Leeds-Hurwitz: Rolling in Ditches with Shamans: Jaime de Angulo and the Professionalization of American Anthropology

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other valuable additions to California anthropology, has contributed a carefully researched and beautifully illustrated book. *An Artist's Portfolio: The California Sketches of Henry B. Brown, 1851–52* will be first on my gift list for family, friends, and colleagues who are enchanted with learning about California and its people.

**Rolling in Ditches with Shamans: Jaime de Angulo and the Professionalization of American Anthropology**

Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz  

Reviewed by Victor Golla  
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Jaime de Angulo (1887–1950) has few rivals for being the most colorful figure ever to carry out research on Native California languages and cultures.¹ A French bohemian intellectual from a family with aristocratic Spanish roots, de Angulo emigrated to the United States in 1905 and took a medical degree at Johns Hopkins in 1912. The following year he came west to California, where he quickly carved a niche for himself in the well-to-do society of Carmel. Affecting the style of an Old California ranchero—shirts open to the waist, a red velvet cummerbund—he cut a Valentino-like figure and swept more than one wealthy young lady off her feet. He also developed several close friendships with the Berkeley intellectuals of the period, particularly the anthropological linguist Paul Radin, and gained considerable respect in those circles for his familiarity with the latest European work in cross-cultural psychiatry and ethnosemantics. In the early 1920s, urged by Radin, and with departmental support and encouragement from Alfred Kroeber, de Angulo began to put some of his ideas to the test in field investigations of California Indian languages.

His initial studies, beginning in the autumn of 1921, were focused on the Achumawi of Modoc County, where he had a cattle ranch and had already established connections with the local Indians. He found the work extraordinarily stimulating, and after two months he had collected enough data to draft a preliminary grammar of the language. Kroeber was impressed by both the technical competence and the psychological insight of the work, and the following summer, on Kroeber’s strong recommendation, Manuel Gamio invited de Angulo to join him as a field assistant in Mexico. De Angulo spent the academic year 1922–23 in Oaxaca, working intensively on Mixe, Chontal de Oaxaca (Tequistlatecan), and several Zapotecan languages, developing an expertise in these languages that was reflected in a number of publications in subsequent years. Before his contract had expired, however, the rigors of fieldwork in remote Mexican villages apparently precipitated an emotional crisis. He abandoned his research with no notice to Gamio, and fled back to the United States.

Great as the embarrassment of this defection was to Kroeber, the offense was compounded by de Angulo’s sudden marriage to Lucy S. (Nancy) Freeland, a wealthy heiress and Kroeber’s most promising linguistics student.² According to Gui de Angulo, these breaches of decorum led Kroeber to “despise” her father “to an extraordinary degree” and to take “a great deal of trouble to undermine his career” (1995:201). Decreed to be personae non gratae at Berkeley—Freeland had to suspend her doctoral work on Sierra Miwok³—the couple nonetheless continued a program of fieldwork on California languages. For several years this work was self-financed, but when the Committee on Research in Native American Languages was set up in 1927 under Boas’s chairmanship, they received significant support from that body, notwithstanding Kroeber’s protests.

The Committee commissioned several major studies of California languages from de Angulo and Freeland,
including grammars of Shasta, Achumawi, and Atsugewi, a comparative study of the Pomo languages, and a number of substantial collections of texts. Between 1927 and 1937, according to Leeds-Hurwitz, de Angulo was given more money and worked on more languages than any other researcher for the Committee. The annual reports list payments to him totalling $4,400, the equivalent of at least $75,000 in 2007 dollars. This patronage seems to have been motivated largely by practicality on Boas’ part. In a characteristically honest self-appraisal, de Angulo told Ezra Pound in 1950 that “Boas didn’t give a damn about my private morals as long as my phonetics were right.... It was a joy to work for the Old Man” (G. de Angulo 1995).

De Angulo’s linguistic work was idiosyncratic but deeply engaged and occasionally illuminated by brilliance. He was particularly interested in the semantics of grammatical systems (“semasiology” in his terminology), but he was also a resourceful practical phonetician—one of the first to accurately describe tonal phenomena in American Indian languages—and a pioneer in the study of discourse. His transcriptions of conversational speech stand out in an era when otherwise nearly all texts were formally dictated narratives.

The accidental death of de Angulo’s son in an automobile accident in 1933 dealt him an emotional blow from which he never recovered. He ceased his linguistic fieldwork and withdrew to a mountaintop ranch he had homesteaded near Big Sur, nursing his gloom and cultivating his eccentricities; he plays an unforgettable walk-on role in Henry Miller’s Big Sur and the Oranges of Hieronymous Bosch (1957). In his last years, immediately after World War II, he wrote two books for a general audience, Indians in Overalls (1950), an irreverent portrayal of the Achumawi as he knew them in the 1920s, and Indian Tales (1953), a children’s book woven out of episodes from various Northern California Indian stories.

Despite its promising title, Rolling in Ditches with Shamans—which is based on Leeds-Hurwitz’s doctoral dissertation at the University of Pennsylvania—is a study of institutional sociology rather than a biography, and focuses on the historical role of the Committee on Research on Native American Languages; the central chapter was published separately under that title (Leeds-Hurwitz 1985). Resuscitated here for Nebraska’s series of Critical Studies in the History of Anthropology, the work (only slightly revised) shows its age and provenience, but it is good to have it fully in print at last.

Perhaps the most valuable part of the book for someone previously unacquainted with de Angulo and Freeland’s work is Leeds-Hurwitz’s detailed calendars of their fieldwork and catalogues of the materials they collected. Although they devoted much of their time to the Achumawi, they collected—usually under contract to Boas—important linguistic and ethnographic material on a number of other California groups (Pomo, Karuk, Shasta, Konomihu, Northern Paiute, Patwin, Yurok), as well as groups in Oregon (Klamath, Kalapuya, Chinook Jargon) and Mexico (Chontal de Oaxaca, Mixe, Zapotec, Chatino, Chinantec, Chocho, Cuicatec, Mazatec, Mixtec, Chichimeco). Only a small amount of this material has been published, and it mostly lies forgotten in the American Philosophical Society Library and one or two other repositories. The only linguist in recent decades to look closely at some of these manuscripts was David Olmsted, who incorporated some of de Angulo’s Achumawi material into his own Palaihnihan studies (Olmsted 1966:1–7).

In her final chapter (“Years of Synthesis”), Leeds-Hurwitz unpacks the confusing literary history of Indian Tales. De Angulo fashioned this compelling “pseudofiction”—which remains in print—out of episodes extracted from various California Indian stories, and read aloud a version of it on KPFA in Berkeley in 1949, a few months before he died. The tapes of these readings are still occasionally rebroadcast and are available for purchase, giving de Angulo, with his rich, French-accented voice, a still-appreciative audience decades after the rest of his generation has fallen silent.4

NOTES

1 There is a biography by de Angulo and Freeland’s daughter, Gui de Angulo (1995). See also Olmsted (1966:1–7).

2 For the details of Freeland’s life see Leeds-Hurwitz (1982).

3 The completed work, Language of the Sierra Miwok, was submitted to Kroeber in 1936, but Freeland was not awarded a doctorate and when the manuscript was finally published in 1951—perhaps not coincidentally the year after de Angulo’s death—it was not in the UC-PAAE series where all other anthropological work carried out for the University under Kroeber’s direction normally appeared.
Great Basin Rock Art: Archaeological Perspectives
Angus R. Quinlan (ed.)

Reviewed by Carolynne Merrell
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This slim volume presents a refreshing look at a variety of directions now being taken in Great Basin rock art studies. It moves the reader away from the research emphasizing the shamanic or religious ideology in rock art that has dominated the field in past years. Editor Angus Quinlan states that the essays or chapters explore Great Basin rock art from an archaeological perspective.

The ten essays compiled here are diverse in subject matter, varying from ethnographic perspectives to social contexts, and from petroglyph dating to reported results from standard site recording. In Chapter One, "Integrating Rock Art with Archaeology: Symbolic Culture as Archaeology," Quinlan—seeking a unifying bond connecting the varied subjects—builds a case for rock art’s integration into broader archaeological research. He further supports the connective tissue of the contents by astutely cross-referencing each essay with others in the book, thus drawing the subject matter into a more cohesive framework.

Chapters 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, and 10 (by Brown and Woody; Pendergraft; Shock; Boreson; Ritter, Woody, and Watchman; and Quinlan) were originally presented as papers at the 2002 Biennial Great Basin Anthropological Conference, in a session organized by Alanah Woody. The session theme, “Rock Art and Archaeology: An Opportunity for Integration,” explored archaeology’s role in constructing rock art’s contemporary heritage value, as well as the kinds of interpretations popularly presented to the public. The four additional chapters, 1, 3, 4, and 8 (by Valborg and Cunningham; Cannon and Woody; and Cannon and Ricks), flesh out the contents of the book and contribute significantly to its general theme, which applies an archaeological, ethnographic, and landscape context to Great Basin rock art research.

Chapter Three, “The Mountain Maidu Homeland: Native and Anthropological Interpretations of Cultural Identity,” by Helen Valborg and Farrell Cunningham,