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Fake Effigies from the Southern California Coast? Robert Heizer and the Effigy Controversy

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The very desirable soapstone cooking vessels, and other stone relics, found about Santa Barbara, California, are so perfectly counterfeited that sometimes experienced archaeologists are deceived by the imitations. The soapstone from which they are made is taken from Santa Catalina Island, and the serpentine from Point Piedras Blancos. By smearing them with grease, then burning and smoking them they are made to look like the best prehistoric specimens. And Santa Barbara does a flourishing business in these frauds. I think it is the duty of every archaeologist to expose these frauds as promptly as they would the making of counterfeit money.

Horatio N. Rust (1898)

STONE effigy figures have excited much admiration and speculation since they were first found in early surveys and excavations in the Channel Islands and coastal sites in California. These compact and attractively carved figures are in the form of fish, whales, canoes, "spikes," and birds (although Putnam [1879] suggested the birds were some sort of utilitarian hooks). They vary from simple shapes to fairly specific forms. Usually they are carved from soapstone or steatite, although a few are of bone or other types of stone; occasionally an effigy of wood has been preserved (Hudson and Blackburn 1986:181). Objects of steatite are commonly found in coastal and island sites; the material appears to have been traded from quarries on Santa Catalina Island, although mainland sources have also been noted in the literature (Wlodarski 1979; Romani 1982; Hudson and Blackburn 1987:35).

This paper discusses the difficulty of distinguishing authentic versus fake effigy figures from coastal and island southern California, and the commotion caused among the scientific community as it attempted to deal with atypical effigies that were bought and sold by various dealers, individuals, and museums.

Some of the individuals involved in these dealings were known pothunters. This fact compounds the problem of authenticating pieces that lack firm provenience.

Similarities between Chumash and Gabrieliño material objects were noted early on by Kroeber (1925:566), who stated that the two areas ". . . must be considered as a unit as regards material culture. . . . Santa Catalina remains . . . show all the characteristics of Chumash civilization. . . ." For the purposes of this paper, I have considered the two areas as a single region, due both to lack of provenience for many objects listed only as being from "Southern California,"¹ and because most effigy types with archaeological context are found in both of these adjacent culture areas.

Ethnography suggests that Chumash seamen carved steatite images of whales and canoes which they used as talismans, and these were worn, carried in a pouch, or kept hidden at home (Hudson et al. 1978:126). Because this type of magical object was believed to contain power and was obtained through the guidance of a spirit helper, the talisman was useless to anyone except its owner and therefore was buried with him. Shamans, however, are said

to have kept their collection of talismans hidden in rocky crevices due to the dangerous power contained in them (Applegate 1978:56).

Many effigy figures have been found in situations that suggest their use in a ritual or cult, or as part of a shaman's kit. When their provenience is known, they are frequently combined with funerary offerings (Cameron MS). Effigies are associated with cremations in the Diegueño area, and five graves at Malibu contained from 1 to 17 effigies per grave. A San Nicolas Island excavation revealed the following: ". . . heaped up beside a male skeleton, twenty more or less well executed stone animals, and a medicinal or witchcraft pipe also of stone" (Cessac 1951:2).

Small effigy figures are classic examples of form, and are strongly reminiscent of some modern sculptural works. Most of them fit into the hand and possess a pleasant tactile quality. The majority of effigies represent an identifiable item or creature. Some, however, are so abstract that their intent is unclear to the modern viewer. Heizer (MS) made some observations on effigies in the Cessac collection: "There is considerable variation in the degree of realism indicated. . . . For birds . . . wings are clearly shown in stone. . . . For sea mammals the range extends from a true miniature which shows all of the essential external features . . . to examples which can be identified only by a general suggestion . . . of the form. . . ."2

In 1944, an astonishing collection of effigies and effigy pipes was published by the Heye Foundation (Burnett 1944). Photographs show some of these fanciful artifacts supposedly "*in situ*" as they were excavated. These elaborate and bizarre forms are richly decorated with beads and incising and are reputed to have been found in association with burials from coastal Chumash sites or from the various off-shore islands in both Chumash and Gabrieleño contexts. They present a problem. Nothing like them has been recovered from an

archaeological context by a professional archaeologist. In 1959, Curtis suggested that the differences between the Heye figures and effigies with firm provenience is both startling and unexplained. Today that statement is equally true. Reputable experts have been unable to place the elaborated effigies and effigy pipes into the context of professionally excavated Chumash and Gabrieleño artifacts. One fact is most troubling: it seems that all of them were collected by known pothunters who did quite well financially by selling their "finds." The introduction to Burnett's (1944:13) book states that "The actual fieldwork was largely done by Mr. O. T. Littleton . . . helped, from time to time, by Mr. A. R. Sanger. . . . Some pieces were acquired from Mr. Herman Strandt. . . ." We shall encounter these three individuals again.

Aside from the Heye Collection, effigies from California have—for nearly a century—created much enthusiasm among collectors, and the willingness of some individuals or museums to pay large sums of money for them has clearly led to a number of forgeries. But how can it be determined which are authentic and which are faked, or whether an authentic piece was reworked or embellished in order to increase its value? We might look for clues in unrealistic composites of several species. One shark effigy in the Los Angeles County Museum has two gill slits on either side (sharks have four to nine gill slits on a side). A suspect effigy of a tarantula has six legs instead of eight (Fig. 1). Such discrepancies may be explained as artistic license or as features which were considered unimportant to the native artist. Prehistoric peoples, however, were surely familiar with the details of the animals about them, and such specimens might equally well be explained as careless attempts to exploit the antiquities market by modern artists who had less knowledge of the true appearance of the animals (Hoover 1974:39), although it is possible that



Fig. 1. A six-legged tarantula, one of the suspected fakes. The body of this creature is a bowl (L.A. County Museum, A5600-11, grey steatite with black finish, 9.8 x 14.9 x 5.4 cm.). Photo courtesy of Robert Hoover.

abnormal appearances were recorded precisely because of their abnormality.

Some effigies are suspect due to their inept design; for example, the poorly formed turtle holding a crystal in its mouth shown in Figure 2. Another clue to forged effigies may be found in replicas, as it is unlikely that a number of exact copies would have been made by one individual unless it was an artisan creating them for others. In this category, many nearly identical whale effigies have been observed.³ All have inlaid shell disk eyes, a saucy, turned-up tail, a high, narrow fin, and a Mona Lisa smile (Fig. 3). Although said to be from different sites, all were found by the same pothunter.⁴ None has been professionally recovered; this fact alone puts them into a questionable category.

As part of a Master's thesis (Lee 1981), I first became aware of the differences between what I perceived as authentic effigy figures because of their provenience, as well as their simple expressive form, and the "others," many of which were displayed prominently in large museum collections. An art historian who studied some of these objects provided a bit of inside information:

In the late 1940s and early 1950s a number of collections of steatite objects decorated with dentalia, etc., in asphaltum were offered by the late Earl Stendahl through his gallery in Hollywood.⁵ I saw these and examined them personally, and felt that they were of recent non-Indian manufacture. Subsequently, I know of three collections that were sold to the Heye Foundation, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, and the Southwest Museum. At that time many of the local anthropologists appeared to know who was responsible for these objects but for whatever reason they never made this public. As far as I know, no one accepts these as being anything but forgeries. They are very attractive and some are sculpturally of considerable interest. The story given at the time was that they were post-contact, which accounted for marks made by metal tools. This was allegedly established on the basis of the presence of beads or other Spanish material. I believe they were said to have been excavated somewhere in the Malibu region [Jay D. Frierman, personal letter 1978].

Robert F. Heizer, of the University of California, Berkeley, Department of Anthropology, was intensely interested in effigies and had made a study of an early collection by Cessac in the Musée de l'Homme, Paris (Heizer MS, 1977). His efforts to cope with effigies that appeared to be fakes—as well as with known



Fig. 2. A bowl in the form of a turtle or tortoise with crystal in mouth and inlay around edges (L.A. County Museum, A5600-10, steatite, 20 x 16.5 x 9.5 cm.). Photo courtesy of Robert Hoover.

pothunters—can be seen in his exchange of letters with colleagues (see below).

The most common types of authentic effigies (i.e., with firm provenience and recovered by archaeologists) are those representing birds, fish, whales, canoes, and “spikes.” Bird sculptures vary in an interesting manner: it is possible to identify various species. Pelican figures have a large beak that curves downward (Fig. 4), whereas the beak of the cormorant is high and short, and the neck is elongated. Both forms flare outward at the base, but some also have a basal protrusion that begins to form another beak (Fig. 5); these suggest a progression to (or from) a double beak. Another type of bird form (Fig. 6) is flat and thin in profile, and the beak or head is abbreviated into a mere projection. Frontally the neck slopes downward from a square head, flares outward in wing-like projections, and is gently rounded at the base. The back has two grooves which strongly suggest folded-back wings.

A particular type of figure also has been referred to as a “bird” effigy (Hudson and Blackburn 1986:176; Cameron 1988). However, to this author, they more closely resemble

an anthropomorphic figure, particularly those examples that display a distinct “backbone” (Fig. 7). One paper (Koerper and Labbé 1987: 112) described these as “dimorphic sexual” images: a combined penis and vulva.

In the fish and whale categories, sculptures range from tiny fish-like pebbles that are barely modified, to elaborate whales with realistic features. Canoes can be easily identified and often have typically-shaped profiles with raised prows and sterns. Occasionally these forms are embellished with extra incising.

The most enigmatic are the spike-like forms. What these may have represented to the prehistoric societies is unclear. They resemble a railroad spike with either a rounded or an angled head. An analogous form is a thin disc with a pointed “tail,” usually carved from pale translucent soapstone (Fig. 8). From the archaeological evidence, it appears that these may be very early effigy forms (Meighan 1959, 1976).

Many examples of effigies from the southern California coast can be seen in museums throughout California, as well as in major collections around the United States. They are, in

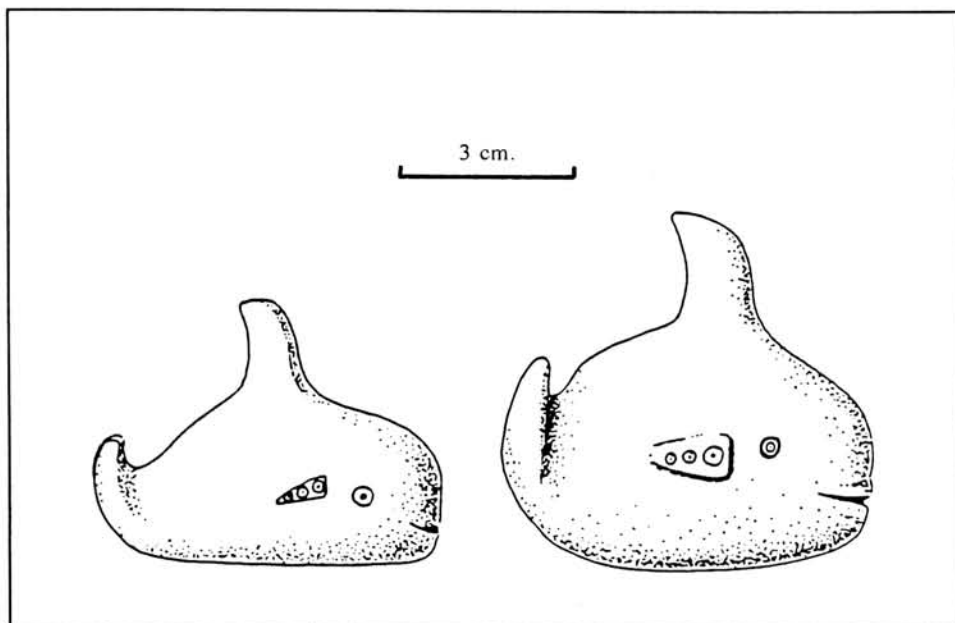


Fig. 3. Two of at least five smiling and decorated whale effigies, all nearly identical with *Olivella* bead inlay on eyes and flippers, said to be from San Nicolas Island and "collected" by Sanger. Lompoc Museum, ID 1388 and 1389.

the main, simple but expressive forms (Fig. 9). When these are compared to highly elaborated and stylistically eccentric effigies, the differences stand out clearly. As Frierman (1992: 22) stated, "Any too well-made soapstone object should be suspect."

THE HEIZER LETTERS

That museum curators and scholars were puzzled and disturbed by the bizarre effigy figures can be seen in the following selections from a series of letters that were sent and received between 1946 and 1963.⁶ They concern the problem of faked versus authentic effigies and reflect the skepticism and frustration of professional archaeologists who suspected—but could not prove—that certain persons were either faking the artifacts or altering original pieces. The inquiries began when a pothunter, D. F. Strandt,⁷ inquired about his membership card for the Society for American Archaeology.

From D. F. Strandt, Anaheim, California, to Frederick Johnson, Society for American Archaeology, Peabody Foundation, Andover, Massachusetts, November 14, 1946:

Dear Mr. Johnson:

The time has come for me again to be out on my winter Exploring and Excavation trips in the desert and along the Pacific Coast. About all of this Territory is privately owned and I need permission to get on the grounds. I received a membership card last year but not this year. . . .

[Signed] D. F. Strandt

P.S. I have many thousand of fine Stone Age Relics in my collection. If you are interested in the work I am doing, I will loan you some of my Field notes with Pictures to read.⁸

From Frederick Johnson to Robert F. Heizer, University of California, Berkeley, November 14, 1946:

Dear Heizer,

I have been trying for some time to find out about a man named H. F. Strandt . . . [who is] asking for a membership card . . . [which] he

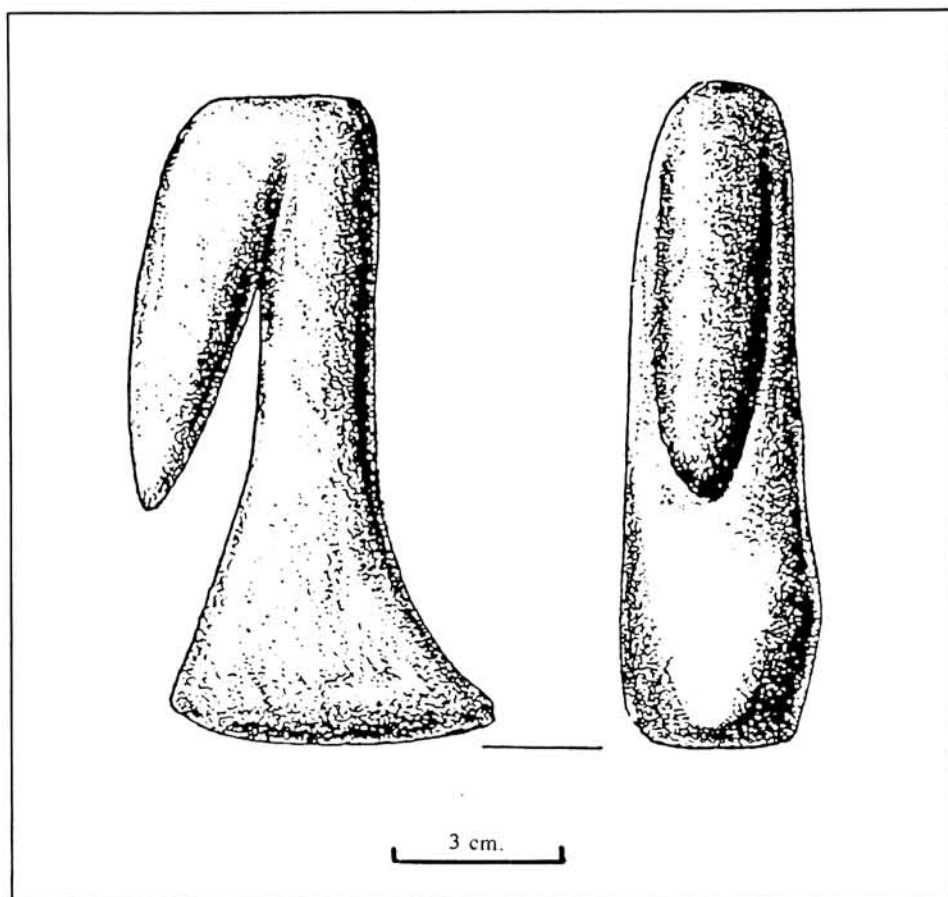


Fig. 4. A typical pelican effigy, some have bead inlay for embellishment but the majority are simple unadorned forms. This steatite example is from the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History (NA-CA-SbaXX-134-2).

uses . . . as a means for getting permission to enter private lands. . . . I shall of course send him a membership card for he pays his dues, but I am interested to know whether this fellow is one who is doing any damage. . . .

From Frederick Johnson to Robert F. Heizer,⁹ December 2, 1946:

Dear Bob:

I am very much concerned about your news of Mr. H. F. Strandt. It seems to me that he is a person who should either reform his ways or else be dropped from the society. . . . I hate the prospect of starting such a procedure. However, it may have to be done. Would you let me know how you feel about doing such a thing.

From Robert F. Heizer to Arthur Woodward, Los Angeles County Museum of History, Science and Art, December 8, 1946:

Dear Art:

. . . I had a letter from Fred Johnson concerning Herman Strandt of Anaheim. . . . I told him that if one could believe the stories around L. A. . . . he was a pothunter, a seller of Indian relics, and perhaps even one of the gang who made and sold artifacts. I made no recommendations to Johnson [sic], since he said that he was going to let Strandt in as a member of SAA, but today he answers that he is concerned about my news of S. Why didn't Johnson [sic] wait until he heard from me? Incidentally, Strandt said he wanted to use his SAA member-

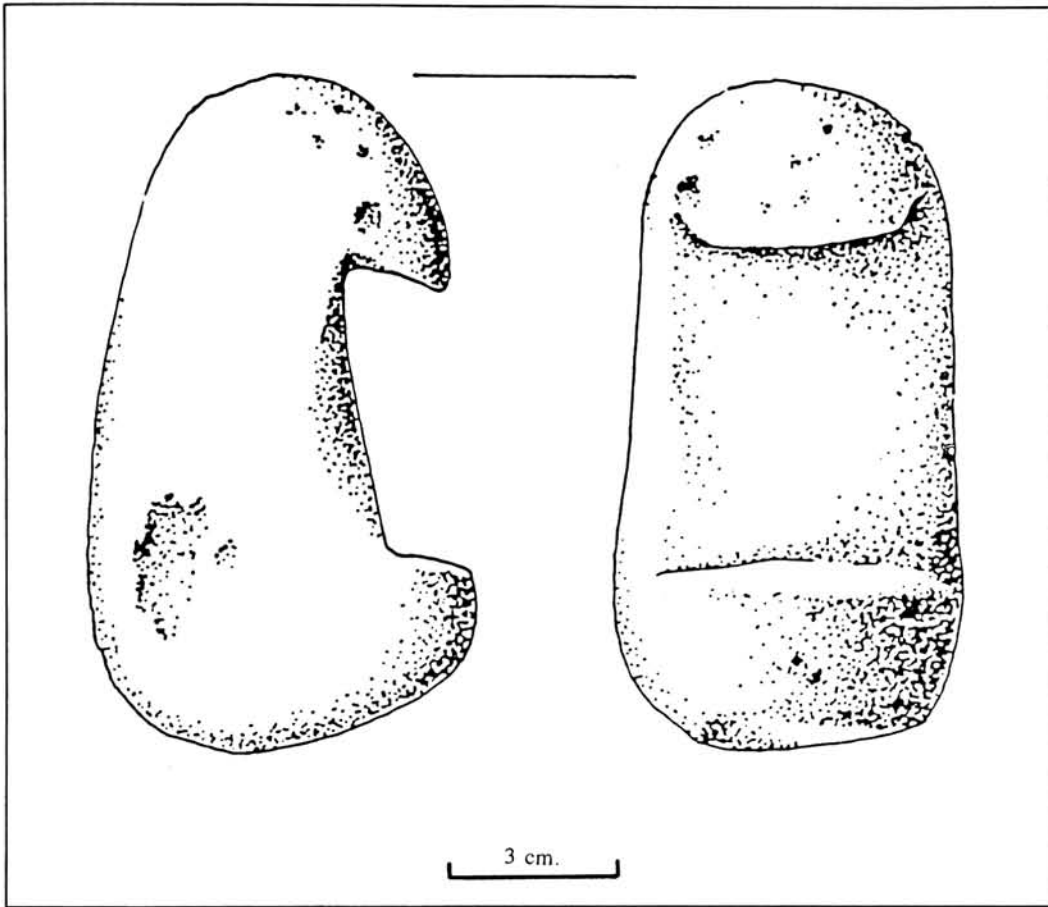


Fig. 5. A "bird" effigy with a basal protrusion; some are so pronounced that they appear to have a beak at each end. This bone example is from the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History (NA-CA-134-13C-2).

ship card in order to get into property to dig.

The point of the whole thing is this, Art. With the ever increasing destruction of sites by industrial growth and pothunters, there is going to be a larger and larger market for relics which will bring ever higher prices. The archaeologists are going to have a tough time of it in not too long--sites will be tied up by lease by pothunters, and God can only tell whether the stuff they sell as from those sites will have come from the ground or out of their home workshops. I suspect that Georgie Heye relly [sic] got taken on that bunch of steatite pipes and effigies with all the fancy shell inlay. I should like to ask you to tell me what you know about

this stuff which Heye got from Sanger and Strandt, and whether you know of any evidence that they have ever faked stuff or whether there is any evidence that this stuff is faked. I think, after recently re-reading Burnett's report,¹⁰ that the stuff is definitely phoney [sic], and that the boys who sold Heye have attempted to cover up by saying that some of it came from post-contact sites. This will give them a cover-up in case it can be shown that steel tools were used to make them--they can say, "Well, the sites had historic material in them, so why couldn't the Indians have been the ones to use files which they got from the Spanish?" I am not one to get in arguments, but this may be one which should be entered, and I am asking you for some help . . .

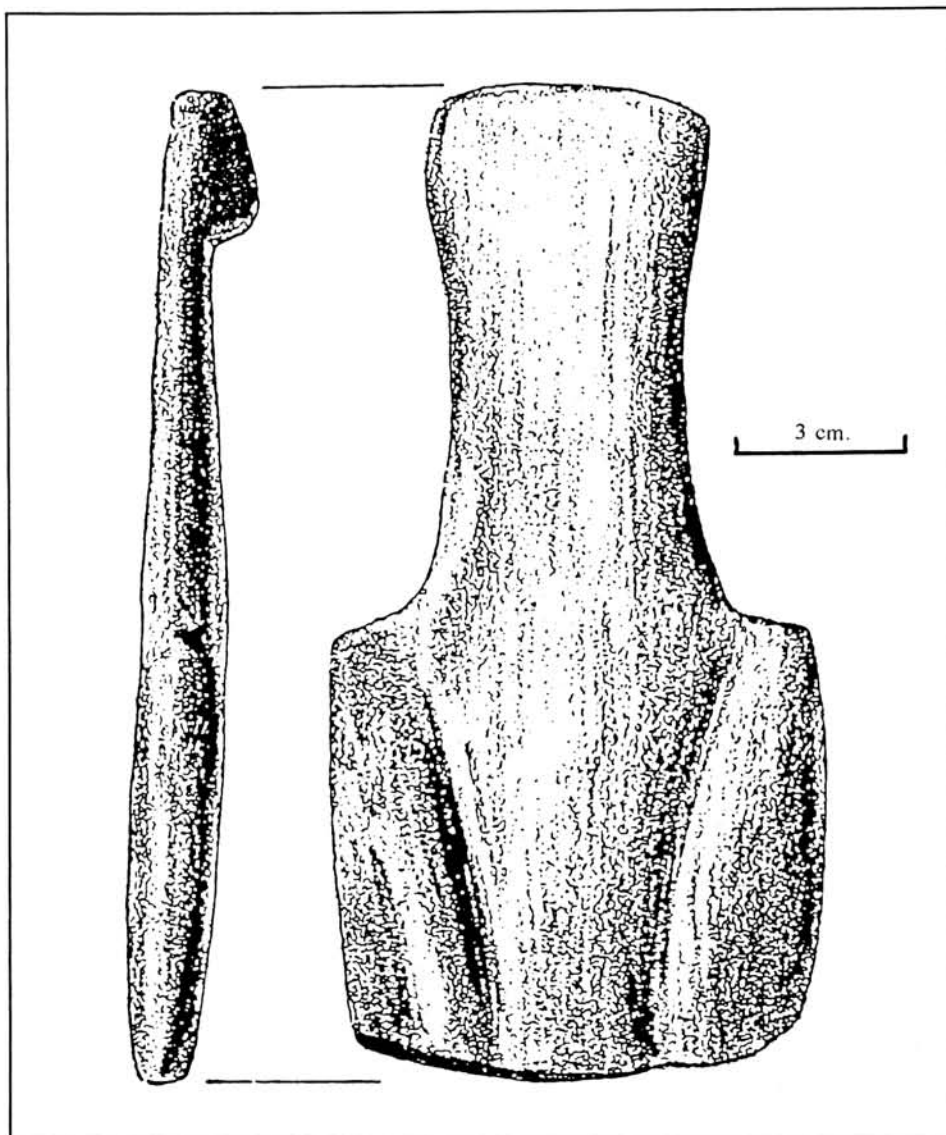


Fig. 6. Thin, stylized bird form with abbreviated beak and grooves on the back, suggesting folded wings, from a private collection, Santa Barbara, California.

*From Robert F. Heizer to Frederick Johnson,
December 10, 1946:*

Dear Fred:

I have your letter of December 2 concerning H. F. Strandt. My first letter to you simply told of some of the stuff I had heard about Strandt, and I was not making any accusation. I do not feel at the moment that I am in a position to challenge his membership, but I am per-

fectly willing to do it and am going to make an attempt to get some actual evidence concerning him. . . . Here, for example, is some possible evidence but to use it is like lighting a cigar in the middle of an ammunition dump. Sanger, Littleton,¹¹ and Strandt are all listed as collectors and sellers of the material presented by E. K. Burnett. . . . Since this publication has been out I have talked to perhaps a dozen people who also know California archaeology, and everyone is

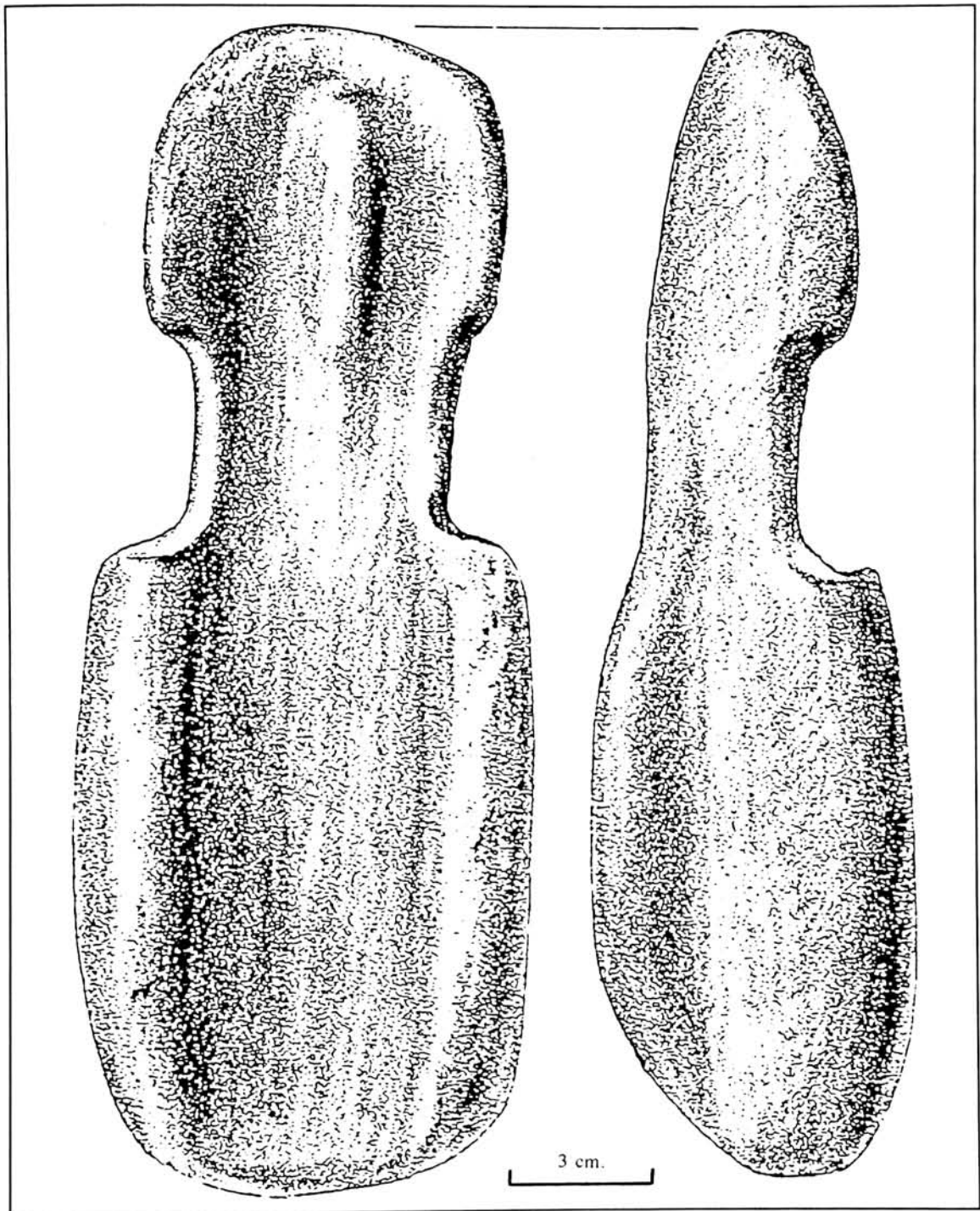


Fig. 7. Effigies, such as the steatite examples shown here, have been called birds or “dimorphic sexual images.” I suggest they more closely resemble an anthropomorphic figure because of the backbone-like form when seen in profile and the suggestion of a face (from a private collection, Santa Barbara, California).

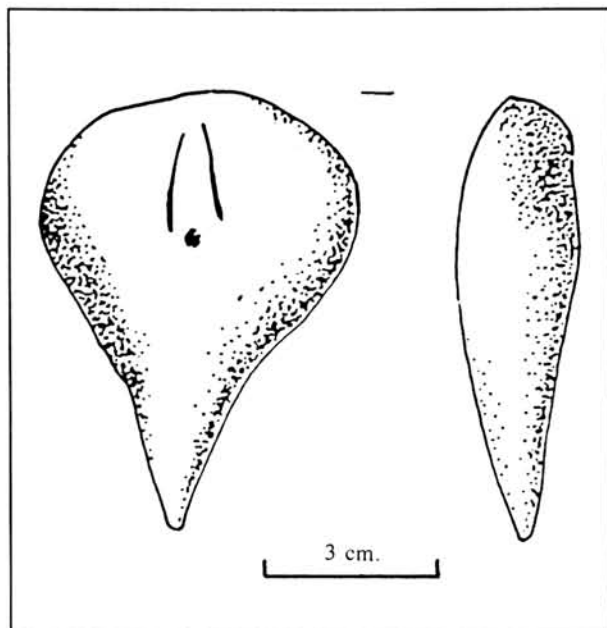


Fig. 8. From their provenience, the "tailed disks" appear to be very early effigies. What they were meant to depict is unclear. Many, such as this example, are carved from pale translucent soapstone (Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, A-1234).

certain that the pieces are fakes. I could sit down and give you a scientific demonstration that they are phonies, but that won't prove the case. But if you read the text section with the idea in mind that the pieces are frauds, everything dovetails very nicely. You will note that many of the sites have post-contact remains and that "bits of bottle glass, trade beads, and badly rusted iron plates" occurred in these sites. Such references, I assume, furnish a potential excuse, and one of these men accused of faking the objects would undoubtedly call attention to metal objects in graves and claim that the Indians used them. Then, too, no scientifically trained person observed a single piece excavated. But how does one prove it?--even though there is hardly a single parallel for any one of the pieces in a genuine museum collection.

From Frederick Johnson to Arthur Woodward and Robert Heizer, December 23, 1946:

Dear Art and Bob:

If Strandt is the kind of man you suspect he is, he should be denied membership. . . . As

both of you know, the problem is to bring charges which can be proved. . . . We will have to develop a means of doing this with as little pain as possible and also in such a manner that no great uncontrollable uproar results. . . . We are a little leary [sic] of this sort of thing because of a recent fiasco which caused a considerable amount of hard feeling. . . . I have no patience with the kind of thing Strandt seems to be doing. I hope we define the Society's position in regard to such activities clearly and concisely and that we can do this without getting embroiled in a lot of irrelevant wrangling.

From D. F. Strandt to Frederick Johnson, December 31, 1946:

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you for your letter of November 24th. . . . I'm sending you three of the ten reports which I have written of my excavations in Orange County, California. In 1921 I started making a map of all pre-historic Indian campsites in this County and in these past 25 years I have located about 200. . . . I would appreciate it . . . if you would read my reports and let me know what you think of them. In the past 32 years I have collected thousands of fine specimens which I wish you could see. I have disposed of many fine specimens which are now in different museums and schools throughout the United States. . . . I have been a Cement Contractor in Anaheim for the past 26 years. . . . If there is any part of my report which you might think could be put in the Society Paper, it would please me no end. . . .

From Robert F. Heizer to Arthur Woodward, December 31, 1946:

Dear Art:

I suspect that you and I are being put up to making a test case for situations of this sort, and I am not at all sure that I want to be one of the goats. As I have told you and Johnson, I am morally certain that Strandt is a faker and a relic dealer, but I have no real evidence of his activities. . . . is there anything [sic] absolutely definite which you know and can prove about Strandt's activities. . . . do you want to go to bat with me against Strandt? I do not want to get mixed up in something that will boomerang. Will you write me so that I know your feeling and attitude. . . . If you could locate several people who have bought artifacts from Strandt and get signed statements from them, this might



Fig. 9. Effigies found in secure archaeological contexts are uncomplicated forms such as this whale, one of a pair excavated together. The shape is simple but expressive. The piece is white shale, measures 20.8 x 2.9 x 12.3 cm., and was excavated by D. B. Rogers in 1925 from a pit at 28", in CA-SBA-78 (*Mikiw*) (Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, NA-CA 78-7A-1). Photo courtesy of Robert Hoover.

be sufficient, but whether you want to do this and whether such purchasers would want to become mixed up in this an entirely different thing. You may recall that you gave me the names and towns of several Southern California pothunters--there were, I think three (Littleton, Sanger and Strandt). . . .

From Arthur Woodward to Robert F. Heizer, January 2, 1947:

Dear Bob:

It would seem that we are being put on the spot. It seems also relatively simple to break the deadlock on Strandt. If Johnson would write to Strandt asking him if he had ever sold any of the specimens he has gathered, calling Strandt's attention to the fact that the constitution and by laws of the Society permit the dropping of members who deal in such artifacts commercially, which I believe is the case and putting the whole deal squarely up to Strandt. . . . I am quite certain that Strandt could not face such a question honestly. About ten minutes ago, Earl Stendahl a dealer in such items was in my office and told me personally that he had purchased specimens from Strandt. To obtain a letter from Earl to that effect would probably not be possible because Stendahl is a dealer and would not

wish to jeopardize his sources of supply which include, Littleton, Sanger and Strandt. George G. Heye has also purchased specimens from Strandt. So, why couldn't Johnson write to Stendahl and Heye and ask them point blank if they had purchased from Strandt, in this way no charges would be necessary. . . . in the Introduction to "Inlaid Stone and Bone Artifacts from Southern California" . . . Burnett says "Some pieces were acquired from Mr. Herman Strandt of Anaheim. . . ." You may be certain Strandt did not give those specimens to Heye for the love of science or Heye. . . .

Heye has a cute trick of giving permission for men to collect or dig in the name of the Heye Museum, and then he buys the specimens they find, or at least buys the choice pieces and the boys retain their share of the loot to add to their private collections. These men who go into the field in this manner are never on Heye's pay roll as museum staff members. It's his way of getting specimens. Littleton, Sanger and Strandt have all sold specimens to Heye. . . . Right now we are in a tempest here over the authenticity of the freakish looking steatite specimens obtained by Stendahl and Heye from Sanger, Littleton (and Strandt?). A collection including some of these fantastic forms was given to our

museum. I must pass upon the authenticity of these specimens sooner or later. I have studied some of them and so far I cannot detect any definite marks of fraud in their manufacture other than the fact that they are utterly unlike any specimens turned up along the southern coast and in the islands in some 70 years of diggings by various peoples, also they are for the most part unbroken with every inlaid bead in place, bone mouth pieces intact, in short band box new in appearance, yet all seemingly done in an orthodox manner. The fact that these were found and sold by two of our most notorious pot hunters . . . is in itself a suspicious [sic] fact but not enough upon which to base final conclusions. . . . Stendahl, thru whose hands most of these items have passed, informed me this morning he had recently purchased some more stuff of like nature from a collection in Berkeley. He says this collection was made 20 years ago by an archaeologist but will not divulge the man's name. Can you do a bit of sleuthing and find out if any of you [sic] local collectors has unloaded any stuff within the past week or so? The whole affair of these curios must come into the open one of these days, and since our museum has some of the items I suppose it will [sic] be up to me to stick my neck out either for or against the validity of the specimens.

*From Robert F. Heizer to Arthur Woodward,
January 8, 1947:*

Dear Art:

I think your idea of throwing this whole problem into Johnson's hands is a good one. There is, after all, published evidence that Strandt has sold archaeological pieces. . . . I think the matter should be explained to Stendahl so that he would not think anyone was after him, and Stendahl could be assured that the matter would be kept in confidence. . . . I agree with you on the peculiar nature of the steatite pieces, and I don't think there is any question that they are frauds. They are too perfect and too unique. I do not know any local collectors, and I do not have the slightest idea who might have sold the collection in Berkeley in the last few months. . . .

P.S. I think when you write you might ask formally whether Littleton, Sanger, and Johnston are members of S.A.A. Each of these is a collector and seller of the same species as Strandt. Right now, however, we are concerned only about Strandt.

*From Frederick Johnson to Robert F. Heizer,
January 10, 1947:*

Dear Bob:

This Strandt business gets more and more interesting. . . . I have just received the copies of the three reports which he says he has written. They puzzle me no end for they are copies of reports which were turned in to W.P.A. . . . There is a bound volume entitled "Excavation on the San Joaquin Ranch." . . . Strandt has written on the title page in his own hand "by H. F. Strandt". A second report is marked "Orange County California Historical Research Project" and entitled "Life and Customs and Peculiar Artifacts of the S. W. Coast Indians and Orange County Indians." . . . The third "thing" is entitled "Daily Notes on Banning Excavation and Osteological Report" August 17, 1936-December 31, 1937. Anthropological Project #4465, Orange County, California, 1936-1937." This is actually daily field notes plus a number of pictures of skeletons, steatite specimens and other oddments. Strandt, in his own hand, has signed his name "by Herman F. Strandt" to the title page.¹² My ignorance of California archaeology is indescribable but this looks to me like source material which should see the light of day. Do not get me wrong. I wish to hell I had never asked to see this stuff for I have a sneaking suspicion this is pretty good evidence that something is rotten somewhere. I wonder if the old boy has any right to have their stuff, did he write it, etc. etc.?

*From Robert F. Heizer to Frederick Johnson,
February 1, 1947:*

Dear Fred,

I have written Art about the Orange County archaeological reports. These are WPA reports; copies of those which you list are not in Berkeley, but copies of two additional similar reports are in my possession. In the case of the two latter, authorship is by J. W. Winterbourne. . . . I have, therefore, a strong suspicion that the reports which you have are by the same person, and that Strandt is probably misrepresenting facts when he claims to be the author. . . .

*From Robert F. Heizer to Arthur Woodward,
February 1, 1947:*

Dear Art:

I have a letter . . . [on] the subject of three reports, either typescript or mimeographed, which are apparently records of the Orange

County WPA projects. . . . There is in the Department letter files considerable correspondence between Winterbourne and Kroeber. Strandt's name is mentioned nowhere, and there is every indication that Winterbourne was the spark plug and the author of the various WPA reports. . . . The point here is, did Strandt write these reports? or is he simply claiming authorship? . . . If Strandt is claiming to be author . . . and it can be proved that he is not, then I think the whole problem of Strandt's membership in SAA can be settled very simply . . . I wish you good hunting.

From Arthur Woodward to Robert F. Heizer, undated letter:

Dear Bob:

That guy Strandt has more nerve than the proverbial brass monkey. I have a copy of one of the WPA reports which was given me by John Winterbourne whom I know quite well, or did at the time. . . . Strandt was hired on the job as one of the foremen, as I remember but Winterbourne had no use for him and finally let him go. Strandt has done a helluva lot of digging in Orange Co. and he has "disposed" of many specimens as he claims but he did not write the reports in question. . . . I do not know where John Winterbourne is at the present time . . . [he] was responsible for the projects. . . . John wrote the reports as I remember and took many of the photos. . . . It was during this time that I went to Strandt's house, after talking with him on one of the jobs, and tried to get him to make a complete catalog of his stuff and to give up pot hunting, particularly on Federal lands. I told him the penalties if he was caught without a permit and he said then it would take the U. S. govt. to make him stop and no one else could. That was the last time I ever tried to convert him. He is [a] stubborn, hard headed "Dutchman." . . . If I can get a line on the whereabouts of Winterbourne I shall do so and let him give you the full details of the projects and the reports. I visited one of the digs while it was in operation and Strandt was then employed as one of the workers . . . but Winterbourne told me at the time that Strandt was impossible to work with and was going to be turned loose.

From Robert F. Heizer to Frederick Johnson, February 21, 1947:

Dear Fred:

. . . Art Woodward . . . is sure, as I am, that

Strandt is not the author of any one of the three reports which you have seen. . . . I believe that we can now establish two important facts concerning Strandt. 1) He is the person who sells for personal gain archaeological specimens. 2) He is claiming authorship of manuscript material which he did not write. I do not see how he can squirm out of these two facts. . . . I think we are finally getting somewhere on this, but we should have our guns loaded and be sure our powder is dry before we fire. . . .

From Frederick Johnson to Robert F. Heizer, February 27, 1947:

Dear Bob:

The "Strandt" case becomes more and more interesting. It does look as though the evidence is piling up against him. I don't want to appear over-cautious but in view of past experience I don't think I will move until I get all the dope from you. . . . The question comes, "What is our next move?" Do you think it would be a good idea to write Strandt inquiring about his statements concerning authorship, etc. in his letter. . . . a kind of letter which would not imply that we are preparing a case against him but rather one which would question the authorship of these manuscripts. There would be a sort of comment on them in that he has been over-enthusiastic or something in his letter . . . and that he did not even attempt to explain his relationship to the manuscripts. . . .

From Robert F. Heizer to Arthur Woodward, March 5, 1947:

Dear Art:

Fred Johnson is all hot to finish up the Strandt business. He agrees with us that the last necessary information is some sort of statement from Winterbourne or Wieman, or somebody in Fullerton who knows the facts on authorship of the various WPA reports. . . . In the correspondence files . . . are letters from Winterbourne, the latest of which are on letterhead "Orange County Anthropological Survey, Fullerton Junior College District," and dated April 1940. . . . Strandt claims to be the author of seven additional reports, so my guess is that he got a full set of WPA reports and is claiming them as his own literary efforts. Art--please swing into this if you can. . . . Just some small definite evidence . . . will be all we need.

From Robert F. Heizer to Frederick Johnson, March 5, 1947:

Dear Fred:

. . . We have not yet located Winterbourne, but hope to do so shortly. I do not think you should approach Strandt, since his letter[s] . . . are unmistakable in their intent, and there is little chance he could weasel out from them. . . . Also, he may possibly have wind of our inquiries, and a denial from him before we go into action will cloud the issue, so I say lay off and sink him with what he has already said. . . .

From Phil C. Orr, Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, to Robert F. Heizer, December 20, 1947:

Dear Heizer:

. . . Inlaid steatite and bone is one of my pet interests. We have a few pieces here, but nothing to compare with those published by Burnett. I of course can not speak for others, but it is my impression that all of the Museum men are decidedly suspicious of these extraordinary pieces. . . . I had occasion to examine one of these pieces, which was not offered for sale to me, and while not as elaborate as some, it unquestionably was genuine, in the sense at least that it had not been made in the past ten years. . . . I was told by an art dealer in L. A. that Woodward had pronounced these pieces phony. (the dealer was going to buy them) so he (the dealer) went out to Malibu and investigated and claimed [sic] to have found many fragments of broken pieces and had bought from residents in the vicinity several good pieces. He later bought the collection he had been dickering for in the first place. . . .

You ask if there is a special explanation to account for previous workers having missed this material. If we grant for the sake of an argument, that the articles ARE genuine, then I think there IS an explanation: The old workers in California and this area, in spite of their training, PhDs or what have you, went along rather blindly, on the assumption that all . . . Indians are Indians. I don't mean that quite as bad as it sounds, but you are doubtless aware of Kroebers statement to the effect that there had been no progressive change in the California Indians from earliest to latest. . . .

As I think I pointed out . . . Yarrow remarked that one site containing metates appeared to be older, but then continued to more or less lump all of the sites together. If however, careful selection of material is made from almost any site, and compared with that from an adjoining site, perhaps no more than a

few yards away, there will be great differences shown in the total absence of some items from one or the other. There is a gradation of some items, which may run through quite a series of sites, I believe that these are indicators of time. That is of course very well known when we have contact material, but can not so easily be proved [sic] with shell or bone. Then there is another time marker, that if we knew enough would prove valuable. That is the individual work of one man. We have what appears to be individual work in a number of sites. Sometimes a very unique object in one grave only. Sometimes in one site only. I recently unearthed thirty-four prize bars (Giffords D7) from one grave. If this type of artifact were fancy and elaborate, and we considered that all the University of California had were 13, distributed among all of the islands, we might feel quite justified in being suspicious of a pot hunter coming in with 34 of them.

I recently examined some damaged graves where there were great numbers of inlaid bone tubes. . . . shell beads, flat rimmed bowls and other items make it appear to be contemporaneous with my Mescalitan cemetery A. Where the same items were found in quantity. From these two sites alone we have probably secured more of this type than are in all of the collections from other sites combined.

To sum it up: Beginners often seem to have the luck. In this area it is distinctly possible to strike a time phase not ever before encountered. The work of individuals must not be overlooked. Some of the effigies are unquestionable bonafind [sic], especially from San Miguel and San Nicolas. I'm always suspicious of anything too good especially if it is offered for sale.

Doubt if the foregoing will help you any, but good luck. If you get any proof one way or the other let me know.

From Arthur Woodward to Robert F. Heizer, January 29, 1948:

Dear Bob:

Regarding those almost too perfect steatite inlaid objects from southern California. As yet, I am on the fence regarding their authenticity. I first saw those that Heye had in 1942 and at that time I yelled "fake" because of the obvious replacement of the shell beads with surface weathered specimens. It was the first time I had seen the fantastic forms and I was very, very doubtful as to their genuineness. Then in 1946 while I was in the field, a friend of the Museum

gave us a small collection of Chumash stuff and among the items were some of the things. I know of course the source of these specimens. They were dug out by Sanger and Littleton and I believe Strandt may have had his hand in it too. In other words they were found by three of the most notorious commercial pot hunters in this neck of the woods. At first, Sanger disposed of some of the pieces thru a dealer at Palm Springs. A collector Walter Arensberg in Hollywood got hold of two or three pieces. Those seemed genuine enough. They were a small sea lion and whale effigies as well as some of the regular tubular pipes. He also got a fine turtle dish. Then he acquired some of the fish with stream lined [sic] eyes and one or two other specimens that looked phony as hell. I intimated as much and he got rid of some of them (Hodge and Harrington had also said they thot [sic] the things looked phony, so I wasn't alone in my judgment.)

Earl Stendahl, the art dealer had seen some of the things Arensberg had and wanted to get in touch with the person who was selling them. I knew it was Sanger but refused to give Stendahl Sanger's name. However, he snooped around and found out and then went into business with Sanger and Littleton. Since that time all of these items that have appeared on the market, including the batch we have, have passed thru Stendahl's hands. He knew my attitude about these pieces and after he had consummated the sale of the material in our hands to Mrs. Maitland who gave us the stuff to the tune of \$20,000 or so it is said, he began to put the pressure on me to attest to the authenticity of the specimens. This I refused to do without further study of the items. So far I have not had time to go over the pieces as minutely as I would like to do. However just between us, those objects I have examined seem to bear up well under the scrutiny. I am not at all satisfied with the results because the damned things all come out too perfectly. There is a slight film of red paint that tinges most of them, it is too regular. The setting of the beads is in most cases unbroken and smooth, unlike the general run of such material. But the patina seems okay on the shells. I am well aware however that steatite is one of the easiest minerals in the world to work and fake and so, as I said, I am on the fence until I can subject these specimens to a thorough scrutiny. . . . Who is the person trying to put the pressure on? Is it Stendahl? He has a batch of the stuff at his home which is

as yet unsold. The questions I would like answered is why haven't some of these items turned up during the sixty or seventy years of excavations . . . or why haven't broken pieces of these fantastic creatures been found before this time? I realize of course that this can be answered many ways, but it sticks in my craw just the same. Why are the specimens always so perfect when found? Also why are they only found by the commercial dealers? Those at Heye were doctored with new inlays but the more recent ones seem to be letter perfect. I know Heye's penchant for replacing broken or missing parts and so some of the work may have been done there but the later discoveries right down to the stone sliver sting ray tail have been intact and the beads look old. If these things are genuine, then they are dillies, if they are fakes, ditto.

From Phil C. Orr to Robert F. Heizer, December 30, 1948:

Dear Bob:

You are quite right in being suspicious of the elaborate steatite figures. Since you wrote me a year ago on the matter I have seen six figures. One of which is genuine, I feel sure but has absolutely no data. The other five all had their origin with Mr. Sanger, one as far aback [sic] as 1932, the others more recent.

The old one is simpler and appears more genuine until a close examination is made, then it appears as though it might have been made by the same hand that made the others, yet one is reportedly from San Miguel, the others variously [sic] reported as from San Nicolas and Sequit Canyon. Of course an Indian could have had a factory the same as a white man, and his work scattered, but like you, I think it unusual that no one except Sanger finds them. It would be interesting if a compilation of all of the figures could be made which are in the various collections with an analysis of the date, locality and collector. I feel sure that the great majority would have been "found" in the past ten years by the same collectors and from Sequit Canyon and San Nicolas.

From Phil C. Orr to Robert F. Heizer, January 21, 1949:

Dear Bob:

I have very little to contribute on the steatite figures. We have a very limited number of "effigies" which are little more than rough shaped

stones with the indication of eyes or mouth. We have nothing as elaborate as those in question. Stendahl, Arensberg, of L. A. and Morely of N. Y. have some, or did have some. The L. A. Museum and the SW Museum both have some. Sanger showed me a piece (a whale, he said from San Miguel) I don't know if he still has it or if he has sold it. He sold Morely his, and Morely in turn sold it to the St. Louis Art Museum. . . . Woodward, Farmer are quite definite in their belief these are phonies. Harrington and Walker seem to me to prefer not to stick their necks out and Hodge, thinks they are unquestionably genuine. Heye has pronounced the four from St. Louis to be genuine.

I think that a chemical analysis of the "grease" on these figures and on genuine steatite objects might well show up if they had been treated as I am sure most of them have. Perhaps a test of known ancient asphalt compared to modern and to that in the inlay of these figures would produce something. Neither of these tests, assuming they could be made would of course prove the figure themselves not genuine, but would show how much tampering they had. It seems to me that a listing of all known figures to gether [sic] with their finder and locality and date would probably show that a very large percentage were found by one man. This would prove nothing, but if "too" many were found at one locality it might suggest that some had been added to the original number, or if "too" many localities were involved, especially those where others have worked before without finding any then I would be suspicious of the records.

The flow of letters between Heizer, Woodward, Johnson, and Orr appears to stop here. At least, there are no further letters in the file that eventually found its way to the Rock Art Archive at UCLA. There is no indication of what, if any, action was ever taken in regard to Strandt. What happened to Strandt's "thousands of fine relics" is unknown.

Although a great deal of soul searching and questioning was being done by Heizer, Woodward, Johnson, and Orr, it was not until 1951 that someone actually visited A. R. Sanger. This was a student who described her encounter in a report to her instructor.

Portion of report on the A. B. [sic] Sanger Collection, from Lenore Ross (MS) to Dr. Brainerd, March 1951:

Monday the 12th I went to see the Sanger collection at his home on 2910 Budlong Ave. His steatite sculptured animals might be described as either utilitarian [sic] or "Different." Tarantella [sic] bowl--Expertly made with center hollowed out. Mr Sanger claimed to have found full of trade beads. Whale with spout---a large figure of a whale ingeniously made so you could blow water through one end and have it spout out the other end. Plaque with lizzard that looked like those of the Hohokam Indians in Arizona. Red Hemotite [sic] paint in many of the small bowls. The paint would rub off some of the pieces I handled.

Mr. Sanger has a sun porch full of Indian pieces.¹³ Appropriately he calls them curios. He has no idea how old they are or what culture they belonged to. For the past forty years he and his sister had a perfectly swell time picking up stuff and digging around Caltalina [sic], and San Michel [sic] island. They had a dandy little boat, and they made a good living selling the stuff to collectors and museums.¹⁴

When the Heye Foundation hired him and another man to dig up the Indian Grave yards near Point Dume, they had no idea such a variety of stuff would be found. As Sanger explained to me, He gave Heye all he dug up because he was paid to dig. The stuff his sister dug up they kept. After all Heye didn't pay her. His sister proved to be quite a digger, because the stuff she recovered was so good, that Heye paid him \$4000 for it. He offered the stuff to Woodward of the County Museum for half price, but Woodward turned it down. So he sold it to Stendahl who sold it to Arensberg and a wealthy woman who donated it to the County Museum.

Now Mr. Sanger has retired from pothunting, but would like to sell his collection. He likes to reminisce about who stole what from who. I take it there is not much honor among pot hunters. He is very vague about the locations near Malibu ranch where he dug up the stuff, but claims as did Edwards there is a cemetery near that Trailer park up the coast. I had a very fine time indeed listening to him and looking at his collection. . . . He has about 1700 ft of colored film of the Channel Islands,

and he opens his home to groups. . . . I am just a beginner, but the difference in the Sanger collection and the S. W. Museum Collection is so great it was no [sic] hard to pick out authentic looking pieces. I think some of his small stuff may be authentic. I am very confused because he admits fixing it all up to make it sell.

Wednesday March 14th I went to see the County Museum Steatite Collection. Mr. Woodward did no [sic] commit himself, but he seemed to think most of the stuff was fake. . . . There were turtle bowls, tanantula [sic] bowls, fish pipes, a huge crab pipe. Some smaller pieces similar to the S. W. Museum. . . .

You can imagine that by this time I was in a quandary. But the stuff looked phoney [sic] to me, not only because of the utilitarian [sic] features about these pieces, but they were not sculpture. They were little black animals with no more esthetic value than a little black clay animal you might see in a dime store. They had no grace, no beauty of line and form as do some of the pieces in S. W. Museum. The man who made the ungainly crab had no dedication or symbolism behind him. . . .

From E. Hollis Hopkins, Artifacts of the Ancient Worlds, Baltimore, to Phil Orr, January 24, 1956.¹⁵

Dear Sir,

We have recently purchased an important example of the Chumash work in stone. It is in the form of a pipe or cloud-blower and probably represents the whale or some other form of fish life. The specimen is inlaid with shell set in by use of asphaltum. The object is made from steatite and is seventeen inches in length--tip to tip. It is said that the specimen was found on San Miguel Island off the coast of Santa Barbara. The alleged finder is a Mr. Sanger. We are offering the object for sale, but do not have too much information on the culture of the area. . . . Can you suggest any other publications which would give information concerning the art of these people?

From Phil C. Orr to E. Hollis Hopkins, January 26, 1956:

Dear Sir:

Steatite pipes and a few simple effigies do occur along the Santa Barbara Channel coast, but it is noteworthy that in 80 years of excavation by many scientific institutions all of the large elaborate pieces have been reported from

dealers, during the last fifteen years or so. I have examined a number of these pieces which have been purchased by eastern Art Museums and detected file marks and recent asphalt in the inlay--I view with extreme suspicion such objects. . . . This is not to say your object is not genuine, but if it is, I would be surprised.

From E. Hollis Hopkins to Phil Orr, February 10, 1956:

Dear Mr. Orr,

Thanks very much for your informative letter of January 26th. . . . I am of course, concerned by the tone of your letter in that I have spent a great number of dollar bills to acquire this "Chumash" pipe. If your suspicion is correct, I'm in trouble. However, I am not convinced that the specimen is anything other than the genuine article. Four other persons, who I regard with the greatest respect, have examined the piece and pronounced it to be right. In my own mind, there is no doubt concerning the authenticity of the pipe. I can detect no file marks or recent asphalt, or, any other point that could be regarded with suspicion. But, I am always willing to admit the possibility that I am wrong. Enclosed, please find a photo of the specimen. May I ask you two very direct questions: 1. Have you personally examined this specimen, and, 2. In your opinion, is it a fake? I realize it is difficult to determine much from a photograph, but if you have seen and examined it, you would probably recognize it again.

I have no reply to this last letter from Mr. Hopkins, but scrawled heavily in pencil at the top of Hopkins' letter is the word "FAKE."

A final set of letters in regard to the effigies involves Heizer and the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles.

From Charles Rozaire, Southwest Museum, to Robert F. Heizer, January 3, 1958:

Dear Dr. Heizer,

Mr. Denson of the Long Beach Museum of Art referred to me correspondence . . . with regard to the steatite effigies in the Arts of Southern California: IV catalogue. I realize the problem of authenticating these carvings and it might have been well to mention this briefly in the pamphlet. . . . Talks with Sanger, Dockstader (Heye Museum) and Strandt, plus examination of collections . . . leave the question

open in my mind. My feeling is that the spectacular ones are likely fakes, and only the finding of similar ones in situ would convince me otherwise (even then one might wonder if they had been salted to "prove" the others). We have two bear figures as well as a few whale figures in the Palmer collection which was gathered before 1920 at least and prior to Sanger's arrival in the area, but admittedly the style of these is more cumbersome. I presumed we had some of the better examples in the Rindge Adamson collection excavated near her home at the mouth of Malibu Creek, but in a hasty search of records and collection, I don't find any. The Rose Dougan collection contains the bulk of our "nicer" figures, on the whole simple and "believable," but details on their acquisition by her are not specified in the files except to state that some items were purchased from dealers and that "it is believed" that she and her sister dug some from the Malibu area. . . . The Stendahl Galleries loaned Donson about 25 items including many spectacular pieces. . . .

From Robert F. Heizer to Jerome Donson, Director Long Beach Museum of Art, November 17, 1958:

Dear Donson:

I write this note to acknowledge . . . your sending a copy of the catalogue. . . . I note that the problems of origin and dating of the extraordinary shell-bead inlaid steatite effigies are not mentioned. Does this mean that these are now accepted as bona fide items of Indian manufacture? I am interested in the question because over 75 years of archaeology failed to produce a single specimen equivalent in finish and esthetic heights to, say, the pieces shown on p. 32 of your catalogue. The problem is a real one for the art historian, and if you have any ideas on this I'd like to hear them.

From Bruce Bryan, Southwest Museum, to Robert F. Heizer, October 18, 1963:

Dear Bob:

. . . By the way, Mr. Campbell Grant, of the Santa Barbara Museum, writes me that you have informed him you consider the steatite effigies (whale, sea lion, dolphin, stingray, fox, bear, etc.) which we have on display in our California Hall are "fakes," . . . According to our records they were given (not sold) to the Museum in 1945-46 by a Miss Rose Dougan. It is our understanding that they were dug up by her

mother on the Rindge Estate in the vicinity of Malibu. I'm going to try to get in touch with the lady, if she's still alive, and see if I can obtain any more information.

From Robert F. Heizer to Bruce Bryan, October 21, 1963:

Dear Bruce:

I would not have thought that my opinion that a lot of the elaborate steatite effigies which have made their appearance only in recent years were not of aboriginal manufacture would have caused concern. I do not think I have ever actually called them "fakes" because that implies a knowledge which I do not altogether possess. None of the older collections have anything which is at all like them, and excavation by trained people in many of the sites that these pieces are said to come from has not yielded anything of the sort. Actually I know a good bit about these things, but this is not the place to go into details. If your collection was actually dug by the mother of Miss Dougan . . . from undisturbed ground and with no profit motive involved anywhere along the line between her collecting and your acquiring the pieces, that would be most interesting and I should be pleased to learn of the facts in the case. . . . Campbell Grant asked my opinion of these pieces, having no doubt read of my strong doubts in several places, and I advised him against publishing them as pieces definitely attributable to prehistoric Chumash manufacture. I have had a number of discussions over these pieces with Rozaire and . . . I know that he did not feel certain at the time that they could be proved to be Indian-made pieces of any particular age, by which I mean even fifty years. I'm sorry if Grant's decision . . . has caused any concern, but know that you will agree that with so many doubts concerning the nature of the specimens it is probably better not to risk misrepresentation.

From Bruce Bryan to Robert F. Heizer, November 6, 1963:

Dear Bob:

As I remarked in my last letter to you, I intended to back-track the steatite effigies that were given to the Southwest Museum some years ago by the late Miss Rose Dougan. I managed to locate Miss Marjorie Dougan, Miss Rose's niece, and she gave me all the information she had. Her aunt did NOT personally dig up these objects, and I am forced to admit that

the available evidence leaves them open to suspicion as genuine Indian-made products.

Briefly, . . . Miss Rose Dougan, who has given our Museum a great many genuine objects since 1934, purchased these particular steatite effigies from a Fred Watson, who operated a so-called trading post in Palm Springs back in the 1930s. It was called "The Indian Oya" [sic], and both Watson and the "Oya" have been defunct for many years. Miss Marjorie Dougan tells me that her aunt paid "a good price" to Watson for these effigies, and that he bought them "at a good price" from the man who claimed to have dug them up on the headland that juts into the ocean just south of Malibu. She could not recall the man's name. . . . I am disappointed that this is the case, for I have always been delighted with these little figurines—in fact, they seem to be the jumping-off point from which the Canalino Indians went on to a more abstract conception of miniature sculpture—at least in the case of the sea lions. But such is life! And I've often thought (and remarked) that if the objects found in the late King Tut's tomb had first appeared on the market via dealers, 99 out of 100 Egyptologists would have sworn they were fakes.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Forty-seven years have passed from the time the first of these letters was written. Reading them today, one is struck by the timidity and seeming reluctance by Johnson, Woodward, and Heizer to get into a controversy. Heizer's comment to Woodward (December 8, 1946) that he is "not one to get into arguments . . ." amuses those who knew him well. And why was the entire matter dropped? The key may be in Woodward's reference to someone "putting the pressure on." If true, were dealers or wealthy collectors in a position to do this? Might Johnson, Woodward, and Heizer have been closing in on someone with influence? I have no explanation. And today we are no further along the road to understanding just what took place in regard to these questionable effigies. That some were altered is certain; Sanger admitted this himself. Was he also the individual who made the more bizarre forms? What was the connection between Strandt,

Sanger, and Littleton? They appear to have collaborated on digs. Were they also partners in making or embellishing the effigies? Someone must have been in a position to observe some of these being carved, if indeed that is what occurred. The trail gets colder each year.

It is noteworthy that, in the 31 years since the last of these letters, no other elaborated effigies have been found in southern California, despite the vast accumulation of CRM and research data. Those pieces uncovered in the intervening years are uncomplicated forms, usually unadorned.

For an effigy to have power, elaboration of shape or surface was not necessary: the magic was inherent in the object itself—witness the "plummet" stones used in shamanic rituals. This is not to infer that an effigy with beads or incised decoration is either faked or embellished in modern times. Many reliable effigies have simple rows of shell beads or incised cross-hatching. Figures 4-9 illustrate the powerful simple forms we have come to recognize as authentic effigies from the southern California coastal area.

In contrast, nearly all "fancy" specimens in museums and private collections lack any secure provenience; the authenticity of these more outlandish forms—from six-legged spiders to turtles with crystals in their mouths to Burkett's sea-creature pipes—will have to be decided with the aid of modern technology. Until science can settle questions of their genuineness, these suspect effigies will continue to muddy the record.

NOTES

1. Large numbers of artifacts in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, are labeled only as "Southern California." Most of these were collected by Paul Schumacher in the 1870s.

2. See Hudson and Blackburn (1986:171-219) for other examples.

3. These nearly identical whale effigies are in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation; Los Angeles County Museum; Southwest Mu-

seum, Lompoc Museum; Catalina Island Museum; a museum in Tulsa, Oklahoma; and a private collection in Fullerton, California (Cameron MS).

4. At least one of these little whales in the Pop Ruth Collection, Lompoc, was acquired by Ruth in a trade with Sanger. The swapping of artifacts between pothunters was a common practice in those days (Leontyne Phelan, personal communication 1979).

5. Earl Stendahl's gallery in Hollywood was then the most renowned in the world for Pre-Columbian art. Stendahl was the dealer who handled the transactions which involved three or four collections of astounding "Chumash" objects. When some became suspect, Stendahl took some or all back (J. Frierman, personal communication 1992).

6. Copies of the original letters are on file at the Rock Art Archive, UCLA.

7. The letters from Strandt to Frederick Johnson are signed "D.F. Strandt" (typewritten). However, in all the other letters, he is referred to as "H. F. Strandt," or "Herman Strandt." I am unable to account for this discrepancy.

8. Strandt came from Hamburg, Germany, as a young man—partly because of his fascination with the culture of North American Indians. He died in 1964.

9. Heizer's reply to Johnson is not in the collection of letters at the Rock Art Archive.

10. Burnett told Charles Rozaire in 1955 that he believed the artifacts to be genuine because Heye had "paid so little for them" (C. Rozaire, personal communication 1992).

11. O. T. Littleton was described as the person who did the actual field work (Burnett 1944:13).

12. According to Chace (1965:14), the original reports at the Bowers Museum which were from Strandt had been signed by him as Technical Manager. However, as Chace noted, ". . . these signatures have been chemically eradicated . . . Strandt may have added his signature to his personal copies for personal reasons." Chace stated that if Strandt had authored some of the reports, they were edited by others, as his ability as an author was limited and the structure of his grammar was markedly Germanic.

13. Charles Rozaire visited Sanger in the 1950s and confirms Ross' description, with one addition: he was stunned to see that Sanger had completely paved his back patio with manos (C. Rozaire, personal communication 1992).

14. It is interesting to note that Sanger retained effigies in his own collection that were simple and unadorned, unlike the fancy specimens sent to the Heye (Cameron MS).

15. The Hopkins-Orr letters were kindly provided by Robert Hoover.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere thanks to the Rock Art Archive, and Helen Michaelis, its former curator; and to Clement Meighan for permission to publish the letters from the Heizer Collection. I am grateful to Robert Hoover, who not only shared his notes and research, but also provided excellent photographs of many effigies. My thanks to Jay Frierman, Charles Rozaire, Bruce Bryan, and Albert Elsasser, who shared their reminiscences about the effigy figures and made editorial suggestions; to Constance Cameron, who was particularly helpful in locating obscure references; and to Jon Erlandson for his editorial comments which brought this article into sharper focus. Any errors, of course, are mine. The material on effigies that was collected over several decades by both Lee and Hoover is now curated in the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History.

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