SURVIVAL AND ADAPTATION AMONG THE SHASTA INDIANS

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PREFACE

Common Goals and Common Good:
the Klamath National Forest and the Shasta Nation

For the last several years the Klamath National Forest and the Shasta Nation have been involved in an unusual collaboration.[1] From the federal perspective, the aim has been to improve our understanding of the traditional culture and current concerns of the Shasta, to aid the goals of land use planning and cultural resource protection on the Forest. The document which follows is the product of this undertaking.

Working with the Shasta has been a multifaceted challenge. There are many common goals which link federal land managers, anthropologists, and Native American groups such as the Shasta Nation. However, the Klamath National Forest is regulated and circumscribed by federal laws, executive orders, and Forest Service direction in its dealings with the Shastas. The process of establishing a good working relationship between Forest Service personnel and the Shasta leadership required that each develop an understanding of the other's aims, limitations, and perspectives. Once these were learned, common goals for the project could be identified. Specifically, four goals were involved:

1. to summarize the known anthropological literature bearing on the

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1. This preface, co-authored by James Rock and Robert Winthrop, is a revised version of a paper originally presented at the annual meeting of the Society for California Archaeology, March 1986.

Shasta;

2. to prepare a document that presents the contemporary Shasta Nation's perspective on this literature, which often meant challenging or augmenting earlier findings;
3. to record examples of cultural continuity among the Shasta from the contact period to the present; and
4. to describe the Shastas' self-understanding as an "enduring people".

The history of the anthropological study of Native American peoples has involved major changes in both the concept of culture and the practice of ethnography. The methods and techniques used by the Klamath National Forest and the anthropological consultant in working with the Shasta Nation are a direct result of new developments in federal legislation, anthropological theory, and cultural resource practice.

At the turn of the century anthropologists assumed that their goal was to record vanished ways of life and modes of thought. Tribal cultures were seen as static, and doomed to disappear through the power of Euro-American civilization. The task was to record, usually through the memories of elderly informants, the culture patterns of the pre-contact period. To anthropologists of that era, such as Franz Boas and Alfred Kroeber, the living social situation of these informants was largely irrelevant.

In the 1930s the issue of culture change became significant for anthropology, and with it, the study of living Native American societies. Many studies centered on the process of acculturation, the Native American's gradual adjustment to Anglo culture. While the ethnographic focus had shifted from the past to the present, Native American cultures were for the most part still seen as a dwindling resource, soon to be replaced by the

values of the dominant society.

By the 1960s and 1970s, the groundwork had been laid for a different view of culture, and a different practice of ethnography. Issues of symbolism and meaning became central, and the "emic" perspective -- the viewpoint of the cultural actor rather than the anthropological observer -- was recognized as crucial. In the context of Native American studies, this meant a realization that Indian cultures had not disappeared. Rather, through an underlying continuity of meanings and values, old perspectives were frequently adapted to new social contexts. Just as the Dawes Act of 1887 reflected the first view of Native American cultures, this new awareness of cultural continuity and emic perspective is visible in the BIA's tribal acknowledgement process (initiated in the 1970s), and in the case law stemming from the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978.

This provided the starting point for our study: an effort to understand the Shasta -- their aboriginal culture, their historical experience, and their present status -- from their own perspective, as well as the perspective of existing scholarship. To accomplish this the Klamath National Forest contracted with Robert Winthrop of Winthrop Associates. The contract was deliberately left rather open-ended, but it stressed that the end product should reflect the Shasta understanding or world-view as it exists today.

Preparation of this document involved a number of time consuming steps that are not always followed in ethnographic or ethnohistoric research. These proved to be essential if the final document were to represent accurately the Shasta perspective, not merely that of the contracting agency or the anthropological observer.

A large proportion of the data was gathered through interviews with Shasta informants. Most of the interviews were planned and conducted in collaboration with Mrs. Betty Hall of the Shasta Nation. The information sought in these interviews ranged widely across the post-contact experience of the Shastas, data that are little represented in the existing literature. A large array of written materials, published and unpublished, were also incorporated into the research. Most were provided by James Rock of the Klamath National Forest, or by members of the Shasta Nation.

Concurrent with the interviewing, meetings were held between the Forest cultural resource program manager (Rock), the anthropologist (Winthrop), and a steering committee of the Shasta Nation. This three-sided group regularly discussed the progress of research and exchanged information and ideas. These exchanges included documentary references, information on federal cultural resource policy, reports on the results of interviews, and progress by the Shasta on their petition for federal acknowledgement. During these sessions an atmosphere of spontaneity developed that furthered the exchange of information and the indentification of sensitive or significant issues. It should be emphasized that the Shasta were gathering as much information as the anthropologist, and the exchange of data was open.

The anthropologist then had the task of drawing together the archival and interview data into a coherent document. He also had to discriminate between information given in confidence, and that intended for dissemination. Once a draft report was prepared the three parties reviewed and discussed it line by line to insure that it accurately represented the perspective of the Shasta Nation. On this basis numerous revisions to the draft report were made. This final step of review and revision was essential

to produce a document that reflected the Shasta viewpoint as well as (one hopes) the standards of current scholarship.

The time involved in this type of research is perhaps twice that of research which omits the step of informant review, but we feel that a far more valuable and accurate document is obtained. Distortions, unintended inconsistencies, and omissions in the interpretation of interview data are in this way greatly reduced.

At the same time the anthropologist, as author of the report, cannot and should not take the place of a spokesman or advocate for the Shasta. Inevitably, the anthropological observer and the Native American participants will differ to some extent as regards the standards by which evidence is weighed, and the conclusions that can be appropriately drawn. Frustrations for all parties occurred during the review process. Discussing these issues forthrightly led all three parties involved in this project to recognize the appropriate limits of each perspective while maintaining a relationship of respect and honesty.

The practice adopted here in working closely with informants in interpreting and synthesizing ethnographic data is certainly not new, but it is far from universal in studies of Native American cultures. Rightly or wrongly, anthropologists have been widely criticized by Native Americans for obtaining data for their own purposes without benefit to the societies involved. The same accusation could be made of sponsoring agencies. The following report, whatever its merits, cannot be criticized along these lines.

Working with commonly understood yet distinct goals and recognizing each other's limitations and perspectives has led to the production of a

document that we believe will be relevant and useful to the the U.S. Forest Service, the Shasta Nation, and the anthropological community.

POSTSCRIPT

The first six chapters of the following document represent a third draft of this work, the original material having been reviewed and revised in lengthy meetings with Shasta representatives in November 1985, and again in March 1986. The seventh chapter, on Shasta territory, while written at their request and after close consultation, has not been modified to reflect Shasta comments.

When the draft of the seventh chapter was sent to Shasta representatives for comments in April 1986, they responded by requesting not only major changes in that chapter, but also in many sections of the preceding six chapters. These changes chiefly involved omitting material previously included (and approved). Many of the requested changes involved issues of aboriginal Shasta territory, particularly as regards the northern boundaries of the Shasta. A new version of this report, revised by a Shasta committee, and incorporating these changes to the entire seven chapters, was endorsed by the governing board of the Shasta Nation on May 3, 1986.

Because of the considerable divergence between this new version and the original document, it was decided at a meeting with Shasta representatives that the report as modified and officially endorsed by the Shasta Nation should be circulated under a new title page, indicating that the document had been "revised and edited" by a committee of the Shasta. The document which follows is the original version of this study, prepared for the U.S. Forest Service in fulfillment of Contract 40-91W8-4-1434. It

reflects the comments of the Shasta at the meetings of November 1985, and March 1986. It has not, however, been endorsed by the Shasta Nation.

What conclusions, if any, should be drawn from this last episode in a two year experiment in collaborative ethnography is a question better left for another time.

R.W.

June 1, 1986

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work has been very much a joint effort. Mrs. Betty Hall, Enrollment Clerk of the Shasta Nation, collaborated with the author throughout the research. Much of this research could not have been done without her support and assistance. Many significant documents were provided by Mrs. Hall and Mr. Carraway George. Mrs. Nancy Vanderploeg, medicine woman of the Shasta Indians, was also very generous with her time.

Mr. James Rock, Forest Archaeologist for the Klamath National Forest, suggested the research, and worked with the author from the initial planning stages through completion of the report. He also provided a large array of documents and articles for analysis. Other cultural resources personnel at the Klamath Forest, including Mary Luecke, Barbara Davis, and Ali Abusaidi, were also very helpful. I have benefitted from discussions with a number of colleagues, including Dr. Shirley Silver, Mr. Dennis Gray, Mr. Jeff LaLande, Forest Archaeologist for the Rogue River National Forest, and my wife, Kathryn Winthrop.

Nonetheless, responsibility for this report remains mine.

SURVIVAL AND ADAPTATION AMONG THE SHASTA INDIANS

1 INTRODUCTION AND AIMS OF STUDY

The following study has been prepared at the request of the U.S. Forest Service to document the ethnohistory and present life-ways of the Shasta Indians, a people whose aboriginal territory fell largely within the boundaries of present-day Siskiyou County, California. Much of the contemporary Klamath National Forest, the contracting agency for this study, was originally Shasta territory. The report is intended to clarify such problems as aboriginal boundaries, patterns of adaptation to white dominance, degree of cultural continuity, and perspective of the contemporary Shasta leadership.

In the course of land management planning the U.S. Forest Service is required to consider effects upon historic and cultural properties, as well as potential impacts upon Native American religious practices. These requirements are set forth in the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 [16 USC 470]; the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, particularly sec. §101(b)(4) [42 USC 4321-4347]; the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 [42 USC 1996]; and regulations governing the protection of Historic and Cultural Properties [36 CFR 800]. The information in this study should aid in evaluating the claims and concerns of the contemporary Shasta Indians as these affect Forest Service land use planning.

At the time that this study was completed (spring 1986) the Shasta

Indians were not a federally recognized tribe. However, the Shastas have submitted a petition for federal recognition as the Shasta Nation to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, pursuant to 25 CFR 83 (formerly 25 CFR 54). When they receive acknowledgement as an Indian tribe under the above regulations, this will alter in certain respects the procedures for consultation between Forest Service personnel and tribal leadership; it will also strengthen certain requirements (e.g. 43 CFR 7.7) for tribal consultation in regard to land management decisions. However, even without tribal recognition, federal requirements as regards protection of cultural properties and Native American religious freedom necessitate that the Forest Service consider the views of contemporary Shasta Indians in making land use decisions within their aboriginal territories.

Anthropologists have described aboriginal Shasta beliefs and practices in considerable detail (see Dixon 1907a; Holt 1946; Silver 1978). However, these and similar studies largely neglect to describe the way of life (or even the survival) of Shasta Indians beyond the period of Euro-American contact in the mid-nineteenth century. Thus: "As of 1962, it was estimated that there were 36 Shastas living on the Quartz Valley (Scott Valley) rancheria...there are also a handful of Shastas elsewhere....Among the Shastas living in the mid-1970s actual knowledge of the aboriginal culture was practically nonexistent..." (Silver 1978: 212).[1] Both as regards the physical survival and the cultural continuity of the Shasta, the present study comes to rather different conclusions.

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1. In subsequent discussions (October 1985), Dr. Silver indicated that this statement was not intended to imply lack of a cultural continuity between aboriginal and contemporary Shasta peoples.

The following is not presented as an exhaustive study of cultural change and adaptation among the Shasta, for a vast amount of data remains to be collected and synthesized. Rather, this report offers some preliminary conclusions regarding the continuity of Shasta culture which could guide future research, and compiles a broad array of sources bearing on aboriginal and post-contact Shasta life-ways. Because ethnographic works describing the pre-contact Shasta (e.g. the writings of Dixon and Holt) are still readily available, descriptions of aboriginal Shasta culture are for the most part omitted. Data have been taken from interviews and discussions with approximately ten Shasta Indians during research in 1984 and 1985, and from published and unpublished written sources.

2 THE ETHNOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF SHASTA CULTURE

2.1 The Geographic Setting

The Shasta inhabited a rugged area of northwestern California and southwestern Oregon, principally within the modern boundaries of Siskiyou County, California and southern Jackson County, Oregon. The Shasta territory is dominated by the Klamath Mountains, a complex and geologically ancient landmass. These mountains are highly folded and faulted, creating a complex pattern of branching streams which feed the Klamath, Scott, and Salmon Rivers (see Moratto et al. 1984a: 9). A number of peaks in the area exceed 8000 feet.

On the east Shasta territory extended over the massive Cascade Range, dominated by Mt. Shasta (14,162 ft.), an impressive, dormant stratovolcano (Harris 1980). To the west, Shasta territory may have extended as least as far as Clear Creek, below Happy Camp, based on linguistic evidence cited by Gibbs in 1851 (Gibbs 1972:58). To the north, in Oregon, Shasta bands inhabited the Bear Creek drainage, a tributary of the Rogue River. To the south the Okwanuchu, a Shastan people, occupied the area drained by the upper Sacramento River.

Both the riverine and upland areas of Shasta territory were very rich in resources. According to Raven:

> Along the rivers of the major valleys salmon, trout, and other fish could be taken, along with freshwater mussels. The higher country yielded hunters a variety of game, including the all-important deer as well as elk and bear, and all zones offered a host of rodents and other small mammals. Birds were also

> taken....For most of the Shasta the acorn was the principal plant food, augmented by locally abundant berries, roots, seeds, and pine nuts (Moratto et al. 1984a: 435-37).

In short, the aboriginal world of the Shasta was mountainous but characterized by abundant flora and fauna. The rugged topography encouraged internal division of the Shasta into a number of partially independent bands. The Klamath River served as a major geographic axis of the Shasta world: according to the ethnographic literature, extensive trade was carried on with the tribes downstream, the Karuk, Hupa, and Yurok (Silver 1978: 213).

Present-day Shasta report that much trade was carried on to the east and north, with Klamath, Modoc, and Nez Perce tribes, among others. Informants relate accounts by older Shastas, including Clara Wicks, to support their contention that reports in the literature of major aboriginal trade downstream with the Karuk are exaggerated. The fact that Sargent Sambo (the most significant Shasta informant) had a Karuk mother is noted by informants as a possible source of bias in existing accounts [Int BH, MC, tape 20A].

2.2 Archaeology

The prehistory of the Shasta core territory is not well understood, primarily because relatively little archaeological work was done until the 1960s. A history of archaeological research in the area is provided by McDonald (1979: 24-26).

A number of early sites have been tentatively identified in southwestern Oregon, near if not within proto-historic Shasta territory. On the basis of point typology Site 35JA53a, on the Applegate River just north of the California border, has been dated between 8000 - 10,000 BP. A major

site near Gold Hill, Oregon, on the Rogue River, appears to have been occupied between approximately 3000 BP and the late prehistoric period (Aikens 1984: 111-13).

A number of prehistoric sites have been studied in areas along the margins of proto-historic Shasta territory: i.e. on the western edge bordering the Karuk, and on the eastern edge bordering the Klamath and Modoc tribes. According to Chartkoff (1984: 3), the May Site [CA-SIS-S7] in Seiad Valley along the Klamath River was investigated in part because "excavation...was felt to have the potential of shedding light on the impact of the meeting of Karok and Shastan cultures on the archaeological record." On the basis of radiocarbon dating and artifact typology, the site appears to span a period of c. 1500 - 100 BP. Chartkoff concluded that knowledge of protohistoric Karuk and Shasta settlements is inadequate to identify diagnostic materials for either culture; lacking these, the cultural affiliation of the May Site remains undetermined (Chartkoff 1984: 75-78).

The interpretation of sites near the eastern boundary of proto-historic Shasta territory is similarly indeterminate. The First Spring Site [CA-SIS-425], approximately twenty miles north of Mt. Shasta, involves a sizable lithic scatter, without known features, probably reflecting use in seasonal hunting and gathering. It appears to have been occupied from c. 2000 BP to the late proto-historic period (Winthrop and Gray 1985). CA-SIS-342, also a seasonal hunting/gathering camp, is located near the shore of Meiss Lake, near Macdoel. The site is tentatively dated from 10,500 - 7,500 BP (Jensen and Farber 1982). Like the First Spring Site, CA-SIS-342 lies on the boundary of Modoc and Shasta territories, as identified in the ethnographic literature.

Finally, a rich array of sites has been identified in the Klamath Canyon area (i.e. the Salt Cave vicinity), at approximately the point where the Klamath River crosses the California-Oregon border (Mack 1979; Gehr 1985). The chronology of the area appears to span the early prehistoric (radiocarbon date = 7646 ± 400 BP) through the late prehistoric, and into the post-contact period (Gehr 1985: Table 4.2-2). The ethnological picture here is complex. Mack states: "The boundaries, as known, for Upland Takelma indicate that the Salt Cave Locality may have been within their territory.... the archaeological data from the Salt Cave Locality may represent the cultural activities of any one or a combination of five 'tribal' groups (Achomawi, Klamath, Modoc, Shasta and Takelma) in Late Prehistoric times" (Mack 1979: 11, 12).

Shasta informants have strongly questioned the idea of a Takelma presence in that area [Int BH, tape 20B]. Gray's review of the literature also conflicts with Mack's analysis on this point. He notes, regarding the eastern boundary of the Upland Takelma, "directly east of Bear Creek Valley the limits of their territory extended to Greensprings Mountain or Table Mountain....from that point the border continued along the summit of the Cascades...to the headwaters of Little Butte Creek, near Bieberstedt Butte" (Gray 1985: 37). Mack's placement of Takelma within modern-day Klamath County (see Mack 1979: Map 2) is inconsistent with the ethnological literature (Gray, personal communication).

Other archaeological studies within Shasta territory include a cultural resources survey of seventeen sections in the vicinity of Mt. Ashland, Oregon, near or overlapping Takelma territory (Hopkins 1980); excavation of a late prehistoric village (550 - 350 BP) at Iron Gate

Reservoir, at the confluence of the Klamath River and Jenny Creek (Leonhardy 1967); and excavation of a large prehistoric site [CA-SIS-900] near the town of Ager (Johnston and Nilsson 1983). Nilsson (1985) has also conducted a comparative study of surface artifact assemblages in Siskiyou and Modoc Counties in an effort to differentiate diagnostically Shasta and Modoc artifacts. However, she concluded that "evaluation of the lithic analysis data...did not provide evidence of any significant stylistic variability between sites or the four geographic regions into which they were grouped" (Nilsson 1985:188).

In sum, the area (centering on Siskiyou County, California) occupied in the proto-historic period by the Shasta Indians appears to be archaeologically rich, but few significant conclusions have been drawn from the small number of excavations and surveys thus far conducted. No regional chronology has been established. While the archaeological data do not suggest major discontinuities in the centuries immediately preceding white contact, and thus give no reason to question Shasta occupation of this area for a considerable period, neither are the data conclusive on this question. Furthermore, unless characteristic artifact assemblages or settlement patterns can be identified for the proto-historic tribes of the region, archaeological data will not be of use in establishing ethnological boundaries.

2.3 Linguistic Divisions and Affiliations

In the absence of detailed archaeological data, linguistic information concerning the Shasta takes on particular significance. Aboriginal California was one of the most complex linguistic regions in the world, incorporating at least 64 distinct languages (Shipley 1978: 80).

Shastan-speaking peoples included four groups, linguistically defined, only one of which (the Shasta proper) is well documented ethnographically. Today it is extremely difficult to assess accurately the degree of cultural similarity and the extensiveness of social ties which existed between the four groups. The languages were distributed as follows:

> Shastan, a family of four languages, originally had some 2,500 speakers. The languages were: Shasta, New River Shasta, Okwanuchu, and Konomihu. Shasta proper was spoken in at least four dialects: Oregon Shasta, extending up to the Rogue River in southern Oregon, Scott Valley Shasta, Shasta Valley Shasta, and Klamath River Shasta. The dialect situation with the other Shastan languages is not known; they occupied small territories to the south and are all extinct. (Shipley 1978: 85)

The relation of these four Shastan languages to other aboriginal California languages is problematic, and yet highly significant for a reconstruction of Shasta prehistory. In his 1891 study, J.W. Powell posited a Sastean Family, with a single member language (Saste), the existence of the New River, Okwanuchu, and Konomihu groups apparently being unknown to him (Powell 1966: 181-82). A quarter century later a large linguistic stock known as Hokan had been identified by Dixon and Kroeber, with the Shastan languages forming one branch (Shipley 1978: 85). By the 1920s Edward Sapir had elaborated his typology of North American languages. Sapir's classification of the Hokan stock took the following form (Sapir 1949: 173):

(1) Northern Hokan
    a. Karok, Chimariko, and Shasta-Achomawi
    b. Yana
    c. Pomo
(2) Washo
(3) Esselen-Yuman
(4) Salinan-Seri
(5) Tequistlatecan

Two issues arise from the Hokan classification: first, the distribution of Hokan languages in aboriginal California, and its ethnological implications; second, the validity of a "Northern Hokan" grouping within the Hokan stock.

A linguistic map of aboriginal California languages at the time of white contact shows a core of languages belonging to the Penutian stock with Hokan languages found to the north (Karuk, Shasta, etc.), west (Pomoan, Salinan, etc.), and south (Yuman). In Shipley's phrase, "they are dispersed like a broken chain around the margins of the compact California Penutian heartland" (Shipley 1978: 85). These groups appear to be relics of a much more dominant Hokan presence in prehistoric California:

> Between 6000 and 4000 B.C., speakers of Hokan languages probably held nearly all of cismontane California. Pre-Karok, Shastan, and Palaihnihan [Achomawi and Atsugewi] groups may have occupied far northern California and parts of southern Oregon during this period. On linguistic grounds, Karok must be older in northwestern California than the Algic or Athapascan languages..., and the linguistic isolation of Karok suggests that it diverged long ago from its Hokan relatives. Similarly, Shastan and Palaihnihan are clearly older in northern California than the neighboring Wintu, Klamath-Modoc, or Paiute (Moratto et al. 1984a: 546).

Thus Shastan speakers can claim an exceptionally long history in northwestern California. However, the degree of relationship between Shastan languages and those of the Shastas' Hokan neighbors, in particular the Karuk, Achomawi, and Atsugewi, has proven more difficult to define. Sapir's

classification, given above, places Karuk, Chimariko, and "Shasta-Achomawi" together as one branch of "Northern Hokan," implying a particularly close relation between these languages. Today this appears clearly wrong, at least as regards Karuk: "the language is not closely or obviously related to any other; its presumed Hokan affiliations are distant" (Shipley 1978: 85).

The relationship between the Shastan and the Palaihnihan [Achomawi and Atsugewi] languages is more controversial. Kroeber (1925: ch. 19) considered them to be closely related. Similarly, Haas (1963) has tentatively supported a Shastan - Palaihnihan subgrouping, though today this appears to be a minority position. In contrast, for Bright, the Shasta "seem no closer to Achumawi-Atsugewi than to Karok or to Chimariko" (in Olmsted 1956: 75). Olmsted has argued similarly (1956: 77). Sapir's postulated "Northern Hokan" subgrouping has been abandoned by linguists.

A conservative classification of the Hokan stock today, excluding possible relationships beyond California, yields ten branches, without subgroups (Shipley 1978):

(1) Karok language
(2) Shastan family
    a. Shasta
    b. New River Shasta
    c. Okwanuchu
    d. Konomihu
(3) Chimariko language
(4) Palaihnihan family
    a. Atsugewi
    b. Achomawi
(5) Yana family (2 languages)
(6) Pomoan family (7 languages)
(7) Esselen language
(8) Salinan language
(9) Chumashan family (6 or more languages)
(10) Yuman family (1 language in California)

There remains, however, the problem of interpreting the ethnological significance of these linguistic data. Does a closer linguistic relationship between two groups (e.g. Shasta and Achomawi) also indicate greater cultural similarity, or greater social interaction? As regards the Shastan languages specifically, should one consider those aboriginal groups speaking Shasta, New River, Okwanuchu, and Konomihu to constitute one culture (or one tribe), or four?

According to Southall, the concept of tribe has traditionally been defined through the criteria of "a whole society, with a high degree of self-sufficiency at a near subsistence level...politically autonomous and with its own distinctive language, culture and sense of identity..." (Southall 1970: 28). However, the ethnological assumption of one tribe - one language is of dubious validity. Dell Hymes has argued that: "facts of language condition communication across dialect and language boundaries, but do not control it. Indeed, to rely on facts of language to determine boundaries of cultural communication amounts to a form of strong linguistic determinism" (Hymes 1967: 36). As Hymes has demonstrated, there are numerous

ethnographic examples which elude the mapping of tribe to language, variously because of a lack of identity between group boundaries, communication boundaries, and linguistic boundaries (e.g. Nuba, Chinook, or Siane), or because of the non-correspondence of lexicon, phonology, and syntax (e.g. Hupa/Yurok), or because of other confounding factors (Hymes 1967).

There is no reason to believe that the multiplicity of languages in northwestern California created total obstacles to communication between groups. First, bilingualism or multilingualism certainly occurred, though it is difficult to estimate how frequently. Certain informants have argued that bilingualism was common in aboriginal times, citing the example of Bill Turk, a modern Shasta, who was reputed to speak seven Indian languages, including Shasta, Karuk, Hupa, Yurok, and others [Int BH, FW, tape 9B].

Ethnographers have identified two groups at the Karuk/Shasta boundary, the Kammatwa and the Watiru. Curtis (1924: 232) says of the Kammatwa: "Applied by the Shasta Valley people, the name is said to signify 'different language.' In their intercourse with the Shasta of Shasta valley and Scott valley, the Kammatwa spoke the dialect of those groups, but among themselves they employed a speech unintelligible to the others." Similarly, Silver quotes Sargent Sambo (the preeminent Shasta informant) as saying: "the Watiru talked to the Karok and the Kammatwa, the Kammatwa talked to the Watiru and the Shasta, but the Karok and the Shasta could not talk to each other" (in Silver 1978: 211-12). In short, by this testimony Karuk/Watiru/Kammatwa/Shasta comprised a linguistic chain.

In conclusion, knowledge of genetic relationships among languages in northwestern and northeastern California contributes to our grasp of regional prehistory. Furthermore, estimates of linguistic similarity or difference

can suggest social and cultural relationships between groups. Ultimately, however, the cultural and social relations of aboriginal Shastan speakers, and those existing between Shastan groups and their neighbors must be reconstructed through ethnographic and ethnohistoric data, or not at all.

2.4 Culture-Area Classifications

The Shasta occupied an intermediate position relative to the major culture areas of western North America traditionally identified by anthropologists. To the east the Modoc, Achomawi and Atsugewi were classified by Kroeber within a Northeast (earlier: Lutuami) culture area, with close ties (at least in the Modoc case) to the Plateau. To the south, the Wintu can safely be identified with interior California. To the west the Karuk, Hupa, and Yurok cultures are closely linked with the Northwest Coast cultures of Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia, as seen for example in their strong dependence on riverine resources and significant emphasis upon wealth as the expression of status. Ethnologists (e.g. Kroeber, Murdock, and Driver) have disagreed over whether to include these three within the California culture area (Heizer 1978a). Kroeber (1939: 55) classified the Shasta within a "California - Northwest Transition."

Table 1, derived from the data of Erminie Voegelin's Culture Element Distributions: XX, Northeast California, offers a simple attempt to quantify the degree of cultural resemblance between the aboriginal Shasta and various of their neighbors to the east and south. Voegelin's research identifies the presence or absence of several thousand aboriginal culture traits in a number of northeast California cultures, including the Shasta as the most western culture surveyed (Voegelin 1942). Voegelin identifies both "eastern" and

TABLE 1: CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS FOR NORTHEAST CALIFORNIA

Correlations between Shasta and Other Selected Tribes [after Voegelin 1942]

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	+ +	+ -	- +	- -	match/ miss	indexed to Shasta
Klamath/ Modoc	1320	297	683	2172	3.56	1.27
Shasta (E)/ Shasta (W)	1109	547	514	1872	2.81	1.00
Atsugewi/ Achomawi	1305	621	514	1673	2.62	.93
Shasta (E)/ Modoc	1182	628	777	1778	2.11	.75
Shasta (E)/ Wintu	1032	773	673	1938	2.05	.73
Shasta (E)/ Klamath	942	862	621	1956	1.95	.70
Shasta (E)/ Atsugewi	1049	590	797	1562	1.88	.67
Shasta (W)/ Wintu	912	788	684	1764	1.82	.65
Shasta (E)/ Achomawi	1048	648	846	1607	1.78	.63
Shasta (W)/ Achomawi	972	599	840	1579	1.77	.63
Shasta (W)/ Atsugewi	993	649	849	1541	1.69	.60
Shasta (W)/ Modoc	968	675	904	1543	1.59	.57
Shasta (W)/ Klamath	780	863	730	1702	1.56	.55

"western" Shasta groups, referring to Shasta Valley in the former case, and to the Klamath and Rogue River areas in the latter.[2]

Responses for both eastern and western Shasta groups are compared with Atsugewi, Achomawi, Klamath, Wintu, and Modoc data. Column A identifies the number of traits shared by two cultures; columns B and C record traits held by only one of a pair; column D records traits absent from both cultures. Column E provides a ratio of "matches" to "misses", i.e. traits present or absent in both cultures to those present in only one of a pair of cultures (the ratio A + D : B + C). Column F indexes each result in column E to the match/miss ratio comparing eastern and western Shasta groups. The results are given in descending order of match/miss.

By these data, at least, Klamath/Modoc bear the greatest resemblance, followed by "eastern"/"western" Shasta, and Atsugewi/Achomawi. In comparison with Klamath/Modoc or Atsugewi/Achomawi, neither Shasta group shows as strong cultural affinity with another tribe. In light of the Shastan - Palaihnihan linguistic hypothesis, it is interesting that Shasta/Atsugewi and Shasta/Achomawi show less cultural affinity than either Shasta/Modoc, Shasta/Wintu, or Shasta/Klamath. (Neither Wintun nor Klamath-Modoc are Hokan languages.)

2.5 History of Ethnographic Contact

Although there is only one full-length ethnography of the Shasta, that by Roland B. Dixon (1907a), the Shasta have had a long history of

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2. Emma Snelling (Yreka) served as informant for the "eastern" Shasta; Sargent Sambo (Hornbrook), raised on the Klamath River, provided data for the "western" group.

ethnographic and linguistic research.

The trappers of the Hudson's Bay Company encountered the Shasta, among other tribes of northern California and Oregon, in their expeditions in the 1820s. Peter Skene Ogden, the leader of one such expedition, kept a journal of his travels which has become a significant historical source. On his 1826-27 travels Ogden encountered the Shasta, and his entries (though brief) provide some valuable data regarding tribal boundaries and inter-tribal relations in the early contact period (Ogden 1961). LaLande (1983) offers a new interpretation of Ogden's route in northern California and southwestern Oregon, which alters somewhat the picture of Shasta territory to be gained from the conventional reconstruction of his expedition.

A Lieutenant G.H. Emmons of the United States Exploring Expedition encountered the Shasta in 1841, and recorded brief comments (see Wilkes 1845: 238-41). He described the Shasta as "...a fine looking race, being much better proportioned than those more to the northward, and their features more regular" (quoted in Follansbee et al. 1978:33).

Shortly after California was admitted to the Union in 1850 the Senate authorized three agents to negotiate with the California Indians to facilitate treaty-making and their removal to reservations. One of the agents, Col. Redick McKee, negotiated a treaty with the Shasta in 1851. None of the eighteen treaties so negotiated were subsequently ratified by the Senate (see Heizer 1972, 1978b). George Gibbs served as a translator and ethnologist for the McKee expedition; his journal of the expedition is a significant source for the contact period (see Gibbs 1972; Beckham 1969).

The journalist Stephen Powers was the first person to attempt a systematic description of the California tribes, basing his work on visits

across most of California in the summers of 1871 and 1872. He includes a short chapter on the "Shastika" (Powers 1976: ch. 26). Kroeber (1925: ix) evaluated Powers's work in the following terms: "...his ethnology is often of the crudest. Probably the majority of his statements are inaccurate, many are misleading, and a very fair proportion are without any foundation or positively erroneous. He possessed, however, an astoundingly quick and vivid sympathy, a power of observation as keen as it was untrained....he was able...to seize and fix the salient qualities of the mentality of the people he described." In addition, a brief manuscript by Powers, titled (probably by another hand) "The Shastas and Their Neighbors," has some material describing "Sac[ramento] or Shasta Ind[ian]s," though the MS is largely concerned with more eastern tribes (Powers 1873).

Beginning in 1900 a more professional and systematic approach to Shasta ethnography began. In 1900 Livingston Farrand collected a series of fifteen myths obtained from a Shasta informant ("Klamath Billie") at the Siletz Reservation in Oregon (Farrand 1915). Roland Dixon collected Shasta materials between 1900 and 1904, in part at the Siletz Reservation, but mainly from a few California informants, in particular Sargent Sambo. As already indicated, Dixon's monograph (1907a) remains the basic ethnographic source on the aboriginal Shasta. Other works by Dixon include a linguistic comparison of Shasta and Achomawi (1905), a compilation of Shasta myths (1910), and a comparison of myths of Shasta and Achomawi (1907b).

C. Hart Merriam collected materials on the Shasta, most notably on the New River Shasta (Merriam 1930; see also Merriam 1926). Some manuscript materials have been edited for publication by Heizer (Merriam 1966-67).

Kroeber, the master of California ethnography, also did fieldwork

among the Shasta (see Olmstead 1956: 73). His major contribution is to be found in the Handbook (Kroeber 1925: chs. 19, 20).

In addition to manuscript materials available at the University of California, Berkeley (see Silver 1978: 224), extensive Shasta linguistic materials are to be found in manuscripts by Dixon, de Angulo, and de Angulo and Freeland, at the library of the American Philosophical Society (see Freeman 1966). Olmsted did linguistic fieldwork on the Shasta in 1955 (see Olmsted 1956). Silver began linguistic studies in 1957, her informants being Sargent Sambo and Clara Wicks (Silver 1966).

Cora DuBois carried out fieldwork between 1932 and 1934 for her ethnohistoric study of the 1870 Ghost Dance (DuBois 1939). Of the approximately 140 informants, four were Shasta: Sargent Sambo, Rosie Empter (Hornbrook), Jake Smith (Hornbrook), and Emma Snelling (Yreka). Erminie Voegelin's work for Kroeber's massive Culture Element Survey project was carried out in 1936, as described above (sec. 2.4), her Shasta informants being Sargent Sambo and Emma Snelling (Voegelin 1942). Catharine Holt did ethnographic research with Sargent Sambo in 1937 with the aim of supplementing Dixon's account (Holt 1946); her study of Shasta folk lore is also valuable (see Holt 1942).

Aside from the present study, more recent ethnographic interviewing has been conducted as part of cultural resources studies under federal contract or to comply with federal licensing requirements. Examples include interviews with Winnie Nelson (Hopkins and Salvas 1980), and with Nancy Vanderploeg, a contemporary Shasta medicine woman (Theodoratus et al. 1984; Gehr 1985). Other interviews have also been carried out by interested amateurs (e.g. Martin 1971), and by members of the Shasta Nation (Olson 1960;

Hall 1985).

3 THE ETHNOGRAPHIC RECORD

Because of the elaborate documentation already available (e.g. Dixon 1907a; Kroeber 1925; Holt 1946; Silver 1978), the major elements of aboriginal Shasta culture need be summarized only briefly.

3.1 Population, Settlements, and Artifacts

Population levels for the aboriginal Shasta are difficult to estimate. Kroeber calculated the population of the California Shasta (excluding other Shastan groups) to be 2000, assuming 50 settlements in 1851 with an average of 40 persons per settlement (Kroeber 1925: 287). Cook estimated 2370 for the California Shasta, and 3300 for the Shastan groups as a whole (presumably excluding Oregon). Elsewhere he gives slightly lower estimates: 3100 (in 1848), 3000 in 1852, and 500 in 1880 (Cook 1976: 177, 351). Shasta informants view these estimates as extremely low.

The Shasta inhabited a varied environment, exploiting a wide range of flora and fauna (see Sec. 2.1). Most villages thus far identified were located on or near major stream courses, in particular along the Klamath, Shasta, and Scott Rivers, and their tributaries (Heizer and Hester 1970).

The Shasta moved over an annual cycle, from lowland villages occupied in the winters, to more ephemeral shelters in the hills during the summer months. Dixon reports that:

> The dwelling and sweat houses were occupied, as a rule, only for about five months in the year. In the spring...these winter houses were abandoned, and all the people

> went up into the mountains, and lived during the summer in the open, roofless brush-shelters. When, in the fall, the berries had been picked and dried, and a supply of dried venison laid in for the winter, they returned to the villages (left in charge, usually, of a few older persons), cleaned out the houses, and settled down for the winter again. (Dixon 1907a: 421)

The major structures of a Shasta village included the dwelling house (umma), a "big house" or assembly house (okwa-umma), the sweat house (wukwu), the menstrual hut (wapsahuumma), and the small dome-shaped sweathouse, used individually (Holt 1946: 306-7). There appears, however, to have been regional variations in the use of these structures (e.g. Silver 1978: 215).

The Shasta dwelling house was similar to the Yurok board house, but somewhat simpler in construction (Kroeber 1925: 289). The house was approximately 16 by 20 feet in size, set several feet into the ground, "with a steeply sloping roof, dirt sidewalls, and board end walls" (Silver 1978: 214). The okwa-umma was owned by the village headman, or by several leading men: according to Holt at least, this was not used for sweats but for village assemblies, dancing (such as the shaman's winter ritual), or entertainment. Only major villages possessed these structures. The wukwu or large sweathouse was used by men only. Holt notes that "it was the men's general lounging and work place during the day, and boys from the age of ten or twelve, unmarried men, and visiting men slept there at night" (Holt 1946: 307).

Among the artifacts mentioned by Kroeber are pipes with stone bowls, spoons, acorn mush paddles, acorn meal brushes, cradles, and ring-and-pin games. Clothing was similar to that worn by tribes downriver, with certain additions which suggest influences from the Achomawi or Modoc (Kroeber 1925: 290-93). Kroeber notes that "Shasta basketry has disappeared....it is...difficult to understand why basket making should have gone out of use so

completely among the Shasta..." (Kroeber 1925: 291). However, this view is at least partially in error: at least a few Shasta have continued to make baskets and to train a younger generation in this craft [Int MC, tape 7A].

3.2 Political Organization

Political organization in aboriginal California was for the most part highly decentralized and informal. The constitutent political units in most California cultures were autonomous, localized village communities or tribelets, "corporate groups based on residence and/or kinship and composed of one or more villages or settlements under the authority of one or more chiefs" (L. Bean 1978: 675). These tribelets in turn existed within a larger ethnic or cultural unity. Thus Kroeber wrote regarding the Pomo:

> In any strict usage, the word "tribe" denotes a group of people that act together, feel themselves to be a unit, and are sovereign in a defined territory. Now, in California, these traits attached to the Masut Pomo, again to the Elem Pomo, to the Yokaia Pomo, and to the 30 other Pomo tribelets. They did not attach to the Pomo as a whole, because the Pomo as a whole did not act or govern themselves, or hold land as a unit. (quoted in L. Bean 1978: 673)

By these standards the Shasta were somewhat unusual, in that each village community was integrated into a larger band, each led by a head man or chief.

Leaving aside consideration of the Okwanuchu, Konomihu, and New River groups, the Shasta proper had four divisions or bands, conforming to the dialect differences cited above (Sec. 2.3). The Shasta tribe thus comprised the Shasta Valley, Scott Valley, Klamath River, and Rogue River bands. Unraveling the names of the various bands is a somewhat complex task, in part because of the very differences in dialect separating these groups, and in

part because of disagreement in the ethnographic accounts (cf. Dixon 1907a: 388-89; Holt 1946: 301). A comparison of Dixon and Holt on this point follows:

BAND	DIXON 1907a	HOLT 1946
Shasta Valley	Ahotireitsu	Ahotireitsu
Scott Valley	Iruaitsu	Iruaitsu
Klamath River	Kammatwa or Wiruhikwaiiruk!a	Wiruwhitsu
Rogue River	Kahosadi	Ikiruka'tsu

Dixon and Holt thus agree on the names of the Shasta and Scott Valley bands. What Dixon gives as the more common name for the Klamath River band (Kammatwa) appears in actuality to have referred to the tribe located on the Shasta/Karuk fringe, inhabiting the "narrow, rocky canyon from Scott River to Happy Camp" (Holt 1946: 301; see also Curtis 1924: 232). Silver (1978: 211) notes that to the Shasta Kammatwa "signified an inability to speak Shasta properly" (Silver 1978: 211; cf. Curtis 1924: 232).[3] In Holt's view Kahosadi refers not to the Rogue River band, but to any or all Shasta groups: "Ka'hosadi...includes all the Shasta, and might be applied to any one of the four groups. It comes from ka'hosa (to talk, talking) and signifies 'plain speakers' or 'true speakers'" (Holt 1946: 301).

There was some stratification within Shasta communities. Not only each Shasta division but each of the larger villages was led by a chief (Silver 1978: 214). The chief's office was basically dependent upon wealth:

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3. Contemporary Shasta informants have questioned the existence of such a linguistically intermediate group, stressing that bilingualism was common [Int RH, tape 21A].

"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 functions of this so-called chief were governmental only in so far as they could be exercised in relation to property" (Kroeber 1925: 296). As all offenses were torts, to be resolved by payment of compensation, the chief's wealth allowed him to intervene, in this way enhancing his own prestige and power. As Dixon notes, "the chief...often had to advance, or pay out of his own property, the fines required as blood-money of the people of his group" (Dixon 1907a: 451).

It is difficult to estimate the extent of political integration which existed between the four Shasta divisions. Neither Dixon nor Kroeber suggest that one of the four chiefs had any preeminence. However Holt, based on Sargent Sambo's testimony, argues differently: "The headmen of the four divisions were not on equal footing. The headman of the Oregon group was head chief of all four divisions, the others being more or less subchiefs. Ordinarily, there was no distinction among the four, but when there was 'big trouble' the Oregon man was sent for" (Holt 1946: 316). Sargent Sambo also argued that only the office of the Oregon chief was hereditary (ibid.).

Sargent Sambo has been the central informant regarding aboriginal Shasta leadership. According to Sambo, as recorded by Holt, his grandfather "besides being headman of the Oregon group...was the principal chief of the four Shasta groups, being succeeded by his son, Sambo's father" (Holt 1946: 299). Sargent Sambo himself is described as a hereditary chief of the Klamath River Shasta (Dixon 1907a: 383). A much later interview with Sargent Sambo is equivocal: "My Grandfather was chief and they called my Father chief but he was not. He was no better than I am. They call me chief too, but I'm

nothing. Because your father was chief that didn't make you chief too" (Olson 1960: 34). One wonders, therefore, if the above testimony regarding the preeminent role of the Rogue River band within the Shasta tribe is entirely unbiased and reliable.[4]

The Shasta Nation today (1986) is composed of descendants of the Shastan-speaking peoples of California,[5] including the Shasta Valley, Scott Valley, and Klamath River Shasta bands, and the Okwanuchu, Konomihu, and New River Shasta.

3.3 Kinship and Marriage

There is no evidence for unilineal descent groups or totemic organization among the Shasta. Descent was reckoned bilaterally, and residence was generally patrilocal. Many of the smaller villages consisted of only a single family group (Holt 1946: 316).

Among the Shasta proper marriage was avoided among relatives in either line, although the degree to which a blood relation was reckoned is not specified by ethnographers. In any case, one's "pseudo-cousin" was eligible as a marriage partner, e.g. ego's FZHZD; according to Holt, "these were the closest 'relatives' whose marriage received social sanction" (Holt 1946: 323). Thus village or band exogamy was common:

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4. My Shasta informants agreed that the Oregon chief had preeminence, but question whether the line of leadership ran through Sargent Sambo's family [Int BH, tape 21A].

5. Oregon Shasta are ineligible by the provisions of the Western Oregon Termination Act (68 Stat. 724).

> Sometimes people of the same or neighboring villages married, but more often one married someone from a distance, probably because fellow villagers were more likely to be related. Thus Sargent's grandmother was from the Shasta Valley division, his grandfather from Rogue River, and his mother was a Karok, a "chief's" daughter. (Holt 1946: 323).

Reportedly, the people of the Shasta Valley band often married outside the tribe (Silver 1978: 215). The Konomihu intermarried with the Scott Valley Shasta (Dixon 1907a: 496). The Okwanuchu are said to have intermarried with the Achomawi (Silver 1978: 222).

Modern Shasta informants have described a custom by which marital alliances were dispersed throughout Shasta society, apparently maintaining ties among the various Shasta bands:

> The Shasta Nation had a very unique way of assuring that their Nation and bloodlines would remain strong. Due to the 'Shasta Marriage Wheel,' no grouping of the Shasta can be termed extinct.....The trainers and young men were responsible for making the wheel turn and keeping the records of marriage. They had to make sure that their family would not marry a neighboring family too soon. The bloodlines were kept several generations apart. Due to the poisoning at Ft. Jones, California, in the winter of 1851, the wheel had to stop. Shasta marriages still continued....Each territory had a special place where the marriage keeper would keep a counting of the years, to assure that the families married only generations from the neighboring group that would be acceptable. (in Theodoratus 1984: 1: 60)

Marriage was predicated upon the payment of bridewealth: "both sides were eager to set as good a price as possible, since the value of offspring was determined by the purchase price of the mother and blood-money to that amount could be demanded for a killing or injury" (Holt 1946: 321). Following the logic of bridewealth, both the levirate and the sororate were observed (Kroeber 1925: 297).

3.4 Religion

Shasta religion centered on the shamanic complex, and was broadly similar to shamanic practices among the northwest California tribes (Kroeber 1925: 301). Shamans were normally women. While the role was not strictly hereditary, a shaman usually selected her own child or that of a sibling to train for the role. The process of acquiring shamanic powers among the Shasta is described in some detail by Dixon (1907a: 471-77) and Holt (1946: 328-30).

The Shastas' environment was potent with forces. Holt reports that "the entire area occupied by the Shasta is thought of as thronged with spiritual, mysterious powers..." (Holt 1946: 326). The spirits or pains "existed in rocks and mountains, in the sun, moon, stars, and rainbow, and in a large number of animals" (Silver 1978: 219). Similarly, many articles used by the shaman were charged with power: "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..." (Kroeber 1925: 302).

According to ethnographic accounts, the shaman's power depended upon the axaiki, functioning as tutelary spirits. Thus, in the process of initiation the axaiki are said to shoot "pains" (referred to by the same term) into the would-be shaman, to test her strength. It is also, however, the axaiki which cause illness in ordinary people. As Kroeber wrote, "disease and the power of curing it thus had the identical cause" (Kroeber 1925: 302). Shasta informants contested this interpretation. In their view, the "pains" (axaiki) were quite distinct from the the guardian spirits, the "old ones," who aided the shaman and provided her source of power [Int MC,

tape 21A].

Shasta religion is relatively unritualized; where ritual occurs, it is generally connected with shamanic initiation, shamanic curing, or certain other services (e.g. rain-making) which the shaman or medicine-woman[6] could perform.

3.5 Religion: A Shasta Perspective

Another, complementary perspective on Shasta religion is provided in a statement prepared by members of the Shasta Nation, which is here quoted verbatim.

"The Shasta religion reflects the past, present, and future of the Shasta Nation. The religion of the Shasta people is centered around the belief in a supreme being, a chosen land, and Mother Earth. From the Shasta language comes the word "Waka" which means Great Spirit. It is believed by the Shasta people that the Great Spirit brought their early people to their aboriginal, ancestral lands.

"The Shasta people believe that the earth mother receives the prayers associated with the care of the land. All prayers involving the well being of the land and all things that walk on her, or fly above her, or swim in her waters, are sacred to the earth Mother. This occurs because the earth mother is seen as the one who takes care of all living things that were provided to the Shasta people from the beginning of time, by the Great Spirit.

"The Great Spirit receives the prayers from the people whenever there

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6. Sargent Sambo apparently distinguished between "shaman" and "medicine-woman": see Holt 1946: 337.

is sickness or things not within a normal range of understanding. At this time prayers are addressed to the Great Spirit for guidance. If the situation deems it necessary a medicine person is called in.

"The Shasta religion is also reflected in the family system. Each of the eight divisions of the Shasta Nation equals one branch of the total family. It is believed by the Shasta Nation that Waka set down the rules for the 'Marriage Wheel.' The marriage wheel system allowed the Shasta people to marry within their own people. To better understand this the size of the Shasta world needs to be understood. Their base in California and Oregon allowed ample land for the Shasta people to live in eight family branches. Each of these family branches functioned as part of a whole. There was great trade between the families. Due to this factor obsidian which was used for ceremonial blades, scrapers, knives and obsidian could be traded within the Shasta aboriginal territory.

"The Shasta marriage system can still be traced in the genealogies of the present day descendants. By studying these genealogies it is easy to understand the Shasta Nation's claim to their aboriginal area. Marriages continued to be arranged until the death of Tyee Jim, January 20, 1908. He was often called upon to help proper marriages occur.

"The marriage itself is part of the Shasta religion. Marriages occurred within a specific time throughout the Shasta World. Before a marriage could occur there were preparations that would take a year to complete. Within each family branch there was an area set aside especially for marriages. Agreements would be made between the man and woman and their families. During the time of the harvest moon new couples would be presented in the eight marriage areas throughout the Shasta Nation. At this time

arrangements would be begun for marriages that would occur during the following year.

"The Shasta religion also involves watching out for the salmon. An irrigation system was used by the Shasta people to assure that the salmon could make it to their spawning grounds. In dry years water was diverted from the rivers to streams that needed more water to allow the fish to spawn.

"Salmon callers were found along the Klamath River and its tributaries. It is believed by the Shasta people that the salmon must return to their rivers to allow the world of the Shasta Nation to prosper. Salmon callers prayed to the earth mother to help the fish in their journey. Prayers were said by the medicine people to the Great Spirit, during the salmon run to keep the fish strong. When the salmon season was over prayers were said by the medicine people to the Great Spirit to thank him for taking care of the Shasta people."

4 SHASTA ETHNOHISTORY: EURO-AMERICAN CONTACT (1820 - 1860)

4.1 Hudson's Bay Expeditions

Peter Skene Ogden's encounters with the Shasta during his Hudson's Bay Company expeditions were mentioned above (Sec. 2.5). Several of his entries are relevant ethnographically. On December "26", 1826, Ogden was east of Tule Lake,[7] and encountered a group of Indians, apparently Modoc (LaLande 1983: 13-14). He wrote:

> Six Indians paid us a visit....altho on both sides of us the mountains are very high one in particular high above all others pointed and well covered with Snow -- and from its height must be a considerable distance from us. Our Guides inform'd us beyond these mountains reside the Sastise a nation they are at present at war with and this is one of the principal causes they would not wish us to visit them...[sic] (Ogden 1961: 46)

The high mountain referred to would have been Mount Shasta, the territory of the Shastas thus lying west of that mountain (LaLande 1983: 14).

On February "1" the Ogden party was slightly east of present-day Copco Lake, and encountered three Shasta women, whose husbands had been killed by Ogden's Klamath guide the previous summer (LaLande 1983: 35).

On February "10", 1827 Ogden and his party were apparently crossing the upper tributaries of Bear Creek, ending the day near what is today Ashland, Oregon (LaLande 1983: 48-49). He wrote:

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7. Actually December 25, Ogden having miscalculated the date by one day for much of his journal. The dates listed here are as recorded by him. Ogden's text is given verbatim.

> Here we are now amongst the tribe of Sastise or (Castise) it was this Tribe that was represented to our party of last year and also to us as being most hostily inclined towards us so far we cannot say what their intentions may be we have not seen more than 30 and their conduct has been friendly... (Ogden 1961: 71)

The party camped near Talent, Oregon for the next several days. On February "13" he wrote[8]:

> about mid night Mr. McKay roused me from my sleep and informed me that an Indian [probably Shasta] had just arrived and informed him the Indians [i.e. probably Upland Takelma] in numbers had assembled together and were on the eve of attacking our Camp...from their being so communicative yesterday and warning us to be on our guard when we reach the next Tribe with whom it appears they are at variance and consequently like all other Tribes I am acquainted with represent them as hostitily inclined towards us....Our [Shasta] Guides informed us that they did not intend to proceed any further with us... (Ogden 1961: 74-75)

As LaLande notes, the reactions of the Shasta guides suggest that Ogden's party had reached or passed the boundary between Shasta and Takelma territory (LaLande 1983: 52). (One Shasta representative has suggested that this passage may represent an encounter between two Shasta bands, rather than an encounter between Shasta and Takelma, noting that the Rogue River band of Shasta had raided the Scott Valley Shasta, at Joyland, west of Fort Jones [Int, BH, tape 21B].)

In sum, Ogden's journal records a pattern of hostility with Modoc (and as he elsewhere indicates, Klamath) to the east, and with Takelma to the north. His comments also situate the Shasta west of Mount Shasta, and extending north into Oregon, in the Bear Creek drainage. In 1833 a fur trapping expedition led by John Work also encountered a group of peaceful

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8. Interpolations follow LaLande 1983: 51.

Shasta Indians while camped along Bear Creek (Beckham 1971: 31).

4.2 European Settlement

A significant Euro-American presence in far northern California began in the late 1840s. By the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) control of Alta California passed from Mexico to the United States. Discovery of gold in California in the same year resulted in thousands of miners coming to the Mother Lode area in 1849 (the "49ers"). In 1850 a new gold rush began further to the north, in the vicinity of Mount Shasta, and along the Trinity and Klamath Rivers -- in short, in the midst of Shasta territory (W. Bean 1973: 117). The speed of this immigration was extreme. George Crook, stationed at Fort Jones, California in 1853, described the town of Yreka as follows: "Yreka was located in the midst of a vast placer district. Its population, including those mining in the immediate vicinity, was estimated at 10,000. It resembled a large ants nest. Miner, merchant, gambler, and all seemed busy plying their different avocations, coming and going apparently all the time, scarcely stopping for the night" (Crook 1960: 16).

The impact of white settlers upon the Indian population (including the Shasta) was devastating and immediate. The effect was three-fold, operating through the introduction of disease, the destruction of native habitats, and wholesale murder, rape, and kidnapping.

Euro-American migration served to introduce a host of diseases to which Native Americans had no immunity, malaria, smallpox, and syphillis being particularly devastating (Cook 1978). To what extent such diseases may have affected the Shasta is unclear. One Shasta informant noted that

according to oral history, the Shasta village at Humbug Creek was destroyed by smallpox [Int MC, tape 21B].

Many epidemics in the region appear to have concentrated in more densely populated areas, e.g. along the lower Sacramento in California or along the Columbia River area in Oregon. In many cases such epidemics preceded major population movements, an example being the epidemic of 1830-1833, which devastated many tribes of the Columbia River area and of central California (Cook 1976; Castillo 1978: 106). Furthermore, Dobyns has recently argued that that the mortality levels among American Indians resulting from such introduced diseases have been drastically underestimated (Dobyns 1983). While this view is controversial, if proven correct it would require that our estimates of Indian pre-contact population levels be raised significantly.

The delicate ecological balance upon which the survival of most California tribes depended was rapidly disturbed by the influx of settlers, both by destroying many critical resources, and by displacing Indian populations from the richer resource areas. The Shasta were forced away from the rivers, so critical to their survival: "all along the Sierra foothill belt and on the tributaries of the Klamath, the miners followed the watercourses, and in doing so, drove out the heavy Indian population" (Cook 1976: 281).

George Gibbs' journal of the Redick McKee expedition provides several relevant comments. On October 18th, 1851, near Happy Camp (then known as Murderer's Bar), he wrote:

> ...the greater part of the Indians have themselves disappeared, some of their ranches having been burnt by the whites, and it is supposed have moved either to the valleys above, or to that on the Illinois river. Their number between

> Clear creek and the mouth of the Shaste, does not appear to have been great, and judging from the number and size of the ranches, is probably not now over 300 or 400. On the creeks there are a few more, but not many at any distance from the Klamath, except in Scott's and Shaste valleys. Of the numbers above the mouth of the Shaste, and extending up to the foot of the Cascade range, we had no definite information. The name of Shaste may perhaps be found applicable to the whole tribe extending from Clear creek up; as, with perhaps some trifling variation, the same language appears to prevail as in the valley of that name. (Gibbs 1972: 58)[9]

Moving further into Shasta territory, Gibbs recorded on October 29th:

> There were two Indian villages near this spot, but the lodges had been burnt by the whites....These people were in a great state of destitution. (Gibbs 1972: 59)

On October 23, reflecting on the great hostility existing between the various Klamath River tribes and the white settlers, Gibbs wrote:

> ...their [i.e. the Indians'] disposition was decidedly hostile to the whites....the great influx of miners had crowded them from their fisheries and hunting-grounds, and the commencement of permanent settlements threatened to abridge their movements still more. Many of their villages had been burned and their people shot; generally, it is true, in retaliation for murders or robberies, but in some instances no doubt wantonly; the result in either case being the same in rendering their families destitute and stimulating their desire for revenge. (Gibbs 1972: 64)

When the McKee expedition slaughtered several cattle for a meeting with the Indians at Big Flat, up river from Happy Camp, the expedition's secretary, John McKee, reported that: "Two bullocks were killed, one for each rancheria, all of which was consumed by the Indians in a very short time, entrails, feet, and the hide, with a degree of voraciousness only equalled by hungry animals" (in Beckham 1971: 69). This destitution continued throughout that decade. A report in the San Francisco Bulletin of February 21, 1859

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9. This excerpt is also interesting for the suggestion that Shasta territory extended down river as far as Clear Creek, below Happy Camp.

stated: "Starving Indians in Siskiyou and Shasta counties are living on the sap of the sugar pine. They strip off the bark and scrape off the sap" (in Cook 1976: 297).

Finally, the Shasta Indians, like all of the aboriginal Californians, were simply murdered wholesale (see Castillo 1978; Heizer, ed. 1974a). Throughout the region, whites hunted and killed Indians of all ages, male and female, with a viciousness that is today scarcely credible -- "demons in human shape" was the description John McKee recorded in 1851 in observing the acts of the settlers (in Beckham 1971: 70). In 1853 Lieutenant George Crook, stationed at Fort Jones, noted: "Scattered over the country were a few Shasta Indians, generally well disposed, but more frequently forced to take the war path or sink all self respect, by the outrages of the whites perpetrated upon them" (Crook 1960: 15).

Simple extermination was the policy widely advocated -- and attempted -- in this period. As the Yreka Herald editorialized: "we hope that the Government will render such aid as will enable the citizens of the north to carry on a war of extermination until the last Redskin of these tribes has been killed" (in Rawls 1984: 180).

However, not all whites were enemies of the Shastas. Shasta informants mention the assistance that many starving and hunted Shastas received in the 1850s. Rising Sun, a Shasta who narrowly escaped being murdered by miners at Scott Bar in 1855, was aided in his two years of hiding in the Scott Bar Mountains with periodic gifts of salt and tobacco from Augustus Meamber, a local trader and packer [Int BH, tape 22B; see also Wells 1881: 139-40]. Another ally was Alex Rosborough, Siskiyou County judge in the 1850s and 1860s. "They [displaced Shastas] would move on these peoples' land and they

would just stay there...[for example] on Judge Rosborough's property...just for protection" [Int CG, tape 12B].

The Shastas participated in the Rogue River Wars of 1851 - 1856, the California bands coming to the aid of the Ikiruka'tsu band of Bear Creek. In 1856, along with other Oregon tribes, surviving Shastas were taken to the Grande Ronde and Siletz reservations on the Oregon coast (McDonald 1979: 49; Beckham 1971: 188-89; Zucker et al. 1983: 112-15). Shastas are among the members of the present-day Confederated Tribes of Grande Ronde and the Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians (Gorospe 1985: 44).

4.3 Treaty Signing and the Shasta Poisoning

As was indicated, Redick McKee negotiated a treaty with the Shasta in 1851. More precisely, the treaty was conducted between McKee on behalf of the United States government, and "the chiefs, captains and head men of the upper Klamath, Shasta, and Scott's River tribes of Indians" (Heizer 1972: 97). The Indians purportedly agreed to cede their aboriginal lands to the government, in return for a reservation located in the western portion of Shasta territory, "said tract being by estimation twenty-four miles in length from northwest to southeast by fifteen miles in average width, and containing between four and five square miles of tillable land" (Heizer 1972: 99). The Senate refused to ratify the treaties. Regarding the treaty-making process Heizer has commented:

> Every group met with is listed as representing a "tribe"....We know today that that most of the so-called tribes were nothing more than villages. We can also assume that men listed as "chiefs" were just as likely not be be chiefs, or at least tribelet heads who are called chiefs by anthropologists. Further, since land was owned in common, even chiefs had no authority to cede tribelet or village land....Taken all together,

> one cannot imagine a more poorly conceived, more inaccurate, less informed, and less democratic process....It was a farce from beginning to end... (Heizer 1972: 4-5)

While legally null and void, the treaty of 1851 has served as the nucleus of a potent belief on the part of present-day Shasta, that the celebration following treaty-signing was the pretext for a treacherous attack by the whites, in which hundreds (perhaps thousands) of Shastas were murdered by eating poisoned meat. This strongly held belief is incorporated in the Shasta Nation's petition for federal acknowledgement:

> The Shasta People were invited to Fort Jones, California, to sign the treaty [of 1851] and have a feast. The beef used for the feast was laced with strychnine and thousands of the Shasta People died on the trails leading out of Fort Jones. Tyee Jim along with other members surviving the poisoning, spen[t] two or more weeks burying people along the trails out of Fort Jones, and in a mass grave where many people died together.
>
> Following the poisoning, many of the Indians left were women, children and old people. The miners would form volunteer groups and go around and kill the remaining people in the villages. The army would do the same, hunting the Shasta People like they would hunt game. (Shasta Nation 1984)

This belief was expressed by a number of informants. The following version was given by Fred Wicks, 74 years old, a Shasta from Scott Valley:

> When I was 21 years old I worked for Bill Sharp, and Bill Sharp was the son of the scout for General Wright at Fort Jones. [Sharp recounted the following regarding his father's experience.]
>
> So he went back out and he told the Indians, "Wright's going to sign the treaty -- you don't have to fight him or nothing, he wants you all [to] come in and have a big barbercue feast with him..." So that Saturday the Indians all came in. Not counting women -- they were left home. Just the three thousand Indian warriors. They all came in to Fort Jones and they started eating. Tyee Jim was our chief, from down here [Scott Valley], and he was there....He noticed that none of the soldiers was eating any of the meat, and none of the white men there that was helping out, none of them were eating. So he went around 150 Indians...told them not to eat until the soldiers ate...he said

> he figured there was a poison....all 150 never ate [the] meat, and they're the only ones [that] lived, out of the whole 3000. The whole 3000, they started dying, started dying there... the trails going out of Fort Jones, along the trails. Some made it home and some never. A lot of them died right there in Fort Jones. [Int FW, tape 8A]

A similar account, though differing in details, was given by Clara Wicks, Mr. Wicks' aunt, in a statement in 1976, when she was approximately 97 years old. The experience was apparently related to her by her grandmother.

> ...they [the Shasta] were warned of soldiers approaching. Their Chief asked them not to fight because the white people were like a trail of ants. Their wagon trains were endless, they would live together in peace. One soldier [was] sent from Fort Jones to request they be put on a reservation, after being rejected by the Indian Chief, Soldiers soon followed to invite all the Indian people to a Beef dinner at the Fort. The Women were left home, and the men went to meet the soldiers. The men did not return home after several days, and the entire Shasta Indian male population (500 or 600) were poisoned with strychnine. The soldiers buried them in a large pit. (Wicks 1976)

Other, similar accounts of the mass poisoning were given by Shasta informants from Hornbrook, in Shasta Valley. Nancy Vanderploeg, Shasta medicine woman, stresses the place of the poisoning within Shasta prophecy, noting the role of the poisoning in preparing the way for a subsequent cultural rebirth. She also specified that 4312 Shasta died in that poisoning [Int NV, tape 2A]. Carraway George, Mrs. Vanderploeg's father, corroborated these accounts in general terms, recounting information given to his grandfather, James Daniel George, by Gordon Jacobs, a Siskiyou County supervisor, whose father knew these events firsthand. According to Mr. George, Jacobs and members of other white families in the area "all talked about 'em poisoning Indians, and taking the Chinese down and killing them -- they just loaded them on wagons, took them down and killed them. Well these people lived here, but there wasn't nothing they could do about it -- it's

just something that happened." [Int CG, tape 12B]

Documentary confirmation of this episode is scarce. Of the following pieces of evidence, only the first explicitly confirms the Shastas' claim, though the others can be viewed as supportive to varying degrees.

(1) One recent source (which lacks further documentation) notes the following:

> The Shasta lived on the Klamath River near present day Yreka, California, and along the streams in the mountains to the south and north of this point. These very streams were crowded with miners in search of gold during the 1850s, miners who saw the natives only as impediments to their search for riches. Typical of the times was the feast given by miners and citizens of Yreka for a local band of Shasta Indians. The beef was poisoned and the "Indian problem" was solved. In the continuing hostilities most other bands of Shasta were decimated. (Gogol 1983: 13).

(2) Stephen Powers relates that Redick McKee promised the Shasta chief Tolo "a herd of beef-cattle" as an inducement to sign the treaty in 1852 [sic], but that McKee reneged on his side of the bargain, which enraged Tolo (Powers 1976: 247).

(3) George Gibbs, of the McKee expedition, records that preliminary to the signing the Shasta were extremely worried about the threat of massacre:

> Oct. 28th [1851]. On reaching camp, we found delegations from Shaste Butte city, and Scott's bar, present, together with other citizens from different parts of the valley, amounting in all to forty or fifty. But few Indians had as yet arrived, but towards evening the chiefs of the Shaste and Scott's river tribes, with some of the head men, came in. We learned from every quarter, that apprehensions existed that the object of assembling them was to kill the whole together; and this fear had prevented the chief of the Klamaths from coming. (Heizer 1972: 68)

(4) The massacre of Modoc Indians in 1852 in the Ben Wright Affair may have provided a model for Indian killing further west. Alternately, this episode may have formed the nucleus of a Shasta poisoning legend.

> In September, 1852...the Modoc attacked a wagon train on the east side of Tule Lake and killed or captured all the emigrants. The citizens of Yreka...were enraged, and one Ben Wright organized a company of volunteers to punish the Modoc. Wright's plans are not clear, but there is reason to believe that he intended to offer the Indians a steer which had been poisoned with strychnine. A peace meeting was held, but the Indians refused to eat the meat. Wright's volunteers drew their pistols and shot forty-one out of the forty-six Indians present. (Nash 1955: 383)

(5) Leaving strychnine-laced flour where it would be found by starving Indians was an openly acknowledged technique used by settlers in the 1850s. An article in the Sacramento Daily Union, March 18, 1857, cites an example of this practice, and then notes: "We have never heard of but one parallel to the above. Some years since, in Siskiyou County, a considerable number of Indians were invited to treat with the whites. Suspecting no treachery, they assembled for the purpose, and while sentiments of kindness were being interchanged among the parties, they were fasted [?] to death upon poisoned meat and bread" (Heizer ed. 1974b: 31). This account may be referring to the Ben Wright affair, as Modoc County (where Wright's massacre occurred) was not separated from eastern Siskiyou County until 1874. Alternately, it may record a wholly different incident, perhaps that described by Shasta informants.

(6) Finally, a report from the same paper (November 5, 1851) gives a description which in some respects resembles the Shasta account of men "dying along the trails." This account refers to the Upper Sacramento River, which could include the extreme southern end of Shasta territory: "sickness prevails to a considerable extent among the tribes of Indians in the vicinity of the river. He [the informant's brother] noticed on the road a number of unburied bodies, and in the huts and woods many who were lying prostrate with disease" (in Moratto et al. 1984b: 290).

On the other hand, certain discrepancies in these accounts are obvious. This tradition associates a poisoning at Fort Jones with the treaty signed between the government and the Shasta Indians. However, McKee's treaty was signed in November 4, 1851, while Fort Jones was not created until October 1852 (Jones 1953: 25; Heizer 1972: 97). (Shasta informants believe that this account refers to the area where Fort Jones now stands, and not to the fort itself.) Furthermore, the fact that a few years later the Shastas were heavily involved in the Rogue River Wars weakens the argument that most Shasta men were poisoned in 1851 or 1852.

The number of Shasta killed is variously estimated at 500, 3000, and 4300. (One informant suggested that Clara Wicks' estimate of 500 killed referred to the population of only one area of the Shasta world [Int BH, tape 21B].) The figures of 3000 or 4300 men killed are completely out of agreement with earlier anthropologists' estimates of the aboriginal Shasta population (Sec. 3.1). However, much more archaeological data regarding Shasta village sites is available now than was the case when Kroeber and others were formulating their population estimates. Shasta estimates of pre-contact population are much higher. One informant suggests that aboriginal Shasta population would have exceeded 10,000 [Int BH, tape 21B].

5 SHASTA ETHNOHISTORY: TRANSITION (1860 - 1920)

5.1 Introduction

Little documentary evidence is available to aid in determining Shasta population levels in the decades immediately following white immigration in the 1850s. As noted previously, Cook (1976: 351) estimated that a Shasta population of 3100 in 1848 had declined to 500 by 1880, 16% of its earlier level. The Shasta's diagreements with these estimates was noted previously (see sec. 4.3). DuBois indicates that some 51 Shasta were living at the Grande Ronde Reservation in Oregon in 1871, and that some Shasta were also living at the Siletz Reservation at that time (DuBois 1939: 13).

The period of Shasta experience between roughly 1860 and 1920 is particularly difficult to document. There is extensive material describing aboriginal culture, for the major ethnographic studies on the Shasta (see Sec. 2.5) are based on memory ethnography, the recollection of traditional patterns operative in the pre-contact period. On the other hand, the period since the 1930s has considerable documentation, in part because of the many federal Indian programs enacted in that time. The intervening period is more obscure, in part because the stigmatized status of Indians made concealment an adaptive pattern, and in part because anthropological theory in that period almost entirely ignored the fact of culture change. Ethnographers thereby lost a wealth of data on the Shastas' adaptation to new conditions, and the means by which fragments of an aboriginal way of life were preserved in the interstices of white culture.

The Shasta may aptly be termed a "persistent people," to follow Edward Spicer's phrase (Castile 1981). This implies much more than merely the psychological fact of ethnic identity, a common sense of affiliation with a particular reference group. The issue, rather, is cultural. The process of cultural persistence requires neither absolute endogamy, nor the absence of culture change. Spicer has argued that cultural persistence of a people rests upon "the growth and development of a picture of themselves which arises out of their unique historical experience." Similarly: "the persistence or stability of a people lies in the consistency of the successive interpretations with one another. If together they make up a single interrelated set of meanings through many generations then the phenomenon of the enduring people emerges" (Spicer, in Castile 1981: xviii).

Obviously the Shasta life world of 1800 was vastly different than that of 1860, 1920, or 1980. Against this shifting background, however, the essential question is whether or not continuities of understanding remain. Over the long term such continuities can be seen in the Shasta's approach to visions and dreams, in their attitude toward the dead, in their respect for the shamanic complex, in their use of traditional plants and medicines, in their intimate attachment to their homeland, and in the maintenance of kin networks and localized communities.

At the same time, a crucial element in this equation is the extent of cultural opposition that a people experience, the degree to which they are viewed as distinctive or stigmatized by the wider society. As Castile has stated:

> The degree of opposition is a critical variable in the survival of the enclaved peoples. Too much opposition can stimulate the majority population to undertake pogroms, exile, forced apostasy, and, in the ultimate case, genocide. Too little

> opposition and the membership may be absorbed into the larger society through an inability to define a group identity distinguishable from that of the dominant population. (Castile 1981: xix)

The Shasta experience is one of attempted genocide in the immediate post-contact period, followed by a slightly more benign effort at control, isolation, and forced acculturation. In this period of transition one can discern in the Shastas' mode of life both what might be termed strategies of survival and strategies of persistence. Examples of the former would include extensive out-marriage and efforts to secure landholdings; examples of the latter would encompass revitalizations movements (e.g. the Ghost Dance), and the establishment of small Indian communities.

Shasta traditions were also perpetuated through many undramatic (and often deliberately unobtrusive) patterns of behavior. Thus, a Shasta woman's traditional clothing (e.g. buckskin skirts) was decorated with patterns of pine-nuts, beads, shell pendants, and the like (Dixon 1907a: 409). After conquest and resettlement on reservations, these designs were perpetuated in Western modes of dress:

> When the Shastas from the Rogue River area were taken to Siletz [Reservation in the 1850s] there was very little they could take with them, and the women had to hide their baskets, and they took only little ones that they could conceal in their clothing. They weren't allowed to continue their culture....They couldn't carry their buckskin dresses, they couldn't make those anymore. So, they made their own dresses out of the cotton material... but they [continued designs with] lace or ribbon, tried to keep their designs that way, but I don't think it was told that they were keeping that part of their culture.... I don't think the non-Indian population was aware of what it was. [Int BH, tape 11A]

5.2 Outmarriage

Shasta tradition (e.g. as regards the poisoning) suggests that a

disproportionate number of the survivors of the 1850s were women. Most of the early settlers and miners were men. By the 1860s the Rogue River Wars were past, and the Indians of Siskiyou County appeared to have been neutralized as a major military threat. Some sort of accomodation had apparently been reached between whites and Indians[10], as the following suggests:

> The annual encampment, "Pow-Wow," of Indians, of the Klamath, Shasta, Siskiyou and Scott Valley tribes, was held, during September [1863], about one mile from Yreka. Brewer, who was fascinated by the appearance of these Indians, declared they were the best looking he had so far observed in the state, far superior to central California's Digger Indians. He observed some of the squaws were quite pretty, and would be excepting "they had their faces painted in strange ways, often looking absolutely disgusting." (Jones 1953: 118)

This pattern of Indian observance appears to have continued for a number of decades. A letter from Scott Valley, written in 1873, comments that Indians (presumably Shastas) "have become very insolent and defiant promulgating the doctrine that the white people have no right to this country," and refers to fires with "a pow-wow most of the night" (Oakland Tribune 3/25/56). Fred Wicks recalled as a boy seeing dances on a vacant tract of land in Yreka, approximately 1912. As his daughter described this: "he remembers the Indians having pow-wows in there, campfires would be burning all night long...they did the round dance" [Int BH, tape 22B].

From the late nineteenth century, the Shasta appear to have practiced outmarriage extensively. Informants' comments suggest that this predominantly took the form of Shasta women marrying Euro-American men.

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10. Note that Shasta Indians were often referred to as "Klamaths." Whether the groups mentioned in the following statement included members of the Klamath tribe is unclear.

Examples of Shasta/white intermarriage are shown in Table 2. Comments on several of these individuals reveal a good deal of information on the experience of the Shasta in this period.

Jenny [Table 2, B] was the daughter of Chief Mungo, whose village was on Grider Creek, near Happy Camp [Int BH, tape 5A]. Jenny married Ned Wicks. Betty Hall described Jenny's husband as follows:

> He mined in Scott Bar for a while -- that's where he met Jenny. Then he came into Scott Valley...he built the first cabin in Scott Valley [c. 1850]....Ned Wicks had the first store in Mugginsville....He was quite active in community affairs...he tried to do a lot of negotiating between the Indians and the whites when there was trouble...there was even a petition submitted to the Indian Agency for him to be an Indian Agent in this area.

In the midst of the massacres of Indians in Scott Valley (c. 1851):

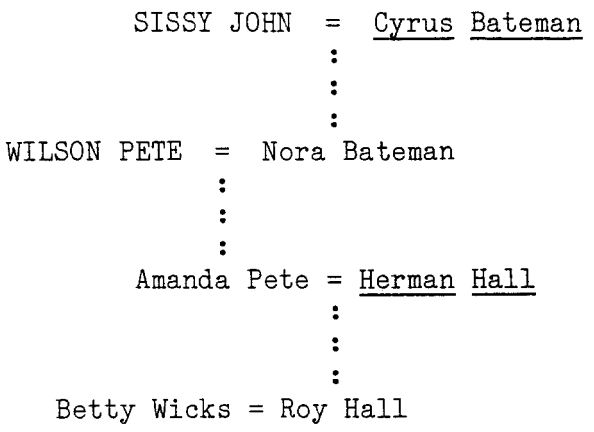
> Jenny was taken into the Fort [Fort Jones]...the soldiers had rounded up what Indians they could find who hadn't been killed yet and took them to the Fort for protection...but they had them in holding pens out back just like cattle. It was snowing, it was cold, they just about froze. But Ned Wicks and some of the other miners who had Indian wives -- they went to the Fort and drew their guns, and they took their women and children back home again. [Int BH, tape 5A]

Distinct problems were raised for children of mixed descent: in the early period, at least, they appear to have been stigmatized by both whites and Indians. Betty Hall's father Fred Wicks describes the experiences of his grandfather, Charlie Wicks:

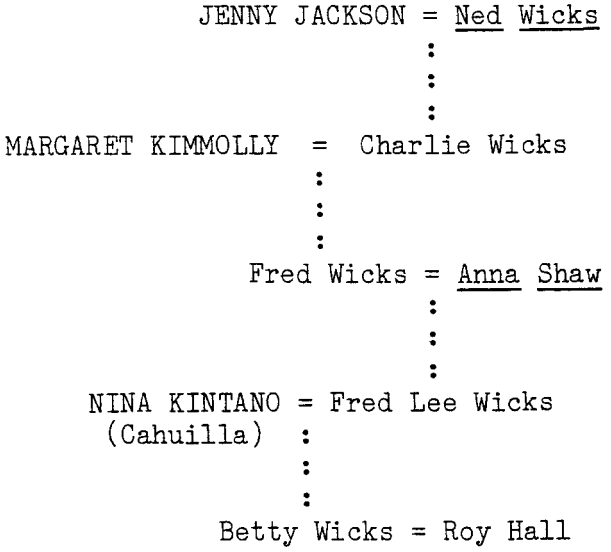
> He was born in 1850. He was the first half-breed born in Scott Valley....Scott Howard was the same age as my grandfather. He was the first white boy born in Scott Valley. They chummed together and lived together and played and grew up together here in the valley. When school term come...the Howards got the boys all ready and got my granddad ready too....The teacher run him off...she said she wasn't going to teach no Indians. [Int FW, tape 8A]

TABLE 2: PARTIAL KIN DIAGRAMS FOR TWO SHASTA INFORMANTS

A. Ancestors of Roy Hall



B. Ancestors of Betty Wicks Hall



NOTE: Persons of full Indian descent are indicated IN CAPS.
Persons apparently of full Caucasian descent are underlined.
Siblings not shown.

Fred Wicks described an incident from c. 1860:

> Then come the scare about half-breed Indians...being killed by Indians and whites both....They a had a big flour mill down at the Burton Ranch....he [Charlie Wicks] would hide in the willows and watch them load the flour...he wanted to see if there were any Indians there. If there were...he wouldn't go up, 'cause he's afraid they'd shoot him cause he's a half-breed. [Int FW, tape 8A]

The destruction of Shasta society also created the problem of linguistic isolation and loss. Roy Hall related the experience of his mother (Amanda Pete), born about 1900: [Table 2, A]

> My mother was Shasta and she came from Hamburg [on the Klamath]. I think she left Hamburg when she was seven or eight years old....When she left down there and she came out here [Scott Valley] she wasn't [with] her aboriginal people. She didn't have nobody to talk to that was Shasta... she spoke the language. She was kind of isolated...because there weren't too many Shastas left. During the years she kind of forgot some... [Int RH, tape 5A]

5.3 Religious Movements

The 1870 Ghost Dance, a classic revitalization movement, was an extremely powerful force among the demoralized Indian communities of the western United States. The Shasta, both those remaining in California and the smaller number residing at Siletz and Grande Ronde Reservations, took up the Ghost Dance, at least briefly. Mooney's description of the 1890 Ghost Dance doctrine is also applicable to the movement of the 1870s: "The great underlying principle of the Ghost dance doctrine is that the time will come when the whole Indian race, living and dead, will be reunited upon a regenerated earth, to live a life of aboriginal happiness, forever free from death, disease, and misery. On this foundation each tribe has built a structure from its own mythology..." (Mooney 1965: 19).

Betty Hall described an area of the Burton Ranch (Scott Valley) where a long house had been built for the Ghost Dance:

> ...on the way we'd go right through where Tyee Jim had built a long house when the Ghost Dance was brought into this area by the Paiutes. They held the meetings at this long house there. At that time [when informant was a child] you could see the depression in the ground where this long house was...about thirty feet long....Aunt Clara [Wicks told] us that they came in and held meetings there...Tyee Jim was active in that -- that's why he built that long house there where they had a few of the meetings...Then they went up to Copco Lake area to hold some more meetings. Aunt Clara said her mother and father [Charlie Wicks and Margaret Kimmolly] were gone about two weeks participating in that (and I imagine Tyee Jim and some of the other Indians)....later they came back, but they didn't keep up that practice here. It didn't take hold here as it did in some other areas. [Int BH, tape 5B]

DuBois (1939: 12-17) indicates that all three waves of the Ghost Dance movement reached the Shasta. The original Ghost Dance doctrine was transmitted to the Shasta Valley Shasta by the Modocs in 1871. The Earth Lodge cult appears to have been introduced to them the following year, by the Wintu, who also introduced the succeeding the Big Head cult. Jake Smith, Bogus Tom, Sambo (Sargent Sambo's father), and Tyee Jim are among the Shasta mentioned by DuBois as messengers of the various cults. Jake Smith is reported to have built a round dance house on Moffett Creek for the Earth Lodge ceremonies. Sambo is credited with introducing the Ghost Dance to the Karuk, assisted by two other Shasta "watchmen," Tyee Jim and Hamburg John. Sargent Sambo gave the following description of the Earth Lodge cult:

> They were dancing for the dead. It was so strong it started the people dreaming on their own and they got songs and dances of their own. In these dream dances there must be no loud talking, no talking while the dance is going on, no leaving the house during the dance. My father dreamed. Before that he had believed in the old way of getting up every morning and preaching to the sun. When dreaming came in, he dreamed of dead people. Souls come to you, usually a relative who has died. They give you a song, tell you what to do with sick people, how to stay well,

> how to be happy. When someone is sick you can doctor him. You take a bunch of fir tips and eagle wing feathers. You make them into a wand. When you dance and sing, you wave this all around and over the person and it draws the sickness away. (DuBois 1939: 14)

The work of Mooney and DuBois notwithstanding, relatively little information has been available on the history and consequences of the Ghost Dance movement in this area of California. Further research (historic, ethnographic, or even archaeological) can be expected to enlarge the very incomplete picture now available regarding the Ghost Dance religion among the Shasta and neighboring groups.

5.4 Allotments and Shasta Communities

The ideas of individual ownership of land, and the total transfer of rights in real property from one party to another (alienation), are foreign to Native American tradition. In the later nineteenth century the federal government undertook the division of tribal lands into personally held properties as an instrument of social policy, to destroy tribes as collective entities, and thus to encourage the acculturation of the Indians. Such allotments had been imposed in piece-meal fashion through treaties since the 1850s. It was, however, the General Allotment (Dawes) Act of 1887 which made the first systematic attempt to divide up the reservation lands (Cohen et al. 1982: 98-102, 128-34).

The Shasta were not directly affected by the Dawes Act, because absent a ratified treaty, no reservation lands had been set aside. However, in 1910 the federal Forest Allotment Act made it possible for Indians to legally homestead lands on the Forest Reserve [Jim Rock, personal communication]. Many of the allotments that were eventually registered probably formalized de

facto Shasta settlements predating this act. Typically, lands made available in this fashion were marginal, upon which productive farming was almost impossible.

The relative powerlessness of the Shasta made their settlements very insecure: "Wilson Pete had an allotment at Walker Bar [below Hamburg], but they'd come out in the valley during the summer. A lot of those Indians did that -- then they'd go back in the winter....When they'd go back, somebody would have their place" [Int RH, tape 22B].

Under the conditions of displacement, abuse, and hunger created by the miners and settlers, a number of these allotments served as a type of refuge for the Shasta. There is an irony here, in that by permitting an expression of tribal solidarity, the allotments served an aim entirely alien to the assimilationist, "civilizing" philosophy behind the allotment acts. One such allotment (probably of 120 acres) belonging to Tyee Jim, one of the last Shasta chiefs, served as a gathering point for many otherwise homeless Shasta.

> [Mandy Pete] was a little girl when they moved out to Tyee Jim's place. She was born in [1898] then....they moved to Tyee Jim's allotment down on Meamber Gulch. They lived in tents....Wilson Pete [brought] his family out from Hamburg with all those little children....Mandy tells of crawling out of the tents early in the morning, shaking the snow off of the tents. It was very cold -- it must have been a very difficult time. [Int BH, tape 5A]

Many others lived at Tyee Jim's allotment as well:

> A lot of other Indians also ended up living at Tyee Jim's allotment. Tyee Jim was the last Shasta chief we had, and it was customary if other Shasta Indians were in they area [that] they could always go to the chief's lodge and stay there...A lot of the other old Indians who were living in the area at the time -- such as Sissy [John] and Nora [Bateman] who had nowhere else to go, they lived there. Old Mary lived there, and Old Martha. Those are two old Indian women that had nowhere else to go. They

> probably lived in little lean-to's or little shacks, whatever they could get for shelter.[...] Lucy Jim was the last one. She died in 1934. [Int BH, tape 5A]

Other allotments which appear to have served as refuges for surviving Shastas include those belonging to (1) the Ruffs and Moffett Creek Jake, on Moffett Creek (near Fort Jones); (2) Julius Bender, near Yreka; (3) Bogus Tom, on Bogus Creek; (4) and Doc Sarah Duzel, a large allotment near Hamburg [Int FW, tape 8B].

6 SHASTA ETHNOHISTORY: REVITALIZATION (1920 - 1985)

6.1 Continuities in tradition

Despite the extreme disruption of aboriginal Shasta society created by white immigration, traditional cultural perspectives appear to have persisted into the modern era to a surprising degree. The interviews conducted in this research, while limited in number, do suggest a pattern of informal cultural transmission within family units which survived the dismemberment of traditional band organization. As Betty Hall commented, "Every family carried a portion of it," i.e. a portion of Shasta culture [Int BH, tape 7A]. A few examples will serve to illustrate the on-going character of enculturation among the twentieth century Shasta.

6.1.1 Enculturation within the family

Much traditional lore was communicated within the family unit through songs and stories, as well as through direct instruction. In informants' accounts, children frequently are instructed by members of the grandparental generation. Thus Fred Lee Wicks acquired much of his knowledge of the Shasta from his grandfather [FF] Charlie Wicks. Similarly, Betty Hall, his daughter, was instructed particularly by her great aunt [FFZ] Clara Wicks, and by other older relatives:

> What Aunt Clara related to me is what I have, primarily. I grew up with my old uncles, too...Bill Turk and Jack Davis... They lived with my parents when I was little. Bill Turk lived with us about fifteen years. And I've

> heard him -- every night -- sit there [and] tell his Indian stories, sing his songs. There was a song to go hunting,...love songs... [Int BH, tape 7A]

Similarly, another Shasta woman, Kathryn Beatty, spoke extensively of experiences with her grandmother: learning charms to ward off rattlesnakes, or observing what she felt to be her grandmother's supernatural powers [Int KB, tape 18B].

The nuances of the grandparent/grandchild tie are clearly expressed in Mary Carpelan's description of learning the craft of basketry from her father's mother, Mandy Pete. This occurred in the early 1980s:

> When she teaches me to make baskets, she gets on a roll....she gets to talking...and she talked about Sissy a lot, Sissy John [her mother's mother]. Then she'll catch herself: she'll get to a point and her whole expression changes, and then she'll stop [i.e. her recollection of the early days being too painful].
>
> Sissy taught her to make baskets....She taught me the same way Sissy taught her: she had to go get her willows first, so I had to go get my willows first. And she said I was to teach everyone the same way....When they [Shasta elders] feel you're ready to know something, they'll tell you, rather than you going asking questions and being real inquisitive. I think that's...part of the culture....And she talked about everything but baskets when she taught me to weave baskets....I'd just watch what she was doing, then she'd hand it to me, I'd do it. If I'd made a mistake she'd take it back, fix it, do a little bit more, hand it back to me: that's how I learned. She never said "this is how you do it" -- never once. [Int MC, tape 7A]

A more formalized example of enculturation, although no longer practiced, is seen in the Shasta "prayer stick." Informants have described this object as a stick or staff carved with symbols (e.g. sunrise, eagle, turtle, and snake), apparently representing aspects of Shasta creation myths, which served as a form of prompt or reminder in reciting these myth cycles. "[An] old grandfather would get this cane out, then as he would tell the story the children would gather and they would act it out, pantomime the

story, a story of creation" [Int BH, tape 5A]. The artifact survives, but the pattern of instruction apparently vanished with the destruction of village life.[11]

6.1.2 Ethnobotanical Knowledge

The traditional use of native plants for food and medicine has continued, in diminished form, to the present day. Winnie Nelson, born in the 1880s, described patterns of food collecting in her youth:

> Well, they had Shubeck berries, and they had wild blackberries, and they had wild strawberries, and they had wild gooseberries, and they had acorns, and they had chokecherries, all stuff like that, and then they dug potatoes -- Indian potatoes they call them....Then they gathered wild onions, wild celery; oh, they got a lot of other food. [Hopkins & Salvas 1980: 3].

Betty Hall recalled her childhood (early 1940s?) collecting plants with her great-aunt Clara Wicks and her cousin Tom Webster:

> Tom and I travelled all over the woods, all over this valley, Scott Valley especially, with Aunt Clara. In the spring we'd go to the Iknis [wild celery] patch...There's a patch of it [that] grows on Quartz Hill, and you'd go gather that in March....You can dry it and use it as spices, or just plain eat it....As we went to the gathering areas she always pointed out plants. That's how I learned about a lot of plants and how they were used...we went gathering things all through the year. [Int BH, tape 5B].

It is difficult to estimate how many modern Shastas have retained a traditional knowledge of edible and medicinal plants. At least some Shasta continue to use traditional herbal remedies. During one flu season (1950s or

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11. To my knowledge neither the object nor the practice has been reported by earlier ethnographers. One such prayer stick is in the possession of Robert McCallister, brother of Roy Hall; it is not known if others are in existence.

1960s), when all of Roy and Betty Hall's children were thoroughly ill (and Western medicines had not helped), Roy Hall's mother (Mandy Pete) prescribed manzanita leaves: "She handed each of the kids two or three leaves and told them to chew it, and to swallow the juice but to spit out the pulp. It was nasty and bitter....They got well too; it just cured them, just like that....So today, when we get a problem, I head up the hill and get some manzanita leaves" [Int BH, tape 5B]. Similarly, Kathryn Beatty, recalling events of the 1950s, described her grandmother's preparation of herbal medicines:

> She did some wild medicine things....She used to make "Indian powder" [to relieve a rash].... We were always putting stuff together, always making medicine stuff....She always collected things. We used to walk up here on this hill [and] she always come back with a handful of weeds...weeds, flowers. At certain times of the year she wanted to pick certain flowers....We were always walking around in [those] hills doing things like that. [Int KB, tape 18B].

6.2 Religious Belief and Ritual

Ethnographers have described traditional Shasta religion as lacking highly elaborate ritual (Dixon 1907a: 489; Kroeber 1925: 304). Shasta ritual appears to have been simpler than the observances of either the adjoining Northwest Coast tribes such as the Yurok and Karuk, or the central California tribes such as the Maidu. However, Shasta informants have noted that Shasta ceremonial included salmon calling, hunting ritual, puberty ritual, solstice ceremonies, spring ceremonies for those elders surviving the winter, and a complex annual marriage cycle (related to the "Marriage Wheel": see sec. 3.3) [Int MC, BH, tape 22B].

It is true that the continuities in Shasta religion observable today

do not center on ritual complexes, but rather on certain less formalized practices and attitudes. These include beliefs regarding the divinatory nature of dreams, the reality of visions and prophecies, the efficacy of charms, and the importance of the shamanic complex. To this list could be added convictions regarding the sacred character of burials, the reality of spirits, and the numinous quality of certain springs, mountains, and other geographic features. Current (1986) opposition to a dam proposed for the Klamath Canyon area exemplifies that concern with the sacred landscape that remains a focus of Shasta religion (see sec. 6.3.4).

6.2.1 Shasta ceremonies and gatherings

A pattern of inter-village or inter-band gatherings appears to have been traditional among the Shasta: "A group maybe from here [Hornbrook?] might come over to the valley...and they played games, and they traded, and marriages were conducted" [Int BH, tape 11B]. While certain functions of these gatherings (such as the arrangement of marriages) had ceased by the twentieth century, this pattern of Shasta interaction appears to have remained relatively stable. Many of the activities conducted at these meetings could be classified as secular from an Euro-American perspective, but others were clearly religious.

Carraway George reported attending many Shasta ceremonies in the 1930s, a number of which occurred at the Sacramento River headwaters, located in what is today a city park in the city of Mt. Shasta. Because of the introduction of the automobile, members of distant Shasta groups were able to interact more readily, and to travel greater distances [Int CG, tape 11B].

> They would give thanks to the Great Spirit...before

> they eat. Then when the families got together they would have someone, being the elder at that time,...give what...the Christian people would call a prayer. [In the prayer] he would be glad that he had lived this many years, that he had went through another year (he'd always be an older person)...and [as for] the fact that so many of the people [were there] -- he was glad that they had came.... [In the rest of the meeting] they sat around and talked, talked about the families..., where certain people lived at, and all these different things that pertained to the Shasta people. This is how that their knowledge was passed down, from one generation to the other....I can remember [at one gathering] there were six generations out of that whole family....This was at Mt. Shasta Park. [Int CG, tape 12A]

At least as late as the thirties many Shasta would camp at various of the mineral springs in Siskiyou County, such as Stewart Springs or that at Oro Fino, for at that point (unlike today) these were unfenced and accessible to anyone. "Indians used to come in there from all around, and they could camp and stay there as long as they wanted... to take their baths" [Int BH, tape 12A]. "The older people, if they had arthritis, certain kinds of kidney disorders, things like that, they'd take [these] different kinds of [mineral] water, and they'd take it home with them" [Int CG, tape 12A]. Even today (at least from the perspective of a Shasta medicine woman) springs have more than simply a medicinal value, for many are considered sacred by the Shasta. According to Nancy Vanderploeg, Stewart Springs serves as a "medicine" area, and was traditionally used in purification ceremonies [Field Notes NV, 2/14/83].

6.2.2 Attitude toward burials

Burials appear to have a complex significance for the Shasta. As the tangible evidence of a network of past kin ties, burial sites were (and are) regarded with great respect. Many are visited. It would appear that in the past and perhaps even today instruction regarding the location of burials and

the identity of the deceased formed a regular part of a child's introduction to his social world. Thus Carraway George (born 1927) tells of accompanying his father on trips to the graves of many of his relatives, over a wide area, including Butte Valley and Goose Lake:

> You would go to...pay your respects to the dead....there was a certain family of people buried there, they were your certain relatives. He would tell you [to whom] they were related....They [the Shasta] talked about their dead all the time, they talked about where they buried their dead.
>
> Q: Were there any types of ritual [associated with such visits]?
>
> He would go and -- the stones and stuff -- he'd put them in place. If they'd fell down...he'd redo them. One day we spent two days at this place. 'Course we just camped there....He went and [redid] quite a few of these burials...put rocks back in places where they [were] supposed to be. This was over around the Goose Lake area. [Int CG, tape 12A]

However respect for burial sites is shown not only as a way of honoring the dead. In the Shasta view, the spirits of the dead can in some fashion continue among us. Burials provide a locus of communication, a means of reaching one's ancestors. As Nancy Vanderploeg, a contemporary Shasta medicine woman, has explained: "Sometimes family members could go back and they could sit next to a burial and ask for guidance from that old person. And they would get some guidance at the time that they sat there, and meditated and waited" [Int NV, tape 1A]. Betty Hall expressed the same viewpoint:

> If you want to know something, you have a problem you need an answer to, and you feel...only this ancestor can tell you, you go spend the night at the cemetery. He'll tell you, he'll come to you and tell you what you need to know.
>
> Q: In your dreams?
>
> No, you'll see him. It could come in a dream too, different ways, but if you...have a pressing problem, or you need the answer...they will come to you, you will see them. [Int BH, tape 12A]

An incident from 1983, related by Mary Carpelan, gives further evidence of the continuing vitality of such Shasta beliefs. In preparation for a memorial service to honor those Shasta killed in Fort Jones in 1851 during the alleged poisoning, Mary Carpelan accompanied Mrs. Vanderploeg to the Fort Jones cemetery. She reported that they sat there for approximately an hour. At the end of this time she observed quite plainly a succesion of men (whom she understood to be deceased Shasta chiefs) approach, sit next to Nancy Vanderploeg, and speak to her. Mrs. Carpelan could not hear what was spoken, but Nancy Vanderploeg apparently repeated to her what was said [field notes MC, 6/14/85].

Another dimension of Shasta belief regarding the dead is revealed in the following comment by Carraway George:

> The other people, they have Jesus Christ or somebody else dominates their life. Well, my father, he dominates mine, you see, in my mind. Every day that passes, why he tells me..., even though he's dead and he's gone, he still tells me what to do....from the teachings that he's told me. My mind, it goes back, and if I'm asked something, well I figure out what he'd have told me, what his answer was to things. [Int CG, tape 12A]

For all these reasons, actions which might threaten burial sites, i.e. power projects, land development, and the like, have been a source of great concern to the Shastas in the 1970s and 1980s. Much of their involvement with federal, state, and local agencies in this period has been with the aim of protecting such sites from desecration.

6.2.3 Shasta charms

It is unclear to what extent charms or other forms of protective ritual are utilized today. Informants have mentioned a charm that is still

recited to ward off rattlesnakes [Int KB, tape 18B], a practice also recorded by Dixon (1907a: 490). Another informant referred to having to "put protection around" her house daily to prevent magical harm from a malevolent medicine woman [Int BH, tape 12A].

6.2.4 The revival of shamanism

As noted above (sec. 3.4), shamanism was the central element of aboriginal Shasta religion. Modern Shasta can certainly identify past medicine women: Jenny Wicks in Betty Hall's family, or Jenny Prickle, in Fred Ruff's. However, according to informants, in the past several decades there has been no medicine man or woman in the tribe to provide this essential dimension of Shasta life.

The political reintegration of the Shasta in the early 1980s has coincided with the recognition of Nancy Vanderploeg as a medicine woman. In the Shasta view, their recognition of Nancy Vanderploeg is merely an acknowledgement of her in-born medicine powers. The shamanic role is seen by a number of informants as absolutely essential for the existence of the Shasta, and the appearance of this medicine woman as filling a great need. "There it is: without Nancy we're nothing. That's how I feel....That fills such a big void....There's so much we don't know that we need to know, which only a medicine woman can tell us" [Int BH, tape 6B]. According to informants, other religious practitioners with different specialities (i.e. not all being dream doctors) are emerging among the Shasta today [Int BH, tape 23A].

An analysis of Mrs. Vanderploeg's role in the contemporary Shasta tribe merits a separate study. It can be said briefly that she is a dream

doctor, i.e. receiving her knowledge chiefly through spirits encountering in dreaming. Her father, Carraway George, first noted her paranormal dreaming ability when she was four, an occasion in which she identified successfully the whereabouts of a lost child through her dreams [Int CG, tape 12B]. Today she is a vigorous spokesman for the Shasta tribe, an interpreter of their traditions, and a religious specialist, through whose powers a number of public ceremonies, including a memorial service and a vision quest, have been held in the last several years.

6.3 Political Reintegration

6.3.1 Introduction

As was indicated above, aboriginal Shasta political organization was based upon a series of localized bands. The political order which remained after the destruction of the 1850s and 1860s was in one sense reduced to the simplest: for the most part localized kin networks, although settlements based simply upon common tribal identity (as in the example of Tyee Jim's allotment) also occurred. Under the weight of wholesale murder, confiscation of territory, and finally neglect, it would be unrealistic to expect that the Shasta would readily attain a degree of political centralization which they had never experienced in aboriginal times. In addition, the intent of the various federal allotment acts, imposed since the late nineteenth century (see sec. 5.4), had been to destroy the integrity of Native American tribal organization, and this too played its role in thwarting the assertion of a distinctive Shasta identity and leadership.

Nonetheless, over the past sixty years the Shasta have become

increasingly active politically. They have taken action to press claims for compensation, to create a reservation community, to establish needed social services, and most recently, to formalize their status by incorporating as a tribal body and petitioning for federal recognition.

6.3.2 The Board of Cooperation and the Indian Claims Commission

After 1900 the status of the California Indians, and in particular the glaring injustice of their loss of lands, emerged as a politically sensitive issue. One of the most active of non-Indians in this issue was the Rev. Frederick G. Collett. Beginning in 1914 Collett worked to prosecute claims for compensation against the federal government. His organization, the Indian Board of Co-operation, operated (controversially) by collecting "dues" from supportive Indians (Stewart 1978: 706-7).

Many meetings were held during the 1920s in Siskiyou County to organize the Shasta, among others, in support of claims proceedings. Fred Wicks recalls Collett's visits to Yreka, and his father's involvement: "He was fighting for this California Indian payoff money....Collett started that. He'd have meetings every month in Yreka, all the Shastas....150, 200 people would be there, every meeting. My dad used to go all the time. He paid him [Collett] $75 apiece for us, for him, [and] us three kids..." [Int FW, tape 8B].

Newspaper accounts from that period suggest something of the tone of these proceedings:

> Six government officials were here [Yreka] at the week-end from the Indian Board of Co-operation of San Francisco....Rev. Frederick G. Collett of San Francisco...gave a hearing to the Indians from over this county relative to allotments due them....The Indians in this county are directly

> concerned over a scope of land embracing Scott River, Little Shasta, Big Shasta and Klamath River lands....They realize they cannot now get the lands taken from them without remuneration but they hope to secure yet from the government a portion of the money received by it from the sale of such lands. [Yreka Journal, November 16 (?), 1921]

> The Indian Board of Co-operation has announced a series of meetings to be held this month for the purpose of furthering the interest of the organization. The first of the meetings will be held at Yreka Sunday afternoon, April 20, 1 o'clock....Through the efforts of the Indian Board of Co-operation, Indian people throughout the state of California have organized into auxiliaries to that board in order that they might learn to help better their own conditions. [Siskiyou News, April 3, 1924]

A number of Shasta were heavily involved. Wilson Pete and Jack Courts were very active in the Board's work. (Wilson Pete was cited above (sec. 5.2) as the grandfather of Roy Hall. The Courts family still lives in the town of Greenview [Int BH, tape 6B].) John Carmony was part of a delegation which travelled to Washington in 1923 to urge compensation for the seizure of Indian lands [Int BH, tape 6B]. The following suggests something of the attitude of white residents towards the Indians' efforts:

> We are informed that our redskin brothers the Indians, from all over the northern part of the state [?], held a rally in Yreka Sunday to form some plan whereby they can secure what they conceive to be their rights from the Government. This section was represented by Jack Courts and Wilson Pete, worthy members of that people. [Western Sentinel (Etna), April 25, 1925]

Pressure exerted by groups such as the Indian Board of Co-operation resulted in the California Indians' Jurisdictional Act of 1928, which after much litigation resulted in compensation of $150.00 per person, finally awarded to all eligible California Indians (including Shastas) in 1951.

In the face of such completely inadequate compensation for the California Indians, and comparable situations elsewhere, Congress established in 1946 the Indian Claims Commission. The claims of California Indians

presented to the Commission rested on the approximately 92 million acres of aboriginal lands taken from them by the whites, excluding those lands promised in the 1851-52 unratified treaties, which ostensibly were compensated by the 1928 Jurisdictional Act (Stewart 1978: 706-7).

A Shasta, Stanley W. Miller, entered a petition on behalf of all Shasta Indians before the Indian Claims Commission (Docket 333) in 1952. This petition stated, in part:

> ...all of the lands of the petitioner's ancestral Shasta Tribe were proclaimed to be public lands of the United States and to constitute a part of the public domain. The defendant [the U.S. Government] thereupon assumed control and asserted ownership of all of the lands hereinabove described, which rightfully were the property of the Shasta....The defendant has received the entire consideration for the Shasta lands, and has deprived the Shasta Tribe and their descendants of all of their legal and equitable rights without compensation therefor, and without their consent ever having been obtained by treaty, agreement, or otherwise. [...]
>
> The depredations, damages, losses and injustices visited upon the Shasta Indians and their descendants, as hereinabove alleged, were the direct result of the negligence, indifferences and failure of the defendant to extend to said Shasta Indians the protection rightfully due and owing to them...[Miller 1952]

The Shasta claim was eventually consolidated with other claims by California Indian groups into Dockets 31 and 37 of the Indian Claims Commission (Stewart 1978: 707). After protracted legal arguments and disagreements among the California tribes regarding whether or not to accept the compensation proposed, some 37 million dollars were finally made available in the early 1970s for payments. Based on a final figure of roughly 64 million acres included in the settlement, this amounted to compensation of approximately 58 cents per acre, divided among some 65,000 California Indians (Stewart 1978: 708). Payments of $600 per person were received by the Shasta in 1973 [Int BH, tape 6B].

6.3.3 The Quartz Valley Rancheria

Under the terms of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, a mechanism was established to allow tribes to form new reservation communities, adopt constitutions, and charter corporations (Cohen et al. 1982: 147-49). Fred Wicks was one of the Shastas instrumental in organizing the Quartz Valley Rancheria after passage of the I.R.A. He described the events leading to rancheria's founding in these terms:

> In 1934 Congress passed a law to give non land-holding Indians a reservation....My wife read it in the paper, and told me about it. So I said, well I'll get busy and see if we can't organize. So I went around and told all the Indians and we had a meeting. We organized....We drew up a constitution and by-laws....Finally we decided on this land down here in Quartz Valley because it had the first water rights out of Shackelford....There was 150 families signed up to go on, and they [the B.I.A.] only gave it to 16 families.... [Int FW, tape 8B]

The rancheria totaled 600 acres. Each family was given twenty acres of land, and the balance was held jointly, largely in timber. While organizing efforts were begun in 1934, it was not until 1940 that houses had been built on the land selected, and Indian families could take possession. Karuk as well as Shasta families settled on the rancheria [Int FW, tape 8B]. Forty persons were listed on the rolls of the rancheria in 1951 (Stewart 1978: 709). In 1958 as part of the federal government's new policy of termination, the Quartz Valley Rancheria was closed. In the early 1980s, through litigation concerning a number of the California rancherias, this termination was voided.

6.3.4 Recent political organizing among the Shasta

Since approximately 1980 the Shasta Indians have taken a number of highly significant steps to create a strong political organization. They have at the same time intervened strongly to protect their heritage, for example on issues of land use planning at the federal, state, and county levels. Out of this complex series of events, only a few can be mentioned here.

In 1978 the Department of the Interior issued regulations establishing a process for recognizing heretofore unrecognized Indian groups (25 CFR 83). About 1980 Betty Hall, Carraway George, and others began working in earnest on the Shasta's petition for recognition. In July 1984 Betty Hall, her daughter Mary Carpelan, and Nancy Vanderploeg travelled to Washington, D.C. to present the Shastas' petition to the U.S. Department of Interior.

In March 1981 about six Shastas met to formalize a Shasta tribal organization: the initial meeting involved mainly the Hall and George families. In November 1982 a nonprofit, public benefit corporation was formed in California, with the name Shasta Tribe Inc.

In the spring of 1981 Nancy Vanderploeg, Betty Hall, and others also became involved in opposing land development in a traditional Shasta cemetery in Scott Valley, known as Graveyard Gulch. This dispute continues today. Their action, however, set a pattern for vigorous protection of burials, archaeological sites, and sacred ("medicine") areas that has served as a rallying point for Shasta activity. This has meant frequent intervention with both the Siskiyou County Planning Commission and the U.S. Forest Service (Klamath National Forest), both of which appear to take quite seriously complaints and concerns voiced by the Shasta leadership.

The intensity of concern by the Shastas for their aboriginal territory

is made evident by their reaction to the proposed Salt Caves Dam, a project intended for the Klamath Canyon area, sponsored by the City of Klamath Falls for hydroelectric generation. This development is viewed by many of the Shasta as highly destructive to a major Shasta medicine area. On October 1984 Mrs. Vanderploeg held a vision quest ceremony in the proposed project area, in the presence of a number of officials involved with the dam project, to clarify for non-Indians the reasons for Shasta opposition. In July 1985 California Indian Legal Services filed comments on behalf of the Shasta before the Oregon Energy Facility Siting Council in opposition to the Salt Cave Dam.

Archaeologically the Salt Caves area appears to contain a number of complex village sites. The entire area to be affected by the project is considered sacred. As one informant commented: "I call it the beginning: it is the beginnings of the Shasta's existence....if they destroy that site, it will be another massacre of the Shasta Indians, because our religion is tied to that area" [Int MC, tape 23A]. According to an official statement:

> The construction of the dam would destroy an entire family area that is fully intact. Gone would be the marriage grounds, men and women sweat areas, salmon caller areas, burial grounds, and villages. Gone would be the past, present, and future of the Shasta Nations religion. [Shasta document]

In July 1983 Nancy Vanderploeg, as medicine woman of the Shasta, led a memorial service for the Shasta poisoned at Fort Jones in 1851. One hundred thirty-two attended, of whom perhaps 80 were Shasta Indians or their spouses. Other Shasta gatherings, of varying attendance, were held in the city of Mt. Shasta during the summers of 1984 and 1985.

As of the fall of 1984, according to Betty Hall, over 1000 persons had placed themselves on the rolls of the Shasta Tribe [Int BH, tape 6B]. There

is, in short, a dramatic political revitalization underway among the Shasta Indians. While it is true that active political leadership still appears to be concentrated in a few families, the scope of Shasta activities and the size of Shasta enrollments suggest that this will not prove to be a superficial or short-lived phenomenon.

7 SHASTA TERRITORY

7.1 Introduction

The task of reconstructing the boundaries of aboriginal Shasta territory has importance for several reasons. The issue of territory is crucial for an accurate grasp of pre-contact adaptation, for it affects our understanding of diet, population density, communication, and trade patterns. An accurate mapping of territories is also required for an understanding of Shasta political organization, including leadership patterns and band composition.

However, the determination of aboriginal territory has certain pragmatic implications as well. For federal acknowledgement procedures the petitioning group must be defined in relation to a territorial base (25 CFR 83.7(b)). Furthermore, statutes at both the federal and state levels require Native American consultation in regard to projects that would affect archaeological materials, burials, or culturally-defined sacred sites within a group's aboriginal territory.[12]

As previously noted, comparative linguistic evidence suggests that Hokan speakers such as these Shastan groups are long-term occupants of California (see sec. 2.3). At the same time, there is no reason to assume that tribal boundaries have been static even in the recent past. The

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12. See for example Oregon Revised Statutes 358.945-50; federal requirements for consultation have been strengthened by the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (42 USC 1996).

disruption created by Euro-American immigration in the mid-nineteenth century not only drastically reduced Native American populations, but also encouraged population movements. Thus, "whole Indian nations vanished...and their neighbors, both Indian and White, soon moved in to fill the void" (Jensen and Farber 1982: 21). Kroeber suggests that in the wake of miners and settlers, the Wintun moved north into Okwanuchu territory, and the Karuk east into the territory of the Konomihu (Kroeber 1925: 283-84).

The notion of sovereign control of territory is characteristic of states, not tribes. For most Native American groups, and certainly those of the region in question, it is more accurate to distinguish between a core homeland, and a peripheral resource area which might be utilized by several contiguous groups. As Jensen and Farber have argued:

> ...each of the Indian groups in northern California, especially those in high elevation areas, claimed a nuclear territory which constituted their national homeland and in which their permanent villages were located. These tribal homelands seemed to be universally recognized by the various Indian nations, and mainly consisted of river valleys, basins, and lakeshores. The intervening uplands were exploited only seasonally in the warmer months, and almost invariably, two or more groups exploited these same territories. (Jensen and Farber 1982: 21-22)

These and other factors make the reconstruction of territorial boundaries a complex task. The types of data bearing on the question are also varied: linguistic evidence such as place-name studies, archaeological evidence for settlements and resource areas, ethnohistoric evidence bearing on Indian/white interactions, and ethnographic evidence, documenting oral tradition in regard to marriage and kinship patterns, political organization, resource use, settlements, and ritual sites.

Due both to inadequate data and contradictory data, there has been

considerable disagreement regarding the boundaries of certain portions of Shasta territory, for example the Takelma/Shasta boundary in Oregon (for a review see Gray 1985: 31-37). The intent here is not to present a revised mapping of aboriginal Shasta territory, which at the present stage of research would be premature. Instead, after summarizing the ethnographic consensus on Shasta territory, as reflected in Kroeber's Handbook of the Indians of California, additional evidence from Shasta informants is presented, which suggests the need for further research, and possible revisions to the standard view of Shasta settlements and territory, their resource areas, and their interactions with other tribes. For the present purpose, the Okwanuchu, Konomihu, and New River groups are treated along with the Shasta proper as elements of a larger Shastan people, reflecting the definition of the contemporary Shasta Nation (see sec. 3.2).

7.2 Protohistoric Territory (after Kroeber)

Alfred Kroeber (1925: 285-86) gives the following description of Shasta territory:

> 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 a 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 [Mount McLaughlin] in Oregon. Finally, Shasta territory comprised a tract on the north side of the Siskiyous, in Oregon, on the affluents of the Rogue River known as Stewart River [i.e. Bear Creek] and Little Butte Creek.

As was indicated earlier (see sec. 2.3), three other Shastan-speaking groups

have been identified, bordering the territory of the Shasta proper: the Okwanuchu, the Konomihu, and the New River Shasta. Estimates of their pre-contact territories follow.

The Okwanuchu were situated southeast of the Shasta proper, in what is today northwestern Shasta County:

> 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. (Kroeber 1925: 284)

The Konomihu were found in a small stretch of very mountainous territory along the Salmon River, southwest of the Shasta proper:

> The principal Konomihu village ...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. (Kroeber 1925: 283)

The New River Shasta were also situated southwest of the Shasta proper, bordering the Chimariko and Wintun on the north, and extending into the northwestern corner of modern Trinity County:

> They held only the upper waters of the torrent known as New River; from the forks down the stream was Chimariko. 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. (Kroeber 1925: 282)

In short, by Kroeber's reckoning Shastan territory (including Shasta, Okwanuchu, Konomihu, and New River groups) extended on the north through the Siskiyous to roughly the confluence of Bear Creek and the Rogue River, north of Medford, Oregon; on the east along the crest of the Cascades, along a line

connecting Mount Shasta and Mount McLaughlin; on the south to the upper reaches of the Sacramento and its tributaries on the southeast, and to the forks of the New River to the southwest; and on the west to a point along the Klamath River slightly above Happy Camp.

7.3 Additional Evidence

Western boundaries. Additional information bearing on Shasta boundaries to the west include the following.

1. As indicated above (sec. 4.2), George Gibbs, in his journal of the 1851 McKee expedition, indicates that the Shasta language was spoken from Clear Creek (below Happy Camp) up through Shasta Valley (Gibbs 1972: 58).
2. Kroeber's "Karok Towns" (1936) contains differing testimony regarding the Shasta/Karuk border. The Karuk informant Indian Ned listed Karuk towns as running along the Klamath from Happy Camp to a point downriver below the mouth of the Salmon (Kroeber 1936: 29). Kimolly, a Shasta informant, continued his list of Shasta villages as far as Happy Camp (Kroeber 1936: 36). Another enumeration of Karuk settlements is provided by Palmer (1980).
3. A Karuk informant, Stella Howerton (born 1903), indicated that the Karuk did not hold ceremonies above Clear Creek. She also stated that Karuk settlement in the area of Happy Camp began after white miners entered the area: "there was never no village around Happy Camp." [Interview by Betty Hall, 1/29/85, tape 17A.]
4. According to Shasta oral tradition, E-Eh-Ne-Qua, one of the signers of

McKee's unratified 1851 treaty, was buried near Happy Camp [Betty Hall, personal communication].

5. A Shasta informant, Jack Courts, indicated that according to oral tradition, Shasta lived in the vicinity of Clear Creek [Betty Hall, personal communication].

Southern boundaries. Given currently available information, the Shasta believe the southern territorial boundaries as reconstructed by Kroeber to be generally correct. This would place the southern end of Okwanuchu territory approximately at Lakehead, in Shasta County. Additional information includes the following.

1. A recent evaluation of the Chimariko/New River Shasta boundary based on the linguistic study of place-name data (see Bauman 1980; Eidsness 1985: ch. 3) is in general agreement with Kroeber's boundaries, given above.
2. According to Jack Courts, information from his grandparents indicates that the Shasta had hunted migrating herds near the present Trinity (Clair Engle) Lake [Betty Hall, personal communication].
3. Recent research on the distribution and cultural context of rock cupules ("rain rocks") in north-central California suggests a deep cultural association between Hokan peoples and the use of rock cupules for world renewal or rain ritual (Nissen and Ritter 1984). The ritual use of rock cupules has not been documented ethnographically among the Wintun. Accordingly, it can be hypothesized that the presence of such rock cupule sites in what is today Wintun territory (e.g. along the Trinity and upper Sacramento Rivers) might indicate that this was at

one time occupied by the Shasta or another Hokan group. Much more research would be needed before any conclusions could drawn on this basis.

Eastern boundaries. As was noted, Kroeber placed the eastern border of Shasta territory along the crest of the Cascades, between Mount Shasta and Mount McLaughlin. Some additional data follow.

1. Mary Ike, widow of the Shasta chief Idakariwakaha, was born about 1820 on what is know known as Ike's Creek, about four miles west of Meiss Lake. [Source: death certificate. Reported in letter from Hazel Ebert, Bureau of Indian Affairs, to Betty Hall, 3/4/86.]
2. According to he Shasta informant Winnie Nelson, the Medicine Lake Highlands (about seven miles south of the Lava Beds National Monument) was an important obsidian source for the pre-contact Shasta. Travel to the Medicine Lake area for obsidian served as a rite of passage for young Shasta males [James Rock, personal communication].
3. Several references in Peter Skene Ogden's Journal of 1826-27 (see sec. 4.1) offer information on the eastern boundaries of the Shasta. Ogden's entries of January "18" - "20," 1827 show that his Klamath Indian guide was reluctant to travel downriver because of enemies (the Shasta) inhabiting the Klamath River Canyon below Big Bend. As noted previously, the entry for February "1," 1827 shows that Ogden's party encountered three Shasta women near the mouth of Raymond Gulch, now in Copco Lake, whose husbands had been murdered by the Klamath guide the previous year (see LaLande 1983: 28, 35).

Northern boundaries. In his review of the sources bearing on the

aboriginal Shasta/Upland Takelma boundary, Gray concluded that

> the preponderance of the evidence suggests a Shasta presence in Oregon along the upper reaches of Emigrant Creek and Neil Creek (principal tributaries of Bear Creek), possibly along Jenny Creek and on the northern slopes of the Siskiyous near Siskiyou Summit. As to the southeast portion of the Bear Creek Valley, Sapir was indeed correct that it was a disputed area and one that was seasonally exploited by Shasta and the Upland Takelma. (Gray 1985: 36)

However, Shasta informants have suggested several other lines of evidence, primarily ethnohistoric, which must be considered seriously in reconstructing the Shasta/Takelma boundary.

During the Rogue River Wars (early 1850s), Shasta and Takelma Indians fought together against the settlers. Thus the Indians identified in contemporary sources as "Rogues" could be Shastas, Takelmas (Penutian speakers), or yet other groups (e.g. Athapaskan speakers) of the Rogue River area. Two Rogue River chiefs frequently mentioned in accounts of the period were Aps-er-ka-har ("Joe") and To-qua-he-ar ("Sam"). They were, for example, among the signers of the 1854 "Treaty with the Rogue River Indians" (Kappler 1904: II: 654-55). They have been identified as Takelmas (e.g. in Beckham 1971: 122-23). Evidence that these were Shasta chiefs would suggest a reevaluation of Shasta/Takelma relations and territory in the immediate pre-contact period.

1. J.P. Dunn describes the Rogue River Indians as Shastas, under tbe leadership of "Sam" and "Joe". He notes that "the Shastas, Rogue Rivers, and Scott's Rivers have all one language, and had formerly one head chief" (Dunn 1886: 191; see also U.S. House of Representatives 1859: 45). Victor (1894: 292) states that "the Shasta and Rogue-river Indians were one nation, divided under several chiefs..." Similar

information is given in Walling (1884: 190), and in Sutton and Sutton (n.d.: 48).

2. A sketch of "Sam" done at the Grande Ronde Agency in 1856 is labeled "Shasta chief" (reproduced in Walsh 1972: 18).

3. Sam's Valley, approximately ten miles north of Medford, Oregon, is apparently named after Chief "Sam". McArthur (1974: 644) notes "Chief Sam of the Rogue River Indians formerly lived in this valley and it was named for him." If "Sam" was indeed a Shasta, this places Shasta occupation north of the Rogue River, at least in the contact period.

4. Another piece of linguistic data is provided by Shasta family history. Jennie Wicks, a Klamath River Shasta, is said to have been captured by Rogue River Indians about 1830, and brought to their settlement near what is today Gold Hill. They are reported to have spoken her language, i.e. Shasta [Betty Hall, personal communication].

7.4 The Contemporary Shasta Nation

As of 1986, some 1200 persons have been registered on the rolls of the Shasta Nation, descendants of the Shasta, Okwanuchu, New River, and Konomihu groups. Due to the Western Oregon Termination Act, however, descendants of Oregon Shasta are excluded.[13]

As informants have noted, the Shasta today have a high level of educational and professional attainment. Shasta Indians are represented in medicine, teaching, accounting, among other professions. Members of the

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13. All figures are from Betty Hall, Enrollment Clerk of the Shasta Nation, and reflect enrollments as of April 1986.

Shasta Nation are to be found today throughout the United States. However, some twenty-five percent (approximately 300) of the present-day Shasta live in northern California within what was originally Shasta territory. Another twenty-three percent (275) live in southern Oregon near the California/Oregon border, in a band roughly between Kerby and Lakeview.

Current enrollments within the California portion of Shasta aboriginal territory are as follows:

Happy Camp	16
Seiad	1
Klamath River (town)	10
Hornbrook	13
Yreka	74
Montague	21
Dorris	4
Macdoel	6
Fort Jones	26
Greenview	5
Etna	34
Callahan	4
Sawyer's Bar	4
Forks of Salmon	8
Cecilville	10
Gazelle	6
Weed	20
Mt. Shasta	20
Dunsmuir	19
Total	301

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APPENDIX: SHASTA INFORMANTS

The following is a list of the main Shasta informants consulted in this research. Dates of interviews are given after the names of informants; an asterisk indicates more than two interviews. Interviews of 5/26/84 and 10/19/84 were conducted in the course of Shasta events, were less formal, and were not tape recorded. Other interviews were conducted in the informants' homes, and were tape recorded with a Marantz PMD-360 cassette tape recorder. Copies of all tapes have been filed with the Cultural Resources personnel at the Klamath National Forest, Yreka.

Additional data were collected during lengthy meetings with Shasta representatives to review the draft report. The first draft was reviewed on November 8 and November 15, 1985; the second draft was reviewed on March 25, 1986. In addition to the above the writer has attended numerous Shasta meetings and ceremonies from the fall of 1983 through the fall of 1985.

Kathryn Beatty (Fort Jones)	7/31/85
Eric Carpelan (Yreka)	5/26/84
Mary Carpelan (Yreka)	*
Carraway George (Hornbrook)	4/17/85; 5/8/85
Patty George (Hornbrook)	10/19/84
Betty L. Hall (Mugginsville)	*
Roy Hall (Mugginsville)	10/29/84
Bobbie Mura (Dunsmuir)	5/26/84
Fred Ruff (Fort Jones)	7/31/85
Nancy George Vanderploeg (Hornbrook)	*
Fred Wicks (Mygginsville)	12/12/84
Nina Wicks (Mugginsville)	12/12/84