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CHAPTER 19.

THE SHASTAN GROUP.

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SHASTAN GROUPS.

RECOGNITION.

The six Shastan languages are, in the light of present knowledge, the northernmost members of the scattered family designated as Hokan. As a group they are also one of the most divergent subdivisions of the family. A tendency to change and specialization has penetrated even within the group, nearly all of whose members are so different from one another that some analysis is required before their kinship is perceptible.

On older ethnological maps only two languages appear in place of the half dozen now recognized: the Sastean and the Palaihnihan. The one is the Shasta, the other the Achomawi, but to the former were attributed territories subsequently discovered to have held three other idioms, while under Palaihnihan Atsugewi had been merged into Achomawi. The reason for the long ignoring of the three languages adjacent to the Shasta is simple: no vocabularies were recorded, the tribes being numerically insignificant, and in one case on the verge of extinction when the white man came to northern California. Now they have dwindled so far—in fact, to all practical purposes perished—that when we are hungry for any bits of information that would help to untangle the obscure history of these remnants of what may once have been greater peoples, we must content ourselves with brief, broken vocabularies and some general statements about their speakers obtained from the neighboring nations.

For the long hiding of the identity of the Atsugewi under that of the Achomawi no such valid reason exists, since the Atsugewi people survive to-day to the number of several hundred. Nor was a similarity of the two tongues the cause of the fault. Kindred, indeed, they are, in the sense and measure that French and Spanish are related; but they are also at least as different. Idioms in which *l*

corresponds to *n*, *w* to *p*, *p* to *k*, and *m* to *r*, are not so similar that they are confounded by those interested in them. In fact, a bare third of the more usual stem words seem to the unaided ear or eye to be common to Achomawi and Atsugewi; and on the pioneer student's basis of overlooking trifles, there would have been almost as much justification for separating Atsugewi from Achomawi and erecting it into a separate family as for keeping Achomawi and Shasta apart, as ethnologists did for half a century. What lay at the bottom of this inconsistency was that the Atsugewi live in a region topographically tributary to the larger Achomawi habitat; that the two tribes were in close association and friendly; and that they followed very similar customs. No one troubled to make a speech record, native statements minimized the difference, and the situation was conveniently simplified, as compared with what a little inquiry would have revealed as being true.

Substantially, the Shastan habitat falls into two nearly equal halves—a western, the old "Sastean," in Klamath drainage, and an eastern, the former "Palaihnihan," in the drainage of the Pit. As the two systems of waters reach the ocean nearly at the Oregon line and at San Francisco, respectively, the outlook and connections of the two areas were obviously far from identical.

THE "SASTEAN" DIVISION.

The overwhelming body of people in the eastern or "Sastean" half were the Shasta proper or Shastika, on the Klamath River and its tributaries above the Karok and below the Klamath-Modoc. They ran over, also, into the Rogue River headwaters in Oregon.

Fairly close to them in speech, in fact clearly a later offshoot of the Shasta themselves and not one of the original divergent branches of the general Shastan trunk, were the Okwanuchu, outside the drainage area of the Klamath and in that of the great central valley of California. They held the heads of the Sacramento and McCloud.

At the source of Salmon River, an affluent of the Klamath, and of New River, tributary of the Trinity, which is also an affluent of the Klamath, was the little nation which in default of a known native name has come to be called the New River Shasta.

The third of these decayed Shastan groups, the most divergent, and the earliest to perish completely, were the Konomihu, on the middle course of Salmon River.

POSSIBLE CONNECTIONS WITH NONSHASTAN GROUPS.

It is not without significance that in the same region was another and distantly allied Hokan, though non-Shastan, tribe that survived only in minute proportions at the time of discovery: the Chimariko. Crowded against each other and into the deep canyons of a jagged country, the coexistence of these three fragments is certainly not

without historical significance, which the imagination can sense though an ever-lost knowledge forbids it to penetrate.

In fact, another Hokan division, the Karok, also lived adjacent, so that five groups of the same ultimate origin jostled each other in this rugged region: the perished New River Shasta, Konomihu, and Chimariko, wedged in between the surviving and more broadly spread Karok and Shasta. It is quite possible that when comparison of all the Hokan languages shall have progressed farther, these five idioms may appear to form a single larger group or subfamily, and that even the few bits of knowledge available concerning several of them will suffice to indicate a new arrangement for the group: Konomihu might prove to have its nearest congener in Karok, and New River in Chimariko, rather than both in Shasta, for all that it is possible to judge to-day. Or such a classification might prove the three little peoples the remnant of one Hokan wave or layer that was later almost submerged by another that brought Karok and Shasta into the vicinity; or the Karok may be the representatives of one stream, the four others of a separate one; or still different affiliations and consequent conclusions as to origin and movements may be imagined. It is useless to speculate at the present time when only a small part even of the scanty recorded material on the several languages has found its way into print.

The situation is one of those not infrequently arising in which the philologist, and only he, can come to the ethnologist's or historian's rescue. A dozen randomly preserved facts from the history or civilization of a nation are almost certain to be so disconnected as to allow only of the most general or doubtful inferences; the same number of words, if only they and their meanings are carefully written down, may, if there are more fully known cognate tongues, suffice to determine with reasonable assurance the provenience and the main outlines of the national existence of a lost people. The student of history who permits the difference of material and technique of the sister science philology to lead him into the lax convenience of disregarding it as something alien and useless, withdraws his hand from one of the most productive tools within his reach—on occasion his only serviceable instrument.

Bearing on the jostling of the three perished and two larger but divergent Hokan peoples in this congested section of California, and the probability that time has wrought concentrated even if slow changes in the ethnic conditions of the area, is the fact that it is in this vicinity that four great stocks meet and touch: the Athabascans, as represented by the Hupa and other members of their Pacific coast branch; the Algonkins, in the shape of their most westerly branch, the Yurok and Wiyot; the Penutians, of whom the Wintun are the most northerly, at any rate in California; and the

Hokan family, of whose many far-stretched divisions along the Pacific coast from Tehuantepec up, our very Shastans are the extreme northern representatives. Again, a present interpretation in detail would be pure speculation, tempting though it is to undertake; but it is clear that this extraordinary agglomeration not only has a meaning but that it bears a significance which may some day carry us back into remote periods.

THE "PALAIHNIHAN" DIVISION.

The eastern or "Palaihnihan" branch of the Shastan complex comprises the before-mentioned Achomawi and Atsugewi, one occupying the larger part of the valley of Pit River, and the other the remainder. The Pit joins the Sacramento and McCloud; in fact has a much longer course and more extensive catchment basin, and carries more water, so that it must properly be regarded as the real head of the entire Sacramento River system. The Okwanuchu on the McCloud are therefore in the same drainage as the Achomawi-Atsugewi. But their speech indicates their primary affinity with the Shasta; and they must accordingly be regarded as an offshoot from the latter, which has drifted or been crowded over the watershed.

THE NEW RIVER SHASTA.

Of the three minor Shastan tribes the New River people were perhaps rather nearest to the major group in speech, although at that their tongue as a whole must have been unintelligible to the Shasta proper.

Their designation is somewhat of a misnomer. They held only the upper waters of the torrent known as New River; from the forks down the stream was Chimariko. (Fig. 8.) The larger part of their habitat was the area of the upper Salmon, both forks of which they occupied to within half a dozen miles of the junction. Both these tracts are inconceivably rugged; except along the tops of the innumerable ridges, it is doubtful if there is a single 5-acre patch of level land in the whole ownings of the tribe. The streams carry water the year around, and in winter rage in volume; but they rush in twisting beds of rocks. The entire territory lies high; and the divide between New and Salmon Rivers is snow-covered the larger part of the year. It was a craggy home that these people called their own.

There must have been deer, salmon, and acorns in tolerable abundance, if little else; but the population was sparse. In 60 years the tribe melted away without a survivor, leaving only a fragmentary vocabulary and conjectures as to their mode of life. There could not have been more than two or three hundred souls when the American came in 1850; and there may not have been so many.

The Hupa seem to have called them Amutahwe. This would make a convenient designation for them if "New River Shasta" were not already in use. Djalitasum is probably not their Chimariko name, but the Chimariko appellation of New River, probably from the settlement at its mouth.

THE KONOMIHU.

The Konomihu are the most divergent of the marginal Shastan tribes. In fact, it is still questionable whether their speech is more properly a highly specialized aberration of Shasta or of an ancient and independent but moribund branch of Hokan from which Karok and Chimariko are descended together with Shasta.

The principal Konomihu village—apparently called Shamnam by the Karok—was between the forks of Salmon River in Siskiyou County, on the right side of the south branch just above the junction. They owned some 7 miles up the south fork, 5 up the north, and 4 down the main river, where the Karok mention Hashuruk. This may mean that the Konomihu maintained settlements at these points, in which case their hunting claims are likely to have extended 2 or 3 miles farther. But their territory was exceedingly restricted at best, and devoid of rich or even tracts. Below them on the Salmon were the Karok; above, the New River Shasta. These two tribes entirely shut them off from the outside world, so far as the map shows; but they maintained relations and intermarried with the Shasta proper. (Pl. 1; Fig. 8.)

Salmon River was mined over in the early fifties, and the industry is still not defunct. This usually meant trouble between Indians and whites, and helps to account for the total disappearance of the Konomihu. But their population must have been very small when the American came, else they would have made more of an impress.

The Salmon River Indian population of to-day is Karok, and mostly mixed blood, much of it heavily diluted. It is all drawn in in the train of the white man.

Konomihu is their own name. The Chimariko call them Hunomichhu, which sounds like a variant of the same word, but might be from Chimariko *hunoi-da*, "north." The Karok group them and the New River Shasta together as Mashu-arara, "Salmon-river people."

Konomihu customs were like those of the Shasta, not of the Karok. They wore fringed and painted buckskin clothes, including leggings. Their carrying receptacle was of skin, and water vessels were of the same materials. They made few or no baskets; such as they had, they got from the Karok. Their creator was the coyote. These are all specific traits of the Shasta, and mark this little people off sharply from the nearer Karok.

The house was a conical lean-to of bark, slightly excavated. This is a much inferior structure to the Shasta one, which in turn is a sort of imitation of the Karok house. The type of sweat house is unfortunately not known. There was no dance house. The Karok dances were not made by the Konomihu. This might be anticipated, since the whole character of these dances demands wealth, which this poor little group of mountaineers was not likely to possess.

They did get some dentalia along with their baskets from the rich people of the Klamath, though what they could offer in exchange except the furs and deerskin clothing which they traded to the Shasta for disk-bead money would be difficult to conjecture. Elkhorn spoons and steatite dishes of Karok type were used by the Konomihu; where they were manufactured is uncertain.

The dead were buried.

Fish are said to have been taken only or chiefly with spears. The rapid, tumbling streams would afford more frequent opportunity for the use of the harpoon than of nets. Acorns, the statement goes, were crushed in wooden mortars; which if true is quite unexampled for this part of California.

THE OKWANUCHU.

The Okwanuchu held the upper Sacramento from about the vicinity of Salt and Boulder Creeks to the headwaters; also the McCloud River and Squaw Creek from about their junction up; in other words, the heads of the streams draining south from the giant Mount Shasta. The upper waters of the McCloud were probably not permanently settled; whether Okwanuchu or Achomawi had the better fortified ancient hunting rights there is not certain; the line on the map makes no pretense as to proved exactness. The entire Okwanuchu habitat is a mountain region, cut and broken, but not as rugged as some areas in the northern coast ranges; and very heavily timbered—as usual in California, with conifers.

The dialect is peculiar. Many words are practically pure Shasta; others are distorted to the very verge of recognizability, or utterly different.

It is not known whether Okwanuchu is their own name or what the Shasta called them. The Achomawi and Atsugewi knew them as Ikusadewi, or Yeti, from Yet, Mount Shasta.

There may have been a few dozen or two or three hundred Okwanuchu two generations ago; not more. There is not one now. There are Indians on the upper Sacramento and McCloud to-day; but they are Wintun, who have come in with the American, and their current name, "Shastas," means nothing more than that they live in Shasta County or near Mount Shasta.

CHAPTER 20.

THE SHASTA.

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DESIGNATION.

The origin of the name Shasta, made famous by the great extinct volcano to which it now attaches, is veiled in doubt and obscurity. It seems most likely to have been the appellation of a person, a chief of some consequence, called Sasti.

Besides the now standardized form of their name, the Shasta have been known under the appellation Saste, Shasty, and Shastika. The latter contains the native nominative suffix. The Achomawi and Atsugewi call them Sastidji, which seems to be a native coinage from the name given by the whites. The Achomawi also employ Nomki-dji, which appears to be a similar formation from a Wintun root, and Ekpimi, which may be a native term but denotive of a locality. The nearer Wintun say Waikenmuk, which has reference to their northerly location. The Karok call the Shasta language Tishraw-ara-hi; the group itself they designate as Tishraw-arara, the branches on Salmon River as Mashuh-arara. The Takelma in Oregon know the Shasta as Wulh or "enemies."

HABITAT AND DIVISIONS.

The Shasta held the Klamath River between the Karok and the Lutuamian Klamath and Modoc; to be specific, from a point between Indian and Thompson Creeks to a spot a few miles above the mouth of Fall Creek. They occupied also the areas drained by two considerable southern tributaries of the Klamath, Scott River and Shasta River. Their limits in this direction were formed by the watershed that separates from the Sacramento, Trinity, and Salmon. Eastward, their boundary was also marked by drainage; roughly, it ran north from Mount Shasta to Mount Pitt in Oregon. Finally, Shasta territory comprised a tract on the north side of the Siskiyou, in Oregon,

on the affluents of Rogue River known as Stewart River and Little Butte Creek.

This habitat must be described as mountainous. The plateau which forms its base is from 2,000 to 4,000 feet above the sea, with peaks and ridges rising well up into the snow line during much the greater part of the year. The food supply is not particularly favorable. Oaks begin to approach their northern and eastern limit, and are less numerous than down the Klamath and in the Sacramento drainage system. The Klamath is but little smaller than among the Yurok and Karok. In considerable part it is bordered by little strips of valley, whereas among the lower peoples it is so confined in its canyon as to afford few spaces for towns except narrow sites on old river terraces. The result is that the Shasta traveled mostly on foot, the Yurok by boat.

The Shasta territory falls into four natural drainage areas of about equal size. The people within each tract were marked off by certain peculiarities of dialect and custom. There is no precise record of these distinctions, but they do not seem to have been considerable. The Rogue River division was called Kahosadi; that on the Klamath, Kammatwa or Wiruhikwairuk'a. The Scott Valley people were the Iruaitsu; those of Shasta Valley, the Ahotireitsu. The term "Kikatsik" sometimes refers to the Scott and Shasta Valley groups combined, sometimes to the former alone.

The people of each district were thrown by circumstances into closer internal association. Each group looked up to the richest man within its confines as the one most to be respected. There was little that could be called governmental unity within the groups.

The known Kammatwa settlements were, in order up the Klamath, and always on its sunny northern side unless the contrary is specified: Chitadowoki, Ututsu, Asouru, Sumai, Arahi (south side), Harokwi, Kwasuk (south side), Aika, Umthahawa, Itiwukha, Ishui, Awa, Waukaiwa, Opshiruk, Ishumpi, Okwaylg, Eras (south side), Asurahawa (south side), Kutsastsus.

Among the Iruaitsu, Orowichaira and Itayah are known.

Ahotireitsu towns were Ihiweah, Kusta, Ikahig, Asta, Ahawaiwig.

The Scott and Shasta Valley divisions, or villages within them, were sometimes in embittered feud.

It has been thought that the position of the Shasta with reference to the minor Shastan fragments bordering them on the south might indicate that their drift had been from the north across the Siskiyou toward a submersion of these more ancient Californian relatives of theirs. But the revelation of their affinity to the great Hokan family negates this theory, since it makes the Shasta proper the most northerly member of the wider group to which they belong, and their Oregonian subdivision on Rogue River the extreme outpost of the family. Whatever minor and more recent fluctuations the Shasta

may have been subject to, it therefore seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that in all probability their general movement in the past has been from the south northward. The particular shiftings of all the northern Hokans, the Karok and Chimariko and Yana as well as the six Shastan groups, with reference to the family as a whole, to each other and to alien tribes, give every indication, on the ground of topographic as well as linguistic relations, of having been intricate.

TRADE.

There was considerable trade down the Klamath with the Karok, and possibly through their territory. Dentalia, salt or seaweed, baskets of all kinds, tan-oak acorns, and canoes were the articles that came to the Shasta. In return they gave obsidian, deerskins, and sugar-pine nuts. From the Wintun to the south the Shasta had less that they could get. They did, however, receive acorns, and gave for them the same goods which they traded to the Karok, plus some of the dentalia which they themselves purchased. There was considerable intercourse with their own kinsmen and the Athabascans on Rogue River. Oaks become scarce or cease near the northern line of California, and any surplus of acorn flour that the Shasta possessed found ready takers among these Oregonian people. In return a stream of dentalia—which came, of course, ultimately from the same source on the far northern coast as those which traveled up the Klamath—flowed up Rogue River into Shasta possession. With the Modoc and Klamath Lake peoples on the head waters of the Klamath the Shasta traded comparatively little.

POPULATION.

The numbers of the Shasta were sparse. A Government field census in 1851 yielded 24 towns on the Klamath, 7 on the Scott, and 19 on the Shasta River, or 50 settlements of an estimated average population of 60. This figure is too high, however, since many villages comprised only two or three houses. Even the populous Yurok averaged only 45 souls to a town. If we allow the Shasta 40, their total is 2,000. If this figure is posited for the California Shasta alone, exclusive of those on Rogue River, it is likely to be a full allowance.

For to-day there are no reliable statistics; but the reduction since 1850 has been heavy, even for California. The 1910 census names 255; but as Shasta has become the designation of any Shasta County Indian, or any native of the vicinity of the peak, and the Indians have largely accepted this terminology, the figure has no ethnic meaning. Nearly all of the most northerly Wintun pass as "Shastas."

The number of survivors to whom the true tribal epithet applies is scarcely likely to be in excess of 100, if indeed it reaches that figure.

CULTURE.

Shasta civilization is a pallid, simplified copy of that of the Yurok and Karok, as befits a poorer people of more easily contented aspi-

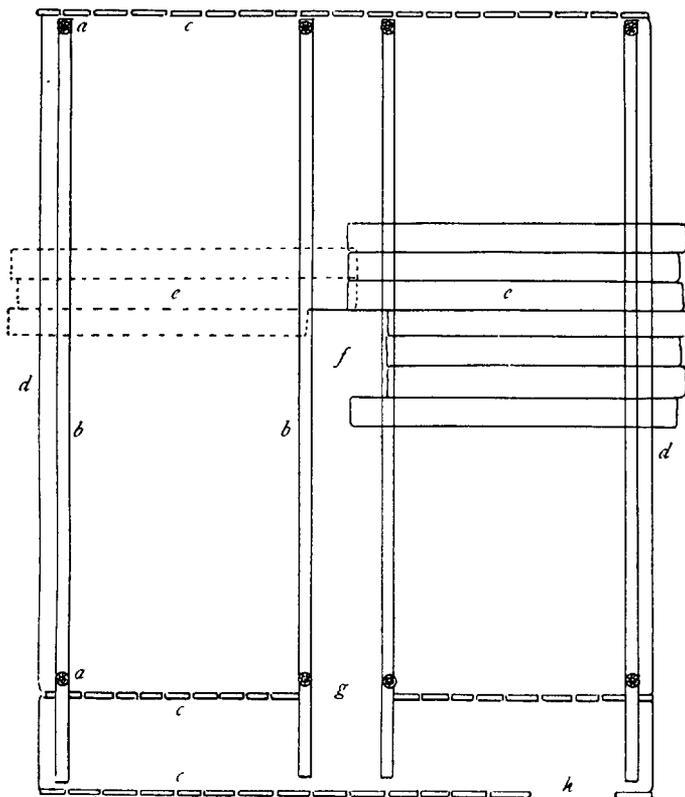


FIG. 23.—Plan of Shasta house. *a*, Posts; *b*, plate logs; *c*, vertical planks of end walls; *d*, low side walls of earth lined with bark; *e*, roof planks; *f*, fireplace and smoke hole; *g*, inner, *h*, outer door; wood room to left of doors. (After Dixon.)

rations. There are some evidences of eastern influences from the Columbia River and Great Basin region, but less than among the Achomawi and far fewer than the Modoc evince. In many features there is an approach to the customs typical of central California: not to the complex institutions of the Sacramento Valley, but to the cultural background of the peripheral hill tribes such as the Yana, the mountain Maidu, the southern Athabascans, and the adjacent Wintun.

In short, the Shasta constituted a fringe of both the northwestern and the central civilizations of California, with more leanings toward the former. They displayed national peculiarities, of course; but these usually take the aspect of modifications rather than elaborations.

HOUSES.

The house is a case in point. It is essentially the Yurok board house with many of its most distinctive traits retained; but altered also in the direction of simplicity of construction. The ridge pole is double, but the roof comes to a single crest, as in the Yurok poor man's house. The ridge poles as well as side plates rest on posts, as in the central Californian dwelling. The Yurok practice of laying them into notches in the end walls argues heavier planking and a

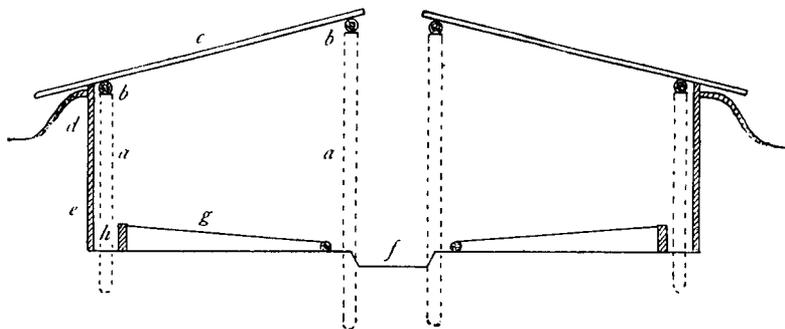


FIG. 24.—Cross section of Shasta house. *a*, Posts; *b*, plate logs; *c*, roof planks; *d*, side walls of earth, lined with *e*, bark; *f*, fireplace pit; *g*, bed of pine needles; *h*, storage space. (After Dixon.)

more painstaking workmanship in spite of its theoretical structural inferiority. The Shasta dig out the whole interior, adding a small shallow pit for the fireplace. Thus the Yurok distinction between the deep central sitting and sleeping place around the fire and the elevated storage shelf surrounding it is lost. Evidently the Shasta had less to store. Their house also had no real side walls. Earth was piled up to reach the eaves, and this lined interiorly with slabs of cedar bark. Even the poorest Yurok in the degenerate days of the present would think he had sunk below decency if he introduced mere bark into any part of his home. The door was made by omitting the lower half of one of the boards in the end wall and hanging in a mat—a much simpler proceeding than the northwestern one of carving a round hole in a 4-inch plank and providing a wooden slide panel. The four roof rafters appear to have been logs—a central Californian habit. The true northwesterners hewed theirs out into beams set on edge. (Figs. 23, 24.)

The Yurok entrance passage or wood room was retained by the Shasta; but it was essentially a porch outside the house, and its entrance was not closed by any door.

The Shasta lived in their permanent houses only part of the year. The summer camp was a roofless windbreak of brush.

There was a small menstrual lodge.

The sweat house, literally "large house," was the man's sleeping place in winter. It does not seem to have been a dance house like the round "sweat house" of the central Californians, but, on the other hand, was resorted to for gambling, which no Yurok would have done, and for ordinary assemblages.

The plan of this "large house" was part central and part northwestern in character. The size, up to 30 and 40 feet in length, was central; the rectangular shape, northwestern. The roof was of planks covered with pine needles and earth—clearly a compromise between two independent motives, since rough poles will answer as well as boards to support a layer of dirt, while a good plank roof needs no earth finish. A center post, connected with one at each end by the ridge pole and holding up a roof that slopes but slightly, are Yurok and Karok features. The door was close to the middle of one of the ends; it was cut in a circle through a plank and closed by a wooden slide, as in the northwestern living house. A second opening was in the roof, as in the Sacramento Valley. The floor was either of packed earth, as in the latter region, or of split lumber, as lower on the Klamath.

It is clear that this Shasta "large house" is not a survival of an undifferentiated form from which the Yurok and Maidu types of sweat houses have gradually been elaborated. One can not have seen the two latter and know the intimacy of religious associations with each, and be aware of the regularity with which each of their features recurs among tribe after tribe, without being firmly impressed with the conviction that the Shasta structure is a hybrid makeshift, the hesitating product of a people who, historically speaking, did not know their own minds.

Even the function of this edifice was vague. When a Shasta really wanted to sweat he did not enter the "large house" which he had helped his headman to build, but crawled into a sweat lodge of Plains type, a small hemisphere of pine bark and skins thrown over a few bent willows; unfortunately, it is not reported whether he smoked or steamed himself in this. With neither dances nor sweating taking place in the "large house," the most specific uses of this structure, by either central or northwestern standards, were lost.

MANUFACTURED OBJECTS.

Among utensils identical with those of the Karok, or closely similar, the following may be mentioned: Pipes with stone bowls; spoons, though these were often of wood in place of elk horn, and

simple in decoration; acorn mush paddles, also with rudimentary carving; acorn meal brushes; cradles, some of which approach the shallower northern Wintun form; probably bows; ring-and-pin games of salmon vertebræ; and the deer-hoof rattle of the Tolowa and Wailaki. The lack of the wooden clapper and cocoon rattle is also shared by the Shasta and Karok. The pestle evinces only occasionally an approach to the ringing of the northwest, and that at the tip in place of two-thirds of the way to the butt; and it is short and inclined to be asymmetrical.

An ingenious device was followed in boring pipes. Sticks of a certain hard kind were stood in a little salmon oil, which was drawn up by the softer core. After one end of this had been picked out with a bone point, a grub from a piece of dry salmon was pushed into the excavation, and confined with a daub of pitch. By spring the prisoner had either died or eaten his way out along the oil-soaked pith to the other end.

The Klamath is fairly favorable for navigation in Shasta territory. Yurok redwood canoes were occasionally bought from the Karok, and now and then rough imitations were made at home out of sugar-pine logs.

The stone mortars which are found in their land are never used by the Shasta, who, like all northern Californians, pound in a basketry hopper set on a slab.

String was either of iris or *Apocynum* fibers.

BASKETRY.

Shasta basketry has disappeared. The reduction and breaking up of the stock may account in some measure for the perishing of this art. It is, however, the native industry which among other tribes is usually retained after all others have vanished. It is therefore difficult to understand why basket making should have gone out of use so completely among the Shasta, except on the suspicion of the correctness of their own statements to the effect that they always depended in considerable measure on trade with the neighboring Karok for their supplies of woven vessels. Even this relation of dependence is an anomaly in California.

Such ware as the Shasta manufactured was entirely of Yurok and Karok type. The materials, technique, patterns, shapes, and uses were the same. Even such pattern names as have been recorded show approximation to those of the Karok.

Besides the usual cone-shaped basket, the Shasta made another carrying receptacle of rawhide on a wooden frame, they say. The seeds struck into this were beaten with an implement whose network was also of skin. Taken in connection with the buckskin clothing, there is here undoubted evidence of an eastern influence upon the Shasta.

MONEY.

Dentalium shells were traded from the Karok and the Rogue River Athabascans of California; they seem to have been measured and rated in the same way, but had a higher purchasing power. Scarlet woodpecker scalps also served as currency; but those of the large bird possessed only twice the value of the smaller crests, whereas among the Yurok the ratio was six to one. The central Californian disk bead of hard clamshell was less prized than dentalia; its measure was a long fathom, drooping to the navel.

CLOTHING.

Clothing was the same as that worn lower down the Klamath, with the addition of some elements that must be ascribed to eastern influences. Women's costume was identical with that of the Karok, except that in some instances the braided front-apron was replaced by a buckskin, and that occasionally a rude unsleeved shirt or gown of deerskin was added to the two-piece skirt.

The men's costume comprised a similar shirt with short sleeves, leggings, and moccasins, all of buckskin. This is the description which the Shasta themselves give of their ancient clothing, but it is doubtful on the one hand how far the account may refer to more recent conditions obtaining since the presence of the whites caused a greater intermixture of diverse tribes and, on the other hand, how far this dress may have been truly Shasta but worn only on special occasions. The buckskin shirt is said to have varied from a true garment to nothing more than a deerskin. The leggings extended from ankle to hip and were worn with the breechclout. The Hupa knew leggings, but wore them only for hunting deer in the snow-covered mountains, and did not extend them beyond the knee. On the other hand, a full-length legging is reported from the Achomawi, a people related in origin to the Shasta, similar to them in degree of culture, and virtually their neighbors on the east. The moccasin was sewed with a single straight seam up the front and carried a heavy sole of elk or bear skin. For winter wear the inner sole was cut out and the foot rested upon the fur side of the bearskin. Sometimes the winter moccasin was made large enough to allow the foot to be wrapped with squirrel skin, wild-cat fur, or moss. This stuffing of the shoe has parallels among the Modoc and Achomawi. At the same time the soled moccasin is not Californian. It is accordingly a question whether its use by the Shasta is to be ascribed to extra-Californian influences from the north or east or is to be set down merely as a modern improvement. In any event it is unlikely that the Shasta habitually wore either the

moccasin or the legging. Both articles were probably reserved for travel, especially in winter.

Men allowed their hair to grow long. It either hung loose or was gathered on top of the head by means of a bone pin, according to occasion.

Women wore their hair in two wrapped clubs in front of each shoulder—in Yurok style.

The villages in Shasta Valley used the central Californian head net; the other divisions did not. This may be an incident of the recent introduction of *Kuksu* dance costumes from the Sacramento Valley.

Tattooing was identical with that in vogue down the Klamath. The operator was an old woman who was paid; the instrument, a flake of obsidian. The entire chin was scratched with parallel cuts at one time, and the operation repeated after an interval, if necessary. Tattooing was in some measure a puberty rite. It was performed shortly before the girl's adolescence, and her dreams during the night following the first operation were believed to be presages of her career.

FOOD.

The acorn most esteemed by the Shasta, as apparently by most tribes who could secure it, was that of the tan oak (*Quercus densiflora*). The Shasta obtained this in quantity, however, only by trade with the groups lower down the Klamath. Of native species, preference was given to the black oak (*Quercus californica*), and next to the white (*Quercus garryana*). Black-oak acorns were treated as by the Yurok, with one exception: Leaching is said to have been done on an elevated platform of sticks covered with pine needles, on which was a layer of sand. This looks like a compromise between the usual northern method of leaching directly in the sand and the southern, and sometimes central, device of employing a basket or layer of fir leaves without sand. A step in the acorn preparation process that has often been overlooked is the removal of the membrane covering the kernel. The Shasta rubbed this off by hand, which was probably the procedure elsewhere also. A surplus of black-oak acorn-meal dough was often dried for storage or trade.

The treatment of white-oak acorns was the same, but the mush from them was somewhat slimy and less esteemed. Live-oak acorns (*Quercus chrysolepis*) were buried in the shell in mud until they turned black. The Yurok similarly lay acorns in water for a protracted period. The Shasta ate these darkened kernels cooked whole or roasted them in ashes.

Manzanita berries were crushed for cider, as by the Wintun, Yokuts, and other tribes. Meal made from the dried and pounded

berries was sometimes mixed with acorn-flour soup. Sugar-pine nuts were steamed in an earth oven, then dried and stored. After being ground they were either eaten in cakes or mixed with dry powdered salmon.

Salmon was split and lightly smoked for drying. It was kept either in thin slabs or completely pulverized. This salmon dust was stored in large, soft baskets or sacks of tule. No such pliable rush baskets have been reported from the culturally so much better preserved Karok, Yurok, or Hupa. Crushed salmon bones and crushed deer bones were similarly stored, to be made into soup in winter. Venison was hung up and smoked to dry, but bear meat was boiled first.

Salt is said to have been obtained from the Karok: seaweed is likely to have been meant.

Fish dams were built across the Klamath River at the mouths of Shasta River, Scott River, and—by the adjacent Karok—at Indian Creek. The Yurok made only two dams, and the Karok not more than three, it appears. Each of the Shasta dams was the property of one family. To the head of this family belonged all the salmon that were caught in the willow fish traps placed in the openings. Custom prescribed, however, that he should give to everyone who asked for them as many fish as could be carried away. All were also at liberty to spear at the dam.

The Shasta salmon net differs only in details from that in use by the Yurok and Karok. It is a long, flowing bag attached to the base of a triangle of poles the upper end of which is held by the fisherman who sits on the scaffolding projecting over an eddy in the stream. The chief peculiarity of the Shasta net seems to be that its frame is held in place along one side by a grapevine rope tied to the shore, and on the other side by a sliding loop that passes over a stake in the water.

The Shasta believed that the first salmon to reach them each spring was sacred from the medicine and prayer put upon it in the Yurok ceremony at the mouth of the river, and that it must therefore be allowed to pass. Any succeeding fish were caught, but none could be eaten until the first one taken had been completely dried and had been eaten by those assembled for the fishing. It has not been reported whether any further ceremony attended this regulation. The corresponding rituals among the downstream tribes are of great sanctity and their esoteric features are jealously guarded.

Dogs were carefully trained for hunting, and when proficient were kept in sheltered kennels behind the living house. A blowfly song and a grizzly bear song were sung to them, to increase their power of scent and their ability to frighten game. They were employed in

driving deer into the water, into corrals with snares in the openings, and apparently through the snow.

The elk being rather too large an animal to be successfully snared, was most frequently run down in winter, the hunter following it on snowshoes and dispatching it with arrows.

If the arrows of several hunters struck the same deer, that one was reckoned as having killed it whose arrow first found the mark, whether mortal or not. Part of the flesh was always given away, but the hide and legs were retained by the slayer, for fear that if they came into other hands his luck might be lost to him through these portions being brought in contact with a woman in tabooed condition. Perhaps the risk was thought to be greater as regards those parts that were not promptly consumed. At that, it is unlikely that a hunter would have allowed any of the meat of his kill to go into a house upon the friendship of whose inmates he could not thoroughly rely.

For a year after he began to hunt a boy never ate any game of his own killing for fear of his luck leaving him permanently. From his very first quarry his entire family refrained. When the year was up the boy was whipped with his own bowstring by his father. This was evidently a minor puberty rite, since whipping with the bowstring formed an essential part of the more elaborate puberty ceremony of the Achomawi. Among the Yurok whipping with a bowstring was thought to be the only means of self-protection against a supposedly dead person who pushed his way out of the grave and who was then as invulnerable as he was destructive.

GAMES.

The Shasta play the guessing game both in its central Californian "grass" and its northwestern "many-stick" forms. It is interesting that men use the former and women the latter. Outwardly the men's game resembles the northwestern type, since it comprises 15 or 20 slender rods. As only two of these, however, one marked and one unmarked, are used at any one time, the use and manipulation of the pieces are like those of the central tribes. The men play for 14 counters, the women for 10. It is reported that these counters are not, as usual in California, in a neutral pile at the start, but that half are in possession of each contestant, as among ourselves. A man stakes his last two counters as a unit on the result of two consecutive guesses, in the second of which he must make choice from among three bundles of grass. If either guess is correct, he keeps both counters and wins his turn to play.

Dice have not been reported.

Double-ball shinny was a woman's game, as in most of California, whereas among the true northwestern tribes it was played by the men.

The hoop and dart game was known to boys, who shot with arrows at a rolling disk of pine bark.

The ring and pin game was played with salmon vertebræ. The number of bones was 12, each representing a month, and play occurred during the wane of the moon, to hasten its death during the long winter.

SOCIAL RANK.

In a sense it can be said that Shasta chieftainship was hereditary in the male line, but the implication of the designation is misleading. The chief was the head of the richest family in the district, and his succession to the "title" was only incidental to his inheritance of the family's wealth. The son is said to have succeeded only if there was no surviving brother. One family was recognized as preeminent in each of the four geographic divisions into which the Shasta are grouped.

The functions of this so-called chief were governmental only in so far as they could be exercised in relation to property. He acted as mediator in quarrels by influencing the adjustment of the payments due for injuries. If the payer was poor or embarrassed, the chief frequently advanced him the necessary compensation or even met the claim against him. The obligations accruing in this way must have had far-reaching effect in enhancing the power of the rich man. In the same way the chief avoided participation in warfare so far as possible, but became prominent as soon as terms of peace came to be discussed—that is, when monetary settlement was undertaken. This has many central Californian analogues.

Slaves were held by the Shasta as by the northwestern tribes, but were probably even less numerous than there. It is said that they were acquired in war. The northwestern slave normally entered his condition through debt.

LAW AND MARRIAGE.

Legal regulations were probably less refined, and the compensation accorded smaller, among the Shasta than among the Yurok, but the basis of equity was identical. Injuries of all sorts, from loss of property and petty theft to murder and killing in avowed warfare, were settled by payments. The blood money payable for every individual was exactly the same as the amount paid for his or her mother by her husband. This is an efficient device which might well have been the custom of the northwestern tribes, though it has not been reported from them. It is, however, possible that the Shasta were

readily content with such a simple and fair solution, whereas the mercenary tendency of the Yurok and Hupa may have actuated them to attempt to secure all obtainable compensation in every case. Like the northwestern tribes, the rule of the Shasta was that a fair offer of blood money might not be declined, and that its acceptance absolutely forbade any subsequent revenge.

If vengeance was exacted on one of the blood kin of the murderer before settlement was made, the victim on each side was paid for. If the murderer or a member of his family met with a serious accident soon after the killing, this was attributed to the natural wishes and prayers of the family of the victim, who were thus given credit for having attained their desired vengeance and were as fully liable for the wound or death as if they had physically inflicted it.

Marriage was by payment or specified contract to pay, and people's social status depended upon the amounts paid by their fathers for their mothers. A rich man might buy his son a wife of high standing while he was still a small boy. Although the marriage was not consummated for many years, payment was made immediately. Should the betrothal be broken by the death of the girl or for any other reason, full repayment was of course requisite. Young men of medium wealth were assisted by their relatives in accumulating the property necessary to obtain a wife. If the amount thus gathered remained insufficient, the youth often received his wife on promise to make up the amount later. A poor man lived with his father-in-law and hunted and worked for him until considered to have liquidated his debt. It seems, however, that, as by the Yurok, such a union was not regarded a marriage in the full sense, since in case of outright purchase the husband always took his wife to his own house.

Not long after marriage the bride's relatives visited her in state at her new home, and the visit was then reciprocated by the husband's people. On each occasion the ornaments and clothing worn by the guests were presented to the hosts. This interchange of property seems to have been something in the nature of a matching of liberality, to have been conducted without bargaining or stipulation, and to have had, therefore, no direct relation to the marriage payment.

The levirate followed as a natural consequence upon the monetary basis of marriage. The wife having been paid for, her return to her kin on the death of her husband would have been equivalent to a loss of wealth to his family. For this reason she was married to a brother, or to another relative in case of there being no brothers. In the same way, if the wife should die, particularly without issue, she must be replaced by a sister or other relative. Accepting the native premises, such a substitute wife should, according to our logic, be furnished free; but the Shasta, like the Yurok, paid a small amount

for her. It is stated that a widower must remarry within his wife's family unless released by them; but this can hardly have been much else than theory, since there would have been no reason for a man's buying himself a wife out of a new family when he had one available with little cost in the old.

A divorce was a reexchange of the woman and the property paid for her. For infidelity or barrenness the husband could exact divorce or a sister in his wife's place. Without such cause, he was not at liberty to demand the return of the purchase payment, although he was, of course, free to send his wife back to her family without claim, if he were sentimental enough. In no event, however, could a woman remarry whose price had not been refunded. If she went to live with a new husband it was he rather than the woman's kin who was held responsible for payment and likely to be killed if it were not forthcoming.

It would seem that adultery was considered a sort of irremediable offense, since it is said that payment was not even offered, and blood revenge taken as soon as possible. The slayer in such a case, too, paid but a nominal price for his victim. A husband who lived with his father-in-law, in other words was in debt to him for his wife, was entirely without redress in case of adultery committed against him; but possibly some claim rested with the woman's father.

The normal price paid for a woman of average standing is said to have been 15 or 20 full-sized dentalium shells, 10 to 15 strings of disk beads, and 20 to 30 woodpecker scalps, with one or more deer-skins added for good measure. This is not more than a half or a third of the amount that the Yurok would consider appropriate, they paying 10 strings of medium-sized dentalia, or about 125 all told, plus other property amounting to half as much or more in value. The lower price establishes the Shasta money as more valuable and themselves as correspondingly poorer.

WAR.

War was chiefly conducted by raiding hostile villages. A preparatory dance would be held for several nights. The members of the prospective party stood in line, carrying bows or knives, and stamping one foot: Position and step are characteristic of all the dances of the northwestern tribes. Women stood at the ends of the line. They are said sometimes to have accompanied the party. That they then actually succeeded in cutting the enemy's bowstrings is more likely to be a tradition than a fact. They may have gone along in order to carry food and to cook. The warriors were elaborately painted with circular spots. They sometimes wore elk skin or rod armor similar to that of the Hupa and Yurok, and a headband or helmet of hide, such as the Hupa and Karok seem also to have known. (PL 18.)

BIRTH.

Customs concerned with birth are of the Yurok type. Delivery takes place in the woman's hut. The mother remains in this hut for a month. For the first five days she uses a scratching bone for her head. The father for the same period observes restrictions of the kind followed by the northwestern tribes for purification. There is nothing, however, that gives the impression of any form of the *couvade*; although the father, from fear of prenatal influences, hunted less and less as the time for birth approached.

Delayed delivery was remedied by songs which are clearly equivalents of the northwestern formulas. These songs are in narrative, or at least refer to myths. They are private property sold for high amounts.

For the first five days infants were steamed over baskets of water kept boiling as constantly as possible. It seems that this practice is connected with the northwestern habit of giving the child food in only nominal quantities for the first five days. The umbilical cord was either burned or carefully wrapped and secreted at a distance from habitations.

Up to the age of about 3 years children had all their hair burned off close to the head. For girls this process was continued over a stripe from the forehead to the nape until they attained adolescence.

ADOLESCENCE.

Both boys and girls had their ears pierced amid simple ceremonial observances shortly before puberty. This custom seems a weakened reflection of the corresponding Achomawi practices.

The observances for *waphi* or adolescent girls are mainly, but not wholly, of northwestern type. The girl's period of fasting and seclusion is 10 days, and each night she participates in a dance made for her. She wears a band or visor of blue-jay feathers like those used by the Karok to shield the eyes. She is forbidden to look upon fire, sun, moon, or human beings. She does not speak except perhaps to whisper to her mother. She may not wash or comb her hair, can scratch her head and eyes only with a bone, and wears moccasins continually—perhaps because the only activity besides dancing permitted her is to gather wood for the dance fire and for every house in the village. She sleeps as little as possible, with her head in a mortar basket. While in her hut she holds and occasionally shakes a deer-hoof rattle, the implement associated with this class of observances throughout the greater part of northern California.

A curious and unexplained symbolic reference to the east pervades the whole of this ceremony. The girl faces east while in her hut. She faces east while dancing. The dancers mostly look in the same direction. On the morning after the tenth night the girl's blue-jay band is very gradually removed from her eyes, being successively lifted and replaced more and more. At high noon it is at last wholly taken off and thrown toward the east. This act marks the real conclusion of the ceremony, although it is followed by the dance of war preparation.

The adolescence dance itself is conducted on a much more sumptuous scale by the Shasta than by most other tribes, evidently because it is one of their few opportunities for indulging in rhythmic ritual. It takes two principal forms, a round dance and one in which the men lock arms and rock sideways while women hold on to their belts from behind. There is also a welcoming dance to parties of visitors. The last night was one of freely tolerated license. To maintain this ceremony for 10 days, and then repeat it in full on two subsequent occasions, meanwhile feeding all visitors from other villages, entailed great expense on the *waphi's* parents.

The Shasta relate one curious belief which they formerly entertained. All dreams of an adolescent girl during her first ceremony were omens and were confessed to her mother. Should she dream of a disaster, such as a conflagration or the death of a member of the village, the impending calamity could be averted only by the family's decking her in her finery and burning her alive. This custom can hardly have had an existence outside of native opinion.

DEATH.

A person dying indoors is taken out through a hole in the roof instead of the door. If possible, interment takes place in the middle of the day. While the corpse is lying outdoors, a fire is kept burning near it, and it is moved about at short intervals. Relatives and friends wail and dance about the body with fir staves in their hands or fir branches attached to their bodies. For a man slain in war, bows, arrows, and knives are substituted for the branches. The body is rolled in skins and laid full length and on its back in the waist or shoulder deep grave with the head to the east. Friends and kindred bring small quantities of currency of which part is destroyed or placed with the body, the remainder returned to them. Sometimes the grave is undercut and the corpse put into the recess at the side and blocked in with stones before the grave is filled, to prevent depredation by bears. This practice was probably rendered necessary by the fact that some of the Shasta cemeteries were at a distance from the village, whereas the true northwestern tribes bury their dead close to the town and often in its middle. The branches worn in the dance were used to line the grave, and the staves to erect a paling around it. If a man died at a distance, he was either cremated or buried in the local graveyard. In the latter event his relatives would subsequently pay the residents for the exhumation of his bones and transportation to his ancestral cemetery.

Near relatives, or possibly only those who had come in contact with the corpse, were considered unclean and fasted and sweated for five days. The Shasta, however, make no mention of any purification formula such as the northwestern Indians deemed absolutely indispensable on the occasion.

The hair that was shortened as a sign of mourning was either burned off or cut and preserved, to be made into belts. A widower kept his hair short until he remarried. A widow, in addition, rubbed charcoal and pitch on her face and head. This disfigurement was maintained for several years, unless she married a relative of her husband at the expiration of a year. Widows, widowers, and parents who had lost a child wore a mourning belt made either of their own hair or of willow bark. The hair belt is also an Achomawi institution. The northwestern tribes use neck strings neatly braided of basket material.

SHAMANISM.

Shasta shamanism and ideas of disease and control of spirits are very similar to those obtaining among the northwestern tribes.

The shaman was almost always a woman. The power usually came by inheritance; but it is necessary to bear in mind that the natives do not seem in the least degree to have thought of the office as hereditary. The inception of the acquisition of supernatural power was invariably by dreams, and in these dreams a former ancestor who had herself been a shaman frequently or regularly appeared to the woman.

Catastrophic dreams also soon asserted themselves, and after a time swarms of yellowjackets were seen. This last type of dream was regarded as a conclusive proof of impending shamanistic power, the insects being interpreted as spirits. During this period of dreaming the woman ate no meat and avoided its sight and smell so far as possible. If she refused to take notice of her dreams or to refrain from meat, it was believed that she would inevitably fall ill, whereupon a practicing shaman being called in, the cause would be announced. A persistent refusal of the dreamer to accept the power thrust upon her by the spirits would result in her death.

About this period, also, it was customary for the prospective shaman to be addressed by a voice and to see a spirit aiming an arrow at her heart while he commanded her to sing. This occurrence might take place while the woman was at work or in the presence of her family. She at once fell down in a senseless seizure in which she remained for some time. During this period the spirit taught her his song, which she repeated faintly while appearing to moan or whine on the ground. In the evening she gradually revived and sang her song loudly, upon which the spirit told her his name and place of abode. She then called out his name, while blood repeatedly oozed from her mouth, after which she rose and danced. She was then carried 10 times around the fire, or swung over it hanging by her knees from a rope, or underwent some other treatment that the spirit had directed.

For three days and nights thereafter she danced. After this the spirit reappeared and warned her that he would shoot her with his "pain"; if she were strong enough to bear the pain in her body she was to be his friend. As the pain entered her she again fell in a catalepsy. After reviving she drew the pain out of her while dancing, and displayed it to those present. She manifested her power over it by making it disappear into her forehead, pressing it into her shoulder or ear and extracting it from the other, and so on. The

dancing continued altogether for five nights from the time of the first appearance of the spirit. On the last night or two, other spirits appeared and shot her with their pains, until she might have four or five. The pains were kept in the shaman's body. Her power depended upon the number as well as the size of the pains. All shamans had at least three, which were kept in the two shoulders and in the back of the head, but some carried a larger number.

After the visit the shaman, except for 10 days of fasting, enjoyed a period of rest, until she had accumulated a considerable and apparently specified stock of ritualistic paraphernalia consisting mainly of certain skins, bird tails, feathers, baskets, and paint, usually in groups of ten. One year or several might elapse while these objects were assembled.

The first winter thereafter the novice summoned her friends for a final dance, to which one or two experienced shamans were also invited. This dance was held in the living house, not in the sweat house, as by the northwestern tribes. During the dance her spirits reappeared to her and inspected the paraphernalia which she had prepared. After three days of dancing the novice was a fully qualified shaman.

The guardian spirits were of the shape of men but smaller size. Each one inhabited a definite locality. The "pains," of which each spirit owned one, were small clear objects, pointed at each end. It was their presence in the shaman's person that made her able to discern spirits, converse with them, see pains in other people, and extract them; but it was the residence of a pain in nonshamans that caused sickness, it preying on the body and sucking the blood like a parasite. Disease and the power of curing it thus had the identical cause. It is, therefore, no wonder that the acquisition of shamanistic power was a trying ordeal.

It is notable that the Shasta called the "spirits" and the "pains" by the identical name: *aheki*. The distinctive English translations are justified only by the confusion which the use of the single native term would have caused in the presentation of the foregoing beliefs. It is possible that a similarly undifferentiated nomenclature prevailed among the northwestern tribes. All the accounts which these give of their shamanism are very difficult to understand; the "pains" and "devils" mentioned, even in the Indian idioms, seeming at one moment to be objects and in the next personalized spirits.

Stone pipes, mortars, and in some measure pestles, such as abound as relics of the past in most of California, were greatly feared by the ordinary Shasta and prized by their shamans. They were said to be *aheki*, or to indicate the proximity of the abode of an *aheki*, and to be endowed with the power of gradual locomotion over or under ground.

On the death of a shaman, the pain *aheki* returned from her body to the spirit *aheki* who had sent them into her, to be retained until the same spirits manifested themselves, in all probability, to one of her descendants. There were, however, spirits who had no affiliations with a family, or had abandoned them. Such unattached *aheki* might associate themselves with any shaman. A few of them, in fact, acquired many and influential friends in the spirit world in addition to those which their mothers and grandmothers had possessed. Such powerful shamans would sometimes convey part of their ability even to people

who had not dreamed—for a sufficiently large price—by pressing one or more of their private pains into the recipient's forehead, whereupon the novice could see and hear the corresponding spirits. The course of dancing must, however, be performed by such buyers of the spiritual exactly as by natural shamans.

The Shasta shamans seem to have been unusually unreserved about their spirits. They announced the name and place of residence of their spirits not only when they first acquired them, but in approaching a patient. This is evidently part of the professional stock in trade.

To cure, the shaman sucked out a clotted mass, in order to clear the body, though she had already seen the pain inside and weakened and drawn it near the surface by her songs. The final extraction, contrary to the custom of most Californian tribes, was not by sucking. The shaman danced before the patient and suddenly, with a rush, seized the pain and pulled it out with her hand.

If the shaman broke the pain in two, the hostile shaman who for hire or from malevolence had shot it into the sufferer's body died at once. Evidently not all illness was thought to be the result of such witchcraft, and certain pains were believed to proceed from malice of their own or their owning spirit, since in many cases the shaman threw the pain back to its spirit owner, burned it, or swallowed it.

The repeatedly unsuccessful shaman met the usual fate: a justified violent death. The Shasta, however, were peculiar in compelling the doctor who had lost her patient to restore only half the fee. The legal reasoning that justified this compromise is difficult to reconcile with all that is known of the attitude of the Californian Indians toward their doctors.

A shaman who had a rattlesnake spirit cured snake bites. The cover of her pipestem and a headband which she wore were of rattlesnake skin, and around her neck were tail rattles. She painted with dust. After sucking and dancing, she reported the appearance and actions of the rattlesnake spirit, and finally his words, which chiefly related to the gifts he desired for himself and the doctor; after which the patient, or a relative, must entreat the spirit for pity.

The same procedure applied to victims of grizzly bear attacks: the bear spirit was addressed by the patient. The grizzly bear shaman, who simulated the animal while dancing, was a man, not a woman. He extracted the bear's tongue from the wound.

Women who knew songs to prevent snake bites were sent for every winter and went through all the houses of the village after the children were asleep, chanting their exorcism. It is not clear whether these women were rattlesnake shamans or had inherited or bought a self-sufficing formula such as those which answer so many of the needs of the Hupa and Yurok. At any rate, the practice is a faint vestige of the far-away Yokuts public annual rattlesnake-doctors' ceremony.

RITUAL.

The Shasta, strictly speaking, have no community dances, no worship for its own sake or the good of the world. When they dance, it is for a specific purpose, for the use of a particular individual or assemblage of individuals. They dance to prepare themselves for war, to help a girl at the crucial period of her adolescence, to acquire shamanistic power, or to cure a sick man; and there they stop. It is the dozen times iterated story of the relation of the poor highlanders to their more organized neighbors. The contrast is peculiarly striking, because the Shasta on the Klamath were close neighbors to the Karok at one of the most renowned centers of northwestern ritual, Inam at Clear Creek. The Shasta visited and watched here, but seem never to have thought of imitating.

No formal victory or scalp dance has been reported from the Shasta. This negative evidence can probably be accepted, since the lack of such a dance is typical of the northwestern culture. The "war dance" is one of incitement and preparation, or made on the occasion of a formal settlement of peace.

The earlier ghost dance reached the Shasta from the Modoc about 1872 and was passed on by them to the Karok and perhaps the Wintun. Associated with another wave of this movement seems to have been the introduction into Shasta Valley of the "big head" dance of the Sacramento Valley Kuksu system, via the Wintun on the south.

Five or its multiple ten is the only ritualistic number of the Shasta. It is not associated with the cardinal directions.

MYTH.

Shasta mythology consists of tales of magic and adventure, with an interlarding of coyote trickster stories, but without order, sequence, or more than incidental explanations of the present condition of the world.

The individual stories and episodes recounted by the Shasta are in great measure the same as those of the Achomawi and neighboring tribes; but they lack the systematized if crude cosmogony that occurs in the myths of these groups. There is no creator and hardly any version of a creation. Nor is the sharp impress of the idea of an ancient prehuman but parallel race visible as among the Karok and Yurok. The disintegration of Shasta culture in the past two generations may have aided the more rapid decay of the reflective than of the anecdotal parts of their traditions; but the qualities described must have attached to the mythology in considerable degree even before the modern break-up began.