way while appearing to accept the "white-man's life." Years after the 1863 incident, a pioneer who was interviewed in Walker's Basin in Kawaiisu and Tubatulabal territory, had this perception of the local Indians:

There are now about three fine old Indian families left in Walker's Basin, who live on the land provided for them by the government on Piute Mountain. They send their children to school and the men pitch hay in the Basin during the summer in the valley. They have adapted themselves to modern civilization and seem very happy to live a white-man's life (Parker, 1938).

By the late 1800's, the Kawaiisu were so few in numbers and not a visible organized group, thus, they posed no real threat to the settlers. To the white settlers, the Kawaiisu were a vanishing people. Today, various outsiders perceive the Kawaiisu as a colorful part of local lore and a closed chapter in the history of the settling of the region. I have found that not only is their chapter still being written, but increasingly, it is being written at the behest of Kawaiisu individuals.

CHAPTER IV

THEIR STORIES

Researchers and others have been directed by their own intentions when they question Kawaiisu individuals. Their intentions, thus far, have not included letting Kawaiisu individuals tell their own stories. As a result, the emotional context of Kawaiisu reality is typically lacking in outsider accounts of Kawaiisu history and culture. Excluding the emotional context of their reality excludes the full extent of their humanity and leaves only the superficial knowledge gathered by outsiders of Kawaiisu material culture. When Kawaiisu individuals tell their own stories, the emotional context of their experiences cannot be ignored. Since childhood memories are often replete with emotion, "their stories" begin with their childhood recollections.

Memories of Childhood

Andy had this to say about his childhood:

When we were growing up, sometimes we had it good and sometimes we didn't. It was kind of a hard life.

That it was "kind of a hard life" was echoed by all informants. Hard times were common and several factors combined to contribute to hardship. Memories of poverty and

hard work are made unique by different personal circumstances arising from the complicated intricacies of family. Recollections of childhood are often subject to the filtering effect of nostalgia and the glossing over of painful memories. There were, naturally, some subjects that my informants did not wish to talk about and some parts of the past that they were not inclined to revisit. I made no attempts to intrude upon any private memories of unpleasant events. Again, their stories, their intentions, and their perceptions told in their own words are foremost considerations in this research.

It is important to note, however, that personal family circumstances and events, such as intermarriages, death, and the nature of interpersonal relations, among other things, greatly influence the choices made by individuals. The Kawaiisu families are no different in this respect than any other family living in and around Tehachapi, California (or anywhere else for that matter), and are not as homogeneous, or as different, as outsiders have tended to depict them.

Private family matters and personal struggles have contributed to some of the "hard times" just as much as have poverty and racism. Individual choices have been influenced by internal family issues, as well as external pressures of a rapidly changing world. The main focus here is on their responses to external pressures and their perceptions of a

changing world. Their responses are not made in an emotional vacuum, as will be evident throughout the interviews. Emotional attachments direct and motivate their responses and perceptions.

The following section shows just some of their cherished memories. These are being included for the purpose of showing the "human" side of an often misrepresented and misunderstood people. Memories such as these highlight the emotional attachments which form the basis of identity. From their childhood memories of family and of daily routines we can see how their social reality differed from that of their white neighbors.

The following is a day in Rosie's life. She describes daily chores and play during her childhood:

We used to go play on the mountain. We would kill birds and roast them on the open fire. We had a wagon that we put our dolls in when we would go down to the creek to play. My doll was made of rags and mud. We would then gather wood in our wagon. All day we would spend gathering wood. We would come home and be very hungry. They would make tortillas and we would eat and be well again. We used to go take a bath every day, sometimes in the afternoon or in the evening where it (the creek) was dammed up, it felt good, we didn't want to get out (of the water).

The day described by Rosie happened when she was very young, most likely in the late 1890's, the exact date is unknown. On the tape, Rosie indicates that the children were accompanied by adults, probably women, as many of the Kawaiisu men at that time were working on local ranches. The birds that they killed and ate were more than likely

quail. Tortillas were a diet staple showing the Mexican influence, but they were perceived as "Indian food."

Rosie's tone of voice was of fond remembrance for that way of life and for the family she missed. Everyday activities were family activities and Rosie spoke often of her sisters when she spoke of her childhood. Everyday life was strenuous, but there was time for play and relaxation.

In a memorial of his father, Ed, Harold wrote:

I remember....a willow arbor where people sat visiting, talking in the Indian language. Playing guitars under the pine trees...children playing, eating deer meat, acorns, beans, and tortillas made by hand and cooked on a wood stove. Those memories live on forever.

Tortillas and the way they were cooked or when they were eaten, was something recalled by every informant. Harold's memories depict a blending of Kawaiisu and Mexican cultures which, as noted, resulted from the contact with Tejon Indians. Harold describes what was a common restful summer day on the Rancheria, isolated from the outside world.

Of course, emotional bonding with family did not always occur in isolation, but also in the sharing of common interests and experiences. Andy's childhood was full of chores. He recalls all of the hard work that he did as a child, but memories of leisure time spent with his brother and grandfather stand out:

That cement plant had a baseball team, when I was going to school, and my cousin, Frank Manwell, he played on it. He was a short-stop. There were

all mixed, there was some whites and Mexicans, they play together. There was a team that came there, the team from the cement plant beat them. Some of those guys could hit that ball all the way to the railroad tracks. Grandpa Marcus used to love to watch them play. Carl (brother) used to like to go. I used to go with my grandpa Marcus. They charged you to get in there, oh sometimes I'd pay and sometimes I'd say that I was going to chase those balls when they knock them out there, the foul balls. They wouldn't charge me then. I would get those balls out there and take them back to them. They'd give us a nickel for each one we brought back. A candy bar was a nickel then, boy there would be some kids out there, you'd have to run like heck to get them.

Interestingly, white cement workers could play baseball and work with Indians and Mexicans, but they could not live in the same section of housing provided by the cement plant according to cement plant housing regulations. Indians and Mexicans had housing separate from whites. Baseball must have been a special occasion for everyone at the plant, it was certainly a special occasion for Andy, his brother, and grandfather. Andy's recollection of this event underscores both the emotional attachments that form the basis of identity, as well as the external forces that define and reinforce identity, such as public perceptions and segregation.

Memories of hard times often intermingled with memories of good times. From such memories, not only is their way of life and a blending of cultures depicted, but so are their values. These are some of the memories which they have chosen to hold and to share and as such, they represent what is important to them. In this way, the

Kawaiisu are no different than any other people who look back at the 'old days' with a sense of nostalgia, even when the 'good old days' were not so good. A longing for certain aspects of the way life used to be and for loved ones who are now gone contributes to the formation of identity. Memories, like those above, form a part of the Kawaiisu heritage and a sense of history that is shared among family members. Identity is linked to the formation of family bonds. The closeness and importance of family emerged from all of the interviews.

"They all Lived there Together"

The centrality of the family remained a consistent feature of Kawaiisu life well into this century. Carmen illustrates:

The Indian people all lived in the same, you might say compound, it was like a commune, Indian style. You had a lot of aunts, you had a lot of uncles, you had a lot of grandmas and grandpas. There wasn't anywhere you couldn't go and not be fed, not be loved.

Since the late 1800's, Kawaiisu family groupings lived mainly in three areas: The Piute Mountain, Kelso Valley, and Sand Canyon near Monolith and the areas that the U.S. government allotted to Kawaiisu families. Andy recalls that his father had a government allotment and that his mother had been allotted land, but it was on a rocky point and, like his dad's allotment, the land was infested with rattlesnakes. They lived for a time on the allotted land. The Kawaiisu informants did not know exactly when or how the

land was allotted, but Francis Phillips (Tubatulabal) was able to tell the interviewer in 1933 how it came to be:

An Indian agent had come, Anderson; he used to live at Tule River Reservation. All the Indians had gotten land; Steban and everybody (in 1893). The Indian agent gave my father and mother land at Canebrake.

Canebrake is an area historically home to the Tubatulabal. Family groups lived in houses clustered together in mainly three locations. Clara's family lived for sometime in adobe houses on the rancheria near Lorraine. Fred and Rosie's family lived in Kelso Valley, and Andy's family lived in Sand canyon and Monolith. There was an incident that resulted in the loss of an allotment through an underhanded deal involving a hog farmer who took advantage of Harold's grandmother:

Emma had, I think it was 160 acres. It would be east of rancheria. There was a man who moved in there and was raising pigs and built a rock house, it's still there. He asked Emma to see her paper work, so she gave it to him and some how he took the land. He either bought it from the BIA or some underhanded move and then he asked her to leave because he owned the land, so they never received any money.

After the allotment was lost, Emma's sister invited Emma and her family to live with them at the rancheria. They generally did not stay on the allotted land year around and some of the land was eventually abandoned.

Consistent with hunting and gathering societies, moving about to obtain food and to visit family had been a part of Kawaiisu life for centuries. That way of life continued

well into the twentieth century as families would get together for hunting and pine nut gathering, sometimes leaving their home base for at least two months at a time.

Rosie explains:

We would leave Kelso valley and get to Tehachapi in the evening. When I was older, we would go to Monolith (Marcus' family). I would go with Fred by wagon. Sometimes we would stay for two months.

Fred continues:

When we were there (at Marcus'), we would stay for two months and kill deer. We would jerky it and that is what we ate when we came back through Lorraine.

Fred and Rosie made the circle of families living in Monolith and Lorraine before they returned to their home in Kelso. Visiting was part of the way the Kawaiisu maintained family ties.

Harold remembers hearing stories of how his family would travel, on foot, from Lorraine over to Monolith (a trip that could be made in two days) to "visit relatives." Such visits did not happen with great frequency, so they made the most of those visits by staying with relatives for an extended length of time. Such trips would include stopping by town to stock up on supplies from the general store and buy clothes. These reunions provided good opportunities for cooperative hunting and food gathering, so the return trip home meant packing or hauling food.

It is difficult to imagine the extent to which family life revolved around everyday activities, such as hunting, food gathering, and food preparation, life centered around

family and food. Rosie remembered what it was like when she was young and her family lived close by:

Any people in Fred's family and my family ate together. We shared a garden together, made meals together, all of my family ate together - my father, grandmother, grandfather, uncles, all of the kids. We ate the food that the older people made.

Fred added, "We lived good. We ate good." Again, Fred and Rosie recall these times with affection and a sense of pride in their self-sufficiency. They remember a time when all of their needs were being met, when wildlife was plentiful, and the newcomers to the area were not so plentiful - at least, not as plentiful as they had become by 1959.

Fred described their main diet as being quail, deer, mountain sheep, and rabbits. Traditionally, in the pre-contact sense, the Kawaiisu reportedly had no form of agriculture (Zigmond, 1986). They may not have had agriculture in the western sense, but certainly at some point the Kawaiisu learned to plant gardens. Rosie described the food they grew:

My mother and father had squash, corn, watermelon, all kinds of melons, and potatoes. We ate everything.

They spoke nostalgically of times when family was together, and their perception of their life was that they had it good. They had everything that they needed. Fred and Rosie recalled times when their people continued to rely largely upon traditional foods, those foods native to their environment supplemented by what they grew in their gardens

and what little, such as flour and sugar, that was purchased from a store.

Clara remembered moving up to the mountains every summer where her father would be working in the fields, planting crops.

They used to plant beans, potatoes, carrots, and tomatoes; we used to eat good up there, all of those vegetables. Even fruit trees - they had planted apple trees, peaches, and things like that...good old days! My dad used to sack, on some days, three or four 100 pound sacks of beans. Oh, they worked hard. We had plenty of beans and the rest of the things like cabbage and potatoes, they stored up there (on the mountain). We had an adobe house that we lived in up there so they stored it in there covered with straw.

Clara speculated that they must have learned to plant beans from the Spanish a long time ago. For them, food was generally plentiful, although not easily obtained. Obtaining food required much time and effort.

Memories of gathering food, such as pine nuts, acorns, and wild greens and the emotional bonds formed through such daily routines were warmly recalled:

What I remember most about my childhood was going with grandma, Sophie, and some of them (old ones) collecting mushrooms, koovoos (a wild green like spinach), salt grass, watercress, pine nuts acorns. I was just a kid, but what I remember the most, I guess it was hearing them laugh. I loved that food, (long pause) and the conversations... (Carmen).

Clara remembers pounding acorns with her mother and grandmother:

I used to go with them, where they used to pound it (acorn). I tried, but its a lot of work and I

was just a little girl, but it was fun, and ooh, I loved the acorn.

She also remembers gathering pine nuts:

I remember when I was a little girl, I used to have to work with the folks. They would saddle up a horse and pack everything they was going to use, like baskets to put the pinones (pine nuts) in, and lunch...boy those tortillas used to taste so good with string beans (laughing)...with your sticky hands it made it taste even better (more laughter). Oh, you'd get so hungry out there, it was so good!

The women talked more of the closeness of family and of family activities and expressed a greater sense of nostalgia for their childhood memories. Harold told me that if I wanted to know about family and how everyone is related, ask the women. "They always kept track of those things," he said. "But, if you want to hear a good hunting story, talk to the men." I generally found this to be true. Hunting was such an integral part of Kawaiisu life that with the gradual influx of white settlers the inevitable decline in the wildlife population (deer in particular), became a harbinger of rapidly changing and uncertain times. Fred often wondered where the deer had gone:

I could go outside, not very far and see deer everywhere. Now they are all gone. Where did the deer go? Maybe they went up on the star trail into the sky.

The men expressed greater feelings of hardship during childhood, of poverty and hard work, but they enjoyed talking about hunting. This was true even of the interviews of Fred and Rosie conducted by Dr. Klien. Fred enjoyed

telling Dr. Klein about his hunting exploits while Rosie spoke of family and her childhood.

Family ties are still important, however, over the last fifty years the extended family structure of the Kawaiisu has gradually been replaced by a nuclear family structure. Carmen said, "Dad used to say that there would be a time when we could not all be there together." Family members moved away from their parents' home for different reasons, such as intermarriage or for finding work. The reasons families once had for getting together gradually ceased to exist as families moved from one place to another to work. Family gatherings continued to take place, but they did so in conjunction with events sponsored by the town of Tehachapi, such as the annual "Old Timer's Picnic" and rodeos.

Change quickly came as Kawaiisu men entered the twentieth century labor market, the children went to schools, and families joined local churches. To survive, they had to adapt to the changing world around them. The informants all gave the impression that their families had an awareness that their survival depended on becoming a part of that changing world.

MAKING A LIVING: "That's all they could do."

Upon their arrival to the region, white settlers found abundant natural resources. There was gold in the surrounding mountains, conditions prime for growing alfalfa and other crops, as well as plenty of rangeland for cattle and sheep. As noted, white settlers perceived the Indians as having no property rights, consequently the appropriation of land by whites displaced the Kawaiisu and interfered with their strategies of survival. The Kawaiisu became trespassers on their own land. Eventually, the newcomers would find that as wage laborers, the native inhabitants were another valuable resource. The Kawaiisu gradually became economically dependent as laborers for the settlers, and to a degree, the settlers became dependent upon Kawaiisu labor. Construction of the railroad brought many settlers and poor laborers to the region in the late 1800's, as the Tehachapi valley served as a stopping off point on the way to the fertile San Joaquin Valley and coastal ports. As the town of Tehachapi grew, the Monolith Cement Plant moved into the valley in the early 1900's, where several Kawaiisu men obtained employment.

For Kawaiisu men, making a living required being a jack-of-all-trades as fence builders, adobe house builders, cowboys, "stackers" (stacking hay), and fruit pickers. Fred remembers doing odd jobs for 2 dollars or 5 dollars a day,

"doing ranch work and building fences." Rosie recalls the work her father did:

My father worked for W__, he owned a ranch in Onyx and he worked all the time. Father worked irrigating fields and he worked in the hay. He did a lot of things in Onyx and in Weldon. He worked hard, he was a good man.

Most Kawaiisu men worked along with whites as ranch hands and on farms, and they were highly valued for their diligence and expertise. A local historian noted that in the late 1800's, Kawaiisu and neighboring Tubatulabal who worked as ranch hands "made good hands in all aspects of ranch work" and were "exceptional trackers" (Powers, 1987: 51). In his book South Fork Country, Powers (1971) acknowledges that several Indians worked in the hay fields and according to the white settlers, the Indians were widely respected for their working skills:

They were expert stackers and teamsters and were unsurpassed in what they call 'Indian irrigating.' The land was so irregular and undulating that the irrigator had to know exactly where and how long to turn the water on from each place on the ditch. The Indians had irrigated the same fields for so many years that they knew each high spot and swale...these same gents were usually peerless horsemen, working cattle on the open range when not otherwise occupied on the ranch.

That the Indians were knowledgeable about the irrigation of fields seems to contradict the findings of other researchers who have reported that both the Kawaiisu and the Tubatulabal, with the exception of pruning wild tobacco stands, lacked "all forms of agriculture" (Voegelin, 1941; Zigmond, 1986). Perhaps irrigation skills were acquired

through ranch and farm work. Those skills then proved to be invaluable when coupled with long held knowledge of the land. At one point or another, as we have seen, the Kawaiisu and the Tubatulabal learned how to plant gardens and by the late 1800's, many families shared in the planting and harvesting of gardens.

For several generations Indian families worked for ranchers and by the turn of the century, ranch work had become a way of life. Harold remembers his father's experience of following in the footsteps of his own father as a ranch hand:

Dad said they were like quail, they grew up half wild and then adapted into the modern civilization. Cowboying and farm work was already going on in the generations before them, so there was already a lot of cowboys.

Harold says that "they (Kawaiisu) were pretty well adapting into different cultures" and into the world of wage labor. The ranchers generally knew the Kawaiisu and Tubatulabal men of the area and their reputation as good workers, so finding work on a ranch was not a problem. The Kawaiisu and Tubatulabal men were impressive ranch hands and cowboys and that may be due in part to the pride that they took in their work. Andy tells about the hard work of his ranching days in the early 1900's:

We'd go all day, no water, no lunch, we didn't need no lunch...we'd go all day. We'd have water at the truck where we go back to at the end of the day, but we would ride all day. It was quite a life. Then when branding time comes, that's when we used to have a lot of fun. Oh, we had a lot of

fun at the time, doin' this and that. We used to do that down at the Jamison ranch too, we'd ride the bulls there too.

Andy takes pride in his ability as a young man to work "all day" without needing to rest. The hard work was a challenge with its own rewards in the sense of self-satisfaction in having met a challenge, whether that challenge was riding the range all day, withstanding inclement weather, or being able to ride a bull. Andy talks about his greatest ambition:

What I wanted to do more than anything in my life (pause) was to ride in rodeos. I wanted to do that but, I couldn't, I couldn't. There was one place that I worked at the ranch, this guy had cattle and he had these brahma bulls and it was out on the desert there. There was two of us working for this guy, his name was Fred T...and we used to ride those brahma bulls out there. That boy and I got to where we could stay on those brahma bulls real good, the amount they allowed you was eight seconds, we could stay on the bull that long and not get shaken off. There was this guy, this old Indian guy his name was Florentino, he told me how to ride them and I still know how. The first time when we started, him and I took some good whackings from those bulls. Fred T__ said, 'You guys are going to get killed on the ranch,' he said, 'I don't mind you ridin' them, but if you get killed, I don't want to be responsible.' He (Fred) was a big man, I think he was a German, strong as an ox, that guy.

Andy was about 18 when the above events took place and he needed to help support his family, so being a rodeo rider was not a practical option. Andy speaks somewhat wistfully about the cowboy life of his youth and he speaks with evident pride in his skills as a ranch hand. The skills required of a cowboy were handed down from older Kawaiisu

and Tubatulabal cowboys. Relations between the ranchers and the Indian men were friendly and the Indian cowboys were generally treated well by their bosses and fellow ranch hands. The ranch boss indulged Andy and his fellow ranch hand in their "fun." Andy was well known for his skills as a horseman as were other Kawaiisu men who, like Andy, worked for several different ranchers. Andy often acknowledges the racial or ethnic heritage of individuals that he knew when he was a young man, just as he acknowledged the German heritage of his boss. The Kawaiisu and Tubatulabal were often aware of the varying backgrounds of Euro-American settlers suggesting that they did not view the settlers as a homogeneous group, just as they understood the difference between tribal groups.

"Adapting to modern civilization," as Harold phrased it, meant working as a wage laborer and options were limited to ranching and farming which revolved around the seasons, and any other odd jobs that could be found. Clara explains:

They had to (ranch and farm), that's all they could do. In the summertime they would come and gather pears. We would come, before I was married, the folks would come to town and where Ace Lumber is now, there was just a kind of a pit and they would put a tent up and set up a place where we could cook and it would be sheltered so that we couldn't be seen. There wasn't many people around at that time. My father, Setimo, he used to pick pears. That's what they did. There was a little more money in that than ranching. The ranchers, though,...they got along well with the Indians.

Even though only the men worked in the pear orchards, Clara's entire family relocated for the pear harvest. They took precautions to avoid being seen by local settlers showing that Clara's family did not consider themselves a part of the Tehachapi community.

The Kawaiisu were traditionally a highly mobile people, making seasonal moves to take advantage of food harvests. Seasonal moves to take advantage of job opportunities fit the pattern of their way of life and also demonstrates their knowledge of how the labor market works. Clara and her husband Ed moved often to accommodate his work.

Clara traces the times and reasons for moving throughout their marriage:

We were living in Keene when the earthquake happened. We moved from Lorraine, then we moved to Kelso creek, this side of where Fred and Dewey lived, several miles down. There was a veterinarian living there and he wanted Ed to come over and help him build a house, which he did. When he got through with that, we lived in Kernville for a little while. Then back to Lorraine, then to Keene where Ed worked at the sawmill. Then he got a job at Monolith and he worked there for 17 years and retired. We lived up there at the foot of the hills for 10 years as caretakers, taking care of a place, a ranch for M_ who had a house that we lived in up there. Rosie B_ (a Kawaiisu) said they used to live up there for awhile, doing the same thing. We had to move, they wanted to sell. So we bought this home, we lived here since 1968.

Ed built adobe houses for local white settlers when he had the chance. Building adobe houses was not a common Kawaiisu skill which shows the Spanish influence from the exposure to Tejon Indians. Ed worked in the sawmill in Kernville and he

also worked on several ranches over the years, some of the same ranches where Andy had worked.

Other odd jobs included fence building which, as Harold explains, was a job that very few men could do. Harold recalls working as a teenager during the summer with men building fences out in the desert in Blythe, California:

Sam C__ was one of the pioneers here in Tehachapi and his partner J.C. C__. They always wanted to hire the Indians, they had stamina, they were packers. It was kinda like part of our culture, basket carrying, load carrying, walking these mountains. I guess its kind of inbred into you, so...you could take a crew of men out into the desert, of mixed culture, and they'd all quit in the first week. Us Indians though, we didn't know if we were too dumb or too poor, we didn't know the difference, (Laughing)...but it was a job. We'd build a quarter mile of fence each day, sometimes a half a mile. Three or four, sometimes five or six Indians of our tribe, and we'd do it. We could take the heat and we had a dry camp with a little bit of water, we weren't allowed to have baths. We could have one pan to wash and the rest was for drinking and cooking. We would be out there a week at a time and sometimes, on Sundays they would take us to a truck stop where we could have a shower and go back out there. I spent a whole summer out there, and I was like 14, 16 years old. They would never pay the Indians because if they paid them they would go and get drunk and they would lose their crew (laughing) and it was true. They would only pay them when the job was done. They kept us isolated, way out in the boondocks. Of course I didn't drink, you know, I was still going to high school. My father built fence with us too, he would go on vacations and he would go on fence jobs with us building fences too. I didn't even know he could build fence.

Like Andy, Harold speaks with pride at his ability to work hard at a job that few men could do and he was just a teenager at the time. Pride also comes from the fact that

"the Indians could do it" when no other men of any other race could. The perception that employers had of the "Indians" as workers with great "stamina" reinforced the image that Kawaiisu men held of themselves.

Kawaiisu men often viewed their strength and stamina as a cultural trait unique to them. Based upon their reputation of having stamina, which was attributed to their cultural background, white employers hired them. Alcoholism and abuse of alcohol was a very real problem for some Kawaiisu and the image of the drunken Indian was another perception that employers often held of some Kawaiisu workers. Nevertheless, the Kawaiisu men took the jobs that no one else wanted. They did the work that no one else wanted because, as in Clara's words, "that's all they could do." There were not many alternatives and they had to making a living.

There were also some creative responses to the impending need to "make a living" which included making and selling whiskey, baskets, and panning and digging for gold. Fred talks about his enterprising brother and their competitor in the bootlegging business:

I had an older brother up on the mountain, he had a still where he made whiskey and sold it and that's how he made a living. At the time of making whiskey, we each had a pistol and a rifle and had anyone come around we would have had to shoot them. There was a Dutchman by the name of Boon who made strong whiskey too. He built too big a fire under his still and it exploded and burned up his face, his eyes and his hair." (Fred laughs as he tells this story).

Fred's brother was not the only Kawaiisu to make and sell whiskey to the local white settlers. According to Carmen and Andy, Bob (the last weather shaman) had his own still. Bob had posted a sign on the road that passed by his property advertising his whiskey for sale. Eventually, someone (a white man) informed him of the inevitable trouble that Bob could find himself in if he were caught. Bob apparently was not aware that bootlegging was illegal. By the middle of this century, there were no more Kawaiisu men in the business of bootlegging.

Panning and digging for gold was another available option to Kawaiisu men, but it was generally not pursued on a full-time basis due to limited returns. It is not clear if Kawaiisu men ever worked for miners, but some did have their own claims. I know of one Kawaiisu man who panned for gold until shortly before his death over ten years ago. Nevertheless, acquisition and use of gold was another strategy of survival that the Kawaiisu had adopted.

Kawaiisu women did not become wage laborers until Carmen's generation, but the women of Rosie's generation often made money by selling willow baskets that they had made. Clara's mother often sold her baskets:

She used to make baskets for a living, she made nice baskets and that helped out a lot (financially).

I asked who bought the baskets. Clara responded:

Oh, people up the canyon (Caliente). The teacher bought baskets from her, and different ones who were interested. There were some baskets in there

that mother had made, at that, it was Shell (gas station), but I don't know if its still there, near the Mountain Inn. It tells who made it.

Clara's mother-in-law also sold her baskets, according to Harold:

She used to sell her Indian baskets at Monolith and at Tehachapi, to buy food and clothing. She would visit (while in Monolith) and then walk back to Piute.

Earnings from wage labor and the selling of baskets were used to purchase clothing and food to supplement their traditional diet. Rosie remembers that her father would bring "food home from the store." They did not understand, and/or perhaps they did not trust the banking system and any excess money, according to Fred and Rosie, was often buried in a cave where acorns, pine nuts, seeds, and beads were stored.

It was common for Kawaiisu women to sell their baskets, but the making and selling of baskets ended with Rosie's generation. Girls were no longer taught how to make baskets. Everyday life had changed and kids (including girls) were sent to school. Priorities shifted as time and energy became focused in other areas and directions.

Since the middle of this century, Kawaiisu families have tried to save whatever baskets remain. The baskets made by Clara's mother-in-law have returned to her family, Harold now has them after they were willed to him by the former owner, the daughter of a local rancher. The baskets could have fetched a high price in the right market, so it

was a generous gesture by the daughter to return them to Harold's family.

In later years, both Ed and Andy applied for work at the Monolith cement plant where they worked until they retired. According to Andy, the cement plant was not a popular choice to many Kawaiisu men who did not like the cement dust at the plant, but for Andy (and probably for Ed as well), it was a job that could see them through to retirement. As ranching changed, some employment options were lost, but Kawaiisu men took advantage of whatever limited opportunities were available to them, and chose what was most advantageous for them. Kawaiisu men worked hard for the survival of their families and they worked the only jobs that were available to them regardless of the physical demands of the job.

"I wasn't college prep material."

The first generation of Kawaiisu graduated from high school in the 1950's. They faced a world with an increasing number of options, but they were not always sure of how or if those options applied to them. Harold and Carmen had different aspirations, but they faced the similar predicament of wading through uncharted waters, so to speak. Harold was not particularly interested in going to college, he had his sights set on going directly into the work force. Harold recalls the response from family members upon his

graduation from high school and the absence of collegiate expectations:

I think maybe I was, including your mother, maybe the fifth or sixth one graduated from high school in that generation at that time in 1966...and man, they thought that was great, 'Oh you did it!' But they didn't say anything about college. I wasn't college prep material. I wanted to go to work and get a nice car and I did exactly that.

Although Harold's family appreciated the accomplishment of graduating from high school, college was not a part of the social reality of Kawaiisu families, so he was not encouraged to attend college. Like the Kawaiisu men before him, Harold worked for several ranchers around the Tehachapi area building chutes and fences: "I had the knowledge from working with the old timers so they hired me," he said. After that, Harold worked at the cement plant from 1966 to 1971, but he didn't like the cement dust or the "routine" nature of his job. Following a lead from a friend, Harold got a job as a roofer, but Harold and his wife did not like having to live in North Hollywood, so they returned home:

We went to Piute then and started clearing sage brush and we built a platform, had a tent, and a wood stove. I couldn't find work, so we were living there on the Indian land and it was getting towards fall and I knew that we couldn't spend a winter up there, so we went to Bakersfield. I was unemployed, but we had enough money to get an apartment. I went to the unemployment office and one of the counselors there said, 'Here's a job for a painter,' and I said, 'Well I'm not a painter, I don't know how to paint.' He told me, 'Well they don't know that.' I went out there (for the painters job) and the boss, he was a landscape architect. He would buy rundown houses, fix them up and sell them. He started me out working in concrete, he had me dig trees out. He had left me

there and by the time he got back he said, 'What are you doing sitting down, I gave you a list of things to do?' I told him that I had finished already. He said, 'Oh, you can't be, that's impossible.' He checked and he said, 'You did it all! I'm going to hire you!'

Harold was able to find employment by demonstrating his stamina and willingness to work and through contacts that he had made. The advice of an unemployment counselor taught him a tactic to use in the job market (withholding information about skills), which helped him to learn how to sell his skills as a laborer.

The landscape architect inevitably found out that Harold was not a painter, but he was so impressed by Harold's ability to work that the architect taught Harold how to paint. Harold learned from the architect how to be a landscaper. After returning to Tehachapi, he continued landscaping, working as a superintendent for a resort and the golf course. Eventually, Harold learned how to be a tree surgeon and started his own tree service business catering to retirees who lived in the surrounding resort communities. Ultimately, Harold took a job as a grounds keeper with the corrections facility in Tehachapi and has since moved to the position of maintenance mechanic.

After moving out of state with her husband and their two teenagers in 1982, Carmen needed to find work to help support their family. After working as a restaurant hostess, a podiatrist and family friend offered her a job as his assistant, complete with training. Carmen later found

work as a housekeeper at a hospital where she currently works as a housekeeper and nurses' aid. She was one of the first Kawaiisu women to graduate from high school and join the labor force:

When I started working, I got my first job at the Marine Corp air base in Mojave. I got that job when I was 17 because I graduated from high school when I was 17. And, started working there just right before my 18th birthday. The base moved to Yuma Arizona, and I didn't want to go there. I worked for a while at the post office in Tehachapi. Then I moved to Bakersfield and I worked at Montgomery Ward there in their office and....then from there I moved the California City Development Company. I got married after that and didn't need to work.

In 1960, Carmen was going to night school while she worked at Montgomery Ward. Carmen tried to go to Bakersfield College, but found herself short on funds and alone in her endeavor. Carmen explains:

I tried to go to school at night. I don't know, I think family support would have been real helpful at that time, maybe a little monetary, and at least a little encouragement. I never really got that, the idea was to be self-supporting. I don't blame anyone for that. They didn't know what it was like. Their idea of success was, if you had a job and could put a roof over your head and clothes on your back and food in your belly then that was what it was all about. They were good people, Dad was a hard worker, he was a good provider. You couldn't have asked for better...they encouraged me in what I consider, really, all of the necessary things. There was a life out there and you had to be strong, take what part of it that you wanted.

Carmen's family, like Harold's, didn't know how to prepare her for a world that was alien to them nor did they know how to provide her with assistance. She acknowledges

her family as giving her the basis of her identity, such as values, culture, and world view. "Life out there" refers to anything that was not a part of the Kawaiisu reality. She also acknowledges that her ability to "take what part" of the "life out there" that she wanted, which in this case was a college education, was inhibited by a lack of resources. In addition to lacking financial resources, she also lacked knowledge of the process of obtaining a college education. Also, Carmen might have benefited by a support group of family and friends, or an influential individual sympathetic to the challenges she encountered. The gulf between the Kawaiisu ways and the western world became especially apparent in Carmen's generation as did the realization of impinging change brought on by an increasingly complicated "life out there."

EDUCATION WITH EMPHASIS ON POVERTY

The needs of Kawaiisu families changed with the times and with Clara and Andy's generation, it became clear that Kawaiisu children would need to know how to make their way in the world. By the early 1900's, most Kawaiisu children were attending public schools where being Kawaiisu often meant being subjected to racism and exclusion. The painful effect of being cast in the role of an outsider, served to

reinforce their Indian identity, they could, as Carmen put it, "never forget who and what we were."

"School was a hard place to go."

Often the first sustained contact with a different way of life from that of the Kawaiisu came when the children were sent to school. Fred and Rosie did not talk about receiving formal education, although Fred briefly mentioned the name of a teacher, but it was not clear that he had attended school. Clara recalls that her parents did not attend school, but Andy believes his mother might have had some schooling:

I think my mother went to school, but I don't know what grade she went to. She could read if she wanted to, and she could make a grocery list for the grocery wagon that would come down there from Tehachapi, it would go down there to where we lived (in Monolith).

Any educational experiences during Fred and Rosie's childhood would have been limited as most kids at that time, especially boys, were needed at home to help with daily chores or, if old enough, were working on local ranches to help support their families. Clara's and Andy's generation were the first to receive any kind of formal education. Harold reminds me that those were "different times" and that the fifth graders when his father was in fifth grade were "older than our current fifth graders." Harold believes that his father was about 15 in the fifth grade just prior to moving to Tehachapi where he began cowboying.

Children were sent to school by their parents, sometimes at the urging of a family member or request from an outsider, but again, the need to "help out" the family often required that schooling be abandoned. Families would often move so that their children could go to school, Andy tells about his grade school experiences and what it meant for his family:

When I was going to school there (in Monolith), it was kind of funny how there was different nationalities going to school there because they worked at that cement plant there. We used to live down there, but I was too small to remember. I remember that we lived on this side of the tracks where they built homes for the Mexican people. We moved out of there because my dad was working at the cement plant.

When Andy speaks of his school days at the Aqueduct School in Monolith, he mentions how "nice" the teachers were, even though they were "really strict." He remembers several pranks that he and his cousins would play on other kids, and he remembers the female teacher with a "moustache," and how they would "pester" the teacher's dog. He also remembered the many "different nationalities" of his classmates, there were "all kinds," according to Andy. His classmates all had fathers who worked at the cement plant which meant that none of their families had any surplus income. Andy did not attend school in Monolith for very long:

Rawley D__ had some kids there going to school in Oak Creek... I don't know if Lois D__ was going to school, Margie, or Myrtle. And, the McD__s' kids, there was a set of twins, they had a cousin, they

were all going up to Oak Creek. They were about ready to close that school. He came over to see my dad (Rawley did) to see if they'd send us over there to school there so that they wouldn't close it. So, we moved over there. Rosie and Frank M__ went with us, and their dad stayed at Monolith. We had a tent that we lived in, we didn't live in a house. There was trees all around it. Me and Rosie walked down to school with our brother. Mc Daniel's kids would come horseback from Cameron Canyon, they were going to school there to help Mr. D__ (Rawley). When we first moved over there, Mr. D__, he was nice to my dad, nice to my family, nice to all of the Indian people. He told my dad, I'm gonna kill a nice deer for you when you move over there. And he did. We didn't have no refrigerator, no electricity, and I don't think that D__ (Rawley) did either.

Rawley had a small ranch in a rather isolated area which made it difficult for his own children to receive schooling. The one-room school that he had started had too few pupils and was in danger of closing which is why he asked Andy's family, and others, to send their children to boost enrollment. Rawley was respected for his "generosity" and liked by most of the Indian families and he also seemed to have a lifestyle devoid of luxuries, which was similar to that of the Indian families. More than doing a favor for Rawley, the move to Oak Creek meant getting away from the "dust" of the cement plant, which the Kawaiisu families did not like for fear the dust would cause sickness.

Andy continues telling about why he did not continue his education:

I didn't go to high school, I don't know, it seemed like I had to work...help support my family, mother, dad, sisters, brothers. I don't know, like I say, a lot of people had more luxury than to do that. Like I say, when I was growing

up there, I didn't have life real easy. I couldn't go do things like other kids done that I wanted to do. There was a lot of things I wanted to do, I couldn't do that. Seemed like, I guess just being poor like my family was, why you couldn't. It was just, it wasn't made that way, that's the way the Lord done it I guess. Sometimes I kinda figure maybe it was best that it was that way, at least I got to help my mom and dad, my brothers, sister. A lot of times when I was working, I used to buy clothes for my sisters, buy their shoes...and my brother the same way, bought his clothes, his shirts, his britches...yeah, I helped them.

Andy recalls bearing the burden of daily chores from which his sisters and "crippled" brother were exempted. His experiences were not unlike those of many poor families and children in rural areas during the early 1900's. Andy never made any references to experiences of racism, such as being teased about his race by other kids, during his childhood. Being teased about race or being poor was a common experience for the other informants. Either Andy experienced no such incidents or he chose not to tell about them. Andy remembered the names of his classmates and their fathers, so his family may have been familiar with the families of his classmates which might have decreased the likelihood of such incidents. The fact that Andy's classmates were also from poor families might have served to minimize some of the differences between the families. Andy spoke little English when he began school, but that might not have been considered unusual since the other children were all poor and often from immigrant families where English may have been a second language.

Similarly, Clara's family had to move around in order to go to school and they did so with the encouragement of family members. Harold tells about how Billy W__ and Setimo G__ encouraged Clara and Ed's families to move closer to the schools near Walker's Basin and in Lorraine. Billy W__ encouraged a move to the mouth of Thompson Canyon:

There (at Thompson Canyon) they had to walk about a mile to go to school, otherwise they would have had to walk about six miles, the children would have walked that far. And that was just during the school year when they lived in a tent down there, and then they would move back. My mother's father did the same thing, Setimo G__. From the Piute place he would move them down to Lorraine. They had some land...so he would move them down there so they could go to school, and he built a house down there for his family. My father built a house down there in Lorraine. Mom went to school and just had to walk about a mile or two. It was just for going to school, and they would go back up the hill. They did make an effort to get an education.

Seasonal moves from one location to another were common events for the Kawaiisu who, again, were traditionally a hunting and gathering people. Moving, whether to obtain food or to enable children to attend school, fit the pattern of their way of life and in this way, their culture provided them with a strategy of action. Individuals, both inside and outside of the family, played a key role in influencing the families' decision to make accommodations for the schooling of their children. There was an awareness of the importance of learning to read and write.

Times had changed, bringing to the Kawaiisu more than regular visits by the "grocery wagon." Modern day life,

shortly after the turn of the century, required earning a living of some kind in order to buy food from the grocery wagon. Earning a living meant that there would be less time in which to go out and gather food from the land, besides that, access to traditional hunting and gathering sites was gradually being hampered by the influx of Euro-Americans. There were all kinds of different people with "different nationalities." When Andy speaks of people that he knew in the early 1900's, he often makes reference to them by their country of origin, such as a "German" or a "Dutchman" or a "Frenchman." That the Kawaiisu were one kind of people among many different kinds at that time might have been how they perceived themselves with respect to the Euro-Americans. Often, however, the Euro-Americans put the Kawaiisu, along with Mexicans, at the bottom of their racial hierarchy.

Clara remembers what going to school in Lorraine was like:

I thought it was nice. The kids weren't that bad, they were pretty good. Oh, except they made so much fun of my race...Indian this Indian that, she eats beans, and she eats acorn, she has beans in her shoes. There wasn't any beans in my shoes! (Laughing) Dang kids, they were just onry, you know...and that became more sensitive to me along that line, you know...when your made fun. I looked Indian, so I was really made fun of.

Clara seemed reluctant to talk about the teasing from her classmates that she endured as a child for being Indian.

For Carmen and Harold, financial and social standing, in addition to "looking Indian," set them apart from the other students. Being Indian was "worse," according to Carmen, than being Mexican, "but not by much." What made it worse, she said, was the teasing; "there were more things that the Indian kids got teased about than the Mexican kids did." For instance, historical references from history lessons gave white kids more to tease Indian kids about. History books used in classrooms around the middle of this century were less than sympathetic to the situation of Native Americans and that made Carmen feel sometimes "ashamed of being Indian." She said, "I didn't want the other kids to think that my family and other Indian people were all bad people." Carmen said that some Indian students would "claim to be Mexican if they had one Mexican parent" and once they had completed their education, "they were Indian again."

The world that Carmen and Harold encountered was dramatically different from the life that they knew. Both Harold and Carmen lived in semi-isolated areas and attended school in Tehachapi with the other children who lived in town. Already, by virtue of living outside of town, Harold and Carmen were seen by other children as being different. Carmen, as did Andy, Clara and Ed, spoke little English when they began attending school, but she remembers that with

"extra attention from her teachers" she learned to speak English and that it (English) "didn't come hard."

She remembers her first impressions of school:

I just remember being afraid in seeing that things were foreign to me. Electricity, which was common to other kids, a toilet that flushed, that was uncommon to me. It seems funny to say, but basically, I was afraid of people who were different. I knew we were different (being Indian) and I didn't know if they (white kids) would understand me or if I would understand them. And, the other kids seemed to know what was expected of them. I don't know if it was because their parents had had more education, and maybe they had been taught before they went to school...I don't know. Some of the food at the cafeteria was unbelievable. There were some things, like ground beef, that we just had no concept of. Sometimes the teachers' attitude made us feel dumb because we didn't know about certain things that a lot of the other kids seemed to take for granted.

Carmen remembers the teacher's attitude which made her feel that there was something wrong with her for not knowing what the other kids took for granted. It was a new reality into which Carmen and Harold entered virtually alone. Harold explains:

I barely made it through high school. Well if you couldn't receive the help from your people, limited help if you could for a while, but once you got farther on you didn't have resources. Like I was raised, in the back woods country, we didn't have telephones or electricity, outhouses in the back, you know, and that was the way they were raised so. Like when you had television programs and the teacher would say, 'You watch this program tonight and then you write a report on it and turn it in,' well...you couldn't even communicate, you know.

Their families did not have the knowledge or the resources to help Harold and Carmen with their studies.

Also, not having access to modern conveniences that their classmates took for granted only accentuated their poverty and their own awareness of how poor they really were.

Harold talks about poverty and comparing himself to other kids:

I actually started working when I was 12 years old, because of poverty, my mother was sick and he (dad) did the best that he could, but there was six of us kids, I had two older brothers and they both died, so then I became the oldest. Dad did everything he could to provide for us, and he did a good job, but I remember going to school with holes in my shoes, one pair of pants and maybe two shirts... and it was humiliating. You compare yourself to the other kids...you see what's going on.

Harold worked while attending school to help his family and remembers that he went from looking like a poor kid to a "rich kid" in the eyes of his classmates:

I started when I was 12 years old, a man named Leonard J__ had some apartments and he hired me...fifty cents an hour, after school, on the weekends, and I started buying clothes. By the time I was in the eighth grade, kids thought I was a rich kid because I had new clothes, pants, shoes.

Carmen recalls "working in the fields" and keeping the books at a gas station while she was going to school. Like Harold, being able to afford the latest clothing styles brought her a degree of acceptance from her classmates; there was one less thing that she could be teased about. But, she remembers that being Indian often meant being excluded and sometimes it meant unwanted attention:

No white boy would dare ask an Indian girl to the sweetheart ball. The sixth grade became a point

when girls started having birthday parties that seemed to be a little older than kiddie parties. There was one girl who handed out invitations to her party at school and she made the comment that it was only for her close friends and that she wasn't inviting any Mexicans or Indians. People tried to show that they were not prejudice...you could feel it. I think it was exclusion from certain social functions, like with the P.T.A., school plays...oh, and the way we were introduced, 'This is one of our Indian students,' and sometimes my name was mentioned. I never heard a white child or a Mexican child introduced that way, they always just said their names.

Carmen tells why the first grade was her best year in school:

The teacher was one thing...and the kids at that point, were young enough that we were all alike. There didn't seem to be any barriers of any kind. We all played together and learned together. I think, probably somewhere in the second grade, suddenly kids began to look at each other a little differently. The Indians were Indians, the Mexicans were Mexicans, and the white kids were white. This continued clear up through the 12th grade.

The "barrier" between students grew as children developed the ability to compare themselves to others and had become old enough to internalize particular images and values. Carmen also remembered differential treatment from teachers:

When (in the 7th grade) they divided kids up into groups - A students, B students, C students, and below average, it seemed like of the Indian kids would wind up in the average group. I felt like we were doing above average work. I thought that they thought that the Indian students didn't have the intelligence to do better - or that because we were poor, it was a waste of time - that we would never amount to anything.

Carmen was quick to express her feelings about her educational experiences:

School was a hard place to go. I didn't want to go, but I had no choice. I can almost feel how much I hated it. I think that when I was in the 8th grade, it was almost an anger that just overcame me and I knew that somewhere I was going to be so good at something that they would have to notice me. It was like no one noticed my academic success, so I decided to excel athletically. For four years I excelled in all sports (in high school). I may have not been accepted, but I was recognized, with each trophy that went into the trophy case at school.

She remembers not being accepted and wanting to be "noticed" for her hard work and success. Carmen said that most of her cousins preferred to keep a low profile and "didn't want to do anything to get noticed." Harold had his own personal struggles with polio which prevented him from competing in sports, "I could run," he said, "but I was in the back of the crowd."

The "back of the crowd" in one way or another seemed to be where the Kawaiisu students of Carmen and Harold's generation found themselves. Carmen speculates as to why this was the case:

Those were different times too, it was a small town...you had your business people and old pioneers and they ranked high up in the local society. They were on the school board and the teachers catered to their kids and the high society group. Social standing was the thing...it mattered for the students too. If their was a class committee formed, those students (from higher class families) comprised those committees. That's life in a small town, I guess.

Carmen and Harold, and other Kawaiisu students, were at a disadvantage without the insider's knowledge of the "rules, roles, and relationships" applicable to the dominant

group and were faced with acknowledging that the rules were made by the dominant group (Royce, 1982:191). The dominant group has inadequate knowledge of subordinate groups and their cultures, rules, roles and relationships, therefore the dominant group responds to subordinate groups in stereotypical fashion (Royce, 1982).

The resentment that this symbiotic relationship produces was expressed by Carmen and Harold on two accounts, race and social class. Carmen acknowledges that the school system in Tehachapi did not serve the best interests of all students and that social class was a typical yardstick used to measure the acceptability of classmates, race aside:

There were some white kids who were lost to that same system because they were poorer than the Indians. Their fathers worked on the farms. A lot of Mexicans were lost too, that same situation. Social standing had a lot to do with it.

Race and poverty contributed to Indian, Mexican, and poor white children being "lost to the system," a system that favored white children from families with higher incomes ("social standing"). Carmen, Harold, and Clara were made aware of their lack of social standing with respect to other kids by being teased and excluded and, as Carmen recalled, by their perceptions of teacher attitudes. Their experiences of ridicule and perceptions of low teacher expectations of their abilities, relegated them to the role of outsider which was a reality that their counterparts of social standing would never experience. Their experiences

in school, in the process of secondary socialization, further reinforced their identity as Indian. While school attendance became mandatory and essential, Kawaiisu families often voluntarily entered into local churches, as we shall see, and gradually came to be known among different segments of the white community. The entrance into the white community was facilitated by intermarriage between whites and Kawaiisus. Kawaiisu individuals became known among different segments of the white community through churches, school, work, and inevitably through special interests Kawaiisu individuals undertook, as will be covered later.

GOD AND THE SPIRIT WORLD

Today, only a partial knowledge of the Kawaiisu ways and world view exists. According to informants, the last weather shaman, Bob Rabbit and the last curing shaman Charlie Haslam, both died in the 1950's. Their passing, however, does not mean that the philosophical views of Kawaiisu individuals ceased to be. Their beliefs, which in many instances are a blend of Christian and traditional Kawaiisu beliefs, continue to reflect their unique view of reality.

"They already knew how to pray."

A longstanding Kawaiisu spiritual belief involves the "unipi" which is an indestructible spiritual force that can

take any form, from human to animal, to a dust devil. This force may also dwell in rocks. Every person has an "unipi" or soul. The word "unipi" also refers to an evil spiritual entity as well. The "unipi" could invade dreams at night, thus any bad dreams were attributed to the "unipi." All of the informants told of remembering what happened when someone had a bad dream:

Any bad dreams and they would go out there (outside) and command it (the unipi) to go, and the dream wouldn't have any effect on them or cause any sickness. (Clara)

When I was a kid and I had a bad dream, grandma would take me outside, in the middle of the night, and pray to make the unipi go away. (Carmen)

The practice of going outside to command the unipi to go is no longer performed, but the belief in an unipi still exists.

Burning the possessions of the deceased is another custom that is no longer practiced. This practice ceased as possessions became larger, such as cars and houses, and as many Kawaiisu came to view the hand woven willow baskets, which fewer and fewer Kawaiisu women knew how to make, as cherished reminders of their lost loved ones. Although by the 1940's it was not widely practiced, Carmen remembers this custom occurred at least twice during her early childhood. Carmen said that the purpose of this practice was to "send their belongings on with them" to prevent the deceased from "coming back for their things." The deceased, upon returning for their possessions would have been

referred to as an "unipi." Even though these customs are no longer practiced, the belief in the existence of the "unipi" remains strong among many Kawaiisu individuals.

Harold talks about learning to respect the "old ways":

Most Indians are superstitious. I'm 46 years old now and I have a reverence for it, their ways now. Where 25 years ago I was curious, but I didn't know that much about it.

Monty concurs:

I used to think that it was all just superstition...as I get older I can't help but think that there's something to all of the old ways. There are too many stories of things that happened, they can't all just be coincidences.

The "superstition" that they refer to is the belief in the unipi and the disaster that the unipi can bring. Harold and Monty had little interest in the "old ways" when they were younger, but have, with age and maturity, taken greater interest in learning about the Kawaiisu spiritual world. Both Harold and Monty are fathers now, with children curious about the stories told by their elders. The desire to learn about Kawaiisu spirituality is also motivated by a desire to strengthen their bond with their fathers. For Harold, learning the "old ways" allowed him to establish a closer relationship with his father and teacher.

Yeah, you miss out in your childhood sometime, the closeness, the bond...some people have it, but... I didn't know my father that well, he was always working two jobs. Even with the Indian things I learned, some I learned when I was young, but most of it I learned with my father, later on in life in my own curiosity. About the Indian medicines, the spiritualism...and they wouldn't tell me and I understand why now.

Harold refers to a withholding of knowledge about Indian spiritualism by his elders, and he believes he understands why knowledge is withheld:

I have knowledge of some of the spirit world and some medicines and a lot of the younger children want to know about it, but I think its dangerous for them to know. If they use it foolishly, it could cause harm to themselves, the weather, you know. I believe there is power in the Indian medicine, you know, spirit ways and the herbs they used. And there's danger too, you are always warned 'don't do this'.

Monty expressed similar feelings regarding the withholding of knowledge by his own father: "For some reason, their are things he won't tell me." That reason may be the impression of elders that the younger generation is not really interested in knowing the "old ways."

The younger generations recall hearing stories told by elders of encounters with an unipi and of being warned to take certain precautions to avoid the unipi. The unipi, however, was a part of everyday life for the generations preceding Harold and Monty. Fred tells a story of a walk with his mother and Charlie Haslem:

We saw a man walking toward us with his head bent down. Charlie spoke to the "unipi", Charlie said, 'I know what you are because you have no shadow.' We saw the unipi on the walk back. He didn't have a shadow. Charlie did some things and told him to be on his way. The unipi left.

At that time, Charlie was the last curing shaman and, of his contemporaries he, more than likely, held the most complete knowledge of the ways of Kawaiisu spiritual beliefs. There was belief in witchcraft and the "Indian

doctors" were the only ones capable of quell the forces of "witching." Increasingly, not all Kawaiisu feared the unipi and that was due to the adoption of Christianity. After Fred told the story of encountering the unipi Rosie countered:

I have gotten old and never seen an unipi. I have walked through cemeteries and nothing has scared me. I have a blanket. I am God - half. I am half God. I believe in God. I don't want to see the devil. I don't want to see unipi ever. Up above there is no unipi.

She then began to speak of her sisters, Ramona, Ishivella, and Maria (Ramona's half sister): "They had grown up from girlhood and they believed in God, and look at how they turned out." Rosie's "blanket" may have been her faith in God which was her protection and her shield from the unipi. She seemed quite proud of her sisters and, according to other family members, the sisters shared a strong family bond. Ramona, at the time of the interviews (1958), lived in Tehachapi and it was there that she eventually became a devout member of an Assembly of God Church. Toward the end of her life, in the mid 1970's, Ramona hadn't missed a Sunday service in several years and she was known by the congregation simply as "Grandma Greene."

Just as not all Kawaiisu feared the unipi, not all Kawaiisu embraced Christianity; some retained the remnants of traditional Kawaiisu beliefs. Additionally, the Assembly of God Church was not their first brush with Christianity, Andy explains:

That priest that was ridin' through there was tryin' to get us to the Catholic church, ridin' that donkey with a long white gown, it kinda looked like a ladies dress (laughs). There was one over here in Tehachapi was trying to get them into the Catholic church, they finally succeeded, but I don't think that there was very many who went.

Carmen recalled hearing from her grandmother about the priest who wore a "dress and rode a donkey" and how "the Indians felt sorry for him." Carmen indicated that part of the reason her family attended the Catholic Church may have been out of "pity" for the priest. I asked Andy if those who attended the Catholic Church really believed in the Catholic teachings, he replied:

In a way, but they believed more or less in theirs. A lot of us don't believe it but, they already believed in God. How, I don't know, but they already believed in God, that there's God. They said that God will get you if you don't be very good. My mother and my dad, I guess they were baptized at the Catholic church when I was small, I was baptized there too. We were all baptized, but as far as I remember, we didn't go to church there. I think my mother went when I was little, maybe once, I didn't go.

That they already believed in God or a supreme being was confirmed by Clara and Carmen.

They knew to resist the devil (unipi) and that's in the Bible. They must have learned the gospel somewhere along the line, and yet they weren't living it. Clara

Carmen expressed her thoughts on the Kawaiisu belief in prayer:

When we were little, with all of those old folks around, we were taught to pray, and a lot of people think that Indians were a bunch of savages, but you know, they knew to pray. They went up on that big mountain, there above Monolith and prayed

and their life was prayer, they prayed before they hunted. But, I guess the world has to have some formal type of specific prayer. You know, they always thought that the Indian was a savage because he could not spell the word, capital G capital O capital D. They couldn't accept the fact that an Indian could pray to a higher power in his own language.

It wasn't until various individual family members became faithful church members that any widespread conversion took place. Clara's family has attended the Apostolic Faith Trinity Church since 1949 and she tells of how her family was "converted":

Jensons (the preacher and his wife)- they used to come to Lorraine to witness to us, they would hold meetings over there. God was pouring out his spirit in those days. What they did was they fasted and prayed and we were included in on those prayers. Harry M__ had been converted sometime before and he used to take Jensons over to different places, like over to Kelso to go witness over there, like Fred C__ and his mother and those families they heard the gospel too through them and that's how we came in.

Through one Kawaiisu, Harry M__, the Jensons were introduced to Fred's family and the "gospel was spread" from Lorraine to Kelso. For Clara and other members of her family, conversion to Apostolic Faith Trinity was a significant "spiritual" event. The teachings of Christianity were accepted to varying degrees, and, again, not everyone adopted Christianity. Fred, for example, leaned toward the traditional Kawaiisu beliefs, as did Fred's brother. It was not a matter of men being less inclined than women to "convert." The men had jobs, thus they had more contact with non-Indians and were more likely to introduce the

teachings of Christianity to their families. Harry M__'s conversion was a turning point in the spiritual lives of Clara and her family as well as Fred's family. Andy's family experienced a similar turning point through the conversion of Andy's brother, Carl, after the family, Carmen in particular, had attended the Catholic Church. Carmen tells the story:

I must have been 6 or 7, it was like summer school, the priest was there and you were taught all of your prayers. At the end of your second summer you took your first communion. You had to dress up in a white dress, all of the kids were lined up. At the time, in my family, my people weren't organized, there was a lot of alcoholism. A couple of the ladies from the church provided my clothes, it was white shoes, white stockings, a white dress, and a white veil. They fixed my hair up so I would look like everybody else. I don't know who else went through it, but I guess all the Indians were Catholic at that time. For years I remained devoted. I think the Catholic Church had something going for it, I liked the discipline. Then uncle Carl, years later went to Bakersfield and he was working there, rewinding some electric motors. He ran across a minister, his name was Bob B__, he was an Assembly of God minister and uncle Carl started going to his church. And little by little he began to recruit. He recruited grandmother, Aunt Louise, Uncle Joe and it wouldn't do, but I had to go check this out...and I went to the Assembly of God Church and needless to say they weren't as disciplined as the Catholic Church but, they had music...and I felt something there. I had a chance to kind of combine, I guess like grandma...grandma managed to combine a lot of the old Indian ways with the church ways. We always prayed anyway so it didn't make a big difference.

Carmen's family had not converted to the Catholic Church in the same sense that they would later convert to the Assembly of God Church. Members of the Catholic Church had made

repeated attempts to recruit the Kawaiisu by going to their homes to perform marriage ceremonies and baptisms and, according to Andy, many of his generation and the generation prior received their English names when they were baptized.

Members of the Catholic Church seemed to impose their teachings upon the Kawaiisu, but the Kawaiisu were reluctant to offend the church members. My impression is that they tolerated the proselytizing, but did not understand the different Catholic ceremonies, therefore, did not accept the teachings. The Assembly of God and the Apostolic Faith Trinity churches were a different experience for the Kawaiisu in several respects.

The Jensons of the Apostolic Faith Trinity undertook proselytizing just as had the Catholics, but the Jensons did so in a manner that was not alien to the Kawaiisu. The Kawaiisu already understood the concept of prayer and of fasting. The Protestant churches were not as formal in their teachings, as Carmen pointed out, thus the "gospel" was easier to grasp. The Protestant churches were able to show Kawaiisu families that they too had their own unipi, Satan, but they also had a combatant to Satan - Jesus. The beliefs and practices of the protestant churches complimented the remaining Kawaiisu spiritual beliefs and provided additional ways of resisting the unipi through prayer. Subsequently, the burning of sage and wild celery to chase the unipi away became a practice rarely performed.

As noted by Carmen and Clara, conversion to the Protestant churches was for them a profound spiritual awakening, Andy reports a similar experience:

I don't know, but it was something more real than I have ever been to. The, there was more of a, oh I don't know, it was different...see, when they baptize you over there, it seems more, like you're closer to the Lord. I don't know why, there is just something there. When you get baptized, when they baptize you, they keep praying for you until you receive the Holy Ghost, you speak in other tongues, that nobody understands, but he does up there. That gives you more strength in there, to pray, and also you gotta pray in tongues, that doesn't go away from you, you keep it with you because you are the only one who knows how that goes, prayin' in tongues. You have to pray and pray, then you pray back in English. I had that experience when I got baptized in church and I still do.

Andy's baptism in the Assembly of God Church impacted him on a deeply personal level. He spoke of how the people at the church were "sure nice folks" and along with his meaningful religious experiences there was also a forging of a sense of community. Carmen talked about the people in the Assembly of God Church:

Those people were friendly, super people. They made no discernment between Indian people and white people, they made us feel like we were welcome - always. I remember the potluck suppers...we would take dessert because Uncle Carl had bought a cookbook and learned how to make a two-egg cake and lemon meringue pie - the pie was always the first to go (be eaten).

Lemon meringue pie was certainly not traditional Kawaiisu fare, desserts along that line were a new item in their diets. Carmen's family, like Clara's family, felt a sense of community through their churches and made efforts to

belong by doing things, such as learning to cook different foods, and by becoming active in their churches. Carmen sums up her feelings about her religious preferences:

The Indians had something going for them too, so I just feel that you can pick the best of all of it. I guess I feel closer to the Assembly of God church because they made me feel a God, and they taught me better how to pray, and they taught the importance of forgiveness.

Although they were "converted," they did not completely relinquish their own spiritual beliefs; for example, today's children also know about the unipi. They blended the old beliefs with what was new to them, yet it was all somehow familiar because the new teachings were not a dramatic departure from their own beliefs. They were able to adopt Christian tenets because they meshed with their own subjective view of reality. In other words, their culture provided them with the basis for a strategy of action.

Clara and her family continue to attend the Apostolic Faith Trinity, as do Harold and his family. Andy's family along with Monty's children, attends the Assembly of God Church. Kawaiisu families found in these churches a sense of community along with individual spiritual fulfillment. In recent years, some Kawaiisu individuals, as a result of contact with other tribes, have returned to practices that were abandoned long ago.

Even though these practices are not strictly Kawaiisu, the revival of traditional practices is a way that Kawaiisu individuals are renewing their culture and reaffirming their

identity. Some Kawaiisu, such as Andy and Carmen, among others, attend, on occasion, traditional sweat lodge ceremonies which among the Kawaiisu is a tradition that had long ago ceased to be practiced. Among a few individuals, the burning of sage has also been revived. There are more options available now to the Kawaiisu for spiritual fulfillment, and for gaining a sense of group or community belonging with Indians or non-Indians. There are some things, however, that cannot be reclaimed.

A SENSE OF LOSS

"Where have all of my people gone."

From the perspective of these Kawaiisu members, what seems most profound is not so much losing those things contained within the bounds of their culture, such as language or basket making, but losing what is represented by those things we call culture. Andy speaks longingly, not about a vanishing culture, but about his family:

I've often wondered how time flies. I get to thinking, 'Where has all of my people gone to?' Like these baskets, where are all of the people who made them? They're all gone. I was gonna write an article for the paper with a picture of these baskets, a picture of myself with them outside, out in my rock garden out back. I was gonna have a picture in the paper. I want it to read, "Where in the world are all of the people who made these baskets." Because, you can't find these kinds of baskets. There's nobody makes them that fine. These baskets, they was some of my mother's baskets.

Andy is not bemoaning the anthropological significance of a "dying" culture. Rather, he is expressing a sense of loss and of yearning for the strong emotional bonds of his family, his mother in particular. The baskets in Andy's possession were made by his mother, grandmother, and aunts and each basket represents its maker along with a lifetime of memories. With each subsequent generation and the passing of Kawaiisu elders came the passing of knowledge of the traditional ways. Fear that certain knowledge might cause catastrophe if abused continues to be a motivation for the withholding of knowledge about the spirit world and about the usages of certain plants, for example. According to Carmen, there were particular types of plants that could cause illness and be used to harm someone and it is "best not to know what those are."

The teaching of traditional life ways was discontinued as the need to seek employment required making frequent moves from place to place. Working also took time away from activities like gathering of traditional herbs and medicines and basket making material. Clara explains why basket making stopped with her generation:

Mother used to make baskets, she was the only one that I knew who made them, and my grandmother also. I was just a girl when I made a bottom to a basket, but didn't finish. Oh, I guess they stopped making them because of lack of transportation. It was for Lida, she wanted to start making baskets, but she didn't have a way to go out, you have to go out to the desert to get some things.

The elders could not go to the desert alone and it was not always possible to find the time or the means for making that trip. The teaching of basket making ceased.

Clara talks about why her mother stopped using acorn:

Well, for my mom its because she wasn't around any more, in Lorraine. They used up what they did have and that was it. You can't do much when you're not around it you know.

It was no longer necessary to go through the increasing inconvenience of going to gather acorns and then going to the bedrock mortars to pound them and then returning home. Not only were the acorns not readily available, but some of the tools for preparing the acorn, such as the mortars, were not easily accessible. Clara described to me the process of preparing acorn and she believes that she could do it, but it is a physically demanding task which is another reason while elders ceased the practice of preparing acorn.

Clara continues talking about the use of traditional medicines and how she had wanted to find a certain plant:

Rosie B__ told Carol about a plant good for arthritis. It also grew hair. We were going to go out and check on some of these things, but we never got to do that...time just gets away from us. Rosie is a strong believer in using the nettles, you apply them where you are hurting. I've thought about going to use it when I hurt here and there, but I just don't get around to doing it. There's other medicine up in the mountains that we used to get when we lived in Lorraine, but I don't know that much about it. The old folks, well they died. They knew about those things.

Just as with the acorns, gathering traditional medicines has become inconvenient and even more time

consuming. The "old folks" (the generations before Clara) had greater knowledge of herbs and medicines and of other traditions. Andy talks about traditional dancing:

They quit dancing when the older people died off. I don't know why. I still remember just how it was that they danced. Yeah, John Marcus was the one who was teaching us. We used to have a lot of fun. You used to have to dance out in the dirt. They didn't have drums or anything, they just sang.

Certain customs were, for various reasons, seen as no longer useful and knowledge of those customs was withheld from subsequent generations. The Kawaiisu language is an example of a cultural feature seen by Kawaiisu members as a hindrance to their children and not something their children needed to know to help them to survive in the "world out there." Beyond Carmen's generation, the language was purposely not taught, at least not at a conversational level. Carmen explains:

It's a shame that the language has to be lost, but the people are being lost, so I guess that's why the language is being lost. What good would it do if you were white, spoke only English and you were in China where they spoke only Chinese, you wouldn't have anyone to converse to in that language...it would be a lonely language. Your best bet would be to learn Chinese.

Carmen was taught the language and remembers having some difficulty learning English and being teased by other kids when she started school. Similarly, Harold understands the experiences of his parents as a reason for his parents not teaching him the language:

My parents learned English in school. They both didn't teach us Indian as children because they suffered so much because children are cruel, you know, and they went through that and they didn't want their children to have to go through that. They taught us English first, and the Indian that I know is slang, its broken, but if they're speaking, I can pretty well understand what they're saying. They felt bad later that they didn't do it (teach the language), but they said it was for our own good, and it probably was, I know that I had a hard time.

Memories of shame and ridicule contribute to the perception that teaching the language would only be harmful to the children. Clara and Ed were the last Kawaiisu couple to speak the language which they did on a fairly regular basis, however, the loss of their people reinforced the perception that teaching the language was of little use ("Who would be left to talk to?").

The remaining knowledge of traditional Kawaiisu culture is held in bits and pieces by Kawaiisu members. The passing on of knowledge has hinged upon the willingness of knowledgeable members to teach and the need and/or desire of the younger generations to learn. Harold, for example, did not show a great deal of interest in the "old ways" and of Kawaiisu spirituality until well into adulthood. Upon hearing Harold give a public presentation about Kawaiisu culture, Clara was surprised at how much Harold had learned from his father:

Harold spent a lot of time with his dad and Ed knew more than I did. So Harold spent a lot of time with him and that's where he got a lot of his information. When he (Harold) made his speech over there in Isabella, I said, 'I didn't know

that,' it was something new to me. At first when he was going to do that (give a presentation) I said, 'What do you know about Indians before anyone else came here?' He knew a lot!

Keeping knowledge alive is a challenge, especially when some knowledge is not seen as interesting or relevant. The realization that knowledge of traditional Kawaiisu culture is being lost has prompted several members to respond with attempts to preserve those aspects of culture about which they are knowledgeable. Some Kawaiisu individuals have now acquired helpful contacts and knowledge of laws and resources to assist them in their efforts.

"There's so much to preserve."

Harold had taken on the responsibility of caretaker of Kawaiisu lands on the old rancheria:

My effort is to try to look after the Indian lands that we have, the allotments, and try to make sure that everybody who has something coming gets it, or just to take care of the land. You know, there's so much to preserve. We're trying to preserve the culture but we are limited in our knowledge, so I kind of leave that to Andy you know, with the heritage league and his great knowledge in that area, so mine is more for the land, the land base, the care for it. Some of its taxable now it was sold and bought back and we pay tax on that...there is close to 800 acres. For the size of the family, there's a lot of land in there. They had lost some land through negligence, I estimated that they lost about 2000 acres, some was sold, some lost. They didn't know, they were uneducated, they didn't know about time frames from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. When they (BIA) told them that they needed to respond in 30 days, if they didn't respond then that meant yes, well no one could read. There was only a few people who could read, but they didn't understand. So I became concerned back in the sixties when we lost 160 acres, I was pretty young then, still in high school.

Harold held a meeting in 1994 to update members on the land status and he found that land issues among the Kawaiisu have become contentious due to divisions between families and a lack of knowledge and understanding among some members of the tax laws. There are families living on Kawaiisu land. Some families are not aware of the issues pertaining to the land, such as rightful ownership and the need to pay taxes. Andy's efforts too are to preserve land, but he is focusing on the preservation of historical sites. Andy became active in preservation efforts after he retired from the cement plant. In conjunction with the Tehachapi Heritage League, the Archeological Conservancy, and state representative Phil Wyman, Andy pursued protection of an approximately 240 acre site which was the traditional home of the Kawaiisu. This site contains house rings, bedrock mortars (used for grinding acorn), and a cave. According to Kawaiisu legend, all life entered the world through the cave in Sand Canyon (near Monolith) now known as "Creation Cave." The site was given state park status on January of 1994 and any visitors must arrange with the state park office to have a guided tour of the park.

In an article for the local newspaper Andy had this to say about the need for state protection of the site:

This was once our home. It was known to all of the Indians in the area. We have always considered it to be sacred. Maybe now we can protect what is left from looters.

Along with concern over saving Creation Cave, Andy is fearful that vandals might destroy the family cemetery in the area, so to ensure that no one disturbs the cemetery, he makes frequent patrols of that area and asks residents near the cemetery to be alert to any suspicious activity. The residents gladly help him and inform him if anyone is seen trespassing.

As a way of ensuring assistance with preservations of land and culture, some Kawaiisu members are involved in an effort to obtain federal recognition. Over the last decade, a Kern Valley group known as the Kern Valley Indian Community (KVIC) has been attempting to gain federal recognition of the tribes in the local area, including the Kawaiisu.

They're trying to include the whole region, the Tubatulabal, Isabella, Kelso Valley, Tehachapi area as one recognized Kawaiisu tribe, all of us combined. They've been going at it for about seven years and they told me they received some new information about the recognition and the current status and there was a two year deadline that we had to qualify. The effort was that if we were recognized we could get federal assistance with our lands and recognized as a tribe and that would give us a little clout and monies. Currently we are not recognized, because we are considered a band of Indians, no tribal recognition, therefore you don't have any political clout to do anything. A lot of non-Indians think that we get a lot of government assistance continually, like the Indians back east, you know, where they have reservations.

It is reasoned that the Tubatulabal and Kawaiisu should be considered one tribe since we are virtually all related either through blood or marriage or some other distant

kinship. According to Wermuth (1994), the local combined Indian population is approximately 500. The KVIC have received tax exempt status in 1987 and are now a member in the Confederated Aboriginal Nations of California, a recently organized coalition of Indian nations without federal recognition (Wermuth, 1994).

The process of gaining federal recognition is not understood or even known by all Kawaiisu. Andy was astonished to learn that the Kawaiisu were not federally recognized. I was explaining to him why his granddaughter is not eligible to receive a grant from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Both Andy and his son Monty were surprised that they were not members of a recognized group. Andy responded with disbelief: "What do you mean, that has to be wrong, they got to recognize us. Why wouldn't they?" From Andy's perspective, not being recognized by the federal government as a tribe meant not being recognized as a descendant of the first inhabitants, like being told he did not exist. Andy and Monty were not familiar with the efforts of the Kern Valley group and they did not have a complete understanding of what federal recognition means or how it is determined.

The quest to obtain federal recognition represents a dramatic shift from accepting whatever label was applied to them (Piute, Kawaiisu, Nooah, Indian, etc.) to redefining themselves through bureaucratic structures. Kawaiisu individuals have gained the necessary knowledge and contacts

to enable them to work the system themselves for their own benefit which is key to their survival as a political and cultural entity. Several Kawaiisu are involved in different aspects of the same endeavor of survival and preservation of their culture.

It seems that each individual that I interviewed represents their family as a sub-group, of the larger group of people who identify as Kawaiisu. Sub-groups consist of family members, other interested individuals, and sometimes formal organizations, such as the Tehachapi Heritage League. Each sub-group is involved in their own undertakings separate from the other Kawaiisu families. The goal of members of a sub-group are the same, but motivation to participate may differ. Individual interests deriving from knowledge of a particular aspect of Kawaiisu culture, motivate the different undertakings of Kawaiisu individuals. There is also an emotional component involved with the decision of individuals to become involved in preservation activities. Both Harold and Andy refer to a sense of loss and a need to preserve what remains. Their strong emotional tie to their families parallel a wish to preserve the memories that they have of their family as well as the remaining knowledge of traditional Kawaiisu culture. (From the perspective as an insider, I concur. I share a similar motivation in pursuing this thesis.)

"You got to take pride in what you are."

If it were not for the existence of an urban Indian organization in Bakersfield, preservation efforts and attempts to gain federal recognition, might not have ever gotten off the ground. American Indian Council of Central California (AICCC) served as a catalyst for community involvement efforts by supplying individuals and groups with information and contacts that would enable them to pursue their goals. AICCC is largely a health organization which administer community outreach projects. A large portion of the Indian population of Bakersfield are mixed blood, either white and often Mexican. The goal of the organization is to locate the Native American population in the urban area to ensure that Native Americans are receiving health care, and to assist them with seeking aid from sources that are available to the general public. AICCC also offers a youth program to promote positive activities for kids.

Carmen sums up the value AICCC:

I just thought that was real important to bring that out. And, you know, to provide what medical assistance we could provide, sometimes it was limited, sometimes a service almost duplicated by the county, but yet it was Indian people helping Indian people.

Carmen's involvement in AICCC, which began in 1978, opened the door for other Kawaiisu to become involved in AICCC or similar groups. Carmen was the chairperson for AICCC for three years, she talks about her reasons for becoming involved:

At first it was curiosity, I went and just like everybody else, you see things and wonder, is that the right thing? Are they talking about the right thing? I became involved mainly because I always saw that anything having to do with Indian people was started by people, they may have had Indian heritage or all of this stuff, but they didn't have the teachings of the old Indian people. I think that's basically why I decided to do it. It was also a life-saver, it diverted my mind...it was a good job. People came in and they voted and they elected and I feel like I did something, like I accomplished something, at least it's still helping people. I just wanted a place where the Indian people could speak out in the community and not be a forgotten people that were just with no identity. There was people there in Bakersfield passing themselves off as Mexican, yet they knew they were Indian, but they had no place to go. So their social life became Mexican. I wanted to find out where these Indian people were, and I guess I did as much for them as I did for me because I needed that too.

Carmen had personal reasons for becoming involved in AICCC. By the mid 1970's, several Kawaiisu elders had died, including Carmen's grandmother. Carmen was at a point in her life where she felt she needed a "distraction" and the Council benefited her in this way. The Indian people, according to Carmen, did not have any kind of "voice" in the community, in Bakersfield or in Tehachapi, and she is proud of the fact that AICCC remains a way for Indian people to ensure that their voice is heard. Carmen became active in ensuring that an Indian observer was present during archeological digs in Kern County, which is what Andy later became involved with and this eventually led him to make connections with people in the Archeological Conservancy.

AICCC provides Native Americans with an opportunity to publicly gather for pow-wows, fund raisers and attend family outings. Through the AICCC, individuals and families can be linked with people who take part in other traditional activities, for example, the elders gathering on nearby Tule Reservation. Carmen talks about taking pride in your culture:

I think the little kids, if they could see that they have something and can show the community what they have, instead of hiding it in a closet. You got to take a sense of pride in what you are. I think that was a lot of it, a social awareness for the community as a whole and for the Indian people specifically.

A Native American identity no longer has to be tucked away in a closet. Ethnicity no longer has to be a shameful thing and public gatherings, like pow-wows, are a way to demonstrate to the general public that Indians are not going to be invisible nor are they going to relinquish their identities. Public gatherings are a way to display pride in one's identity and facilitate the passing on of knowledge to younger generations.

Pow-wow dancing is not viewed as a part of Kawaiisu culture as Clara points out: "I don't think our people did that, like dancing with the head dress, I think that's from other tribes." She attends pow-wows, and enjoys the food, such as acorn and fry bread, but she does not dance. Andy, on the other hand, dances in pow-wows and so do his three grandchildren and occasionally so will Monty. By dancing in

pow-wows, Andy is exerting his choice to express his identity in terms of a broad identity as Native American. His grandchildren, who have danced since a young age and view Andy as a Kawaiisu, may come to think of dancing at a pow-wow as part of being Kawaiisu.

The urban Indian center has played a crucial role in making resources available and providing community support and too, attitudes have changed in recent years. Now, more non-Indians are interested in Native American cultures and are supportive of the attempts of Native Americans to preserve and advance their cultures. This change of attitude is mirrored by the increase in options available to display, preserve, redefine, and celebrate identity.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The true qualities of a culture and the individuals within a culture emerge, according to Geertz (1973: 53) once we "descend into detail, past misleading tags and past empty similarities." Through the processes of socialization, we become "individuals under the guidance of cultural patterns, historically created systems of meaning in terms of which give form, order, point, and direction to our lives" (Geertz, 1973:52). Within the details of the informants' stories, are the true qualities of their culture and reality and how, through interactions with outsiders in a changing world, this reality has changed.

Their experiences show the dynamic nature of identity construction. Family stories are one part of our identity shaped during primary socialization. What we are taught by our families directly through stories and indirectly by example, imparts a sense of who we are by telling us something about our origins. In that sense, identity is steeped in our perceptions of history. For many Kawaiisu individuals, there are strong sentiments attached to a common history or "knowing where you come from." Again, the challenge lies in keeping the history alive, passing the knowledge on to younger generations.

What we hear outside of the home is another part of our identity involving secondary socialization. How other people talk to us, how they react to our presence and how we respond to their reactions also shape and form who we are and how we perceive ourselves. Returning to the example of work, employers had the perception that great stamina for hard physical labor was a character trait of Kawaiisu men, and the Kawaiisu men interviewed seemed to internalize that perception and view that as part of their identity.

The educational experiences of Clara, Harold, and Carmen demonstrate this as well. Teachers and non-Indian students openly tagged them with labels emphasizing that Clara, Harold, and Carmen were not one of them, but were different and even inferior. Their experiences brought home the reality that race and class, as well as gender, are intersecting systems, experienced simultaneously and not separately (Andersen & Collins, 1992: 50). When, as a teenager, Harold began working and buying new and fashionable clothing, he experienced a certain degree of acceptance by his white counterparts. Perhaps it wasn't really acceptance; there just happened to be one less thing to tease him about. Race and class as intersecting systems point to the fact that being poor and Indian was perceived by non-Indians as going hand-in-hand. In their educational experiences, race and social class formed the basis for social exclusion by white counterparts. If, for instance,

Carmen's family had been middle class when she was growing up, she more than likely would have experienced racism at school and been excluded on the basis of her race.

As Carmen pointed out, being Indian meant "being excluded, but it also meant receiving unwanted attention." In either case, it meant being regarded as different. Such attention is another powerful reinforcer of identity. The unwanted attention that Carmen received appears not to happen with the same frequency to the younger generation of Kawaiisu.

Intermarriage has resulted in a young generation (35 years and under) of Kawaiisu descendants who lack the obvious racial indicators like skin color, which would automatically designate them as Indian. The informants agree that the Kawaiisu will be gone some day: "I look at my nieces and nephew and they're blond, blue eyed. Some day it will be gone," said Harold. I tend to agree with Harold that some day it will be gone, at least in the way that we know Kawaiisu culture to be today.

The new generation (35 years old and under), is free to choose their identity, and my choice, like the choice among many in the younger generation is to identify as Kawaiisu.

Clara gives an example:

I have nephews, they're light complected. Like Harold was talking up there at rancheria, if you call them white you've got trouble coming because they know where they're from. They know they're Indians and they don't like to be called white, that's the way they think (laughing). Well you

can't blame them, they know where they came from...and just like you know.

As intermarriage continues and children have two or more histories to draw from, it will be interesting to see if they continue to identify as Kawaiisu. If, as Sandstrom (1991) submits, individuals do not see that it is to their "advantage to work at creating and maintaining their identity," then "being Indian can be seriously threatened" (1991: 362). I tend to agree with Harold that some day "it will all be gone" as self-definition changes, but again, that is the dynamic nature of culture. In the face of new challenges, people choose new symbols to "represent their identity" (Sandstrom, 1991). According to Sandstrom, any "listing of tribal traits poses the danger of oversimplifying and thereby, falsifying a complex and constantly shifting multi-ethnic situation" (1991: 67). Kawaiisu families have blended with non-Kawaiisu families, yet at the same time have maintained their identity as Kawaiisu as they continuously modify what it means to be Kawaiisu. Modifications in culture and identity have been shaped by the constraints and opportunities of different historical periods.

Over the years, the Kawaiisu have responded to a changing world in ways that were familiar to their traditional way of life. To reiterate, Kawaiisu individuals used parts of their culture, such as values and world views, as the basis for their strategies of action. Their taken

for granted knowledge of the world based on their reality, informed their responses to new challenges while simultaneously, they continued to revise their world view as they forged new contacts, entered the labor market, schools, and churches.

Relationships and friendships with outsiders facilitated change within the Kawaiisu culture in the creation of new social bonds or social realities. Through interactions with outsiders, the individuals interviewed acquired knowledge of the dominant society's "rules" which enabled them to use those "rules" to their own benefit. Carmen learned how to reach other Indians and provide them with information on health care resources. Harold learned the "rules" regarding Indian lands and tax laws, and Andy learned about the politics of preservation in the process of creating a state park. Additionally, other Kawaiisu individuals are learning the "rules" regarding federal recognition as they work toward defining their own identity as a viable political and cultural entity within the larger society. For Years the Kawaiisu have been defined by outsiders, but now they are gaining the knowledge and the resources that will enable them to define and recreate themselves.

Being Kawaiisu means being a part of the past, but it also means being a part of the future. In effect, Kawaiisu individuals are drawing from and bringing the past into the

present to preserve the memory of their people and ensure the survival of their culture. The future for the Kawaiisu is in negotiation at the present. It is in the process of being invented and reinvented as Kawaiisu groups and individuals work toward various goals, such as the preservation of Kawaiisu culture, acquisition of federal recognition, or simply going about the tasks of every day life.

Through their individual life experiences, the knowledge of their history and their ancestors, and the telling of their stories, Kawaiisu families have constructed an identity that may mean something different for each Kawaiisu family or individual. The strong emotional attachments to family have reinforced the choice of many of the younger generation Kawaiisu to identify as Indian. As Kawaiisu people, we may not share life in one large community like a reservation, but we share a common history and a heightened awareness of our changing culture. This identity may be publicly expressed in different ways, such as dancing in pow-wows, going to sweat lodges, getting involved in the Bakersfield Indian organization, or in my case, writing a thesis.

This identity had been reinforced by local community members who have employed Kawaiisu men, bought baskets from Kawaiisu women, gone to school with Kawaiisu children, attended church with Kawaiisu families, and shared an

interest in preserving the remnants of Kawaiisu culture and a desire to reach out and help other Indians in their communities.

Culture and identity are like colorful threads in a tapestry. The tapestry is who we are as individuals and as groups, i.e., family, social, and political units. Since it is a work in progress, it is always transforming. Cultures are not static, they are always changing and what it means to be Kawaiisu certainly has changed over the years. "Just getting on with life," that's what Clara says. "Everything changes, and boy it changed fast."

Further Study

This study focused on the life experiences and perceptions of seven Kawaiisu individuals, those who have resided or are residing in Tehachapi. Their experiences are largely representative of the historical circumstances faced by Kawaiisu families with respect to occupational and educational strategies. Studying the life experiences of Kawaiisu families in outlying and remote areas east of Tehachapi would lead to a better understanding of identity construction and of how culture is used as a basis for strategies of action. It seems likely that the way a Kawaiisu or Indian identity is perceived and expressed by those families who have less contact with a larger white community might differ from the Kawaiisu families who live in Tehachapi and are actively involved in the Tehachapi

community. To study the experiences of those families in the more isolated areas would allow for a more complete portrayal of how Kawaiisu culture has changed over the years.

As I previously alluded, another study might follow-up several years from now to see if the younger generation, including those who are now children, choose to identify as Kawaiisu.

This study suggests the need to research across Native American groups, both federally recognized and non-recognized tribes, to document stories which have gone untold in academia and to further explore the dynamics of culture and identity formation.

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