

“Their Souls Are Equally Precious”: Edward Harvey Davis, Benevolence, Race, and the Colonization of Indigeneity

By Christian Gonzales

... but put these men in the middle of a waterless desert and see how they compare. The Indian will never die for he will find food and water while the man of culture and refinement would surely perish, for his primitive instincts have been atrophied by disuse. The Indian in this is far superior to the man of intellect. Therefore, intelligence is only a matter of comparison or degree. In the eyes of the deity which man would stand first and have precedence? I would say both stand on even ground – Their souls are equally precious.¹ – Edward Harvey Davis, c.1924

In August 1903 a band of Diegueño Indians celebrated a *toloache* festival in the backcountry of San Diego County. Religious ritual governed and mediated the use of toloache, a narcotic whose hallucinogenic properties provided users with access to the power of the spiritual world.² In attendance at the festival was a white man who recorded the day’s celebrations of singing, gambling, and drinking. He paid particular attention to what he called “an old time war dance,” explaining that the “older Indians indulged...with a great deal of enthusiasm and vigor.” Yet, he came

Christian Gonzales received his Ph.D. in United States History at the University California San Diego. His research has included Anglo-Indian Antiremoval Collaboration, 1819-1859. He was a Gest Fellow at Haverford College, Philadelphia, in 2009 to investigate Native and Anglo-American groups that opposed the removal of Indians from the Eastern United States.



Tatahuila dancer at Rincon, 1912. ©SDHC #86: 15752-111. Photo by E.H. Davis.

to the conclusion that the dance had somehow lost its luster. With an air of nostalgia he lamented that “the old picturesqueness has departed.”³

The author of these words was Edward Harvey Davis. His comments, which reveal a belief that turn of the century Indian practices were but echoes of a more glorious (and presumably a more authentic) past, put him in the company of many Anglo-Americans of his era who likewise believed Native Americans and their cultures were moribund.⁴ For Edward Davis, the notion that Indians were “dying out” drove him to pursue a life as a collector of

Native American material culture. Worried that knowledge of native southwestern cultures would be lost without concerted action, Davis spent decades acquiring Indian artifacts. At the heart of his passion was Davis’ belief that natives represented repositories of unique understandings of the world that offered white Americans access to primitive, pre-modern knowledge attuned to survival in harsh natural environments.⁵ For Davis, such knowledge was extraordinarily valuable as it held the potential to counteract the corrosive effects of modernity, which were epitomized by erosion of self-reliance and resourcefulness that had led Americans to become “soft.”⁶

Davis has received scant scholarly attention,⁷ yet he is an important figure. Most significantly, he is representative of a cadre of Anglo Americans who, despite residing outside the professional ranks of science and the academy, contributed to the transfer of Native-American material culture from Indians to the display halls of American museums and universities. This element of settler colonialism—unlike Indian dispossession from ancestral lands for instance—did not derive from Anglo-American avarice or malevolence. Rather, Davis and those of like mind were motivated by sympathy for natives, revulsion at their mistreatment by Anglo-Americans, and the belief that indigenous cultures were valuable. These sympathies led them to establish partnerships with Indian groups in efforts

to prevent the obliteration of native cultures. The fact that one by-product of those efforts was Anglo acquisition of objects of indigenous material culture complicates our understanding of American imperialism. It shows that colonial processes could be set in motion not only by Anglo greed and violence⁸ but also by Anglos who humanized natives and who shaped their relations with Indians upon benevolent intentions. Finally, Davis exemplifies and complicates some of the recent and most important insights offered by historians. For example, Davis "played Indian" in order to produce a particular American identity and to acquire the authority to define "Indianness."⁹ An examination of his life allows us to build upon Tomas Almaguer's argument about white supremacy in California. Davis reveals that Anglo supremacy arose not only out of the interplay of race and white material interests, but also out of the intersections of race and Anglo production of knowledge.¹⁰

The life of Edward Davis is also significant because it illuminates historical processes that shape contentious contemporary political struggles. Davis began collecting in the late 1880s and, by World War I, had amassed such a large number of artifacts that he quickly filled a storehouse he had built on land behind his home in San Diego. He would continue to collect native goods until his death in 1951. As I alluded to above, Davis' life-long work as a collector reflects an important colonial process that gained steam after the close of the western frontier. While colonialism during the nineteenth century had focused most conspicuously on land acquisition, by the century's close it had evolved to encompass the gathering and institutionalization of Indian material culture. The



Edward H. Davis, photographer, with his children.
©SDHC OP #15362-479.

proclivity to collect and display Indian artifacts had its heyday in the early twentieth century, but its impacts reverberate to the present.¹¹ The passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act on November 16, 1990, laid a legal foundation for ongoing efforts to repatriate Indian goods. Though NAGPRA applies to grave and funerary objects, it nonetheless leads us to ask questions about the repatriation of other objects of native material culture. Many objects migrated from native into

Anglo hands through individuals like Davis who, along with his native partners, was attempting to mitigate the effects of settler colonialism. Given this context, which was not looting and not quite salvage ethnology or salvage archaeology, how do we in the twenty-first century approach repatriation? What rules, regulations, and laws should museums, universities, historical societies, and other institutions use to guide repatriation? When is it permissible not to repatriate objects?

The life Edward Harvey Davis would lead in San Diego began nineteen years before he attended the Diegueno toloache festival. Davis was a native of New York, but in 1884, at the age of twenty-two, he boarded a ship in New York City and headed to California in the hopes of benefiting his health.¹² En route, Davis' vessel stopped in Panama and at various ports along the west coast of Mexico before ultimately dropping anchor in San Diego Bay in January 1885.

Race figures prominently in the journal Davis kept on his voyage to San Diego. Born in 1862, Davis grew up adhering to the dominant racial beliefs held by nineteenth-century Anglo-Americans.¹³ As a young man, he was seemingly uncritical of white racial superiority, scientific racism, and its claim that racial hierarchies were a permanent fixture of the natural order. He, for example, often conflated non-whites with moral degeneracy. In his description of Panama City he wrote, "the inhabitants are nearly all negroes...and dress very scantily, as do the women also."¹⁴ Such descriptions reflect nineteenth-century Anglo stereotypes about the active sexual appetites of black men and women. Davis also perceived Panamanian blacks in alignment with Anglo notions of black indolence and their potential for violence. "The negroes for the most part are very vicious looking... They are a lazy, impoverished race and what money they do get goes mostly for rum and whiskey."¹⁵ Such views of black degeneracy were a central element of the late nineteenth-century racial order that placed Anglos in a position of social superiority—a position that Davis followed in Panama. "We gave our bags to a couple of little niggers and told them to lead the way to the hotel."¹⁶ Davis' use of the racial epithet "nigger" and the alacrity with which he commanded black labor, make clear his adherence to the racial hierarchy of his time. As he did with Panamanians, Davis racialized the Mexicans he encountered on his trip. "These, or most of these Mexicans," wrote Davis, "wear a countenance so dark as to be almost like negroes."¹⁷

Though Davis arrived in San Diego holding many of the dominant racial attitudes of his era, he would go on to challenge those ideas. In fact, his attitudes would radically transform as he established himself in California and began his life-long work among Indians. He moved away from the racial determinism of his youth and embraced a racial ideology that included "culture" as an explanation for racial difference. Indeed, Davis would eventually contend that natives possessed

the same capabilities for intellectual and spiritual development as whites. It was only different cultural backgrounds that made it appear as if natives were inferior to Anglos. Therefore, as Davis grew older, his racial attitudes became more sophisticated and reflected his humanization of Native Americans.

Yet at the same time, Davis continued to place importance on physiognomy, and persisted in citing differences within the body to explain the racial divide between Native Americans and Anglos. In 1945, for example, he explained that the Seri of northern Mexico "lacked tool sense in the extreme," but that "their clumsy brains had devised a harpoon for use against the turtle."¹⁸ "Clumsy brains" and a lack of "tool sense," with their implications of biological difference, seem glaringly at odds with Davis' use of culture to explain racial divides. Nonetheless, Davis' seemingly inconsistent understandings of race were not so incoherent as they first appear, for they served a larger consistent purpose. I argue that Davis used conceptions of race to help him appropriate Indian material culture. Though his racial ideology at times appeared to contain glaring contradictions, it always worked to support the acquisition of Indian goods. Davis's employment of racial thinking demonstrates the potential as well as limits that interpersonal cross-cultural relationships between Anglo and Native Americans had in muddying and reshaping the dominant racial attitudes of early twentieth century America. More specifically, Anglo-Americans like Davis, who humanized and held benevolent intentions towards Indians, helped soften notions that natives were innately inferior, even if they did not advocate for a thorough dismantling of racial hierarchies.

Shortly after his arrival in San Diego, Davis became deeply interested not in blacks or Mexicans, but in Native Americans. A chance encounter as he was "walking up 5th Street" in downtown San Diego sparked his curiosity. In front of a butcher shop, Davis spied "several broad faced Indian men and women sitting on the edge of the board walk."¹⁹ Behind the Indians hung freshly killed sides of beef which dripped blood that collected into "small dark pools" upon wooden planks of the walkway. Davis paused to observe this scene. "These belles of the sagebrush," he recalled, "in order to heighten their charms and become more attractive, would dip their fingers in the blood and draw them across their countenances." Shocked yet intrigued by the scene, Davis remembered that the dried blood gave the Indians "a rather gruesome and foreboding aspect," but was "interesting nonetheless." Indeed, so enthralled was Davis with the Indians' behavior that for the remainder of the day he followed them. After shadowing their every move, Davis' escapade ended when the Indians finally returned to their "wickiups." "Eventually I trailed them to their domiciles," he reported.²⁰

Davis, however, would have to place his interest in Native Americans on the



Native Americans at Mesa Grande. ©SDHC #86: 15752-46. Photo by E.H. Davis.

backburner as he went about the task of establishing himself in his new and unfamiliar surroundings in San Diego. Davis liked San Diego and presumably found the drier climate of southern California beneficial to his health. It did not take him long to decide that San Diego would be his new home—a decision reflected by a brief return to New York in October 1885 when Davis collected his fiancée, Anna May, in order to bring her out West. The couple married on October 20, 1885. After the wedding, Davis set out to make a living in San Diego. Having only “a little money,” he spent his first years in San Diego struggling as he worked on a railroad survey project and in a variety of odd jobs. By 1887, however, his financial prospects brightened. San Diego’s city engineer hired him to produce a map of the city. After completion of this project, he was commissioned to work on the architectural design plans for the Hotel del Coronado. With money earned from these positions, Davis bought a plot of land which he quickly resold at a substantial profit. Davis and Anna May subsequently decided to settle in San Diego’s backcountry and bought six hundred acres in Mesa Grande.²¹

The move to Mesa Grande gave Davis the opportunity to rediscover Native Americans who, along with a few hearty whites, comprised the population surrounding Davis’ home. As he described it, “this country was pretty much in

the raw. Most of our neighbors were Tookamuck Indians." This suited Davis as he was eager to better understand the Indians and explore their culture. "I became very much interested in the Indians," wrote Davis. "Every object of Indian culture fascinated me," he added.²² Davis pursued his interest in natives by traveling to Indian *rancherías* (villages) and by trading with those whom he encountered. Soon, he started taking numerous trips throughout San Diego County to visit Indians, and eventually went farther afield to Arizona and Mexico. During his travels, he collected any object associated with Native Americans—blankets, pots, baskets, and textiles.

During these early trips, Davis' racial perceptions of Indians shaped how he conducted his work. For example, he believed that Indians had limited potential for intellectual development. "As a rule, Indians can learn up to the age of 14 or 15, but after that, after advancing just so far, they cannot go a step further, and it is a waste of time and money to try and force them,"²³ wrote Davis. On a 1906 collecting trip to Arizona he exploited this perceived deficiency to his advantage. Desirous to take photos, but knowing that many natives would resist, Davis wrote, "I had bought \$1 worth of tobacco, candy and nuts for men, women and children, to use as bait to catch photos."²⁴ Davis exploited what he saw as a childlike and impulsive Indian nature in order to distract them with treats so that he could snap photos.



Yellow Sky sitting in a chair, n.d. ©SDHC #86: 15900-868. Photo by E.H. Davis.

Davis also racialized native bodies in order to justify his ethnographic work. He cast Indians as important objects of study who required scientific investigation. Native bodies, particularly those that revealed distance from modern America through adornment with "traditional" clothing, the wearing of long hair, and painting or tattooing, were especially prized. Davis was excited by reports of an "un-Americanized" Yuma Indian living in "traditional" fashion. He subsequently traveled to the backcountry to catalogue, and extract knowledge from, what he viewed as a living relic.



Yellow Sky holding a smoking pipe, n.d. ©SDHC #86: 15900. Photo by E.H. Davis.

The Indian was named Qut-A-Qus, or “Yellow Sky.” Writing shortly before leaving to meet him, Davis explained that “to photograph this specimen and interview him was our object.”²⁵ Nor was Davis disappointed upon meeting Yellow Sky, whose appearances met with his expectations. Yellow Sky possessed long and tangled hair, and his body was gaunt, sinewy, and wrinkled—evidence of the wear a body experiences through living a pre-modern life. Davis’ objectification of Yellow Sky as a “specimen” stemmed from his belief that the appearance of Yellow Sky’s body reflected a supposedly unadulterated native way of life. Yellow Sky’s body merged with Davis’ racial notion of “Indian,” leading him to see Yellow Sky as a “real” Indian, and therefore, of significant ethnographic value.

The racialized notions Davis held of Indians were deeply entrenched in his psyche, yet by the second decade of the twentieth century, his views of natives would shift dramatically. Rather than simple, primitive, exotic, and inferior peoples, Davis painted Indians in ways that recognized and extolled the similarities between Anglos and Indians. He humanized Indians by identifying the commonalities that tied natives and non-natives together. For example, instead of perceiving Indian cultural practices as primitive and reflective of an immature state of social development, he expatiated on how native practices, though different

from those of Anglos, both resonated with and moved non-natives. Commenting on a funerary ceremony he witnessed, Davis wrote, "Wrapped in the sable garments of night, the solemnity, the sincerity, the reverence, the marvelous beauty and sentiment, reach deep into the heart, and touch responsive chords in each of us."²⁶ This comment reached across cultural and racial divides. In the need to contend with death, people, regardless of race and ethnicity, made common cause in the shared human experiences of solemnity, sincerity, and reverence that arise out of the need to make sense of mortality.

Davis' growing penchant for perceiving the shared humanity of Anglos and Native Americans manifested itself in other arenas. By the late 1910s Davis would assert that natives possessed "natural human rights" that should not be transgressed. For instance, he contended that Anglos should not undermine the bond between native parents and their children. He specifically argued that the United States government should not force Indians to send children to distant boarding schools. Instead, parents should have the right to educate their children in local day schools. "Have the parents no rights that the most sacred ties must be unduly severed and trampled under foot?" asked Davis, who answered his own question in the affirmative. Moreover, he justified Indian possession of those rights by citing the common emotional bonds shared by white and Indian mothers for their children. "Indian mothers love their children the same as white mothers."²⁷



Davis and Yellow Sky, 1912. ©SDHC #OP 12550-2. Photo by E.H. Davis.

That the races belonged to the same human family was evident not only from shared natural rights, but also from their possession of equal intellectual capabilities. Departing sharply from his earlier ideas about the "natural" deficiencies of the Indian intellect, Davis by the 1920s would make explicit efforts to contradict racist stereotypes that cast natives as mental inferiors to whites. In evaluating the Seri of northwest Mexico, he wrote:

I disagree most heartily with those who believe the Seris possessed a low order

of intelligence. There is no end of evidence to the contrary. They are skilled mechanics and artisans in many lines...and will fashion... useful things from almost nothing. They will for instance make a boat out of driftwood...The finished boat is a very creditable article that the white man would have a hard time duplicating.²⁸

Rather than people possessed of permanent mental deficiencies, the Seri were capable and intelligent people who expressed their intellect through cultural norms that served their needs. In this case, their intelligence yielded a boat made from driftwood. Davis hammered home his point by claiming that whites could not replicate Seri technology.

Finally, Davis humanized natives by contending that they were the spiritual equals of whites. He again chose the Seri to make his point, perhaps because he considered the Seri to be fairly “untouched” by civilization. A claim of spiritual egalitarianism between natives and civilized peoples made the point of shared humanity between the races all the more forceful. “For many years,” wrote Davis, “I had read every scrap of information regarding these people reputed to be cannibals and of the lowest grade of culture.” While many conflated the Seris’ “lowest grade” of culture with putative racial inferiority, Davis was quick to point out the fallacy of this association.

Here was this poor, ignorant Indian man who had never seen the inside of a school, could neither read or write, knew nothing of world events, or the names of great men, in short whose intelligence was limited to supplying his bodily and domestic wants. How does he compare with a highly intellectual and cultured man? They are as wide apart as the stars, but put these men in the middle of a waterless desert and see how they compare.... I would say both stand on even ground—Their souls are equally precious.²⁹

The cultural differences between “the Indian” and “cultured” peoples did not signal clear racial inferiority. Rather, the cultural differences cited to categorize people as either Indian or cultured were environmentally determined; culture evolved to contend with the demands of one’s surroundings. Humans expressed their intelligence in ways designed to help them survive and thrive in whatever environment they found themselves. This, not biological difference, explained the gulf between Indian and cultured. Armed with such knowledge, “the deity” or God would perceive Davis’ “ignorant Indian” and “cultured man” as equal not only in their mental capacities, but also in their intrinsic spiritual worth.

Such a claim is a remarkable departure from Davis' earlier views of Indians and begs the obvious question of what accounts for the change. On one level Davis' changing perceptions of Indians derived from his discomfort with modernity. In this respect Davis was similar to other Anglos who became enamored with native peoples and cultures because they saw modernity as corrosive to primitive but laudable values connected to self-reliance and personal fortitude. As Davis wrote, his "cultured man" had had his "primitive instincts atrophied by disuse." Indians consequently had something to teach modern Americans; they were reserves of primitiveness that could be mined for knowledge of life outside of the confines of the urban landscape. Nevertheless, the beliefs (particularly those that conflated primitiveness with a biologically determined inferiority) that Davis had seemingly held as a younger man did not reconcile well with his desire that white Americans learn from natives. After all, how could whites admit that they had something to learn from an inferior race? In large part, the change in Davis' racial attitudes derived from his desire that Americans place value in native epistemologies and practices.

Antimodernism, however, cannot completely account for Davis' shift in racial ideology. Mostly, this is because it cannot explain the inconsistencies in his racial thought. Even after Davis began to adopt attitudes that called forth the shared humanity of natives and Anglos, he never entirely abandoned all of the central components of his earlier racial ideology. Most notably, he continued to define native peoples through reference to their physical characteristics. Indeed, Davis often used both physiognomy and culture simultaneously to define race. For example, Davis described a Pima Indian named Coi-a-ma-au (Rattlesnake Head) as a "fine and benevolent [and] intelligent looking Pima Indian" because he was "kindly, gentle, honest, and accommodating" [sic]. Yet in the next sentence Davis switched his description from the behavioral to the physical writing "his hair was white as snow which contrasted greatly with his dark complexion."³⁰ Davis employed this mix of behavior and bodily characteristics repeatedly to describe Indians. For instance, of a group of Seri he wrote, "The women and children certainly did look wild....Their hair was frowsy and unkempt, their skirts...a patchwork of dirty rags....their features seemed hard and cruel. Their complexion was very dark."³¹ As this and other descriptions suggest, Davis still linked phenotype with race.

Davis' racial logic only makes sense when we view it as a tool to facilitate his work as a collector and ethnographer. The complexity, and seeming inconsistency, of his racial attitudes helped him to gather artifacts and to acquire knowledge of native cultures. In a 1931 article on his work as a collector, Davis directly tied his success as a collector and ethnographer to his attitudes towards Native peoples.



Unidentified Seri Indian—father with son, Tiburon Island, ca. 1937. ©SDHC #OP: 4961-557. Photo by E.H. Davis.

He explained that it was necessary to adopt tolerance towards people and their practices and to embrace the understanding that cultural differences resulted from divergent lived experiences.

In order to get along well with primitive people among whom one is a stranger one must cast aside all personal egotism, cultivate a friendly, tolerant attitude toward all mankind, respect religious beliefs, and grant to others the inalienable right to live and think according to psychological processes that are the result of historical and ancestral backgrounds.³²

Davis' work attuned him to a relativistic or comparative understanding of cultural difference. In working with a variety of native peoples, he came to the conclusion that difference was environmentally determined—a result of history and background as Davis put it.

This conclusion made Davis both a better collector and a better ethnographer. For one, by respecting native cultural practices, Davis placed himself in a stronger position to trade with Indians. For example, he acted according to native strictures of reciprocity and gift giving when he traded for artifacts, often giving gifts as part of the deal. When among the Seri on Tiburon Island (located in the Sea of Cortez) in 1922, he conducted a trade of “three fine-tooth combs” for “native hair brushes” with three Seri women. After the exchange, he wrote that he also “gave each woman a little round mirror and they were greatly pleased.” Like many

native peoples, trade was both an economic and social affair. "Gift-giving" was a common native practice that linked trade partners in social relationships – a practice meant to ensure that both parties would view their trade relations as beneficial. Davis further acted his part by specifically referring to himself and the Seri as friends. "Before leaving the Seri Chief I told him that whenever he saw this sign—Circle Bar D and left hand below it, it was me—their friend, and not to shoot at me." Having established friendship through ritualized trade, Davis became included in a kinship group that linked the Seri. As such, he was in a much better position to conduct his ethnographic work. After the conclusion of an occasion of trading, he explained that he used the occasion to observe Seri music and dance. "We asked for a dance, and the Seris, using the bow and striking sticks for music, the slender girl jumped up and down on a flat piece of tin."³³

Indeed, Davis' ability to establish good rapport with the Seri provided him with numerous opportunities to observe and record their practices. He, for example, "witnessed the operation of a Seri beauty parlor." Sitting with the Seri at an encampment Davis watched and made notes as a "mother brushed the hair of her thirteen-year old daughter."

He explained this mundane practice in detail, how the mother plucked lice from the girl's hair, and how the finished result was "neatly brushed" hair. With the hair styled, Davis explained that the mother then "mixed paint" in order to decorate her daughter's face. She "painted a bright blue design under the eyes...and then she added narrow white stripes." Nor was such face painting an unusual practice. Davis concluded his description by writing that "the women often paint and remove three different face designs in one day." Through trade relations and by following Seri customs that called for social connections between trade partners, Davis



*Unidentified Seri woman, 1936. ©SDHC OP: 14961-493.
Photo by E.H. Davis.*

acquired intimate ethnographic knowledge of the Seri's quotidian practices.³⁴ He later explained that face painting was not an empty or vain practice. Rather, facial markings identified the wearer's clan affiliation.

Like his sensitivity to cultural difference, Davis' focus on phenotype, which continued to contribute much to his understanding of race, worked to facilitate his ethnographic endeavors. More specifically, Davis used native physical attributes to establish himself as an expert on native cultures. Davis believed that "authentic" (by which he meant "pure-blooded") Indians possessed the most accurate knowledge and understandings of native cultures. Moreover, such individuals were rare and difficult to find. After one collecting trip he wrote, "After a diligent search, we only saw possibly two pure blooded native Indians in our 1400 miles.... This search should have been made 100 or at the most 50 years ago, when a few of the older Indians...might have...handed down some of the language and customs of their tribes."³⁵

Historian Jean O'Brien has recently explained that Anglos in the nineteenth century focused on blood quantum to claim that Indians of mixed ancestry were inauthentic.³⁶ Davis employed a similar logic, arguing that only the rare pure-blooded Indian held true knowledge of native practices. Predictably, Davis claimed that his native informants were real Indians whose knowledge of their own cultures had not been lost or adulterated by racial intermixing or by cultural change. His expertise derived from his access to these authentic Indian informants.

To substantiate his claim that his informants were indeed real Indians, Davis turned to physical attributes he believed reflected "pure-blooded" Indians. This strategy is clear in a recently published piece entitled "The Vanished Tribes of Lower California" in which Davis reported on a Baja California expedition tasked with the purpose of cataloging the cultural traits of the region's Indians.³⁷ "Anastasia Velásquez, we can positively assert, has all the characteristics of a pure blooded Indian woman. She is stout...[has] intensely black hair, & eyes, dark chocolate brown in color, rather thick sensuous lips, nose with rather wide nostrils and low forehead," wrote Davis who then concluded that Anastasia was "undoubtedly" a "Guayacura." In the same report, Davis goes to extraordinary pains to authenticate the Indianness of another informant. The report outlines the physical and cultural traits of the Cochimi tribe, based on a Cochimi informant named Jose Jerardo Iberri who was "an old man...of pure Indian blood." However, Iberri "was light in color," and even though Davis thought Iberri had "features... more of a Spaniard than an Indian," he explained that Iberri's "parents were Indian" nonetheless. The anomaly of Iberri's lighter skin tone was explained by the fact that "some Indians were much lighter than others." So intent was Davis on using phenotype to authenticate the race of his source that he was willing to invert



Maria Jesus, Guadalupe, Baja California, 1926. ©SDHC #OP 14961-17. Photo by E.H. Davis.

his own assumption that linked Indianness to dark skin. To be sure that there was no confusion, Davis reiterated the variation in skin color of the Cochimi. "Those living in [the] interior were lighter than those on the Coast," he wrote.³⁸

Davis also exploited Anglo-American fascination with race to drum up interest in Indians and their cultures. More specifically, he leveraged, exoticized, and racialized Anglo perceptions of Indians to spark curiosity in his work among a broader Anglo-American audience. Davis, who published a few articles about his work with Indians, often purposefully highlighted native barbarity,

characterizing it as a racial trait in the hopes of hooking Anglo readers. In two articles entitled "The Savage Seri of Sonora I" and "The Savage Seri of Sonora II," both published in *Scientific Monthly*, Davis took great care to illustrate Seri primitivism and to locate this trait within their racial constitution. "Living in animal-like savagery, without commerce or industry, the Seri's every bodily character and function were directed toward the provision, day by day, of the food and water necessary for life."³⁹ The Seri possessed bodies uniquely shaped by quotidian struggles for survival in a pre-modern and non-urban world. Davis followed such assertions with sensationalistic descriptions of Seri cultural practices. For instance, in describing Seri sea turtle hunting, he likened the Indians to animals pouncing on a kill. "No sooner was the quarry landed than the soft undershell was crushed and broken loose...and then torn off by the tribespeople with the impetuous fury of blood-crazed carnivorous beasts."⁴⁰ Presumably, this depiction of the Seri would stimulate Anglo interest by suggesting that the Seri people had not lost touch with animalistic emotions, leaving them to exist in some strange and fascinating intermediary space between animal and human.

Despite his employment of such sensationalism, Davis made it clear that Anglo Americans should be interested in natives because they as peoples possessed

specific knowledge that white Americans did not. Davis repeatedly pointed out—often in explicitly racial terms—the special knowledge and abilities of native peoples. “They are the most perfect type of human being adapted to desert conditions that exist today,” wrote Davis of the Seri. Their adaptation to the desert environment endowed the Seri with special abilities that other races lacked. “Convey them blindfolded many miles into the heart of the desert, empty-handed, remove their blinders, and they will find both food and water where others would perish.” By “others” Davis meant whites, for other native peoples possessed similar gifts as the Seri.

“The Papagos and Yaquis do almost as well” in a desert, explained Davis.⁴¹ In addition to their ability to survive, the Seri possessed other abilities unique to their race. For instance, they held traditional knowledge (what scholars today refer to as Traditional Ecological Knowledge) that allowed them to use natural resources to create technology. “These people are splendid mechanics with the crudest of tools—rocks, fire, bones, knives. For instance, the pole of the harpoon was composed of five pieces of driftwood.”⁴² Unlike others who relied on manufactured tools, the Seri were more self-reliant and could fashion tools from the natural landscape around them. In sum, the Seri were emblematic of the unique knowledge possessed by the Indian race. So while Davis humanized the Seri and other Indians by forcefully arguing that they possessed knowledge vital to white Americans, he continually racialized natives as pre-modern because it was necessary that they be ensconced in pre-modernity to validate their possession of the pre-modern knowledge Davis extolled in them.

Nonetheless, Indians’ possession of special knowledge meant that it was incumbent on Anglos to research Native Americans. Davis justified his own position as a collector and ethnographer by arguing that white Americans could learn from the traditional knowledge natives held. It was this desire to teach which Davis identified as his primary motivation for his life’s work as a collector and ethnographer. Referencing his work he explained that “it has utilized these remote and little known places, and a vanishing race of the world’s most primitive people in a purpose that is purely educational.” Davis’ role then was to serve as the medium through which the knowledge held by Indians could flow to Anglos. Davis reinforced his educational role by explicitly denying other motivations for his work, refuting for example that he was some sort of “adventurer.” “I am sometimes spoken of as an adventurer. I don’t consider myself an adventurer, and I rather dislike having the term applied to me.... Adventures...have no place in a well planned scientific expedition.”⁴³

This need to acquire Indian knowledge was made all the more urgent by another central element of Davis’ racial logic—the belief that natives were a

disappearing people. Davis, like others of his time, believed in the "disappearing Indian" myth, and asserted that Indians were either gone or would soon be gone. He recalled that his first encounter with Indians upon his arrival in San Diego was all the more special because natives would soon vanish. He wrote "These fat women were the last remnants of the Co-me-yi [Kumeyaay] or Coast Indians, who have since completely disappeared."⁴⁴ And though the Seri had some time left, they too would soon suffer the same fate as the Kumeyaay. "Their numbers dwindle and their extinction is in sight...yet for a little while these strange people will continue...a handful of Nature's primitive creatures, through whose veins flows the blood of thoroughbred American aborigines."⁴⁵ "Pure blooded" Indians were either dead or moribund. Their collective wisdom was therefore in danger of passing into oblivion as the Indian race neared extinction. Davis saw his work as a collector and ethnographer as a means to prevent this tragic outcome.

While Davis clearly leveraged conceptions of race to support his work, it is impossible to definitively state to what degree this strategy succeeded. It is clear, however, that Davis gathered (at the minimum) hundreds of items of Indian material culture, and that he produced a substantial number of documents. He took over seven thousand photographs, filled fifty-seven journals with notes, and published several periodical articles that described Indian languages, beliefs, and practices.⁴⁶

The prodigious amounts of goods he collected places Davis within the stream of a larger colonial process centered on Anglo acquisition of Indian material culture. Principally, this process involved the transfer of native goods from Indians to universities, museums, curio shops, and personal collections.⁴⁷ In the first years after Davis moved to California, his work with Indians led him to amass a large personal collection of Indian goods. In 1915, however, his role in the transfer of Indian goods to white Americans grew when he opened an inn on his Mesa Grande property. He named this boarding house "Powam Lodge," which translates to "place of rest." Powam Lodge was decorated both with artifacts Davis had collected, and with handicrafts produced by local Indians.

Visible are Indian rugs, woven baskets, and pottery. At Powam Lodge Anglos readily saw Indian artifacts on display, but the lodge's most important function was not curatorial. Rather, it was to encourage economic exchange between whites and Indians. Davis routinely invited local Indians to come to the Lodge and sell baskets, blankets, and other objects to his guests. Davis hoped to provide Indians with a market and a source of income that would help preserve native handicraft arts. Powam Lodge remained in operation until 1930 when it accidentally caught on fire and burned to the ground. Powam Lodge was simultaneously a pseudo-museum, as well as curio shop which commodified and distributed



The Great Fireplace at Powam Lodge, Mesa Grande, n.d. ©SDHC #OP: 15362-115.

Indian material culture. Indeed, the lodge's exterior décor, with its wood hewn log letters and large arrow, blatantly advertised both of these functions. The name the letters spelled (Powam) connected the inn to the indigenous, while the arrow linked it to native artifacts.

Though it was an institution that abetted a colonial process—the acquisition of native material culture by Anglo-Americans—Powam Lodge was substantively and substantially different than other institutionalized facilitators of colonization like the Dawes Act. Unlike the Dawes Act that sought to appropriate Indian lands while simultaneously destroying native cultures, Powam Lodge sought to preserve native cultures through the Indians selling native goods to Anglos. The motivations underlying Powam Lodge were consequently benevolent as they extolled the value of native material culture, but that impulse and those motivations nonetheless contributed to appropriation by Anglos of native material culture.

Davis' largest role in colonial processes that appropriated Indian material culture stemmed from his relationship with George Heye (1874-1957). Like Davis, Heye became deeply interested in Native Americans and spent his adult life collecting Native American artifacts. Heye spread his wings over a larger geographic expanse than did Davis, sponsoring expeditions in not only North America, but also Central and South America. Heye is well known for founding the Museum of the American Indian in 1908. The museum amassed a large collection due both to Heye's personal efforts, and to the fact that he hired people like Davis to collect for the museum. The Museum of the American Indian became part

of the Smithsonian Institution in 1989, and has since evolved into the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), now located in Maryland. The NMAI is an important research center on Native America, and has become an important political institution which Native Americans have used to reclaim and represent their past. So it, like Powam Lodge, reflects the ambiguity that results from a colonial process that derived much of its impetus from finding value in Indigenous cultures.

Davis came to the attention of George Heye in 1915. In that year, Heye bought Davis' collection for display in the Museum of the American Indian and then in 1916 decided to put Davis on his payroll as a "field collector" charged with the duty to acquire more artifacts.⁴⁸ Davis worked for Heye from 1916 until his death in 1951. Over those years, he sent hundreds of items to Heye. It is impossible to know the exact number Davis sent, but the NMAI's website currently lists 292 items (with 7 additional items that most likely came from Davis) sent by Davis to Heye. This number is surely lower than the actual number of items Davis sent, as the NMAI does not list any articles that have since passed out of its collection or that are deemed "culturally sensitive." The articles Davis sent are diverse and include pottery, baskets, moccasins, bows and arrows, stone tools, child's toys, baby carriers, fishing nets, and clothing.⁴⁹ The cultural affiliations of these articles are also diverse, with goods coming from the Kumeyaay (and other Diegueno bands), Cahuilla, Cupeño, Luiseño, Serrano, Quechan (Yuma), Tohono O'odham (Papago), Akimel O'odham (Pima), Yavapai, Yaqui, Dilzhe'e (Apache), Chemehuevi, Cocopa, Cora, Wixarika, Kiliwa, Seri, Cochimi, Modoc, Paiute, and Guaycura.⁵⁰ Davis supplemented the material goods he sent Heye with photographs. Over



Exterior of Powam Lodge, Mesa Grande, n.d. ©SDHC #OP 15362-1230.

his career Davis took over 7,000 photographs relating to Native America. Many came to Heye. For example, between January 16 and April 1, 1948, Davis sent eleven shipments of photographs, totaling 1,453 negatives, to Heye.⁵¹

Davis' employment with the Museum of the American Indian both encouraged and enhanced his ability to collect native goods. As Davis explained, Heye's offer gave him the opportunity to get paid for work he loved to do.⁵² More specifically, Heye financed virtually all the costs Davis incurred as a collector, including personal expenses and travel expenses.⁵³ Heye also paid substantial amounts to ship items from California to the Museum of the American Indian in New York. For example, on April 6, 1921, Davis sent "3 Boxes [of] Indian wares" by rail freight to Heye. The bill of \$500 was to be paid "collect" upon arrival in New York City.⁵⁴

Davis' employment with Heye also led him to more vigorously seek out persons from whom he could buy Indian goods. At times, people readily sold him artifacts. For instance, in July 1930, Davis purchased a "steatite tube" from Richard Early Stensreed. The latter had found the tube in the bed of Poway Creek just two months prior to selling it to Davis. As Davis noted, he acquired the tube specifically "for the museum."⁵⁵ Davis also obviously purchased goods directly from Native Americans. To his credit, Davis most often respected the fact that the items he sought held significant value to the peoples who produced them, and would not aggressively seek to persuade reluctant natives to part with goods. For instance, in 1913 he tried to purchase a "chahon" (a sacred stone), but was told by its possessor that it "belonged to the tribe" and that he "could not sell it without their consent." Davis left without the stone.⁵⁶ Despite his sensitivity in this case, Davis nonetheless used his long standing employment with Heye to procure numerous other items from Indians willing to sell. In Davis' case, Anglo appropriation of native goods was done in partnership with natives who found the selling of their wares as a way to contend with the economic realities natives faced in the early twentieth-century United States.

By his death, Edward Davis had spent more than half a century as a collector and amateur ethnographer, throughout which time his shifting ideas about race supported his work. But Davis' racial views also shaped his understanding of the relationship between non-Indians, modernity, and indigeneity. More specifically, he believed that because Indians were a "dying race," Anglos would need to act as caretakers of indigeneity in the modern age. It would be up to white Americans to work in partnership with willing natives to record Indigenous values, beliefs, and practices. Davis responded to this perceived responsibility by working to ensconce native artifacts in institutions like museums, and by creating written records of Indian practices that would keep alive the epistemologies of what he and many others of his time viewed as a moribund race. For Davis, this role



Edward H. Davis in Indian attire, n.d. ©SDHC #OP: 15362-824.

generated a new form of what scholar Shari Huhndorf has called "Going Native"—or the assumption of an indigenous identity by a non-indigenous person.⁵⁷ In Davis' case, he donned native clothing for a photograph that accompanied a 1931 article in which he narrated a synopsis of his life as a collector to journalist John Hogg.⁵⁸ The photo shows Davis in native garb—he wears leather pants and a leather shirt both of which are decorated with quintessential southwestern beadwork displaying native motifs. In addition, his clothing is lined with Indian fringes, and Davis wears necklaces presumably

made by the dexterous hands of some native artisan. The photo, with a caption that reads "Edward H. Davis has devoted many years to the study of the life of native races," suggests the paternal relationship Davis envisioned between the races. Davis had become an expert on an exotic race, with the authority and duty to expatiate on native cultures, practices, histories, and worldviews. Davis' racial logic not only abetted his efforts to collect Indian artifacts, but also provided a moral imperative to understand and preserve native epistemologies.

A deep respect for indigenous cultures, sympathy for natives who suffered under settler colonialism, a genuine belief in the values of native knowledge and indigenous practices, and the notion that indigenous knowledge might help ameliorate the ills of modern America led Davis to work with Native Americans for much of his long life. This work sprouted in a variety of forms including as a collector, as proprietor of Powam Lodge, and as an employee of George Heye. Though driven by the human and humane connections he developed with natives, one effect of Davis' work was that it contributed to a colonial process that emerged in full force broadly throughout the United States during the late nineteenth century. Indigenous peoples found themselves both voluntarily and involuntarily subjected to a process in which non-Indians took substantive control over native material culture and assumed the authority to



Edward H. Davis in condor plume skirt and buckskin shirt, 1939. ©SDHC #OP: 15362-427.

delineate the place of indigeneity in the modern age.

Edward Harvey Davis and his life reveal that this process was not often driven by greed or racialized violence. Rather, Anglo benevolence and well-meaning efforts to place a human face on the multitude of natives who had been victimized by racial animosity ultimately helped contribute to the weakening of native control over the preservation of Indian material culture. If the hope that preserving the epistemologies of perceived pre-modern peoples might help combat the ills of modern America motivated Davis in his work, he is in no way unique.

As historian Sherry Lynn Smith has explained, anti-modernism prompted many “middlebrow” Americans (people

Smith has termed “popularizers” of Indians, and who include writers like Charles Fletcher Lummis and Mabel Dodge) to “reimagine” Indians as people who had valuable knowledge to contribute to American society. Consequently, “popularizers” often worked to preserve, honor, and disseminate knowledge of natives. This impulse had ambiguous ramifications on the past and continues to generate ambiguous consequences in the present. In the past, it indeed helped preserve Indian material culture, but it also separated natives from possession and care of many objects of those cultures. In the present, one effect of the benevolent impulses that drove many, including Davis, to become deeply involved with Indians has been to lay the foundation for native/non-native collaboration in using objects housed in institutions like museums and historical societies to narrate our shared past.

Another effect, though, is found in a deepened distrust of Anglo science and scientists carried by some contemporary native peoples. This in turn has set the stage for contests between natives and non-natives over authority to govern

Indian material remains and histories. These contests continue today and are most evident through highly publicized debates such as that over Kennewick man, or arguments over NAGPRA compliance.

NOTES

1. Edward Harvey Davis, Box 3, Folder 29, n.d., Edward H. Davis Papers, San Diego History Center (hereafter SDHC). The document must date after 1922 as it describes a trip Davis took to Tiburon Island in 1922.
2. For a discussion of toloache and its connection to spirituality and Native religion see James Santos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 26-31.
3. Edward Harvey Davis, Box 1, Envelope 7, August 4, 1903, Edward H. Davis Papers, SDHC.
4. For an in depth analysis of Anglo-American belief in the decadence and eventual extinction of Native American cultures see Brian Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Kansas City, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1991). For a recent analysis of the social and political consequences of Anglo belief in the disappearing Indian myth see Jean O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).
5. Davis once used the Indian past to illustrate their superior ability to contend with nature. He wrote, "Their whole history has been a story of ...wresting a livelihood from a land in which the white man would be absolutely unable to maintain himself." This quotation can be found in Edward H. Davis as told to John Edwin Hogg, "The Pursuits of a Museum Collector" in *Touring Topics* (Los Angeles, 1931) 18. Box 3, Folder 2, Edward H. Davis Papers, SDHC.
6. Scholars have identified "antimodernism" as the central factor that shaped Anglo perceptions of Natives during this period. Historian Sherry L. Smith has argued that Anglos "reimagined" Natives during the first part of the twentieth century. Anglos saw in Indians both an escape from, and also an antidote to, the ills of urbanization and industrialization. Because they viewed Indians from this perspective, many "middlebrow" Anglos wrote extensively about Indians in order to popularize and preserve for posterity Indian cultural practices and beliefs. This cadre of Anglo authors entered the political realm and fought for Native rights, argued that Native cultures were different rather than simply inferior to that of Anglo America, and crafted images of Indians that emphasized Native humanity rather than debasement. See Sherry L. Smith, *Reimagining Indians: Native Americans through Anglo Eyes, 1880-1940* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2002), introduction, 6-7.
7. There are no recent scholarly writings on Davis. The SDHC has two texts in its collection. The first is Charles R. Quinn *Edward H. Davis and the Indians of the Southwest United States and Northwest Mexico: A Harvest of Photographs, Sketches, and Unpublished Manuscripts of the Indefatigable Collector of Artifacts of These Border Indians* (Downey, CA: 1965). Its call number is 970 QUI. There is also a copy of this work in the Special Collections, Geisel Library, University of California, San Diego. The other text is Charles M. Hudgins, "Edward H. Davis: A Study in Practical Anthropology," which is located in the SDHC's Institute of History Collection, 1986/4.
8. See Ned Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006). Blackhawk has persuasively demonstrated the central role violence played in American imperialism.
9. Philip Deloria has argued that white Americans have impersonated Indians as an ongoing

THE JOURNAL OF SAN DIEGO HISTORY

- means of creating American national identities. See Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998). For another study of non-Indian impersonation of Indians see Shari M. Huhndorf, *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001).
10. See Tomas Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).
 11. The Southwest Museum of Los Angeles founded in 1907 amassed an extensive collection of Native American artifacts including rare Kachina dolls from New Mexico and Gabrielino baskets from the local area.
 12. Edward H. Davis as told to John Edwin Hogg, "The Pursuits of a Museum Collector" in *Touring Topics* (Los Angeles, 1931) 16, Box 3, Folder 2, Edward H. Davis Papers, SDHC.
 13. The following recent studies examine nineteenth century Anglo-American racial thought. Elizabeth Duquette, *Loyal Subjects: Bonds of Nation, Race, and Allegiance in Nineteenth-Century America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010); Robert Nowatzki, *Representing African Americans in Transatlantic Abolitionism and Blackface Minstrelsy* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University, 2010); Molly Rogers, *Delia's Tears: Race, Science, and Photography in Nineteenth-Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).
 14. Edward Harvey Davis, Box 1, Envelope 1, November 10, 1884, Edward H. Davis Papers, SDHC.
 15. Ibid.
 16. Ibid.
 17. Edward Harvey Davis, Box 1, Notebook 1, November 20, 1884, Edward H. Davis Papers, SDHC.
 18. Edward Harvey Davis and E. Yale Dawson, "The Savage Seri of Sonora I" in *Scientific Monthly* Volume 60, Issue 3, March 1945 (American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1945) 193-202, see especially 197.
 19. Edward Harvey Davis, "Fragment about Comeyi Indians," Box 3, Folder 8, n.d., Edward Harvey Davis Papers, SDHC. Although there is no date given on this fragment, it must have been produced after 1915 as it is written on Powam Lodge letterhead. Powam Lodge was constructed in 1915.
 20. Ibid.
 21. Edward H. Davis as told to John Edwin Hogg, "The Pursuits of a Museum Collector," 17.
 22. Ibid.
 23. Edward Harvey Davis, Box 1, Envelope 4, 1896, Edward H. Davis Papers, SDHC.
 24. Edward Harvey Davis, Box 1, Envelope 11, 1906, Edward H. Davis Papers, SDHC..
 25. Edward Harvey Davis, Box 1, Envelope 15, 1912, Edward H. Davis Papers, SDHC..
 26. Edward Harvey Davis, Fragment about the Day of the Dead, Box 3, Folder 9, no date, Edward H. Davis Papers, SDHC.
 27. Edward Harvey Davis, Girls' Schooling, Box 3, Folder 25, no date, Edward H. Davis Papers, SDHC.
 28. Edward H. Davis as told to John Edwin Hogg, "The Pursuits of a Museum Collector," 19.
 29. Edward Harvey Davis, Box 3, Folder 29, n.d., Edward H. Davis Papers, San Diego Historical Society. The document must date after 1922 as it describes a trip Davis took to Tiburon Island in 1922.
 30. Edward Harvey Davis, "The Pima Calendar Stick," Box 3, Folder 21, n.d., Edward H. Davis Papers, SDHC.
 31. Charles R. Quinn, *Edward H. Davis and the Indians of the Southwest United States and Northwest Mexico: A Harvest of Photographs, Sketches, and Unpublished Manuscripts of the Indefatigable Collector*

"Their Souls Are Equally Precious"

- of Artifacts of These Border Indians* (Downey, CA, 1965) 160, Special Collections, Geisel Library, University of California, San Diego.
32. Edward H. Davis as told to John Edwin Hogg, "The Pursuits of a Museum Collector" in *Touring Topics* (Los Angeles, 1931) 35. Box 3, Folder 2, Edward H. Davis Papers, San Diego Historical Society.
 33. Quinn, *Edward H. Davis and the Indians of the Southwest*, 187.
 34. *Ibid.*, 160.
 35. Edward Harvey Davis, "The Vanished Tribes of Lower California," Box 3, Folder 24, May 14, 1926, Edward H. Davis Papers, SDHC.
 36. Jean O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).
 37. Edward H. Davis, "The Vanished Tribes of Lower California." *The Journal of San Diego History*, 59 (Fall 2013): 241-260.
 38. Davis, "The Vanished Tribes of Lower California," 241-43.
 39. Edward Harvey Davis and E. Yale Dawson, "The Savage Seri of Sonora I" in *Scientific Monthly*, 60, Issue 3, (March 1945, American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1945) 193-202, 194.
 40. *Ibid.*, 199.
 41. Quinn, *Edward H. Davis and the Indians of the Southwest United States and Northwest Mexico*, 160.
 42. *Ibid.*, 171.
 43. Edward Harvey Davis as told to John Edwin Hogg, "The Pursuits of a Museum Collector," 16.
 44. Edward Harvey Davis, "The Indians of Southern California" in *San Diego Business*, July 1927, 11.
 45. Edward Harvey Davis and E. Yale Dawson, "The Savage Seris of Sonora II," in *Scientific Monthly* Volume 60, Issue 4, April 1945 (American Association for the Advancement of Science) 261-268, see especially 268.
 46. This information can be found on the website of the SDHC at www.sandiegohistory.org.
 47. For scholarly work on the collection of Native American material culture see Shepherd Krech III and Barbara Hail, eds., *Collecting Native America, 1870-1960* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Books, 1999), and Kate Duncan, *1001 Curious Things: Ye Olde Curiosity Shop and Native American Art* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000).
 48. Davis accepted Heye's offer to work as a "field collector of ethnological specimens." This story is detailed in Edward Harvey Davis as told to John Edwin Hogg, "The Pursuits of a Museum Collector," 17.
 49. For a list of 292 items the NMAI identifies as coming from Edward H. Davis see the museum's website at www.si.edu/searchcollections/results.aspx?partyid=406&src=1-2. To access this page go to the NMAI website, and do a collections search. Search by "artists/individuals" and type in Edward Harvey Davis. A link to Davis will appear within a list of several persons whose last name begins with D. Click on the link to Davis.
 50. For the cultural affiliation of the items Davis sent to George Heye, see the website cited in the preceding footnote.
 51. Edward Harvey Davis, "Acomita Tract," Box 6, Envelope 35, Notebook 31, 1929, Edward H. Davis Papers, SDHC.
 52. Edward Harvey Davis as told to John Edwin Hogg, "The Pursuits of a Museum Collector," 18.
 53. Davis lists various expenses he billed to Heye in the Acomita Tract notebook (see note 43). These include payments for "haircut & shave," "groceries," "postage," and "laundry."

THE JOURNAL OF SAN DIEGO HISTORY

54. Bill of Lading for Shipment of Indian Artifacts shipped by E.H. Davis to museum of Amer. Indian, N.Y. NY, April 6, 1921. Box 11, Folder 46, Edward H. Davis Papers, San Diego Historical Society.
55. Sketch of Steatite tube, July 31, 1930, Box 2, Folder 36, 1908 & 1930, Edward H. Davis Papers, SDHC.
56. "Chahon from Cris," August 9, 1913, Box 2, Folder 36, 1908 & 1930, Edward H. Davis Papers, SDHC.
57. See Shari M. Huhndorf, *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001).
58. Edward H. Davis as told to John Edwin Hogg, "The Pursuits of a Museum Collector" *Touring Topics*, 16.