

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

3:4

SHASTA ETHNOGRAPHY

BY

CATHARINE HOLT

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Vol. 3, No. 4

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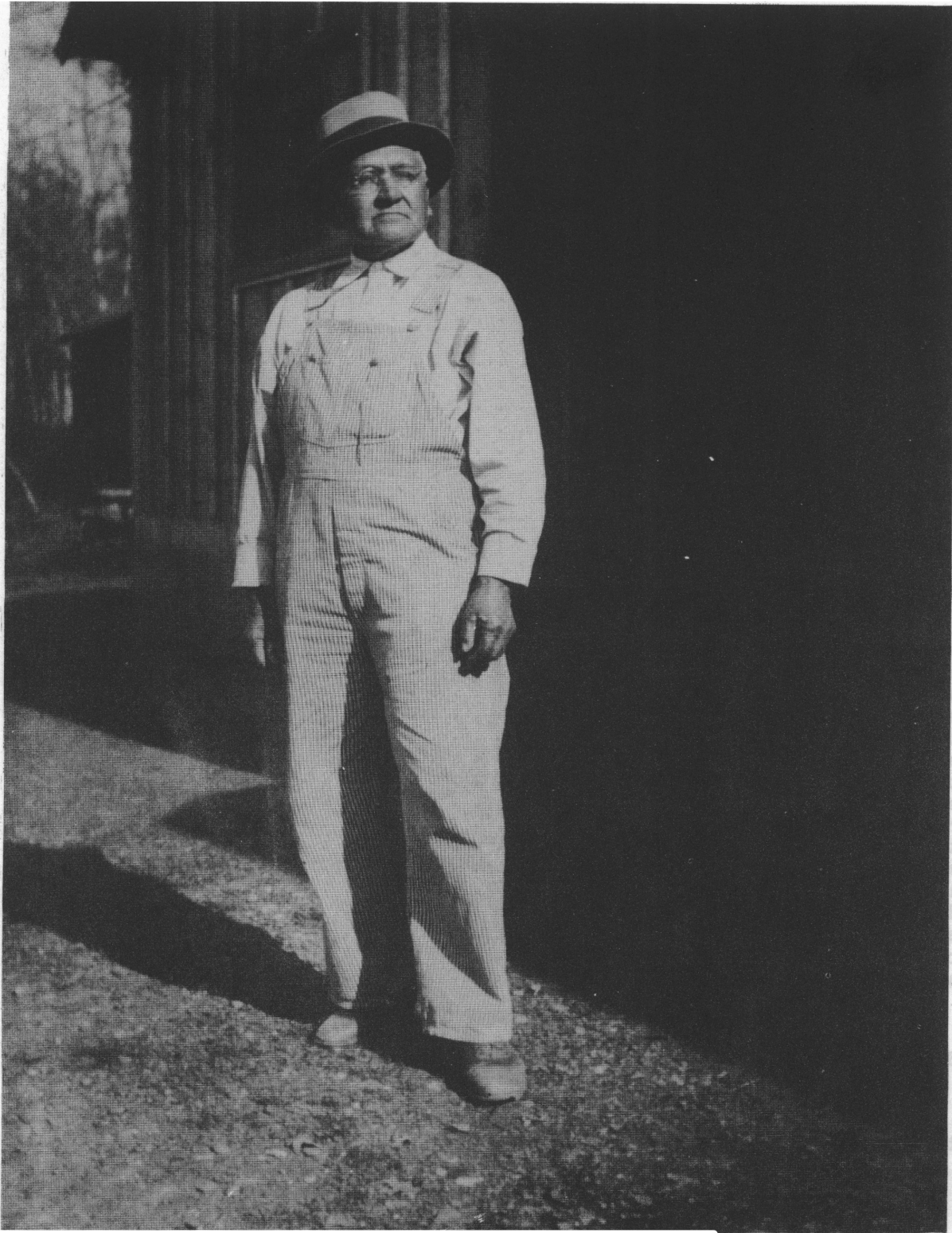
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SARGENT SAMBO

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BY

CATHARINE HOLT

INTRODUCTION

The material for the following paper was obtained in April and May of 1937 during a month's stay at Horse Creek, on the Klamath River in Siskiyou County, California. The source of information was Sargent Sambo, Roland B. Dixon's principal informant when he collected the material for his monograph, *The Shasta*, published in the *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, volume 17, part 5, 1907. As noted by Dixon in his introduction (p. 383), Sargent Sambo is a Shasta of the Klamath River and a hereditary chief. His father and paternal grandfather were of the Oregon group of Shasta, their home in the Rogue River Valley. Besides being headman of the Oregon group, his grandfather, said Sargent Sambo, was the principal chief of the four Shasta groups, being succeeded by his son, Sargent's father. Sargent's paternal grandmother was a Shasta of the Shasta Valley group and his mother was a Karok, the daughter of a "chief." Though his father's original home was on the Rogue River in Oregon, the major part of his adult life was apparently spent on the Klamath, and Sargent was born and has lived all his life within a radius of a few miles of his present home, with occasional interludes in Oregon. The material pre-

sented in the following pages, therefore, refers more particularly to the Klamath River Shasta.

The present paper is written as a supplement to Dixon's. Therefore his arrangement of material has been followed, and repetition avoided as much as possible. The source of material, except when self-evident from context, is indicated by a preceding superior ^d when from Dixon alone, by superior ^c when from both Dixon and myself; new material from Sargent by a preceding superior ^h.

The inadequacy of an account based entirely on data from one informant is offset to a certain extent by the excellence of that informant, his intelligence, and his constant effort at accuracy.

I wish to express my deep appreciation to Professor A. L. Kroeber for his ever-ready assistance and to thank Professor Robert H. Lowie for his generous aid. Thanks are also due to Sargent Sambo for intelligent and helpful cooperation and to Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Barton of Horse Creek, California, for many courtesies. Finally, the financial support of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California is gratefully acknowledged.

HABITAT AND DIVISIONS

^dThe Shasta territory was a mountainous region in northern California including almost the whole of Siskiyou County and extending across the Siskiyou into Jackson and Klamath counties of southern Oregon where it comprised that part of the Rogue River Valley drained by Little Butte Creek and Stewart River. The territory in California "divides itself topographically into three sections":¹ the Klamath River Valley for a stretch of about seventy miles from near Fall Creek to the confluence of the Klamath and Scott rivers; Scott Valley; and Shasta Valley. "Corresponding roughly to these three topographical divisions were, apparently, three sections or groups of the Shasta. The three divisions were distinguished by slight differences of language and custom, and governmentally each formed more or less of a unit."² The Oregon Shasta of the Rogue River Valley formed a fourth such unit.

^dDixon and Sargent gave somewhat different interpretations of the Shasta's own names for their four divisions. Ka'hosadi, which Dixon applies to the Oregon group,³ includes all the Shasta, and might be applied to any one of the four groups. It comes from ka'hosá (to talk, talking), and signifies "plain speakers" or "true speakers." Gí'kats is also a term for all the Shasta, and one might refer to another as Gí'katsákitu (he is Gí'kats). Ka'hosadi, however, was much the more usual word. Dixon gives Kikatsik, plainly a different form of Gí'kats, as one name for the Scott Valley people and Irúaitu as another; but he adds that sometimes the former term seemed also to include the Shasta Valley people.⁴ Curtis says, "The Kikatsik (Kika'ts!) were in Shasta Valley as far south as Edgewood and on upper Klamath river, extending into Oregon."⁵

^dWiruwhi means "down the Klamath River," and wiruwhikwá means "upstream" with reference to the Klamath River. Therefore the Klamath River group were known to the Shasta Valley people as Wiruwhitsu, and Wiruwhikwátsu denoted the Klamath group to people in Scott Valley and to the Gamútuwa (Kammátwa of Dixon?),⁶ the next people below on the Klamath (see below). The Oregon Shasta referred to the Klamath division as Wasudigwátsu, wasudi being the word for gulch and Wasudigwá the word for the Klamath River. Dixon

gives Wiruwhikwáiruk!a as one name for the Klamath River Shasta, though he says they were more commonly known as Kammátwa.⁷

^dThe Scott Valley people were known as Iruaitu, Irúai being the name for Scott Valley; though Dixon⁸ gives Irúai as the name for Indian Creek and so referring more particularly to the northern end of Scott Valley. However, according to Sargent, Iruaitu refers to the people of the whole valley, Wikwahaiwagátsu to the people of the lower end of the valley (wikwahaiwago, the lower end of anything, such as a valley), and Wikwikwáiága to the upper end of Scott Valley (kwikwáiága, the upper corner). Curtis gives Iruwaitu as the name for the whole Scott Valley group.⁹ The Klamath River people might also refer to both the Scott Valley and the Shasta Valley people as Uwátthútsu, the word meaning "from over the other side."

^dAhōtiréitsu was the name for the Shasta Valley division. Ahōtira means "an open place," and Ahōtiqä'e (an open flat country with a rim around it) is the name for Shasta Valley.

^dIkirük, the name for Rogue River Valley, means "back behind," reference being to the high mountain between the Klamath and Rogue rivers over which the old trail led. The Shasta of the Rogue River Valley were, accordingly, called Ikirüká'tsu.

^dThe Karok were known as Íwapi and their language as giwapi, iwapá'ki meaning "down the river." The Karok, like the Shasta, were "real people," but between them and the Shasta on the Klamath River were two groups scornfully regarded as mere trash. These were the Gamútuwa on the Shasta side and allied to the Shasta, and the Watido just below them and allied to the Karok. These people "didn't know how to talk right"; the Gamútuwa spoke a broken Shasta and the Watido a broken Karok. My informant seemed uncertain as to whether the two groups were bilingual or whether the Watido, on the one hand, understood Karok, the Gamútuwa on the other understood Shasta, and their dialects were mutually intelligible. However that may be, the Shasta and Karok carried on communication through these two groups, so probably they were bilingual.

^dThe Gamútuwa and Watido territory was the narrow, rocky canyon from Scott River to Happy Camp. The Gamútuwa villages were scattered from Scott River to Seiad Valley. Some Gamútuwa were found among the Watido beyond Seiad and among the Shasta proper from Scott River up to Horse Creek. Their settlements were also scattered along the Scott River through the canyon until it

¹ Roland B. Dixon, *The Shasta*, AMNH-B 17:381-498, 1907; esp. 387. Hereafter referred to as Dixon.

² Dixon, 388.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Edward S. Curtis, "The Shasta," in *The North American Indian*, 13:105-126, 1924; esp. 106.

⁶ Dixon, 388.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Curtis, op. cit., 106.

spreads out into the valley among the true Shasta again. These Scott Canyon people were not called Gamutwa, being spoken of as "up the creek people" from the Klamath and as "down the creek people" from Fort Jones in the upper end of Scott Valley. They were, however, Gamútwa.

What is here designated as Watido territory Curtis gives as the territory of a Shasta group named Katiru.¹⁰ He places the "Kammatwa" where Sargent put the Gamútwa, but mentions them as a now extinct group "speaking a dialect unintelligible to the other Shasta."¹¹

The term Gamútwa refers to the broken Shasta these people spoke and means something like "half sound," indicating that these people, from the Shasta point of view, could not speak plainly. The Gamútwa were apparently poor, uncouth relations of the Shasta. Theirs was the most undesirable part of Shasta territory, and their culture seems to have been a feeble reflection of Shasta culture. In speaking of them my informant's manner was one of tolerant amusement and condescension: "Oh, they were jolly fellows; they were free and laughing and talking and you could have a good time with them, but they had no ways about them at all. You know, it's just like you see two children at school and you can tell what kind of homes they come from." They had no headman of their own but came to the Shasta--to the headman at either Horse Creek or Fort Jones--to settle those difficulties they could not handle themselves. Their house type was the same as the Shasta, only there was no storage space between the head of the sleeping place and the wall, as in the better Shasta houses, for "they had nothing to store." They bought their wives, as did the Shasta, but paid less for them. They prepared hides in the same way as the Shasta and wore similar clothing. "They liked to dress up a lot when they came to dances." "They tried to fix their dresses fancy with lots of beads, but they didn't know how to fix them. They wouldn't get the shells on right, they would get them on backward, with the shells that should be on the bottom fringe up on the body of the skirt." In short, their culture, both material and non-material, seems to have been a Shasta culture, but simplified and lacking what the Shasta considered the refinements of life. There was apparently some intermarriage: Gamútwa girls sometimes married among the Shasta but Shasta girls never married among the Gamútwa, and a Shasta man who went down there to marry would be one who "didn't amount to much."

The Watido relation to the Karok was ap-

parently the same as that of the Gamútwa to the Shasta.

Speculation concerning these two groups based on the foregoing scanty information is mere guesswork; but one wonders if further knowledge would not reveal an early connection with one or more of the marginal Shastan tribes,¹² perhaps the Konomihu or the New River Shasta. Kroeber's description of Konomihu culture suggests Gamútwa, and both may be an early, simplified form of Shasta culture. Possibly originally they were one people who were crowded into their historically known position by the advancing Shasta. Perhaps as the Konomihu retreated to their location on the Salmon River some may have remained in the canyon territory, becoming the Gamútwa and staying there undisturbed by the Shasta, who took the more desirable territory for themselves. This small group, thus isolated from their closer kindred, may have become satellites of the more powerful Shasta, a "minority group" within Shasta territory, and their language may have gradually modified toward the Shasta or may have been a sort of patois resulting from an imperfect taking over of Shasta speech. While there are no philological data, Sargent's description of the differences of Gamútwa from Shasta speech gave the impression of Shasta spoken with a heavy foreign accent rather than of a distinct, though related, dialect. The Watido also may be remnants of the same group, who gradually modified toward the Karok in the same way. Or the two (Gamútwa and Watido) may be the modified remnants of any two of the marginal tribes--Konomihu, New River Shasta, Chimariko.

The Modoc were known to the Shasta as Ipaxanáí, ípxana meaning "lake." They seem to have been the arch enemies of the Shasta (at least of the Klamath and Shasta Valley groups). Shasta relations with the Karok were friendly; the latter were highly respected as people of substance with whom one could have dealings and with whom one could satisfactorily settle any difficulties that might arise. Indeed, their superiority in some ways was recognized: "They had better-made things than anybody, they did everything fancy." But the Modoc were very different people; they had neither substance nor principles, and were in no way to be relied upon. They killed women and took slaves and one could never conclude a peace with them; for, "How could you settle anything with them? They didn't have any money."

¹²See A. L. Kroeber's discussion of the Shastan groups in his Handbook of the Indians of California, BAE-B 78:1-995, 1925; esp. 279-284. Hereafter referred to as Kroeber, Handbook.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

MATERIAL CULTURE

Manufactures

^dThe Shasta made pipe tips, pestles, soap-stone vessels, axes, knives, arrow points, and scrapers of stone. Most of the knives, arrow points, and scrapers were of obsidian, of which there was an abundant supply in Shasta territory, and of excellent quality. ^hax blades had a hole for insertion of the handle.

^cPipes and mush paddles were of wood, spoons of both wood and horn, and all were similar in type to those of the Karok, Yurok, and Hupa.

^hThe Shasta also made spoons of elk knee cap, the bone being boiled to keep it from breaking when cut. Old women used a deer skull trimmed around the top, the nose serving as handle. Women also used a shell, dark blue, thin, rather long and pointed, obtained from the lower Klamath (evidently mussel). These shells were very rare in the Oregon group and were preferred because they came from elsewhere. They were used especially in the menstrual hut, where bone or horn spoons might not be used. All spoons, except ^a, the deer skull, were made by men; so were mush paddles, for women did no carving. Mush paddles were of laurel wood, because this wood is smooth and fine grained.

^hThe digging stick was of mountain mahogany (because this is hard), about 3 feet long and pointed at both ends, sharpened on a rough rock.

^cDentalium shells, procured from the tribes of the lower Klamath and from the Rogue River people of Oregon, ^hwere strung and rated in the Yurok manner,¹³ though the valuation was somewhat higher. ^cThe larger shells were often decorated with incised lines and tiny red feathers ^hbefore coming into Shasta hands. ^cDisk-bead currency, obtained in trade from the Wintu, was also used to a certain extent, and woodpecker scalps were used as currency as well as prized for their decorative value. ^hAs with the Karok and Yurok,¹⁴ deerskins of unusual colors, especially white, and large blades of obsidian, were in the class of treasures and constituted wealth.

"Deerskins were dressed and prepared by the Shasta in the usual manner."¹⁵ ^hThe deer brains for softening were mixed with a fine, dry grass, or more usually with "yellow moss from firs,"¹⁶ made into a cake, and baked by the fire. When

the hair of the hide had been removed and the skin grained by scraping, a cake was soaked in enough water to cover the hide, which was normally left in the mixture overnight. The deer-skin took on a greenish cast, which turned to brown or tan when it was smoked.

^hThis deer-brain mixture was also used for softening beaver, otter, coyote, raccoon, and fox skins. These were stretched and scraped, soaked for about half a day in the brains dressing, then wrung out in the hands and rubbed.

^hBoth men and women tanned skins.

^hBearskins were stretched and staked out on the ground in the sun. After all the fat possible had been cut off, rotten pine wood was broken up and sprinkled thickly over it as an absorbent. This was left until the oil could be seen coming through the pine powder, when this was cleaned off and more put in its place. This was repeated until no more oil appeared. Then the skin was washed with hot water and scraped with a sharp-edged rock. This was exclusively men's work, and the hides were prized as bed-covers.

^hSmaller skins were sewn together as robes: of these raccoon was commonest.

^hString for fish nets was made from Apocynum, which grows by the river, but deer-snare rope of iris from the hills. For stripping the fibers women tied a little piece of shell on the back of the thumb,¹⁷ but men usually used the thumb-nail. Cordage was rolled on the front of the thigh, the worker dipping his fingers in a basket of water to keep the fibers damp. Cordage was manufactured chiefly by old men and women, but only men made the deer-snare rope. Cord for fish nets was two-strand, for deer snares three-strand.

^cThough the Shasta used baskets extensively, and made baskets,¹⁸ they "relied to a great extent on other tribes" for them, and the types and forms were those of the Yurok, Karok, and Hupa. ^cThey had storage baskets, cooking baskets, trays and trinket baskets, women's basketry caps, and the conical carrying basket. They also had a rawhide container with a wooden rim, shaped much like the conical pack basket and used for carrying grass seed and small roots.¹⁹ ^hThis was modeled on the Wintu carrying basket, which was more pointed than those of the Shasta. These Wintu baskets were sometimes given to them and the rawhide receptacle was made by stretching the wet rawhide over one, sewing

¹³ See Kroeber, Handbook, 23.

¹⁴ Ibid., 26.

¹⁵ Dixon, 397.

¹⁶ Probably the lichen (*Evernia vulpina*), used by the Hupa as a yellow dye for basketry material (P. E. Goddard, *Life and Culture of the Hupa*, UC-PAAE 1:1-88, 1903; esp. 40; hereafter referred to as Goddard, Hupa).

¹⁷ Kroeber, Handbook, 85. Goddard, Hupa, 35.

¹⁸ For details of materials and technique see Dixon, 398-403.

¹⁹ Dixon, 397.

it on and leaving it until dry. Only a few women owned these Wintu baskets and they would lend them to other women as molds for the raw-hide receptacles.

"As compared with the Maidu and the Indians of the Central California area, or even with the Hupa, the Shasta use of feathers was undeveloped. In place of the many varieties of feather ornaments used in ceremonials by the majority of Californian Indians, the Shasta had but few, and these were rather simple."²⁰ They consisted of head, wrist, and shoulder bands, fringes and pendants, and single feathers decorated and worn in the hair or held in the hand.²¹ Feathers formed an indispensable part of the shaman's paraphernalia, but the types of ornaments were largely the same as those worn by the layman, being distinguished from the latter by notched feathers.

Clothing and Personal Adornment

⁰Clothing was of skins and was similar to that of the lower Klamath tribes. The men wore moccasins with a single seam up the front and a seam at the heel, the ends turned back and tied in front; long leggings reaching from the ankle to the hip; breechclout; and sometimes a shirt--all these of buckskin, the moccasins with outer sole of bear or elkhide. Dress moccasins were without soles and great care was lavished on the front seam, which was sewn with sinew by stitching between the two edges as they were held together, the sinew passing through only part of the thickness of the skin. The stitches were very close so the effect was that of a line of sinew between the two raw edges of the skin. Ordinary moccasins were sewn with buckskin and were sometimes made by old men, but fine work was done by women. Both sexes usually went barefoot except in winter or when going far into the hills.

¹The buckskin shirt, made of two hides sewed up the sides and across the shoulders, hung to the knees. A similar winter garment, of several fox or raccoon skins, fur side in, was worn not for hunting but, for instance, on a visiting trip. If bedcovers were lacking at the place visited, one would sleep in this garment. For extra warmth in hunting two foxskins were worn, one across the front, the other across the back, sewn together at the left shoulder and tied together under each arm, covering the left shoulder and leaving both arms free. Raccoon-skin robes reaching from the neck to below the knees were worn in winter by both sexes. The skins were sewn together head end up, so the garment narrowed toward the top. The tails were left on and the robe was tied at the neck and a little down the front. Men wore such robes when visiting and wishing to impress

people with their wealth, and women wore them at a dance.

²Men had close-fitting buckskin caps for ordinary and fur caps for better wear. A wealthy man would have a cap of otter skin; others had raccoon, gray squirrel, or any common skin except coyote, which was never worn.

³Seams of clothes were frequently painted red. Shirts were fringed at the seams, leggings down the sides, the fringe of the better ones being decorated with beads.

⁴Women wore moccasins similar to men's, and the double buckskin skirt and basketry cap characteristic of the tribes of the lower Klamath.²² To the double skirt was added a narrow apron consisting of long fringes covered with pine nuts, seeds, or braided grass.²³ Women also wore sometimes a shirt similar to men's, or a sort of brassiere of buckskin tied around under the arms and hanging to the waist. For special occasions this was beaded and painted. A more elaborate apron was made of mussel shells and the stems of a plant described as "a kind of wild bamboo," greenish yellow, "shiny and pretty." These stems were cut when small into lengths about the size of large dentalia and strung in combination with the mussel shells. The resulting strands were woven together at the top rather closely, a weft thread between each shell and the next, a little farther down a weft between each two shells, and below the knees the strands were left loose. "It was the prettiest thing you ever saw to see them at night when the women were dancing."

⁵In the menstrual hut women wore fringed skirts of stripped willow.

⁶When carrying the burden basket, women padded the basket cap (constantly worn) with leaves of the irahátraga (*Achillea millefolium*, var. *lanulosa*), which were used because they "smelled sweet."

⁷Children of both sexes wore a breechclout of buckskin until the age of twelve or thirteen, and when going away from home a shirt reaching to the knees. This shirt was worn in winter, as also, frequently, were a fur robe and moccasins.

⁸Women's moccasins and pack straps were oiled with fish oil to make them waterproof and keep them soft. Men's moccasins, also their quivers and the inside of fur garments, were oiled with bear, deer, or wildcat oil. In winter their moccasins were oiled with wildcat oil as a preventive of chilblains, for the wildcat lives in the snow.

Crude snowshoes²⁴ were made of hazelwood, made pliable by fire, with cross lashing of deer hide

²⁰Dixon, 403.

²¹For details of technique see Dixon, 403-406.

²²See Kroeber, Handbook, 76.

²³Dixon, 409.

²⁴See Dixon, 412 and fig. 93.

wrapped on rope. During the tying on of snow-shoes the quail song was sung, for quails run on top of the snow.

^cMen wore their hair in a knot on top of the head or at the neck, held with a bone pin. ^hOr, for security in hunting, they wrapped it in a tight knot at each ear, below the cap, tying it around with buckskin. At home they might tie it at the neck and let it hang loose. ^cWomen wore their hair in Yurok fashion,²⁵ hanging in two queues in front of the shoulders and wrapped with buckskin. ^hWealthy women decorated this wrapping with dentalia and haliotis, or sometimes with the red feathers from the woodpecker.

^hFor special occasions both sexes painted²⁶ face and arms, each person with his own design. Girls had three or four red stripes on each cheek, being painted in this manner until after the puberty dance. ^cGirls were tattooed on the chin at about the age of ten or twelve by an old woman who made it her regular trade, and the instrument used was a sharp flake of obsidian. ^hAn untattooed woman was ridiculed and called names such as "leather face." Both boys and girls had ears and nose pierced at about the age of puberty. This was done with a bone awl or a porcupine quill, usually the latter because less painful, as it "just worked itself through."

^cBoth men and women wore ornaments of beads, shells, and feathers. Necklaces were made of the white disk beads characteristic of central California, of small shells, and pine nuts. Shell ear pendants or long dentalia stuck in the ear and nose were sometimes worn. ^hBelts and expensive dresses were decorated with dentalia and strings of the dentalium currency were worn as ornaments. Women wore feathers at the sides of the hair, men in fancy headbands, a very fine band being set solid with woodpecker scalps, the bills left on. Woodpecker scalps used for women's ornaments had the bills removed. ^cWomen sometimes wore belts of hair intertwined with buckskin thongs,²⁷ or of heavy buckskin. ^hThese belts were often elaborately decorated with beads or porcupine quillwork. The porcupine quills, dyed with the moss (*Evernia?*) used in tanning hides, designed belts, women's basketry caps, and baskets. Porcupine quillwork had always been done by the Shasta, but only in the upper Rogue River Valley, Shasta Valley, and on the upper Klamath about Hornbrook and beyond. Beadwork occurred in the same places. An occasional woman of the lower Klamath Shasta did this quill- or beadwork, but she was one who had visited.

^hDifferent oils were used as cosmetics. Deer marrow from the upper leg bone was saved and

packed in a deer bladder for dressing the hair and for chapped hands and face. Bear and otter oil were also used for the hair, the latter being better for making it grow thick, long, and black, for the otter is black. Oil obtained from the otter or bear only during a single month, about January, must be used, for in this month their hair is "well set"; then it loosens and is not fully "set" again until it stops growing in January. If one used oil obtained when the hair was loose, his own hair would fall out. Girls used also a certain root, grated in a little warm water, to dress their hair and make it grow thick and long.

^hA hairbrush of porcupine quills or bunched pine needles was used to smooth the hair. After swimming, the hair was switched dry against peeled sticks erected for the purpose near the bathing place. Clothes were washed in the creek, being wetted, rubbed all over with the root of a certain plant,²⁸ rolled and pounded with a stick on a flat board. They were dried on the bushes and rubbed soft before quite dry.

Dwellings and Household Utensils

^cThe Shasta dwelling house²⁹ (*ümma*) was rectangular, ^dabout 16 by 19 to 22 feet, ^cand excavated ^dto a depth of about 3 feet. ^cThe board roof came to a single crest and sloped steeply from two ridgepoles ^dabout 14 to 16 feet above the floor to side poles about $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 feet above the edge of the excavation. ^cRidgepoles and side poles rested on forked posts set just inside the excavation, and between the two ridgepoles was an opening for the smoke hole in the center of the crest. Side walls were formed by piling the excavated dirt along the edge of the pit up to the roof, and these dirt walls were lined with slabs of cedar bark ^hor pine boards bedded on pine needles with pine needles packed between the bark or boards and the dirt walls.

^cThe end walls were formed of boards set on end, and at one end the boards between the two posts supporting the double ridgepole stopped short about 3 feet aboveground and the door thus formed was closed by a heavy rush mat. Frequently the ridge and side poles projected "from a metre to a metre and a half beyond the end-wall of the house, at the end where the door was situated. On these the roof was extended and a second rough end-wall built, forming in this way a sort of 'storm porch,' to which the entrance was always at the extreme corner, and unprovided with any mat or other means of closing."³⁰ ^hPosts were of oak and ridgepoles of pine or, preferably, fir, both peeled.

^hThe floor was smoothed with dirt sifted through

²⁸ Probably bulbs of *Chlorogalum pomeridianum*. See Goddard, Hupa, 19.

²⁹ See Dixon, 416-418, for detailed description of construction.

³⁰ Dixon, 417.

²⁵ Kroeber, Handbook, 77.

²⁶ For colors and sources of paint see Dixon, 412.

²⁷ See Dixon, 413.

an old openwork basket and this was wetted and trampled until hard and smooth. ^cIn the center was a sunken fireplace, circular and rimmed with stones. The general living space, for sleeping, lounging, and other activities, extended from the fireplace to within about 1-1/2 feet of the walls. ^d"At this point, a heavy board, about fifty centimetres in width, was set up on edge, and held in position by stakes. The space between this board and the wall formed thus a sort of 'manger' at the head of the person lying feet to the fire; and in this place each person kept his or her personal property in the way of clothing, food, etc."³¹ ^cThis storage bin was lined with closely woven ^cmats of maple leaves, ^d"made by weaving the long stems of the leaves through the leaves and tying them."³² ^hThese mats were waterproof and would keep for years; they were used for covering stored articles. Bedding consisted of two hides (deer, elk, or various animals) sewn together. It was rolled against the wall during the day, or kept in the storage bin. Bedcovers were only large enough for two people. Pillows consisted of bundles of tules tied at each end and cut off square. ^cTwo parallel walls reaching from the ground to the roof extended from each side of the door for about 3 feet or more toward the center of the house. ^hCooking utensils were kept in the two nooks thus formed beside the door and acorns were pounded there, the woman usually turning her back to the fire. ^cAs noted by Dixon,³³ when the house was occupied by two families, as was frequently the case, each occupied one side, ^hboth using the common fireplace. ^cSuch families were always closely related.

^hBuilding was usually done in early summer when the timber was peeling, thus facilitating peeling with the ax, and neighbors often cooperated. First, materials were prepared on the mountainside. Trees the proper size were selected, felled with the stone ax, split into boards with the elkhorn wedge, the posts and ridgepoles being peeled. This was men's work, though women helped in the peeling. Then the men carried the heavy poles down and began the excavation. Meanwhile the women were bringing down the bark, pine needles, boards, and other things. The construction of the house itself was the work of the men; the packing of pine needles and dirt, packing and smoothing the floor, construction of the fireplace, etc., were the work of the women.

^hHouses faced the water and were apparently built in more or less of a row.

^hThe menstrual hut (wapsahúmma; wapsahú, menstruating woman) ^cwas on the same general plan as the dwelling house, but small ^h(about 5 feet in the highest place) ^cand not so strongly or

carefully built. ^hWalls were of doubled pine bark with a little dirt thrown on the outside, and the floor was not so carefully smoothed. Several women together built it, on the "dark side" of the village, that is, on the west, as opposed to the "daylight side" or east.

^cBesides the úmma (dwelling house), a second important and substantial structure was the okwá'-úmma (big house), which according to Dixon, was the sweat house and men's general lounging and winter sleeping place,³⁴ but according to Sargent, was not a sweat house, but the place for general assemblies of the whole group, men, women, and children, for dances (such as the winter ceremonial of the shaman or merely for entertainment), gambling, etc. ^cIt was similar in construction to the úmma, but larger and with a deeper excavation, ^dbeing about 19 or 20 to 26 or 27 feet wide and from about 30 to 40 feet long with a depth of about 6-1/2 feet. ^cInstead of the double ridgepole of the úmma with the pair of supporting posts at the end, there was a single ridgepole with a heavy supporting post at each end and one in the middle, slightly nearer the door than the exact center, the fireplace being on the farther side of this central post. ^hLike the úmma, the floor was of packed earth. ^dCorner posts supporting the side poles for the roof were proportionally higher than in the úmma, ^cso that the roof was almost flat, and both roof and sides were earth covered. ^hSide walls were never cedar bark, as in the úmma frequently, but always split boards set on pine needles with a thick layer of pine needles between the boards and the dirt piled against them. ^cPine needles also intervened between the roof and its dirt covering. ^hThe door was like that of the úmma, except for a passage leading to it dug through the dirt against the wall. Thus, unlike the úmma, earth was apparently heaped against the end as well as the side walls. When this passage was not in use, boards were laid over it. A tule mat closed the door, as in the úmma.

^hThe headman proposed the building of an okwá'-úmma and ^che owned it. ^hOr it might belong to two or three of the leading men in the village. They planned it and asked the other men to help build it, but apparently had no more actual part than the others, neither feeding the helpers nor going to any extra expense. Women did not help in the building, but old women swept it. If one had more visitors than his own house would accommodate, the headman without being asked would send word for the visitors to sleep in the okwá'úmma. "The headman is always supposed to do the right thing." It was not the sleeping place for the men of the village (contradicting Dixon),³⁵ only visitors sleeping there, and not often they, for they could usually be accommodated in the úmma.

^hThe brother, son, or other male relative of the

³¹ Dixon, 418.

³² Dixon, 422.

³³ Dixon, 418.

³⁴ Dixon, 413, 418-420.

³⁵ Dixon, 420.

headman inherited the okwá'úmna. If there were only female heirs, it was burned. If no heirs at all, it was left to collapse, for "there would be nobody to burn it."

^cOnly large villages had an okwá'úmna. ^hThere were probably, for instance, only two or three on the whole Klamath River.

^hThe sweat house was the wú'kwu. Only a village of several families had a wú'kwu and the men from neighboring villages used it. The wú'kwu was built like the okwá'úmna, except that it was small and the door and interior arrangement were somewhat different. The door seems to have been like that described by Dixon for the okwá'úmna.³⁶ It was in the center of one side, a small hole cut in a plank, about waist high from the floor with a notched log leading to it and, just outside, a stake on either side by which to pull oneself out. It was closed by a sliding board. There was no smoke hole. The fireplace was in the center of the east end, a little out from the wall, with a draft hole back of it which could be closed by a board propped against it. At the two ends, only the corner posts extended all the way to the floor, the center post resting on a cross pole extending from corner to corner. From this, two posts were slanted to the ridgepole and behind these green wood was stored. The floor was always board, and wooden blocks were used for pillows.

^hNo women were allowed in the wú'kwu. 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. [Apparently married men slept there only irregularly, though there is some doubt on this point, for my informant remarked once that men did not sleep in the úmma in the winter.] Always some men slept home, for if all slept in the wú'kwu and a war party took them by surprise, all the men would be killed in a group. Each man had his own sleeping place and pillow in the wú'kwu, which was large enough to accommodate fifteen or twenty men lying close together in rows, heads toward the fire. It was open for the use of all the men but theoretically belonged to the headman, and if one wanted to use it for something special, he spoke for it with the headman. It went right on in use, however, when the headman died, so apparently it was not so much a matter of ownership as that one of the functions of the headman was to regulate its individual use.

^hIn villages with no wú'kwu men slept at home, married men sleeping in the house, and boys, after the age of ten or twelve, sleeping in the corner of the "storm porch" away from the door.

^hThere seemed to be no special location for the okwá'úmna, though it was apt to be at about the center of the village, but the wú'kwu was always

built near the stream. The usual fire in the wú'kwu was of manzanita or chaparral, but for sweating for some special luck a man would climb a fir tree³⁷ at night and get branches for his fire, splitting them and preparing them there before bringing them to the sweat house. A good fire maker built the fire so that the heat came gradually, not in waves. For the okwá'úmna fire any wood was used, each person bringing a little from his house.

^hAll four Shasta divisions had the okwá'úmna, but only the people of the Klamath River, the lower Scott, and lower Shasta valleys had the wú'kwu.

The okwá'úmna seems to be essentially the dance house of central California, influenced in form and construction by the house type of the Yurok and Karok, whereas the wú'kwu is simply the sweat house of the Yurok and Karok retaining the earth-covered feature of central California. This distribution, if correct, suggests that the okwá'úmna is more fundamental to Shasta culture, whereas the men's sweat house was taken over from the tribes of the lower Klamath by the groups nearest them. Some corroboration for this point of view is, perhaps, found in the mythology where frequently one encounters a statement such as: "There were ten of them, all living in one big okwá'úmna." This seems reminiscent of the valley Maidu where, Kroeber states, the dance house, sweat house, and dwelling all had the same name and were built alike, differing only in size and function, the larger dwellings housing several families. "Villages of consequence had a dance house. Small settlements may have danced in their most available dwelling."³⁸

^cSmall, individual sudatories were hemispherical in shape and constructed of bent willow poles with pine bark slabs set up around the sides and the remainder of the structure covered with skins. The opening, just large enough to crawl through, ^hwas usually toward the east. In these, sweating was by steam, water thrown on hot rocks. The Shasta had "always had them." ^cThey were family property and ^hwere used by both sexes.

^cThe úmma was occupied only in winter. It was abandoned in the summer months for brush shelters, ^hwhich were roofed with poles and brush and built near the stream in the shade (described however by Dixon as roofless and built in the mountains).³⁹ Several families might live in one of these, all cooking at a common fire in the center. There was an outlet for each family, making it unnecessary in going and coming to pass between anyone and the fire, this being very ill-mannered. The winter house was near by, a little higher up, and could be resorted to in case of heavy showers. ^cThey

³⁷ See Yurok, Kroeber, Handbook, 21.

³⁸ Kroeber, Handbook, 407-408.

³⁹ Dixon, 421.

³⁶ Dixon, 419.

moved into these brush shelters in the spring when the willows, or other growth along the stream, had leaved out and a certain species of yellow-breasted bird (long-tailed chat?) had returned, and lived in them through the summer salmon season. During the acorn season, they lived in single-family bark houses higher up on the hills. These houses were shaped like the *úmma* but were not so high and had no excavation. Still later in the fall, when far in the Siskiyou for the fall hunt, they camped in the open.

Houses were apparently not named, but simply referred to either descriptively, for example, "the house lowest toward the river," "the house highest up," "the house in the center of the village," or by the name of the people living in them.

There were a few villages up from the river, on the high hills, among the oaks. These were situated near large springs. The houses were similar to those of the river people, but built of heavier timbers and more deeply buried, in depth the excavation being about halfway between that of the *úmma* and *okwá'úmma*. These villages had no *wú'kwu* or *okwá'úmma*.

Food and Its Preparation

The Shasta seem to have had quite a varied diet, although they were typically Californian in that the acorn formed the basic staple. Acorns from the various species of oaks in their territory were eaten but not equally relished, "the order of preference being black oak (*Quercus californica* Cooper), white oak (*Quercus garryana* Dougl.), and live oak (*Quercus chrysolepis* Liebm.). The acorns of the tan oak (*Quercus densiflora* Hook. and Arn.), growing only in quantity farther down the Klamath River than the section occupied by the Shasta, were, however, by many considered superior to any of the local species."⁴⁰ They were pounded on flat stones, a mortar basket being used, and the meal, after winnowing and leaching, was made into the usual acorn mush or thinner soup, or acorn bread was made in the form of small cakes baked on flat rocks slanted in front of the fire.

Hazelnuts and "pine-nuts from the digger-pine (*Pinus Sabiniana* Dougl.), the sugar pine (*Pinus Lambertiana* Dougl.), and the yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa* Dougl.)," were also used extensively. The pine nuts were dried and eaten whole or powdered and made into small cakes which were eaten with a very thin mush made of grass seeds. The whole nuts were also often mixed with powdered salmon.⁴¹

⁴⁰Dixon, 423.

⁴¹For detailed description of gathering and preparation of acorns and pine nuts see Dixon, 425-427.

There was apparently an abundant supply of berries and fruits, which were eaten either dried or fresh. Wild currants (*mú'kurúru*) and berries of the spider bush (*horaihihú*; *Osmaronia cerasifor-mis*) were eaten raw. Blackberries, elderberries, wild grapes, and chokecherries when dried were boiled and eaten with parched, powdered grass seeds. Serviceberries were dried and eaten either dry or soaked in water. Blackberries were also eaten fresh, and elderberries were cooked fresh and eaten. Berries of the *madroña* (*awáshihú*; *awas*, berry; *hihu*, a bush or small, brushy tree) were eaten fresh and sometimes dried. The latter were soaked before eating. Thimbleberries and gooseberries were eaten only fresh. The fruit of the sumac was dried and pounded, and sweetened with the winnowed meal of manzanita berries.

This manzanita meal was also mixed with acorn meal to make a variety of acorn soup and was used for sweetening cooked elderberries and plums.

Manzanita cider was also made of the crushed berries, as among the Maidu and others.⁴²

Ipos (*Calochortus* sp.; Dixon, 424) seems to have been greatly relished. The bulbs were husked by trampling in a shallow place in the creek, so the husks would float away. They were then dried in the sun on hard, swept ground, winnowed, and packed away in baskets. Or they might be eaten fresh. Usually eaten whole, they were sometimes pounded and eaten dry as a powder with the manzanita cider. Or, pounded slightly, a thin, grainy sort of mush was made of them, "something like rice cooked with a good deal of water." A favorite method seems to have been to mix dried ipos with serviceberries; this was offered to a guest upon his arrival, so that he might have something to eat at once while the hostess was cooking a meal for him. Or, if one wished to visit a neighbor and to give him ipos, one mixed it with serviceberries. In the spring and early summer the lower Klamath Shasta dug ipos in their own territory, but later in the summer they went to the Shasta Valley or farther up the river beyond Hornbrook. They would visit someone there and then all went camping in the mountains, the men hunting and the women digging ipos. Visitors from the upper Klamath or the Shasta Valley to the lower Klamath Shasta brought ipos bulbs to their hosts.

Red bells (*Fritillaria recurva*) were called *chwahú'*, and the bulbs, boiled or roasted in ashes, were eaten, as were also bulbs of the *Brodiaea* and tiger lily. Another bulb, "the shape of an onion," came from Oregon and from Scott Valley. These bulbs were buried with hot rocks and cooked all night. They were then pounded and molded in a large block "like cheese." This "cut just like fruit cake" and was very sweet.

⁴²For a description of the preparation of manzanita cider see Roland B. Dixon, *The Northern Maidu*, AMNH-B 17:119-346, 1905; esp. 189-190.

^hAmong the greens eaten by the Shasta, wild parsley and a certain other plant were steamed and dried, then folded and packed away in this form. When wanted for use these dried greens were pounded and eaten with acorns or soup made of deer hoofs, or were dissolved in hot water and eaten with fish. The stems of "bear paws" and of another plant were peeled and the inside eaten raw, and wild celery was also eaten raw. These were not eaten at meals, however. The Gamütwa also had wild rhubarb, which they ate with fish.

^hNeither were pine nuts eaten at meals, except when mixed with dried salmon. They were eaten at any time between meals, and were also, like the mixed ipos and serviceberries, offered a guest upon his arrival.

^cThe milkweed supplied a chewing gum. ^hThe juice was drained, cooked to a gummy consistency and chewed.

^hThe Shasta Valley and Rogue River groups ate one kind of grasshoppers, a very large form (locusts?). They set fire to the grass, thus cooking the grasshoppers, which were then dried, pounded, and mixed with grass seeds for eating.

^hIn spring, women and children dived for mussels. In fall, when the river was low, mussels could be gathered without diving. They were steamed by placing them on hot rocks, sprinkling them with water and covering with weeds. They were opened and spread on tule mats to dry in the sun, then stored in baskets for winter use. They were boiled for eating and served with salt, the only food served with salt. Both dried and fresh ones were made into soup.

Sargent emphatically denied that salt was obtained from the tribes of the lower Klamath, as Dixon asserts.⁴³ ^hThere were two large salt deposits in Shasta territory, one near the head of Horse Creek and the other near Montague in Shasta Valley to which the people from the entire territory came in the summer to obtain salt.

^cBear and deer meat were both boiled or roasted and eaten fresh or dried. For drying, venison was hung up and smoked, but bear meat was first cut into strips and boiled, then dried.⁴⁴ ^hBear feet were boiled and eaten fresh. Deer hoofs, the gristle stripped from the lower leg bone left on, were dried and boiled and eaten like pigs' feet. The marrow from the deer's upper leg bone was eaten, as were also the liver and lungs. A sort of blood pudding was made by filling the paunch or large intestine of the deer about half full of blood, adding to this, fat from the outside of the paunch. It was then tied and buried in the ashes and when done the paunch would be full. It was tested by piercing with a stick and when no blood oozed out it was done and was

opened and eaten with a spoon. The small intestines were washed, turned inside out with a stick, and roasted over coals. Deer heads were skinned and placed on flat rocks around the fire, as were any other bones to which a little meat adhered. These cooked there and were left for anyone to pick up and eat at any time he wished. If, for instance, a neighbor should drop in when the family were busy, he would be told, "Just find yourself a seat and help yourself to whatever is there." During the big fall deer hunt on the mountains, when they had a number of deer heads at the same time, a pit was dug, lined with rocks, and a fire kept up in it all day. In the late afternoon the ashes were raked out, evergreen boughs placed on the hot rocks, and the deer heads (washed with the hair on) were put on these. More boughs were put on top, sprinkled with water, and the whole covered thickly with hot ashes, coals, and dirt. A fire was built on top and kept up for several hours and the heads were left thus all night. Fish heads were prepared in the same manner, in small pits, as were also ground squirrels. Ground squirrels were also roasted in the ashes, after singeing off the hair, and gray squirrels and rabbits were skinned and boiled or roasted in front of the fire. ^cDeer bones and salmon bones were pounded up and stored for making soup in the winter.

^cSalmon was dried by smoking and stored in thin slabs or pulverized. For eating fresh it was roasted.⁴⁵

^hA visiting man and wife were not often given fresh deermeat, for if the woman were menstruating and she should eat the deermeat, the host's hunting luck would be spoiled for five years.

Hunting and Fishing

^d"Salmon were caught by weirs, by nets, and by a sort of driving."⁴⁶ Weirs were constructed in shallow, gravelly spots and were few in number, only two large ones being reported within Shasta territory on the Klamath River. One of these was at the mouth of the Shasta River and the other at Scott River, the next such large weir being at Happy Camp in Karok territory. "Each belonged to one or two men. Anyone, however, could come and spear fish at such a dam, and the owners were obliged to give to anyone who asked for them as many fish as he could carry."⁴⁷

^cThe net in most general use was similar to the one used by the Karok and Yurok. It was a long bag attached to a triangle of poles and manipulated by a fisherman sitting on a platform built out over an eddy in the stream. These platforms washed away in winter; so new ones were built each year about the middle of April; the first time one was used "some

⁴³Dixon, 427.

⁴⁴For details see Dixon, 427-428.

⁴⁵For detailed description see Dixon, 427.

⁴⁶Dixon, 428.

⁴⁷Ibid.

ipos-root was pounded fine and thrown into the river."⁴⁸ Each platform location was named, and on scattering the ipos root--some also being placed under the boards where they touched the ground--one called the name of the place and said something like this: "This is for you and I am here just for good will. There is nothing wrong and I want you to be good to me. I came here for salmon."

^aDip-nets and spears were also used for fishing. The fish spear was rubbed with a certain root for luck.

^bThe summer salmon (gitar) came about the middle of April, when the firs were budding, a little plant known as gitar itu'wi (summer salmon's eye; *Ranunculus occidentalis*) bloomed, and a certain other plant was about 6 or 7 inches high. Next came the steelheads, caught any time after August, and finally, in late fall, came the winter salmon. Steelheads could not be eaten while summer salmon were still in the river; any caught at that time were thrown back.

The Klamath River Shasta "thought that the first fish to ascend the stream annually brought the 'salmon medicine' put on by the Indians at the mouth of the river. This first fish must therefore be allowed to pass unmolested. As soon as it passed, fish might be caught; but the first one taken from the water had to be split and hung up immediately to dry, and no salmon might be eaten till this salmon was completely dried and a portion eaten by all who were fishing at that point."⁴⁹

The following simple ceremony inaugurated the summer salmon season:

^aAt intervals along the sides of a rapids at Hamburg, rocks were piled about small cleared spaces, forming little pools, and fish running up the rapids paused in these quiet places to rest. Each resting place was named, the names having come down over a long period of time. The owner before starting to fish sprinkled tobacco and a certain herb in each resting place, talking to it meanwhile. There seemed to be no set formula, but he called the place by name and said, "This is for you and I want so many salmon, etc." He took the fish with a dip-net, fishing at night, about ten or eleven o'clock, and in the early morning. From the time he began to fish, news of his luck came everyday to the neighboring villages. Then he sent word for the people to come on the final day set for the fishing. This invitation seems to have been in rather restrained terms. He told them not to expect much, it had been pretty hard fishing, but he wanted all to come and get a taste of salmon, anyway. People only came if they could come and return in one day. If someone from a greater distance wished

to attend, he visited friends or relatives in a near-by village.

On the appointed day the people assembled and by noon all had their fires strung along the river. The cooking (done by children) and eating took place at midday. Boys cooked the salmon, roasted whole on the coals, and girls the acorn mush. If there were enough for each camp to have ten, each boy cooked ten fish, never more. Any uncooked fish belonged to the owner of the fishing place. Nobody ate or fished for salmon until after this ceremony.

^bThe children did the cooking because they were "perfectly clear." One could not depend on adults: cooking done by a menstruating woman or a man who had had sexual intercourse would ruin the fishing place.

^cVarious methods were employed for hunting deer. Two sorts of deer drives were made in the fall.⁵⁰ For one, brush fences, broken by a number of openings, were constructed. The deer were driven toward these fences, where they were caught in nooses concealed in the openings and then were clubbed or shot. ^aThis was the method of the Scott Valley Shasta, the Gamútwa, and a few villages on the south side of the lower (Shasta) part of the Klamath. The north side, where most of the villages were situated, was too open for such a method, which was only feasible in the more rugged country on the south side with its low brush which forced the deer to head into trails. These fences were set up after the mating season, about November, and were left until spring. The second method was used on the more open hills of the north side of the river, where the oak trees grew. ^cWhen the oak leaves began to fall fires were set on the hills. "The ends of the curved lines forming the circles of fire did not meet, and in this opening the women stood rattling deer-bones, while men concealed in the brush were ready to shoot the deer as they rushed out."⁵¹

^cDeer were also stalked, the hunter disguised in a deerskin and stuffed deer head with antlers attached. He kept several heads, with antlers in different stages of development, for use at different times of year. In the fall when the deer were fat and their winter coats were coming in they were run down. ^aOnly men who were the best runners and had good "hunting medicine" employed this method. Such a hunter gave a certain call, "pěě," as he ran after the deer, and people in the villages below heard and were on the watch at places where deer were accustomed to come to the river. The hunter had a track measure which he used in his pursuit, just a willow or hazel stick.⁵² When the deer appeared in the

⁵⁰For details see Dixon, 431.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Apparently something of this sort was used by the Wintu. In the tale of "Grosbeak and the Deer" Grosbeak resumes pursuit of the magic deer after a night's sleep. "He got up and measured tracks and came on tracking." Cora Du Bois and Dorothy Demetracopoulou, Wintu Myths, UC-PAAE 28:279-404, 1931; esp. 351.

⁴⁸For detailed description of the salmon drives and the construction of the fish weirs and fishing platforms and nets see Dixon, 428-430.

⁴⁹Dixon, 430-431.

river it was shot by anyone who could, some young man swam out and dragged it in, and all helped skin it. The man who shot it cut it up and divided it, saving the head and hide for the runner, who got none of the meat unless it happened to be killed by the people of his home village.

^bAfter the first big snow of winter had settled, everybody went on a deer hunt. Usually a large bunch of deer wintered in the live oaks. They worked paths through the snow, and the men and women on snowshoes went along beside these paths and clubbed the deer, there being no need to waste arrows.

^bIn spring, when the tassels appeared on the maples, the deer began using the lick, and brush fences were built across the trails leading to it, a noose concealed in the openings. Where there was no fence a deer-bone rattle with grapevine rope attached was hung and shaken by the watching hunter when deer started that way, frightening them toward the fence. The noose, tied to a tree with sufficient spring to give rather than break, choked the struggling deer to death. Or instead of fence and noose, the hunter might conceal himself near and leeward of the lick in a small, bark-covered pit.

^bDogs were used very little in deer hunting except for tracking wounded deer. They were used mainly to tree wildcats, panthers, fishers, bears, etc. ^cThe Grizzly Song was sung to them to make them brave and the Blowfly Song to make their scent keen ^b"because the fly can smell anything; no matter what you have, the fly is the first one there." Their noses were rubbed in ashes to keep them from getting "salmon sick," poisoned by eating salmon. All this was done while they were puppies.

^cBoth black and grizzly bears were hunted in their dens. Hunters sweated for five days in preparation for the black-bear hunt, and upon arrival at the den they talked to the bear, begging him to come out and be killed.⁵³ "In the case of grizzlies, the hunters had to dance the war dance before starting out, just as if they were to hunt a human enemy. Reaching the den, a number of short, sharp stakes were driven into the ground in front of the opening, and then, as the bear came out and was engaged in tearing down and clearing out of the way this obstruction, he was shot under the neck."⁵⁴ ^bThese stakes were held at the top by the men, this being made possible by the fact that the grizzly pulls things toward himself rather than pushing them down. Sometimes a man to show bravery would grab the dying grizzly by the ears and rub his head against the bear's forehead. "The biggest man is scared of a grizzly. He will cry and tremble. Anyone who has had trouble with a grizzly will

just bawl and cry. If you just hear one, it scares you to death. You may not know you are shaking until you light your pipe and your hand will just be shaking. Nothing else has that power."

^bAnother method of hunting black and brown bears was as follows. When people went gathering pine nuts in the fall the bears were also feeding on the nuts. They treed the bears with dogs and shot them. If the bear was too high up to be shot, a man talked to it, telling it to come closer. "A bear will do what you tell him." One who came upon a previously unknown bear den placed bark or branches before the opening, telling the bear not to touch them. Then he told the village of his discovery and the bear was still there when they went for it next morning. Should the wife of one of a bear-hunting party be near the menstrual period, the bear would not come out, but would have to be smoked out. Bear hunting was dangerous for a man whose wife was menstruating, for the bear would surely attack him.

^bA man would crawl into a "sleeping" beaver's hole, slip a rope around his feet and drag him out. The tail was eaten. It was put in a split stick tied at the top, set in front of the fire and turned round and round until cooked.

^bMinks were snared and otters shot. The otter meat was floated downriver to the coast on a big piece of bark. It was told, "You go back to your country now," and something further forgotten by informant.

Contrary to Dixon,⁵⁵ ^bthe Shasta did not eat mountain lion and wildcat, those animals being used only for their fur. Such meat and that of other animals not eaten, such as mink and the body part of the beaver, were never thrown on the ground, however, but were put away somewhere in a tree.

^bEagles were also shot, for their feathers, and quails were snared in nooses set in openings in little brush fences.

^cA hunter always shared his game, the chief receiving no more than others. "The person who killed a deer always had the right to the hide and legs. If two men shot at the same deer, he whose arrow hit first, whether it inflicted a mortal wound or not, had the right to the carcass. If any other person than the slayer of the deer should get the legs or hide, he might put them in a woman's menstrual hut, or otherwise so contaminate them that the hunter would be unlucky ever after. No hunting was ever done by a man in the time of his wife's menstrual periods."⁵⁶ ^bThe man who killed the game cut it up and his wife distributed it. Each family received something, the larger families receiving larger pieces. One took none to an unfriendly family, however, for one could eat nothing from his enemy. "That would be eating his own heart." The side meat was considered best, so a piece of it was given away with every portion. Old people received

⁵³Dixon, 431-432.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Dixon, 424.

⁵⁶Dixon, 432.

the best parts. Good people always gave away the best parts, though some "were the kind who always go to the neighbors and take the best they have, but give away the poorest of their own." Such a man would go on a hunt and hunt little but "try to get the best of everything in a joking way." One gave him something "just for the honor of the house" but was not very particular what kind of piece he gave him. Sometimes a lazy man would not hunt, but just took what he could get. This was not usually a married man, though occasionally such a one would "get by" because his father-in-law was respected. Stingy people kept everything for themselves, but such would not be asked to go hunting; they would either hunt alone or go without invitation. Sometimes a hunter allowed an old woman to clean his hide for the meat and fat left on it. He was usually glad to let her do this, for it was a tedious job.

^hWhen a bear was killed all helped skin it, but the man who saw it first cut it up and received the hide. The meat was divided among all present, each carrying his share home, where it was divided among all those in the village, it having been decided beforehand which families would receive from each hunter respectively. If it was an old den known to everyone, the most important man did the cutting up and gave the hide to whoever needed it most. This made "great news in the village," everybody went about telling that So-and-so had given So-and-so a bear hide. Bear paws were always saved for the old people. They were boiled until tender and eaten.

^hWhen a boy killed his first game his father removed the string from the boy's bow and severely whipped him with it all over his body. Dixon,⁵⁷ however, records this ceremonial whipping as occurring at the time when the boy first ate game of his own killing. ^cNeither the boy nor any of his family ate the first game that he killed, nor any that he killed within a year thereafter. Should he do so, he would lose his hunting luck.

^hThe type of activity changed with the season. In summer the people lived in brush houses by the river and almost their entire attention was turned to fishing and its attendant activities. In early fall when acorns were ripe, they moved up on the hills among the oaks, leaving a few old people in the village, put up their bark houses, and set about gathering the year's supply of acorns. While the women gathered acorns the men hunted deer, singly at this time, with bow and arrow. Then they came down and late in the fall went high up in the Siskiyou for the last big fall deer hunt. It was at this time they had the big drive, encircling the deer with fire.⁵⁸ This was a busy time, occupied entirely with hunting and cutting up and drying the meat. When the people were ready to return to the villages, the meat was

divided, everybody getting about the same amount. If a man who had much did not divide with those who had less, he was generally disliked and looked down upon. After this hunt, the acorns, left stored where they had been gathered among the oaks, were brought in by the people, who hurried to get them in before the storm. This was a busy season for the women, hulling and drying acorns, but the men did only a little fishing and hunting of small things such as squirrels, etc. At this season the deer were mating and nobody hunted them. The people gathered wood, shelled acorns, and generally prepared for winter. At the onset of the first snowstorm all prepared their snowshoes, which they took with them in winter wherever they went, even though just to the neighbors. After the storm settled, there came the hunt in the snow, as described above,⁵⁹ and in early spring came the hunting at the deer lick.⁶⁰ Black and brown bears were hunted mainly in winter, when in their dens, though, as mentioned above,⁶¹ they were also hunted to some extent in the fall while people were gathering pine nuts. Grizzlies were hunted in spring when they began coming out and sunning themselves in front of their dens.

Transportation and Trade

^cThe Shasta traveled almost entirely on foot. ^dTheir few canoes were mostly purchased from the Karok and Yurok, the occasional ones they made themselves being rough imitations of these.

^cThey traded with the Karok, Yurok, and Hupa for baskets, the favored variety of acorns, dentalia, haliotis, and other shells, giving in exchange buckskin, pine nuts, flint blades, juniper beads, Wintu beads, and ^hsalt. ^dWith the Wintun they seem to have traded chiefly for acorns, giving buckskin and obsidian in exchange, together with dentalia. There was apparently little trade with the Klamath Lake people to the eastward, but quite a little with the various Athabascan people of Rogue River and thereabouts.⁶² ^dFrom the Wintun they also apparently received occasionally clamshell-disk beads.

^hWhen visiting at a distance the Shasta took food characteristic of their district to their host, bringing back food characteristic of the host's district. The Klamath River people usually took salmon and pine nuts to Scott and Shasta valleys and to Oregon. From Oregon and Scott Valley they brought certain bulbs, and occasionally antelope meat from Shasta Valley.

Warfare

^cThe bow was the chief weapon. ^dThere is uncertainty as to the original type of the Shasta bow, since none of undoubted Shasta make survive.⁶³

⁵⁹ See preceding page.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Dixon, 436.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ See above, p. 310.

^hIt had a sinew backing coated with fish glue, with a design in two or three colors painted on this, another coat of glue being added to make it waterproof. The arrow was painted to match somewhat and was sinew-wrapped at the end to prevent it from splitting when the point was pushed in. This wrapping, like that which fastened the feathers on, was painted, and the whole length of the arrow might be painted. Neither yellow nor white was used on the bow and arrow. Flint arrow points were carried in the quiver, the better quivers being made of expensive hides, such as otter, decorated with dentalia, haliotis, and other shells. ^cThese arrows with foreshafts and flint points were used for war and large game. ^hFor small game the points were of mountain mahogany, and a little back from the point were two small crosspieces which would side-swipe and wound the animal if the arrow missed its mark. This arrow was also used for shooting mountain trout. Sometimes bone points were used for the same purposes as the wooden points. The feathers used on arrows must be from birds that sail, so the arrow would be straight and even in its flight. Therefore hawk feathers were used. For toy arrows boys used grouse feathers.

^cBoth stick⁶⁴ and elkhide armor were used. ^hThe latter seems to have been a combination shield and semi-armor. It consisted of a whole elk hide, the head part at the top. It was tied at the neck, with the tough part of the hide around the neck and shoulders, and protected the left side, leaving the right arm free. When wet, the hide was shaped over a very large platter basket. Two cords were crossed at right angles inside the round part (called itéra) thus formed, the left arm was slipped through these cords and the hide thus manipulated for the protection of the wearer. ^cA band of elkhide, painted, was worn around the head.

^cFor three or four nights before setting out, the members of a raiding party danced the war dance. ^d"The dancers stood in line, facing the fire, and danced, stamping one foot only, and holding bow and arrow as if ready to shoot."⁶⁵ Young women armed with knives sometimes went along and tried to cut the enemy's bowstrings and slash their quivers.⁶⁶ ^hThis last was possible because "no man who was a man" would kill a woman: such a man would be very much despised. However, the taking of captives as slaves⁶⁷ was exclusively a Modoc practice. But occasionally a Modoc boy or girl was taken in war and kept for work until bought or given back; the word for captive,

capsúai, was used for one who had been taken captive by another tribe and came back. (Probably the practice had begun to penetrate from the Northwest Coast through the Modoc and Oregon tribes but was not well established.) Only Modoc were scalped and this was for revenge because the Modoc scalped. There are some old stories of prisoners and slaves, but none of scalping. There was no victory dance.

^hThe nearest approach to organized warfare seemed to be raids against the Modoc, by the Shasta Valley and Klamath River groups, which might be undertaken by the group as a whole. Should a visitor from another group be killed during a Modoc raid on the Klamath or Shasta Valley group, his people came and joined them when they retaliated. Such raids were made when the Modoc came toward the Shasta territory to gather ipos or to hunt ducks. The Shasta camped a night or two on the mountain which they had to cross, and held the war dance. Often they sent one or two women ahead to visit some relative, perhaps a Shasta woman captured by the Modoc, and these came back and reported. The Shasta often gathered ipos in that vicinity, so these women would say, "We were over here gathering ipos, so we thought we would come over and visit." The raiding party descended on the camp in the early morning, killing as many men as possible. The Shasta killed no women and took no captives. Such raids gave Shasta women captives a chance to return.

^hThere was also some fighting with the Wintu, but apparently not to the same extent as with the Modoc, at least not for the Klamath River group.

^hWhen the Shasta attacked a village of another tribe, such as the Modoc or the Wintu, they burned it; but this was never done within their own tribe.

^hAside from raids against the Modoc or Wintu, warfare was entirely a matter of private feuds, and raids were never made in one's own district. Arriving just at daylight, the raiding party circled the whole village. Then the leader of the party went to his victim's door and called him to come out, saying, "I am here for you." All the villagers would rush out and the fighting continued until either the raiding party killed the man they were after or were driven off. If someone in the raiding party could do so without arousing suspicion, he went ahead, looked over the situation, and reported to his party.

^hAfter a raid "the man who did the killing"--I surmise the leader of the party--started the peace negotiations. If he did not do so, his chief would persuade him to. At least a year must have elapsed, however, for one could not speak of the dead sooner. Two messengers were sent to carry on negotiations. These might be men or women, but women seemed to be preferred because "even if you get mad you can't hurt her, you can't fight a woman." If men, they must be able to keep their tempers. Women messengers were mature and highly respected for their ability and judgment.

⁶⁴For description of stick armor, see Dixon, 438.

⁶⁵For details of the war dance, see Dixon, 439-440.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Dixon, 441.

Messengers must go unarmed and be unrelated to either party to the dispute. They were paid by both sides. One messenger was the principal talker, the other being there mainly to check on the accuracy of her report and to prompt her, should she forget anything. They went back and forth until matters were settled and sometimes negotiations continued over a period of several weeks, for old troubles of years back were dragged in. "Those messengers had some hard arguments, they earned their money." The women messengers talked in the following vein: "I have nothing to do with either one side or the other, but if I were in that place and somebody offered to settle up, I would try to act like somebody, I wouldn't have my husband or brother lying about in the dust, that is what it would be like." Men messengers talked in the same way: "It is no man's way of doing to be always in trouble. You are going to get your money and the best way to do is to settle up." If the principals to the dispute were unduly slow in settling, village pressure was brought to bear, fellow villagers saying what they thought of such actions, and all through the negotiations each chief was talking in his own village, trying to persuade his own people to settle. To a man not inclined to listen to the messengers, his chief would say, "That is no way to do. It is not just for yourself, but look ahead for the children. We don't want to have any trouble for the new, young generation when they grow up."

^bAs they began talking peace terms, the two parties began moving closer together and when the terms of settlement were finally agreed upon, a meeting place, in some flat, open place between the two villages, and a time for the meeting were fixed. All dressed and painted as for war and carried their weapons. At the meeting place each group lined up facing the other, the women at the ends of the line, the headman of each group, carrying the money, in the middle and a little in advance of his line. The messengers, by the side of their headman, talked, telling everybody not to get excited, that they were getting what they had called for. The two lines approached each other with drawn weapons. When they met, the headmen exchanged the money, all dropped their weapons, shook hands, began to talk in friendly terms, and some exchanged weapons. Often they camped together for a night or so and had a dance. Occasionally, however, the fighting was started again and the whole process had to be repeated. In that event the one who started the trouble again was blamed by his own side, who let him know that he was expected to pay for the settlement.

Games and Amusements

^dThe most important games played by the Shasta were the men's gambling game (resembling in many

respects the grass game of the Maidu and other Central Californian Indians) and the women's game, or many stick game, known to the Hupa and to many other tribes."⁶⁸ ^cBoth were guessing games. The men's game was played with a set of fifteen or twenty spindle-shaped sticks, two plain and the others painted in bands of different colors, and seven counters. The player rolled a decorated and an undecorated stick each in a bunch of grass and shuffled them rapidly while singing his gambling song. His opponent attempted to guess which bunch contained the undecorated stick, winning a counter and the play if he guessed correctly, losing a counter if he guessed incorrectly. ^dThe counters were usually merely seven of the decorated playing sticks: ^bSargent, however, asserted that the playing sticks were never so used.

^bThe counters were of oak and were made new each time because everybody handled them. Few people handled a man's gambling sticks, though if he had been playing long and luck was against him, he might hand them to someone and ask him to play. If the new man won, his winnings went to the owner of the sticks. Material for gambling sticks was obtained only from certain places, places about which there was something a little strange, unfrequented spots noted for "doctoring" or as dwelling place of an axaiki (p. 326). The manufacture of the sticks was attended with ceremonial observances--continen-
ce, food taboos, song, and prayer.

^bWhen a man decided to gamble, he went shortly before daylight to the site of a little riffle in the river, walked along the bank, and at ten different spots picked up a handful of gravel and rubbed it on his hands and arms to the elbow, talking about the different kinds of money he wanted. He then went swimming and returned home. He did this for five nights before he gambled. During these five days he made his counters.

^bOne did not gamble with the home people. If two neighboring groups, such as the Oregon and Klamath River people, were going to play, one of them came to the other's village, but two more-distant groups met at a village of an intervening group. For instance, if the Oregon and Scott or Shasta Valley groups were to play, they met on the Klamath River, or if the Shasta played with the Karpk, they met at Seiad.

^bWhile the men played, the women carried wood and kept up the fires. ^cAll must observe food restrictions and continence during the playing.

^dPlaying continued for two or three days at most, for they did not sleep while playing. They played outside, unless the weather was bad, when they played in the okwá'tumma. If a rain came up while they were playing outside, they stopped even if there was an okwá'tumma to move into; to change in

⁶⁸For detailed description of the men's game and the ceremonial observances connected with the making of the sticks, see Dixon, 441-443. For the women's game, see Dixon, 443-444.

the midst of the play would break the luck. There was the usual singing during the play by the backers of each side. If luck was going against one side, it might employ a shaman, who would make the other side so sleepy that it could not see what it was doing.

^dThe women's game was played with a set of fifty or sixty sticks, slender, peeled twigs. Each player, as in the men's game, had her own set. All but one stick were painted alike; the odd one had a red or black ring around the center. The sticks were shuffled and finally divided into two bundles, the game being to guess which bundle contained the odd stick. If incorrect, the guesser lost a counter to her opponent; if she guessed correctly no counters changed hands but she took up her set of sticks and her opponent must now do the guessing.

^eThe men's gambling game and the women's guessing game were never "played commonly"; other games were played "just for fun."

^cThe ring-and-pin⁶⁹ game was played by the

lower Klamath Shasta with twelve salmon vertebrae, each representing a moon, the last one being called the "eye of the moon." The game was played during the wane of the moon and chiefly in winter, in order to make the moon grow old more quickly and thus shorten the winter. ^hOn the upper Klamath it was played with a stick and a ball made of "soap grass" split fine and twisted. The ball was called the "moon" and the small hole left where the wrapping started was called "the eye of the moon." The game was to catch this "eye" on the stick and this "killed the moon." During the waxing of the moon in winter, young people made cat's-cradle figures in order to hasten its growth.

^cWomen played double-ball shinny with two small sticks of wood tied together near the ends.⁷⁰ Boys played a variation of the hoop-and-dart game, shooting arrows at a disk of yellow-pine bark rolled downhill. ^hThere were also shooting contests, wrestling, and races for amusement.

⁷⁰For details, see Dixon, 444.

⁶⁹For details, see Dixon, 446.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND LAW

Social Organization

^cNo suggestion of gentile or totemic grouping is found among the Shasta. ^hThe bilateral family with patrilineal bias was apparently the basic unit and ^cpeople lived in small village communities, "not infrequently . . . consisting of only a single family."⁷¹ These communities were grouped into the four divisions mentioned above:⁷² the Klamath River people, the people of Scott Valley, of Shasta Valley, and the Oregon group. Each of the four groups had a headman,^d the position being hereditary, "passing first to the next oldest brother, and, in default of a brother, to the oldest son."⁷³ The duties of such a chief were to advise his people, to settle disputes both within and without his tribe, and "to advance, or pay out of his own property, the fines required as blood-money of the people of his group,"⁷⁴ when the person involved was unable to pay. This last requirement necessitated wealth as one of the requisites of chieftainship.

^hThe 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.

^hThis head chieftainship was the only hereditary one contrary to Dixon,⁷⁵ the others becoming chiefs by common consent in the following manner. Someone having trouble would go to a certain man for advice. This man might not feel capable of settling the difficulty and would send him to someone else upriver; this person, in turn, would send him to still another, and the latter might send him back to one of those formerly appealed to. Thus gradually, by common consent, the headman of the group was fixed upon. One suspects that actually there was a rather loose hereditary succession in all four groups. Probably, when a headman died, the tendency was to turn to the next in succession if he had the requisite qualifications; this tendency, however, was not strong enough to maintain him in that position if he lacked the qualifications. The following were the necessary qualifications of a headman: he must be good natured; not a troublemaker; one who speaks well of everybody; honest; "when he says anything people know he means what he says"; he is everybody's friend; doesn't think he is better than other people; keeps his temper; is a good talker, can get up and talk before everybody and not lose his temper. A chief might be young and inexperienced and, when people came

to him with their trouble, might feel himself incapable of settling the difficulty. Then he would ask an older man to act in his place. This was quite all right because the people felt he was taking an interest and doing his best. But if he made no effort to settle the trouble and appointed no one else to act for him, then the people felt he was failing in his duty.

^hThere were no restrictions of rank in marriage. (Dixon's statement⁷⁶ that sisters of a chief could not marry anyone in the tribe of sufficient rank to be elected chief, Sargent considered a mistake.)

^hThe chief's wife also seems to have enjoyed a good deal of prestige. "She has to know lots." When trouble arose in her husband's absence, though she did not act in his place, she did hold matters at a standstill until his return. She also apparently occupied more or less the same position in relation to the women as that of her husband in relation to the men.

^cThere was some development of private ownership of fishing and hunting grounds, both of which were inherited in the male line. Fishing places, especially fish weirs or dams, were private property and only members of the family had the right to fish there, though fish must be given to anyone who asked for them, "and they generally allowed them to fish for themselves now and then."⁷⁷ After the death of a member of the family no one could fish there for two years. ^hWhen the owner of a fishing place had a brother and both had sons, his fishing place upon his death went to his brother, whose own son inherited it but must allow the son of the first brother to fish there.

^d"To a less extent, each family seems to have had its own hunting grounds, to which some regulations applied, but more laxly than to the fishing places."⁷⁸ ^hA man usually hunted in about the same territory because one can only go over so much ground. During his lifetime anyone could hunt there, but upon his death his parents actively resented anyone hunting there within five years. After a year, however, one could hunt there with the father's permission. If the parents were not living, there would be little difficulty, though brothers might object to others hunting there. The reason given for the custom was that parents would feel badly to see someone else hunting where they had been accustomed to seeing their son. For the same reason, when a girl died, no other girl of about her age visited that village for a year; and similarly for a boy.

^hThere was apparently also, to a slight extent, private property in oak trees. At the seasonal camping place for gathering acorns, the tree near the cabin of a particular family was considered as belonging to that family, who would resent it.

⁷¹ Dixon, 451.

⁷² See p. 301 above.

⁷³ Dixon, 451.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Dixon, 452.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

should someone else come and pick there first. From there, however, they spread out and picked from any tree. There was no such individual ownership of pine-nut trees, though the group picked in about the same place each season.

^cWealth consisted of dentalia, other ornamental shells and beads, redheaded woodpecker scalps, and valuable skins such as those of the silver-gray and black fox, otter, beaver, and deer. ^dDeerskins varied in value, albino skins being the most expensive and black next. If a married man killed a white deer he gave it to his wife, who in turn gave it to her people. This was "just like money in the bank," for it all came back, since it counted in the value of the children. Often a father-in-law who had thus received a white deerskin saved it to be buried in. An unmarried man killing a white deer gave the skin to a married brother for the latter's father-in-law, or, lacking married brothers, he gave it to his father.

^eWhen a man died leaving young children his property was kept for the children by his father, if living and not too old, otherwise by his wife. This was used to buy a wife for the first son who married, though some was saved to purchase wives for the others. If the sons were grown the property was divided among them, the oldest getting no more than the others. Daughters received nothing, for "they don't have any use for money." But the property of a man having no sons but with a daughter married to a chief's son went not to his brothers but to his wife, for "that is chief's money (my daughter had been bought with it) and nobody will touch it." But if there were sons it went to them; his wife kept it for them, and the son-in-law took care of them. [This statement must refer simply to the part of his property acquired through the marriage of his daughter. The property of a childless man was inherited by his brothers (or his father, if still living), but my information is not clear as to whether they shared the inheritance if there were children.] An individual might specify that certain of his possessions should go to certain individuals--brother, sister, or someone else; or, if he were unfriendly with one of his brothers or sisters, he might "leave an order for him to stay away from the funeral, so he doesn't get anything."

^fBesides the conventional sexual division of labor there was apparently some specialization. "Everybody was supposed to know how to do everything, but some did it better than others." An especially good bow and arrow maker would, of course, teach his boy, who would consequently have more experience than the others. It did not necessarily follow, however, that he became the best maker; some other boy might surpass him. The older people encouraged a boy who was a good worker and made good bows and arrows, etc., by

having him make things for their boys and giving him some slight recompense. Soon he would be making things for everybody in the village. Then people from neighboring villages began coming to him to have things made and as he got older and more experienced he was paid more for his products. He was paid in dancing knives (flints), dentalia, valuable furs, etc. One might thus be especially good at making bows and arrows, at tanning hides (doing it well and quickly), or at fixing hunting heads and hides for deer stalking. There was no such specialization in netmaking; those were "just common." Neither was there any similar specialization in women's industries, though, aside from shamanism, certain women were reputed for their skill in caring for sickness and injuries, or in ear and nose piercing, and their services accordingly sought after.

^gBerdaches (gitukuwahí) were recognized but apparently occupied no special status. They wore men's clothes but did women's work and, like unmarried girls, they lived at home. They never married. They did not hunt, but might go with the men to carry the meat. They were not looked down upon, but were considered a little queer and were "not very bright." They were not shamans.

Crimes and Punishments

^cBoth major and minor disputes were settled with money payments, which were not very difficult to fix as the value of each individual depended upon the bride price of his or her mother. The chief acted as mediator in minor affairs, such as theft; more serious crimes, such as murder, required greater formality involving the hiring of go-betweens, though the chief was also active in these negotiations.

^dIf one drew a gun but did not shoot, he, nevertheless, must pay the full value of the threatened individual, for had he shot he might have killed the person. But if he shot and missed, the insignificance of the outcome was apparent and after some argument the difficulty was settled with a small payment. If, however, the person was injured, his full value was demanded, with no expectation of receiving it, the negotiations, with the headman as mediator, continuing until some price was agreed upon.

^eThere seems to have been an effort to fix ultimate as well as direct individual responsibility for injuries received. If a member of a group visiting in another village started a quarrel and one of his own party was hurt, the instigator was held responsible and payment for the injury required of him as well as of the one who inflicted it. The latter apologized, saying he did not want to hurt anyone but that others started the quarrel and he and his friends had to defend themselves, that he would pay so much but the one who started it must pay too. The original aggressor made the bulk of the payment in the final settlement. If the

injured boy was of good family and known not to be quarrelsome or a troublemaker, that all counted in settling the amount of the payment.

^bThere was no fistfighting. Cutting and shooting characterized men's fights and women fought by hair pulling and scratching, or "an old woman would take a stick to you." These women's fights were not "settled and paid for. They just wore it out and after while they were talking together again."

^cIf a woman was killed, either in a war raid or otherwise, the man who killed her must be killed before negotiations could be begun. For, "if a man kills a woman it is one sided, so there is nothing to start on for settling up the trouble. He has to be killed to make it two sided. Then they ask for the pay for the woman who was killed and that starts things." The man was also paid for, but not his full value, for "a man who kills a woman is no man." Though the value of the woman, as of a man, was based on the mother's bride price, it was less than the value of a man. However, "a respectable, capable woman would bring almost as much as a man."

^dIn actual practice there was apparently some variation in the above principles. If a man took his wife in adultery and killed her, "he must settle up right away with her people, or he will get killed. He has to pay what her brother is worth." ^eIf he killed the man, the latter must be paid for also; this payment waited for the regular processes of negotiation.

^fSuch negotiation (see "Warfare") could not begin until long after the death of the individual (at least a year). "If somebody killed your brother, you wouldn't feel like seeing that person for a long time." However, if someone was killed "right there before everybody" and it was obviously an accident, the relatives "would let it die down" and the one who killed him paid them something at once so that the payment might be used for the funeral.

^gRelatives as well as others seemed to settle difficulties among themselves by means of payments, but apparently on a less formal basis. Within the immediate family no payment took place, for "if one brother kills another, there is nobody to pay." But other relatives apparently expected some recompense for injuries received. "If you killed your cousin, maybe your father had bought his wife, then his folks couldn't put a price on him, because it was all your father's money. So you would have to settle with them and pay something, but they couldn't put a price on him." In the case of injury received while trespassing on another's property, the owner would be suspected of causing the injury through his ill wishes. Therefore, "if I was fishing some place that belonged to someone else, it would be my relatives and I might think it was all right. I get hurt and, if they are the right kind of people, they come over and bring a little money to my mother so as to clear themselves. They say they

are sorry it happened and they didn't know anything about it." But such assurances of innocence were valueless unless accompanied by money.

Birth

^cFrom the beginning of pregnancy both husband and wife were subject to many regulations, all for the good of the child. The husband hunted very little, killing nothing but deer, and toward the close of the period gave up hunting entirely. The wife ate lightly, especially near the time for delivery, when both parents ate very sparingly and ^h"she eats hardly any." Both were subject to a number of food taboos and other restrictions. Though the prospective mother might eat deermeat until the beginning of labor ("because deermeat is a perfectly clear meat, even sick people can eat it"), ⁷⁹ she must eat only that which had been "killed the natural way," that is, shot; for a deer caught in a snare "thrashes around, gets into all sorts of shape, and chokes to death" and should the mother eat such meat the child might be subject to similar attacks. Neither she nor the father must look at or eat grouse, else the child would have a "red, raw neck like the neck and eye of the grouse." Both must be very careful to eat nothing crippled or deformed. Should either parent be frightened by a snake, there would be something about the child like a snake, for instance, a scaly skin; or if the snake struck at them the child will always be striking at everything." The mother must avoid being frightened. She must not make baskets, for that would cause the child to be "weak in the arm and his mind won't be right, because she keeps her eye on the work and is working tight with her fingers and keeping her eyes on one place all the time and that strains the strength of the baby." She could do all other work, however, such as carrying wood, etc., "and that is where lots of times trouble begins, because she runs into things she shouldn't see." From the time a woman became pregnant she must not roll over in bed, but must rise and turn before lying down. This to make an easy birth and to insure that no injury be done the child, which might otherwise "be tangled up in the side." If a pregnant woman saw the fetus of any animal, the baby would never mature; if she saw a corpse, the child would be an albino; "it can't smile and has funny eyes and face."

^hDuring the last month or so of pregnancy the father wore a tiny bow and arrow and a tiny fiber apron tied to something he wore--his quiver, possibly. If the child was a boy he kept the bow and arrow, if a girl, the apron, until his return to normal life. Similarly the mother wore such an apron and bow and arrow tied to her belt.⁸⁰

⁷⁹This apparently means free of any evil effects, magical or otherwise.

⁸⁰For other prenatal taboos and regulations, see Dixon, 454.

^cThe mother gave birth to the child in her menstrual hut, aided by an old woman, usually a relative.⁸¹ She remained in the hut for a month, subject to strict food taboos, and for the first five days used a scratching stick. ^hAfter delivery she went out for wood. "She swings around on trees and tries to break off branches. She does that to get rid of the blood and to keep it from clogging." This she did for the first five days. From the beginning of labor and continuing through her month of seclusion she could eat no meat, only fish. At the end of the month she sweated all day. On the following morning she sweated, bathed, and returned to her regular life.

^cThe father shared the first five days of seclusion after the birth of the child. ^dHe remained by himself, away from the village;⁸² ^hhe went off alone at his wife's first labor pains but returned to her menstrual hut upon the birth of the baby and stayed there with her. He ate only dried fish and acorns, and he sweated each morning at dawn in the small, individual sudatory with steam. After sweating at dawn of the fifth day, he bathed and returned to his house in the village, and the next day went hunting. If that day's hunting was unsuccessful, his luck would be bad for a long time unless he hired a man with proper knowledge to "make medicine" for him. While he sweated the medicine maker went into the hills and collected certain plants or roots, always a little fir bough mixed with them, and "made medicine" over them. He then brought them to the father, who put them on the hot rocks in his sweat house, poured a little water on them, and inhaled the steam. He might also give the father "a feather of some kind" to carry.

^dAfter severance of the umbilical cord, which was tied with a strand of the mother's hair, the baby was "washed in cold water, nursed immediately, and then laid on a tray-basket, which is set on a cooking-basket full of boiling water. Here, in the warm vapor, the child is kept for five days, at the end of which period the umbilical cord is supposed to drop off."⁸³ The baby was then placed in a cradle frame, "wrapped first in a small foxskin."⁸⁴ ^hThe baby was not thus kept in warm vapor for the first five days: "It couldn't stand inhaling anything that young." For the last five days of the mother's seclusion, once a day the baby was "steamed" over hot water containing certain herbs. This was "not for anything in particular," they simply wanted it to become accustomed to such steaming, for should it get sick it would be treated by steaming over herbs.

⁸¹For further detail, see *ibid.*

⁸²Dixon, 455.

⁸³Dixon, 456.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*

^cAt the end of her month of seclusion, the mother put the baby in a new and larger cradle frame, also changing all its wrappings. Bundling up the old wrappings and the first cradle, the mother hung this bundle on a tree some distance from the village. ^hThe tree must be a young, growing one so the child would grow. Each outgrown cradle was thus hung in a growing tree, just as when a child lost a tooth he himself took it out and put it in a bunch of grass, "only the kind that grows in a bunch," to ensure the next tooth's immediate growth.

^cStillbirth (or its apparent equivalent: death of the child within five days after birth) was a great calamity requiring rigorous ceremonial observance to remove its ill effects. ^d"Both man and wife must fast rigorously, and sweat and bathe frequently, for ten days. After this time, they must secure the services of someone to perform a ceremony for them, the ceremony involving chiefly the singing of certain songs. The man cuts his arms with a flint knife in several places, rubs in some sort of powdered root, and drinks an infusion of several herbs. After this, both man and wife resume their usual life. A parallel ceremony for the woman was also necessary; but the details of neither could be secured."⁸⁵ ^hBoth parents remained away from the village, fasting and sweating, for a month, for "this is the worst trouble there is." During the last five days the man "is sweating and swimming all the time and wishing for luck, wishing for all the things he wants to happen and talking about lots of things." The ceremony, with the cutting of the shoulders and arms, took place on the last day, and the man sweated all day, "so there will be no soreness."

^hA newborn child was never killed. When the mother died, if possible some relative nursed it, otherwise some other woman was hired. She took the baby with her, bringing it home when old enough to wean. Babies were weaned when the first teeth came. They were given gruel of acorns, or meat broth. A baby just beginning to eat was given a piece of meat to chew, large, so it could not swallow it, and tough, so it could not bite off pieces.

^hThere was, apparently, no adoption. If the mother died, her mother or sister raised the child; however, the child belonged to the father and returned to him when old enough.

^hBabies were bathed twice a day, evenings and mornings, with cold water. They were not fondled or played with, lest it spoil them and they would want to be held constantly. The father never touched the baby, for "they are not supposed to be touched when they are so little that you can't correct them. After the baby is out of the basket and crawling, the father will pick him up and play with him and talk to him some, but not much. The mother will say, 'Put him down, you will have him so we will have to pick him up all the time.'"

⁸⁵*Ibid.*

^hThe baby's forehead was flattened with a pad of buckskin made heavier with beadwork. This was true for both sexes. [My notes are not clear how the pad was fastened on or how general was the practice.] Were the face too narrow and the jaw not properly shaped, a pad of buckskin was placed on the throat above the lacing of the cradle so the chin would rest on it and the face be made more broad and square. The child must be tied straight in the cradle to ensure a nice, straight body. There seemed to be no special beliefs connected with twins, and abnormalities, such as hunchback, bowlegs, etc., were merely considered due to improper care. The lacing of boys' cradles was from the bottom up, that of the girls from the top down.

^hSometimes after the birth of a baby the woman was not conscious of a new conception, but the child began crying a great deal and became cross and this was considered a sign that a new baby was coming. There seem to have been no methods or formulas for producing pregnancy, but to prevent further pregnancies the afterbirth was placed in an ant hill for the ants to destroy. Another method of contraception was the drinking of some liquid, the nature of which my informant had forgotten. To aid a delayed delivery, a woman knowing the proper formula was hired to sing special songs.⁸⁶

^hThe midwife was subject to no special observances.

Names

^hChildren were named on the same day of the moon on which they were born and ^cabout a year later. ^hBoys were named by their father or paternal grandfather, and girls by their mother or maternal grandmother. No ceremony was involved; they simply began calling the child by name. ^cNames referred to some characteristic of the child; or a boy might be named for a characteristic of his father ^hor father's kinsman, ^ca girl for a characteristic of her mother ^hor a kinswoman on either side. Thus Sargent's name was I'iawik, because his father's sister was good at fancy beadwork. His grandmother's name was something like "look-up-into-the-sky," because she carried herself so straight.

^hEveryone in the tribe had a different name. A name was never used again; there was always a little variation.

^cThere was no greater insult than to mention the name of the dead person in the presence of his relatives for at least a year after the death. Such an insult called for the payment of the full valuation of the deceased. Gradually, in the course of time, the restriction on mentioning a dead person's name died away.

Puberty

^cThe puberty ceremony was the only public ceremonial of the Shasta, aside from the war dance and the shaman's winter dance, both of which were more local in character. It was held only for a girl and began on the night after her attainment of puberty, continuing for ten days. During these ten days the girl stayed in the menstrual hut with her mother or one or more old women acting as attendants and doing everything for her. She must speak to no one except these attendants, and then only in a whisper, must use a scratching stick, was subject to strict food regulations, and must sleep very little and that just before dawn. She must tell her mother anything she dreamed during the period. Such dreams were sure to come true and were evidently expected to be of evil portent, for every effort was made to keep her from dreaming. As she sat in the menstrual hut through the day she shook a deer-hoof rattle from time to time ^hto keep her awake and to frighten things away so she would not dream. ^cHer eyes were kept covered with a wide visor of bluejay feathers, ^hfor she might dream about something she saw. ^cShe must not become excited or hurried or ^hshe "would be a nervous wreck," nor must she be frightened lest she be a coward all her life. ^cEach day she brought wood from the mountains for the fire for the dance to be held in the evening, and a little for each house in the village. On these excursions she was accompanied by two or three young girls ^hwho were to help her arrange the load, for she could not look around in order to gather it.

^cA dance was held on each night of the ten-day period.⁸⁷ Many relatives and friends were invited and, since only near-by ones could arrive for the beginning of the ceremony, newcomers were continually arriving. ^cWhen the girl grew tired with the dancing she was supported by one or two men who danced with her. ^hThese helpers, except on the last day of the dance, were usually women. ^cToward the end of the ten days she often needed almost constant support. On the tenth night the dance continued until dawn, then after a pause for breakfast several songs were sung and the dance began again. At noon the feather visor was ceremonially removed, dancing stopped at once and the girl and her mother went to the river, bathed and put on new clothes. Upon their return another dance took place and the ceremony ended in a feast.

^hThe end in view was the good of the girl. "They were trying to save her life." ^cThe entire ceremony was repeated at her next two menstrual periods and not until then was she considered marriageable.

^hThe girls' puberty dance was very popular; more people came to it than to any other. No

⁸⁷For detailed description of the dance and all the observances surrounding the ceremony, see Dixon, 457-461.

⁸⁶See Dixon, 454.

special message was sent out; word passed from neighbor to neighbor and everybody came. The wealth of the parents made no difference in the size of the dance, for the people liked to dance and did not have to be invited. All relatives helped and relatives and friends attending, especially if the parents were poor, came loaded with food. People vied with each other to see who could dance longest and who knew the most songs. "Like myself; when I was young nobody could sing more songs than I, I knew all of them." People were constantly practicing to compose new songs for the puberty dance, but anyone could sing another's song. A person upon arrival started to sing, then if somebody else took it up he did not use the song again during that dance. Should a new group arrive on the last morning of the dance before the feather headdress had been removed, the dance was continued for another night.

^hWhen a girl's first menses occurred in winter the large dance could not be held. In the event of a clear evening, a few people came from neighboring villages and sang for her, then returned home; but if stormy, she merely danced in the menstrual hut with the few women who could crowd in. After five days she was moved into somebody's house (a grandmother, perhaps, or "some old person who was not so particular about his luck"), all who could crowded in, and the dance continued there.

^hBoth the puberty dance (with some young girl taking the part of the pubescent girl) and the war dance frequently were danced of a summer evening merely for entertainment.

Marriage

^cMarriage was by purchase and 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. A wealthy man bought a wife for his son, but poorer men were aided by their brothers and other relatives. There was considerable variety in the methods of obtaining a wife.

^cIn wealthy families children were often betrothed when very young. ^qIn such a case, the father of the boy paid the full purchase price of the girl at the time of betrothal;⁸⁸ ^hmy informant disagreed, stating that only part was paid at that time, the remainder at the time of marriage. Perhaps the young couple might not see each other until marriage, when the boy's parents simply brought the girl home immediately following her puberty ceremony.

^cResidence was patrilocal and as a rule the young couple lived temporarily in the house of the

husband's parents. ^hBut usually they built a house for themselves fairly soon. Occasionally the young couple went to live in the bride's village, if her father was old and had no son and the husband's father was younger or had another son to help him. In such instances, "the father-in-law is always talking about his son-in-law; he thinks he is fine."

^cSome time after marriage, usually three or four months, the young couple with some of their relatives went to the bride's home for a visit of one or two weeks. They took gifts for the wife's family, making as rich a display as the wealth of the husband's family permitted, and returned with gifts for the husband's parents. ^qThe bride came to her new home accompanied by a bridal party arrayed in their best clothing and ornaments, which they left as a present to the groom's family. A reciprocal display and presentation of clothes and ornaments took place on the visit to the bride's family.⁸⁹ ^hThis gift-bearing visit of the bride's relatives did not occur until after the couple had visited the bride's people. [Dixon's account seems more probable, but either way this exchange of gifts did take place.]

^cThough a man might negotiate directly⁹⁰ for his wife, ^happarently the most approved procedure was through an intermediary, this applying as well to a father buying a wife for his son. A man wishing to buy a wife for his son asked a male friend or relative to take the money to the girl's father. Placing it before the girl's father, the messenger said, "This is the money for your daughter." If that father merely pushed it aside, the messenger returned to the boy's father saying, "He wouldn't even look at it," and was sent back with a larger amount. If the proper procedures were observed and an adequate price offered, it was apparently rather dangerous to refuse, for a rejected suitor had several methods of revenge. Some of the girl's relatives might be killed, in which event her father was blamed and had to pay for the death; or, through magic, the suitor, one of his relatives, or a man he hired might cause her to die, to lose her mind, or become a trollop. For such magic one went into the hills alone for five days and "talked to nature" about what was to befall the girl. To refuse a shaman or the brother of a shaman seems to have been especially dangerous. "Any man, no matter what his family is, can marry anyone he wants to if he can raise the money to buy her. They think he is a man trying to get along."

[In spite of repeated assertions that a man must accept an adequate offer for his daughter, even from one unacceptable as son-in-law, there was probably at least some selection]: "A lazy man doesn't get a wife, because anyone who has a daughter worth buying doesn't want a man of that kind around." "If a man

⁸⁸Dixon, 461.

⁸⁹Dixon, 462.

⁹⁰Ibid.

was lazy and not much account he would get turned down."

^d"If a man is known to be a good hunter and a good man, he is often gladly accepted by the girl's parents as a son-in-law, even if he is unable to pay in full at once. Under such conditions, he pays the remainder of the price later, as he is able."⁹¹ A man might be accepted, even though unable to pay for his wife, "on condition that he live with his father-in-law, and hunt and work for him, till an equivalent of the purchase money has been paid."⁹² ^hThis was a lifelong arrangement, the couple living with the wife's parents, or at least in the same village. The children's value was then based on that of the mother's people, this being the only time a woman could "bring her name out for the full value of what her mother was bought for." There was a form of marriage [mentioned contemptuously] in which the man went to live with his wife and "made a slave of himself," doing his wife's work while she did practically nothing. (Berdaches? But see above, p. 317.) "It would be just some man who had no respect for himself that would do this, he would just go to some Gamütwa family. The Gamütwa did this among themselves, they had no ways about them."

^hA fatherless boy whose father's people could not aid sufficiently in buying a wife was helped by his mother's people. If he had no paternal relatives, his mother's brother might buy him a wife.

^d"Occasionally a girl is sent by her parents to a man known to be of good character and a good hunter. She is sent free, as it were, and no money payment is asked. The man is not obliged to accept the girl; but to be refused in such cases is considered a great disgrace."⁹³ ^hThe sending of a girl to a man by her parents was a matter of deferred payment rather than a free gift. If accepted, the girl remained there without payment, but the usual return visit to her home must be made and it was then that the bride price was paid, she wearing the money home. "That boy would have parents pretty well-to-do, or he wouldn't get a chance to be married like that." ^cBut the bride price must be paid because of the children; marriage without payment was apparently unthinkable. ^hSuch a girl usually had a widowed mother or a father old and helpless and in need of a son-in-law. She was dressed in her best, wearing beads and money, and taken to the man's door, where his mother received and took her in.

^hSometimes marriage took place without the usual formalities, a young couple "just picked each other up." The boy took the girl home with him and no objections were made, but within six months they must visit her people and take the

bride price. Or perhaps a couple lived together in spite of parental objections and refusal of the boy's father to buy the girl as a wife for his son. But when a child was expected many fathers would relent and pay the bride price.

^hIn the more approved, formally arranged marriages the girl's wishes were not consulted. Sometimes a boy was given a wife he had never seen, but more often his wishes were consulted, the father saying, "You are old enough, you ought to get married. Your mother is getting old and needs help," and asking his opinion of a certain girl. Or the son might take the initiative and ask his father to buy a certain girl for him.

^hMarriage requisites for a girl were that she be a good worker and have good parents. Quite puritanical ideals of conduct for a respectable girl prevailed. She conducted herself in a grave and dignified fashion; if there were men guests she sat with her back to the fire. "A girl who respected herself didn't laugh and she didn't talk before men. That was the kind of a girl worth lots of money. That kind of girl you could see was all right--she was like anybody else, not bashful and she would take part in a dance and answer you if you went up and talked to her, but she didn't talk herself.

Those Gamutwa were different. They were jolly and would laugh and talk. The girls dressed up and looked pretty, but they didn't act like these girls here, they didn't know how to act." A man who chose a wife on the basis of beauty was considered foolish and shallow. "They said he didn't marry the woman, he just married her looks." The following were marks of feminine beauty: manner of dress-- "If anybody can dress in fancy beads, they look better than what they are"; a fair, rosy complexion; black, shiny hair that is long and heavy; a body plump and firm but not fat--"If they saw a girl as thin as they are now they would think she was not going to live long; that kind of a girl would never get married." Masculine requisites for marriage were industry and ability to produce the bride price. A handsome man was "not too tall and leggy, not too small, heavy set."

^hChildren of a woman who has not been duly bought were illegitimate and both they and their parents were scorned. Such children were called xatsid (grass). "They weren't raised right, they didn't know what they ought to know, you couldn't trust them. Children that are children are talked to all the time by their grandparents and their own parents, and told what to do and what not to do. Those others just grew up like grass. They never had any chance to make anything of themselves." Though such a family had no standing in the community, the treatment they received naturally varied in accordance with the self-righteousness or greater generosity of their neighbors. They were not considered, for instance, in the division of the game after a hunt. "But the better people will take them some; but there are some people who always know more about other people's business than anything else and that kind won't take them anything."

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Dixon, 463.

^bRelationship was counted in both maternal and paternal lines and marriage of relatives was not approved. "Some people did marry cousins, but those kind of people were not much." A man was permitted to marry his "pseudo-cousin": the daughter of his paternal aunt's or uncle's sibling-in-law [presumably also the daughter of his maternal aunt's or uncle's sibling-in-law, though my notes are not specific on this point]. This was called "marrying in the family" and these were the closest "relatives" whose marriage received social sanction. Sometimes people of the same or neighboring villages married, but more often one married someone from a distance, probably because fellow villagers were 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. Since his grandfather and father were both headmen of the Shasta, they may have gone farther afield than the common run of men to obtain a suitable wife. Sargent himself never married, as his parents did not find a girl whom they considered suitable.

^bAlso Sargent's father, being of a wealthy family and a chief's son, was betrothed in childhood and had two wives. Since he was older than his childhood fiancée, his father bought another wife for him when he reached marriageable age. She was a relative (a cousin) of his betrothed wife. The younger wife was Sargent's mother, but I neglected to inquire which was the mother of his two sisters. The older woman assumed much of the care of Sargent, however, and relations were always amicable between the two women. There seems to have been a feeling that a man should not have children by two wives: "the children run down, those children's children will not be healthy."

^cOnly wealthy men had more than one wife, except through the levirate, and my impression both from Sargent and from the tales is that even they seldom, if ever, had more than two, though my notes are not specific on this point.

^cThe levirate was practiced, for since ^d"among all but the wealthy, a man's brothers and relatives always contribute to aid him in buying a wife, it is regarded as only proper and just that, should he die, the wife whom the brother has helped to pay for should be given to him in return for his aid."⁹⁴

^bIf the brothers and cousins were all married, it was seldom that one of them married the widow. They were, however, supposed to care for her. "If they took everything, that would show they didn't have any respect for her. It would be as good as saying she didn't amount to anything; so she would go home and she wouldn't have to marry them."

^bA widow could not marry in her husband's family for a year. "It took that long for the pitch to wear out of her hair." Remarriage outside her husband's family could not take place within five

years. If a man's brother or other male relative did not claim his widow within five years, she was free to marry whom she pleased, the bride price being paid to her own family. Or it might be that a widow who did not like her husband's family and regretted having married into it (perhaps her husband had not treated her father and brothers very well) would marry someone else. If the husband's family were less wealthy than her own they might do nothing overt about it but would "give her five years to live," and if she did not die within that time she was safe.

^dA widower could not marry outside his deceased wife's family without their consent;⁹⁵ ^bbut Sargent denied this, stating that it was no concern of theirs for they were "losing nothing by it." [Some doubt of this is raised, however, by another remark that] "If he is any good, a husband takes care of his wife's father and mother even when she dies. Those are the kind of boys the old folks want to keep in the family." A widower waited a year and a half or two years, if outside her family. "If he married before a year it would show he didn't have any respect for his wife."

^dA man might complain to his wife's family if she bore no children and they sent, free, an unmarried sister or cousin as a second wife; or he might merely return the wife to her family and they were obliged to refund her purchase money, which they were also obliged to do if he divorced her for adultery.⁹⁶ ^bIn case of barrenness the wife's family were merely obliged to provide another wife; a man divorcing his wife for adultery reclaimed the purchase money only if there were no children, for the children would be worth nothing if this money were reclaimed.

^bA woman might also leave her husband for unfaithfulness and no return of bride price was required. The husband might ask for it, but his own people would not support his claim. "If she was a good woman, she didn't usually marry again." If a man beat his wife "that was their own trouble" and her father had no claim against him. If she left him for abuse, her family, as Dixon states also,⁹⁷ sent her back, but it was a different matter if he did not fulfill his obligations toward her family. A man should be interested in his wife's family and help them when in trouble. If, for instance, a woman's only brother was killed, leaving only old people in her family, and her husband took no interest in the difficulty, she would leave him, and her family were not required to return the bride price, "because he is no man or he would do as he should and his father is no man or he would tell him to do as he should." Even should she remarry, which she would not unless childless, the money need not be returned, though it might be merely to avoid trouble. Should the husband and his

⁹⁵Dixon, 464.

⁹⁶Ibid.

⁹⁷Ibid.

⁹⁴Ibid.

family "make trouble" and demand the return of the money, public sympathy was not with them and the wife would say "she guessed he was with those people who killed her brother and that way put him on the enemy's side." If she remarried, the former marriage did not affect the price the second husband paid "if she was known to be a good woman."

^hChildren of divorced parents belonged to the father and were cared for by his mother. But a wife who left her husband for recognized cause took the children and kept them until her death, though if both grandmothers were living the children usually visited back and forth.

Death and Burial

^cImmediately after death the body was removed through an opening ^hmade either in the wall of the house or at the joining of the roof and wall, on the east side because "all Indian people travel toward the daylight when they are dead." If the body were taken through the door all in the house would die, for "that was where people were traveling back and forth." ^cIt was washed ^hin cold water with a handful of leaves of *wesa* (wormwood; *Artemisia vulgaris*, var. *discolor*), and ^cdressed in its best clothes ^hby a near relative, a woman. After removal of the body from the house, the root of *garawihú'* (*Helianthus cusickii*) was burned in the house to kill any *axaiki* (see below under "Conceptions of the World") that might be left.

^cThe body, dressed for burial, lay outside the house and relatives and friends danced about it weeping and "speaking to the dead, and telling him that he is going to another world, and begging him to take with him all their pains and troubles, and carry them far away."⁹⁸ ^cThe dancing continued until burial, one party of dancers changing with another. If death followed long illness, burial was usually immediate, since relatives and friends were likely to be near, but if sudden, the body was kept four or five days until they had had time to gather. All brought a little shell money and placed it on the body, with which part of it was buried, the money, according to Dixon, "being pounded up fine, and mixed with earth or sand, and sprinkled over the top of the grave after it is filled in." They usually brought other property also, of which part was buried and part returned to them.

^cTwo relatives usually dug the grave, ^hthough they were not close relatives, such as brothers, and might be merely friends. ^cThere is some doubt as to whether they were paid for their services;⁹⁹ ^hprobably they were not paid, merely receiving

something in the general distribution of property, only being anxious to help. When the grave was ready all ate, though not at the same time, for some were dancing constantly. Next, dancing and carrying fir branches, they followed the body as it was carried and placed beside the grave, about which they danced with the fir branches. Then a general distribution of property took place.

^cBurial occurred at noon. The body, head toward the east, was placed on its back in the grave which had been lined with the fir branches. When the grave was filled in, a fence of small fir poles that had been carried in the dance was built about it and baskets impaled on the poles.

^cEveryone then bathed and returned to the village. The house of the deceased was thoroughly swept and cleaned, the sweepings and much of the old paraphernalia being burned. ^hIt may have been at this time that the root mentioned above was burned in the house to kill any lingering *axaiki*.

^d"A five-day's fast, with sweating, is . . . obligatory upon the grave-diggers and all near relatives . . . At the end of this period, all assemble again, and hold a 'cry,' and then disperse to their own homes. At intervals, for a year, near relatives 'cry' for the dead; but this is purely an individual matter."¹⁰⁰ Both men and women cut their hair short for mourning, the woman also putting pitch and charcoal on her head and face.

^hThe shell money and other property brought to the funeral were placed before a near relative of the deceased and distributed at the grave by the headman, who had come for that purpose. "If I have lots of money, my friends will have lots of money too, so lots of money will be brought to the funeral." Everyone who came "brought a little money." Those bringing most received most in the general distribution, some being saved for the children of the deceased. The headman knew what each had brought, or he held something up and asked to whom it belonged. One might say, "This is mine, this is to be wasted," whereupon the distributor said, "I take this much to keep it on top," and the rest was broken and put on the face of the deceased. A wealthy man's grave would be entirely covered by the finely pounded beads and shell money mixed with earth or sand, and after a rain "it just shines." Close relatives and friends received most in the distribution [I surmise it was at this time that the deceased's property was distributed]. Some people gave directions for their own funeral, where and how they wished to be buried, and might specify what should be buried with them and to whom various of their belongings should go.

^cA man dying far from home might be buried in the local cemetery, ^hbut the more usual method was to burn the body and take the ashes home for burial.

^cIf a man was buried away from home, the headman of

⁹⁸Dixon, 465. For details of the funeral ceremony, see pp. 465-467.

⁹⁹Dixon, 466.

¹⁰⁰Dixon, 467.

the village buried him and the bones sometimes were removed later to his own village. ^d"The local residents pay for having the bones exhumed and carried away."¹⁰¹ ^cThe person who thus cared for the bones must undergo a five-day sweat and fast. ^hFor an outsider buried in their cemetery the local residents "put up lots of money at the funeral to show that they wanted him to be buried there. Whoever is buried there has to be buried like one of themselves." Should there be trouble later with the relatives, the local residents mentioned this money destroyed and buried with him, and demanded its return.

^hIn summer, rain was made to settle the dirt over a new grave. If somebody of importance died, a storm was made so that everybody would remember he died at the time of that big storm. Not everyone could do this. There were certain places, always by a little pond or in some swampy place,

where certain old men or women could gather twigs, eating alone meanwhile, and abstaining from meat. A basket made of these twigs was put away to be used when they desired to settle dust on a grave. They placed the basket on the grave; this caused rain until it was removed. Or merely a stick might be used. It, like the basket, was placed on the grave, or it might be put by the river, causing rain until the river rose to that point. The stick must be carefully watched and removed at the proper time, for if it was washed away the rain would continue and the river wash things away and do much harm.

^hThe year's mourners must be compensated before any dance was held,¹⁰² with the exception of the shaman's dance. "They paid pretty good money, up to the second or third village away." Even after paying these mourners, the dance would not be held in their village.

¹⁰¹Dixon, 467.

¹⁰²Yurok, Kroeber, Handbook, 37-38.

RELIGION

Beliefs Regarding the Soul

^d"To the Shasta, apparently, 'ghost,' 'soul,' and 'life' are practically synonymous terms. Ghosts are much feared, and are seen in the form of flickering flames or vague lights, chiefly in the vicinity of graveyards. To see them brings bad luck, or even death."¹⁰³ ^hGhosts did not figure in Shasta belief. The flickering lights were living people, "Indian devils from down the river." They were endowed with magic power by virtue of a "medicine" or "poison" which could be bought from those able to make it.¹⁰⁴ The Shasta did not possess this power and all such "devils" were Karok or Yurok. They were invisible, except for the light, which was the poison, and were noiseless. One might faint at mere sight of one of these lights. Certain brave men would watch for these wizards along the trail and try to catch them. Such a wizard would send five apparitions ahead, so a watcher by the trail, thinking it a man passing, would seize it and the wizard, warned by another of the apparitions, did not pass that way. But a wise watcher allowed the five apparitions to pass, then seized the real man as he came along. A fierce struggle ensued, neither contender making any sound. If the captor succeeded in holding the wizard until daylight, the latter gave up, his captor would see his identity and was well paid for not disclosing it.

^hOr at night one might feel himself watched, or hear rocks thrown on the roof, or be just missed by a rock invisibly thrown. Again, it would be one of these wizards and the victim tried to shoot him, though unable to see him. Unless shot in the forehead he was not killed, but his victim might, by a lucky shot, hit and wound him and thus be enabled by the blood to trail him the next morning to some hiding place where he had crawled to die. If the captor then spared the wizard's life and aided him to recovery, he was, again, well paid for his magnanimity.

^hThese wizards could also assume the form of a dog or other animal, always some common animal, though seldom a deer. They traveled in daytime in the animal disguise and when appearing in this form were always bent on killing.

^hActivities of wizards varied from mere annoyance of victims to killing, but with emphasis on the more sinister end of the scale. Mere sight of them, or a rock thrown by an invisible hand, though missing the victim, might cause death. Were death intended for the victim, he became sick for no apparent reason and turned black and "shiny." Such illness was practically incurable; only the axaiki who lived at the head of Horse Creek could treat it.

^cThe soul of a dying person departed from the body some hours (^htwenty-four) ^cbefore death and

there were certain people who could see the departing soul.¹⁰⁵ ^hFirst the "pain" left the body, followed by the soul or "life." The "pain" gone, the body lay breathing quietly and people thought the patient better, when in fact the "life" had already departed. There were no beliefs concerning the travels and destination of the soul. It was "just going some place. Nobody had ever seen the land of the dead, so they didn't know where it was or what it was like."

Conceptions of the World

^cThe Shasta apparently had no clear idea of a creation or a creator. They thought of the world as having always existed and were quite vague in their ideas of its origin and shape. Coyote took on somewhat the character of culture hero, ^hand things in the world were named by a certain blind man who traveled about giving names to everything he ran against. He would, for instance, bump into a tree and would say, "Oh, this is a fir tree," and so on until everything had received its name. At one time Mount Shasta, another mountain near Happy Camp called Old Man Mountain, and another at the head of Rogue River were "all that was sticking up out of the ocean."

^cFive was the sacred number and it or one of its multiples, especially ten, appeared constantly in the tales and in the various phases of Shasta life.

^dThe entire area occupied by the Shasta is thought of as thronged with spiritual, mysterious powers, spoken of as Axè'ki, or 'pains.' These are conceived of in human form (rather shorter than the ordinary stature), and as inhabiting rocks, cliffs, lakes, and mountain summits, and rapids and eddies in streams. Many animals are also regarded as Axè'ki. They are the cause of all disease, death, and trouble, and become the guardians of the shamans, and are often inherited by them.¹⁰⁶ ^hHowever, lakes, rapids, and eddies in streams should not be included in the various dwelling places of the axaiki, for the axaiki were people and lived only on land. There were certain water creatures, but they were not axaiki.

Miscellaneous Beliefs

Sargent added a number of beliefs to those listed by Dixon.¹⁰⁷ ^hThe water creatures just mentioned lived in certain places along the river and people dared not swim there. Boys swimming near such a place might see a freshly dead or just-dying fish under water. One might dive for it but

¹⁰⁵ For description of the departure of the soul and beliefs concerning its travels and destination see Dixon, 469-470.

¹⁰⁶ Dixon, 470.

¹⁰⁷ Dixon, 470-471.

¹⁰³Dixon, 468.

¹⁰⁴See Yurok, Kroeber, Handbook, 67.

it would prove to be the hand of a water creature, which would grab the boy and drag him down. This rarely happened to girls, for they only swam in shallow places and did not dive. The water would then rise in foam and the other boys knew what had happened and went home to tell their people. Next morning the lost boy's body would be found where he had undressed. Or one of these creatures might reach up and grab a swimmer. Always foam appeared, for the creature raised the water in foam when it moved. Each creature had a different name. One, xaseyáuwat, was shaped like a dog, but longer, had black and white stripes running round it, and many people in that vicinity now call it a sea dog. Another resembled a snake. Another, hika (lived only in the river), had long hair, but its shape is unknown.

^hThere were also large snakes which similarly pulled people under. They did not return the body, however, as did the water creatures mentioned in the preceding paragraph, but swallowed it. These snakes lived in lakes as well as the river, as did also the xaseyáuwat. When one of these snakes traveled, he pushed the water ahead of him, causing a "big splash" at the outlet of the lake, and the water moved along much like the sudden rising of a mountain stream caused by a cloudburst, pushing rocks, brush, and everything ahead of it.

^hIf certain places on the Siskiyou were disturbed in any way, such as by weeds being pulled, children playing, etc., it would storm. If children played with lizards and dropped them in water, this always made a little rain. A circle around the sun indicated that he was painting his face all over, which caused a little rain and meant that something was wrong with the people. In the event of an unusually long snow and freeze, the weather would turn warmer, cloud up and rain if one who had been born in the rain buried a block of ice under the ashes.

^hThere were different ways of stopping ordinary rain. To stop thunder showers in summer, old men or women shouted at the thunder. A raccoon hide was put on a pole, and people talked to the thunder, saying, "Go that way, it is no good place this way, you might step on a rattlesnake here." Thunder was afraid of a raccoon hide.

^hThunder and Dove gambled all winter. Thunder bet the salmon, his food, and Dove bet all the grass seeds, which was his food. If the dove called before it thundered, Dove had lost; then, the seeds being his no more, everybody could have them and they would be plentiful. But if it thundered before the dove called, Thunder had lost; then salmon would be plentiful. Therefore, abundant grass seeds meant not many salmon, perhaps just a few late ones.

^hIf water dropped from one's nose before he knew it, news of a death would be heard. A black and white king snake seen in camp must be killed, else it meant death. One must not look at the full moon, for a man seen walking across its face meant death to the whole village.

^hDifferent villages had their own omens. In certain villages, if crows were heard along the river and swooped over the village in the night, squawking, the people must depart before daylight, for somebody was coming to kill them. In the vicinity of Horse Creek, if a rock was heard but not seen rolling down a certain mountain, it meant news of a death. In other places, if a robin was heard after dark, somebody would be shot with an arrow.

^hAfter handling deer or bear meat, cooked or raw, one must do nothing else until all blood was washed from the hands. This was "to keep up the luck." One ate no fish just before or during a hunt, nor should one eat meat while fishing. When camping out to hunt, men took along only acorn mush for making soup, or little cooked cakes, not deermeat, for that would mean bad luck. When hunting deer, a man must kill the first he saw, be it little or big, or his luck would be spoiled. If a blowfly came by, someone would kill a big buck. Should men or women eat fresh meat during a funeral ceremony, the men would carry the sound of the funeral when they went hunting and fail to get within shooting distance of the deer. Nor could one get within shooting distance of the deer if he was not quiet while making bows and arrows. No one must step over anything connected with the deer hunt, else the man would always overshoot his mark. Separate pokers, frames, etc., must be used for cooking fish and meat.

^hIf sparks flew from the fire, a rattlesnake had been under the log.

^hWhoever came to mind as one sneezed was talking about one.

^hWhen the flicker gave a throaty call in the morning, the afternoon would be windy. If he whistled (a clear call) on top of the house in the morning, there would be company during the day.

^hOrdinarily a woman must never step over a man, but, if wounded, his wife or some other woman jumped back and forth over him several times. This killed the poison and he would not die. If it did not cure, it at least eased him until a shaman could be procured. This treatment was especially effective if done by a menstruating woman.

^hFor stomachache, a man (not a shaman) who knew the grizzly-bear song sang it over a cup of water and the sufferer drank the water. This song was effective because "when the grizzly bear eats he just eats everything down, brush and all, if he is eating berries."

^hAfter painting, the sun sometimes threw out his wash water, which made the rainbow. Should one point at it, his finger would be crooked like the rainbow.

Shamanism

^cShasta shamans were chiefly women. Male shamans were less numerous and ^hless proficient.

^cThey received their power from the axaiki (p. 326),

with which the Shasta territory fairly teemed, and which the shaman could see and hear singing about her all the time. Though all the axaiki could be seen by any shaman, a given one was the friend and guardian of only one shaman and was hereditary in the family. Occasionally, however, one deserted a family, going over to another shaman, and there were also numerous unpledged axaiki, one or more of which a shaman might attract to herself and which might be more powerful than her inherited guardians.

^cShamans were persons of great importance "and in them and their ceremonials almost the whole ritual of the people is included."¹⁰⁸ ^hIn spite of their importance, however, they appear to have been unpopular. "A doctor is no friend to anybody, except her own family." Few people wanted to be shamans, for nobody liked them and they were likely to be killed at any time, such death requiring no payment. [Another statement however:] "People wanted to be shamans and always liked to have one in the family. Some doctors are better hearted than others, and try to do what is right. Lots of people like this kind of doctor. But then some people always get jealous of her, they don't think a doctor should be liked and they get tired hearing people talk about her and bragging her up." A shaman could take no part in any general dance, except the puberty, and could not gamble; for were someone hurt, any shaman taking part would be blamed. Only relatives attended a shaman's funeral, and she attended none outside her own family, and then only in her own village. She apparently took no active part in any funeral, she was "not supposed to be right there crying like other folks." If a member of her family had died, a child or husband perhaps, "she can cry by herself in the house, that can't be helped, but she mustn't cry before people, that would cause trouble. If a doctor is out with the others and takes care of the body and cries, it means lots of sickness and trouble."

^hThe prevailing hereditary nature of shamanism was apparently coupled with a certain selection. A shaman usually selected one of her own children or a brother's or sister's child. She cared for it while small, keeping it much with her and wishing it to become a shaman. She painted it like herself and told it certain things to do and not to do. It was these "who started young" who became powerful shamans, who "could do things without dancing and who could make other people doctors, could clear their ears." Or the shaman might instruct all her children alike, but "it didn't all take alike. It is the children that believe what their doctor mother or aunt tells them that get to be doctors."

^dA Shaman's child could not become a shaman during her lifetime.¹⁰⁹ ^hThey might practice at the same time, but did not use the same axaiki. Then at the mother's death, the daughter took over her paraphernalia and received her axaiki. If the

mother died before the daughter became a shaman, her axaiki returned to their abode, coming to the daughter when she became a shaman. Or the daughter of a shaman too old to practice might become a shaman; or one who was aging or thought she was to die might make a shaman of one of her close relatives. Sisters could be shamans at the same time but two men in the same family could not, nor could a man become one while a shaman sister lived. Sargent's paternal grandmother was a shaman, as were his four paternal aunts, the eldest being a very powerful one. Were more than one member of a family a shaman the eldest was the most powerful. A shaman had an assistant to care for her paraphernalia, a woman relative. This service was performed for Sargent, who was a shaman, by his mother. When not in use, the paraphernalia were hidden in the woods. They received no special attention other than being carefully wrapped and placed in a tree, under which red paint was kept in ten spots on a board. The paraphernalia must be away from the odor of anything burning, or the shaman would die. Nothing a shaman used in her professional capacity must be underground. Upon her death her paraphernalia were hung away on a tree where they would be blown away or naturally destroyed. For a year or more after a shaman's death her assistant daily put out paint for her different axaiki, telling them she was putting out this paint for them and asking them to care for the children. Sometimes she also put out other things, such as feathers, in the nature of small offerings to them.

^cDreams of various sorts recurring over a more or less protracted period first indicated to a person that he or she was to become a shaman.¹¹⁰ These were usually of nightmare nature and the person finally dreamed of swarms of yellow jackets, which were supposed to be axaiki and were therefore conclusive proof of the nature of the dreams. During this period the dreamer must observe certain food taboos; she must eat no meat nor even smell it cooking. She must begin to paint as shamans did and begin collecting things a shaman must have. In general these were as follows: ^d"ten buckskins, ten silver-gray foxskins, ten wolfskins, ten coyote skins, ten fisher skins, ten otter skins, ten small dish baskets, ten small bowl baskets, the tail and wing feathers of the eagle (ten each), and the tails of ten yellowhammers and of ten large woodpeckers. Other things (not necessarily in tens) are a supply of red, blue, and yellow paint and a buckskin pierced full of holes, to be thrown over the head while sleeping."¹¹¹ ^cTo collect these often took several years, but the novice could not attempt to cure the sick or take the part of a real shaman until the list was complete.

^cFinally, late some afternoon, the dreamer would suddenly hear a voice directly above her head, and

¹⁰⁸ Dixon, 471.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ For detailed description of how one became a shaman, see Dixon, 471-477.

¹¹¹ Dixon, 472.

turning at once would see her axaiki standing behind her with a drawn bow and arrow pointed at her heart. Falling in a swoon, she lay rigid until evening. Her family, meanwhile, began to wail and call in all the neighbors. While she was in this trance the axaiki taught her his song, which told his name and where he lived but otherwise had no words. Each axaiki had one song. After sunset the novice began slowly to revive, faintly repeating the song. At length she called out the axaiki's name and then ^c"blood oozes from her mouth, usually ten times in succession."¹¹² ^hThis was not really blood, but a substance "a little blacker than chocolate which settles on your heart when you do something you shouldn't do and you keep it secret. This black stuff covers your heart so people can't see what you don't want them to. It all settles on the heart; so the system must be cleared of this." ^cAs she gradually came to herself the novice rose and began dancing and carried out various commands of her axaiki.

^cShe slept most of the next day and the next night danced again, continuing this routine five days and nights. On the third night her axaiki appeared again and shot a "pain" into her to test her strength. These pains were also called axaiki and were described as looking like tiny icicles. They were the cause of sickness in ordinary people. Upon being shot with the pain the novice fell, "stiffening again in a sort of cataleptic seizure. They must catch her before she falls, or she will die."¹¹³ Revived, she sang and danced again, performing various feats with the pain, making it disappear in various parts of her body and reappear again from other parts. On this and on the fourth and fifth nights other axaiki came and each might give her a pain. "All shamans seem to have three pains at least, and to carry these about in their body all the time, one being in each shoulder, and one in the back of the head. For this reason it is very dangerous to touch or strike a shaman at these points, as to do so angers the pain, and death is likely to be the result for the person who has touched or struck them."¹¹⁴ ^hThese pains in each shoulder and one in each heel or ankle enabled the shaman to dance for five nights without tiring, while one in each temple enabled her to "see straight ahead and never have a headache." After the first night's dance the woman who was to be the shaman's helper and care for her paraphernalia took three small boards, putting spots of yellow paint on one, red on another, and indigo blue on the third, and placed them back of the house. This was for the axaiki to paint with, and was afterward put away with the rest of the paraphernalia.

^cAt the end of this five-day and -night ceremonial the novice, after a ten-day fast, resumed normal life, living quietly and not dancing again

for many months. Meanwhile, her family collected the articles enumerated above.

^cThe next winter the novice danced again, friends and relatives assembling for the occasion. If she did not yet have all the things needed, the ceremony was delayed another year. When everything was ready the father of the novice, unless he were himself a shaman, cut and set up outside the house a tall pole, decorated with paint and a few feathers, ^hand set up in a circle around the base of the pole ten straight elderberry sticks of last year's growth, peeled and painted with alternate stripes of black and red.

^cAbout sundown, the novice went to the pole with a male assistant whom she asked to call her axaiki, telling him what words to use. She then returned to the house and went to sleep. ^hThis helper not only called the axaiki, but repeated to the audience the words of the novice (or the shaman, if a full-fledged shaman's dance) as she detailed to him the axaiki's movements and what he was telling her. Only certain men could thus assist a shaman. When requested to call the axaiki, the helper gave two loud calls, then the name of the axaiki. At the first call the axaiki raised his head and looked about to see who was calling. Presently he got out his pipe and smoked, saying to himself, "Well, guess I will have to go." Then he dusted his moccasins and got up to go. At this point ^cthe novice, who had previously begun to roll about and whine and moan, rose and danced and sang until midnight, when the axaiki arrived. ^hEach time she stopped dancing the axaiki stopped, this continuing until his arrival. A small dog must be put out as food for the axaiki before his arrival, else he would kill the novice's (or shaman's) dearest relative. She announced that he had arrived, was about to shoot, and was looking about for something to eat. Everybody's face must be in the light, for should one sit back in the dark where his face could not be seen, it angered the axaiki, who might kill him, thinking him a stranger. Upon his arrival the axaiki shot the puppy which, with a little yelp, dropped dead. The novice then lay down and slept again while her helper smoked and all the guests ate and talked in low tones. ^cThe axaiki was supposed to leave before daylight, as he must be home before dawn, ^hand the same process of dancing must be repeated for his homeward trip else he would not get back and this would cause terrible sickness, perhaps the death of the whole village.

^cIf the novice had more than one axaiki for a guardian a pole was set up for each of them and ^hthe objects listed above "must apparently be provided" for each one.¹¹⁵ ^hAll the things were not provided for each axaiki. Different ones called for different things: one for feathers that were notched, another for eagle feathers, another

¹¹² Dixon, 473.

¹¹³ Dixon, 474.

¹¹⁴ Dixon, 475.

¹¹⁵ Dixon, 476.

for different kinds of baskets, etc. There must be no less than ten of each thing demanded. The old people knew the various things the axaiki wanted, therefore everything was prepared so the novice would have whatever her particular axaiki requested. Whatever was called for was tied to the pole and must reach to the ground.

^cAfter the third night of this second winter's dance, and not until then, the novice became a completely qualified shaman. ^hShe repeated the dance every winter until she had had five dances. Some, indeed, repeated it for ten winters. Though the first two winter dances must continue for five nights, after that they need only be held for two or three nights, and sometimes only one. This regular winter dance of the shaman came about January or February. It was for her own benefit, to increase her power, "to build herself up," and to get more axaiki friends. During this dance she could also "look around and see what was going to happen," if sickness was coming to the village, etc. Sometimes if an epidemic seemed to be coming, a powerful shaman held such a dance to "look around" and see if it was coming toward that village and to stop it if possible. If a home shaman, she was not paid for this; but if there was no home shaman, an outsider was hired for the purpose. A young shaman "had to dance for everything she did," but as she got older and more experienced she became more powerful and could do things of her own power, without the formality of a dance. The first four or five years a shaman had to be very careful to observe every detail of the shamanistic requirements, but as she became older and attained more power, she could relax her vigilance somewhat. Men, women, and children attended a shamanistic dance, and as she sang what the axaiki told her, the spectators repeated the song "that was helping her doctor."

^cIf a dreamer ignored preshamanistic dreams and failed to observe the proper food restrictions, etc., she (or he) would fall ill and a shaman called in to treat her would discover the cause of illness.

^d"Continued refusal to accept the position of shaman often results in the death of the person."¹¹⁶ ^hBut if the dreamer's mother considered her unfit to be a shaman, thinking she would not care for herself properly and rightly perform her duties, the effects could be removed by the officiating shaman, and the girl dreamed no more. This was a one-night dance, the shaman waving away the dreams with eagle wings. Apparently this was not a common practice, however; for, though one need not unwillingly accept the shamanistic call because another shaman "could take the dreams away," one usually was afraid "to have another doctor take it away." Sometimes, apparently, in spite of the dreamer's disbelief and her family's ignoring the dreams and consequent failure to collect the required articles, "the axaiki chooses her anyhow," and ^cshe was taken with the

usual seizure some afternoon, lying rigid in a swoon until evening. Then the axaiki began to sing ^hand "they knew it was true and the family and neighbors rushed around and got the things." This might happen to one who had no shamans in the family. "These are the ones that don't believe in it. Some axaiki that doesn't belong to another family, that has no friends, may pick them up." A shaman who no longer wished to practice could have her power removed by another shaman. This was also a one-night dance, "a regular doctoring dance," and the axaiki thus removed now belonged to the officiating shaman.

^cA powerful shaman could also confer the shamanistic power on others, for which she received a large fee. The power of hearing and seeing the axaiki she ceremonially conferred upon the candidate,¹¹⁷ who then proceeded as any other novice.

^hSometimes the daughter, or other successor, of a very powerful shaman need not go through this elaborate process of the winter dance, "the power just came on them gradually." Thus Sargent became a shaman because his oldest aunt, the powerful shaman mentioned above, carried him about when he was a baby, talked to him, wished for him to become a shaman, and told his father how to care for him. "Father always told me if I dreamed certain things what it would mean. Father was talking to the sun all the time to keep trouble away from himself. So it just came on me gradually. I dreamed and heard songs in the air. They were axaiki songs, but I didn't see them. Once I saw an old woman dancing and singing, she used the Gamütwa language. She wasn't particularly talking to me. I never had to dance."¹¹⁸ When I got to seeing things, some of them gave me a song. I got a song and remembered it and used it. After while I got to doctoring--some of the family was not very sick and no doctor was there and I would sing and wave the sickness away, but I couldn't touch the body. I waved it away with feathers; there are certain feathers you should have. Then I got to dancing and the more I danced the more I saw, and the more songs I heard. After I had been doctoring quite a while, my aunt came to me and told me what to do--I had to have certain fir tips mixed with feathers. She gave me a song and told me to doctor, what to use for any kind of sickness. Mother and father told me that all the songs I was singing were all the four doctors' songs. [The four shaman aunts.] That is why they thought I could doctor, because they knew I had never heard them, they were not songs I had learned from anybody. I never had the winter dances and didn't call for the axaiki. While mother was living I used to have her look around just for one night." Sargent owned a

¹¹⁷ For details of this ceremony, see Dixon, 477.

¹¹⁸ The novice's and shaman's winter dance described above (pp. 328-329), and Dixon, 475-476.

¹¹⁶Dixon, 472.

remarkable pipe that belonged to the oldest shaman aunt. "Some white people up at Jacksonville were killed and some of that other tribe told that it was some Shasta boys that did it; so four innocent boys were hung. One of them was father's cousin and someone at the funeral said to my aunt, 'Can't you do something about it?' So she put her pipe in her mouth and drew fire without lighting it; she sent an axaiki to the village of those people and in a month's time all their young people were dead." When she died she gave the pipe to Sargent's father, telling him that he could cure himself or anyone in the family by laying it on the place that hurt when they were sick, but he never used it. Upon his death he gave it to Sargent. When Sargent's mother died she told him to destroy it, for there was no one to take care of it for him.

^cThe axaiki were scattered about everywhere and were constantly trying to shoot people with their pains. They varied in power, and the more powerful a shaman's axaiki, the greater the feats she could perform. A shaman could see all over the country, discover the axaiki everywhere, and hear them singing all the time. ^dThey lived in houses like those of human beings, and argued among themselves as to their respective powers, just as did the shamans; but neither they nor the shamans had contests. "When human beings die that is the axaiki's living, just like deer for us, we are their game." ^cThe axaiki were very subject to colds and likely to get a bad cold when they came out from home. ^dThat was the only sickness they were subject to, and shamans were not very effective in treating a cold. ^cTrails, if possible, avoided places where axaiki lived; ^dbut if necessary to pass such a place, some old woman who knew the proper formula said a few words as they went by, telling the axaiki to let the people passing there alone, that they were all right and meant no harm, etc. She then left a little paint, or put up a yellowhammer tail or some such article, "saying, 'This is to paint your feathers, this is for you.' The axaiki likes that and he says, 'This is my friend.'" They could not injure white people "because white people have a different scent and the axaiki can't stand it." One axaiki who lived in the mountain beyond Rogue River called himself a laurel tree; a laurel tree grew close beside his house. Another lived in the mountain back of Applegate toward Grants Pass. He called himself by the name of the rawhide basket, *atsurikwitsúgwaiwéyáa* (the rawhide basket up on something). His coming brought rain and lightning and he had power to treat people struck by lightning. Another, who looked like an eagle, lived far up the Klamath River near Klamath Lake. He was effective in treating anyone choked by a fishbone in his throat. In some rocky cliffs at the head of Horse Creek canyon lived an axaiki who called himself "wild pigeon," though he looked like a man. "He said, 'This is what I sing, there is nothing that you cannot do,'" meaning that one could treat anything with him. The grizzly bear axaiki lived

in the lower end of Scott Valley. He could treat people bitten by a grizzly bear. Sometimes he could change form and look like a bunch of dead limbs stuck together; he did this during the five-night winter dance, but never during a "doctoring dance." "All the other axaiki just looked like people." The axaiki of the next "real people" down the river (the Karok) looked like a small bat.

^cDisease and death were caused by pains shot into people by axaiki, or by shamans. ^d"When a shaman comes to a patient, her songs make the pain weak, and draw it to the surface, so that it can easily be extracted. When taken out, blood oozes from it, this blood being that of the person on whom it has been preying as a sort of parasite."¹¹⁹

^cWhen summoned to treat a patient the shaman set out at once with the messenger sent for her and probably two or three people from her own village. About half a mile from the patient's home the shaman stopped and smoked for about an hour, her axaiki meanwhile telling her all about the case and ^dthe messenger being sent on ahead to announce her coming and to see that everything was in readiness for her. Most important in these preparations was the provision of a basket of water with a cover on it. Sometimes three drops of red paint were put by the fireplace, or the shaman's helper might, instead, throw pinches of paint into the air while the shaman danced. This was for the axaiki, to keep him in a good humor. The neighbors, meantime, gathered to help sing, and the more singers there were the better pleased were both the shaman and the axaiki. They could crowd in at this time in any way, since it was not necessary that every face be in the light; for at an ordinary curing dance the shaman did not call the axaiki to come, the latter merely "talked from where he was."

^cArriving at the patient's house, the shaman danced and sang,¹²⁰ the songs being repetitions of what her axaiki was saying. ^dAs she danced she kept seizing "little broken pieces of pains" from the patient's body. These she did not have to show, she just threw them away or put them in the basket of water. "They are like if you had a man coming to help you and he had a lot of children with him, they are around in the way bothering you and you just push them aside." A shaman not wishing to cure a patient might pretend that one of these small, only slightly troublesome pains was the real pain.

^cAt a certain point in the ceremony the shaman ^dbegins to suck at the seat of pain, and sucks out some red, black, or yellow clotted substance. This is not the pain, but is done merely to 'clear the system.' After removing this from the patient, the shaman dances anew, approaching toward and receding from the patient, till suddenly, making a rush, she seizes the pain, and

¹¹⁹ Dixon, 478.

¹²⁰ For further details, see Dixon, 478-479.

pulls it out in her hands."¹²¹ ^hThereupon she stiffened and would fall if not caught. But this must not be allowed, for if she fell with the pain she would die; so two young, strong men were watching to catch her when she stiffened. One held her while the other tried to straighten her arms until he could get her hands in the basket of water. Then she began to relax and they put her down. After holding her hands in the water for a little while she relaxed completely and let go of the pain.

^hShe then danced again while disposing of the pain in whatever manner was decided upon. ^cIt might be thrown violently in the direction of the axaiki supposed to have sent it; or after being thoroughly softened by soaking in water, it might be ^a"taken out and placed in a half mussel shell, with a small quantity of various herbs and roots in powdered form. Some pitch is put over the whole, the other half of the mussel shell put over it as a cover, and then the whole thing put in a hole in the embers, the fire being quickly raked over all";¹²² ^cor a pain supposed to have been sent by another shaman might be broken, causing the immediate death of the guilty person, the broken pain departing to its owner's grave. ^hThe shaman then ended the performance by again sucking at the seat of the pain. Each performance, that is, each period of "doctoring" (lasting an hour or two) during the whole time the shaman was there as well as the final performance when the cure was supposed to be complete, was ended by sucking.

^hThe pain extracted might be almost as large as the "main axaiki" and might look as though it were the main one, and yet it was not. Such pains were called "the covering" because they were put there "to cover up the main axaiki." There might be five of these but the shaman could see that none was the real one. As she took one of these out, she put it in her teeth and broke it and sent it away. "These broken pains are the ones that are all about and just help along the main pain. They are what makes you feel bad when you get sick, what people call nerves now." Only one of these could be extracted at each performance.

^hWhen a shaman arrived she danced, then was given food, anything but meat, and after sunset danced again. The dancing might be repeated at intervals until midnight. The next morning she had an early breakfast in order to be ready to begin dancing at daylight; or if the patient was very bad she began before daylight so she could be dancing at the break of day. The chief times for "doctoring" were at sunrise, just before dark, and after dark until midnight. This was because "up till midnight the sickness is the same; the difference comes after midnight, and the main change comes at sunrise." If the patient was very bad, however, the shaman might dance again shortly after midnight. A

member of the patient's family would set out the paints and the little basket of water for the shaman "and that meant it was time for her to get busy again and start doctoring." At frequent intervals during her dancing the shaman waved her feathers over the patient and all around the house; this was "clearing the sickness away."

^hIf the patient died the shaman must return the whole fee (not half, as Dixon states). The same or identical articles must be returned. This occurred if the patient did not get up; but if he recovered sufficiently to get up and walk about, the fee need not be returned. (Perhaps it was in the latter case that half the fee was returned.) If the patient had to call the shaman again within a month, the latter had to go as many times as called, with no additional fee.

^hIf after dancing in the regular manner the shaman could not handle the case with her own axaiki, she said, "I can't do anything, you had better call another axaiki," meaning a stronger one. Then a man, a friend of the patient, set up a pole back of the house and the axaiki was called in the manner described for the novice's and shaman's winter dance.¹²³ The shaman directed this male helper to paint his face according to the axaiki she wished to call. His body was painted red, and his legs and arms in alternate black and red stripes like the pole and the ten elderberry sticks set up around its base. The shaman also directed the helper to put certain articles on the pole as payment to the axaiki, who sometimes smiled at the sight of it, if it bore what he considered a goodly amount, for he would be pleased and think, "People must think I am somebody."

^hBut apparently when a shaman saw a pain she could not touch, possibly sent by a more powerful shaman, the more usual procedure was to advise calling another shaman. "That is another thing they have against doctors. If the sick person dies his people say the doctor ought to have said she couldn't help him and told them to send for another doctor." A rich and important man might hire three or four shamans if the first was not getting results. As each arrived she proceeded with her performance as the others had, until she effected a cure or gave up. Three or four might thus assemble and finally the last might say, "It looks like something could be done yet," and they would decide to have a pole set up and call an axaiki, as described above. One was the principal performer who did the singing, to whom the axaiki sang, and who told what he was saying, but the others danced with her to help. How this principal performer was fixed upon is not clear. All those called were paid, even though the last effected a cure without the procedure of setting up the pole and calling the axaiki.

^hNo matter for what a shaman was hired, she

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Dixon, 479.

¹²³ See above, p. 329.

never said that she could do it. "They just say they will try and see what they can do, that is as near as they say yes." Similarly, the first response of an axaiki was always that he could do nothing. "Why didn't you call somebody else?" Nevertheless, it was believed "that a shaman can always cure a patient if she only wishes to,"¹²⁴ and one who lost too many patients was killed.

^cAmong a shaman's paraphernalia¹²⁵ was a head-band of yellowhammer tail feathers. ^hYellowhammer was a shaman, so his feathers were used by shamans. Eagle and woodpecker were never shamans, but the axaiki called for their feathers, so they were also used. Any bird tail that "is clipped at the end," like the yellowhammer tail, was used by shamans. Only they could wear notched feathers; "that was the mark of a doctor."

^cThere were special shamans to treat rattlesnake or grizzly-bear bites. Though it was not essential to have a shaman with the rattlesnake axaiki to treat a rattlesnake bite, it was considered better to do so. ^hThere seemed, however, to be a difference, not quite clear, between the rattlesnake axaiki, who conferred the power of treating rattlesnake bites, and rattlesnake himself. Rattlesnake (in contradiction to Dixon)¹²⁶ was not an axaiki, for he was always silent.

"You can never get a word out of rattlesnake. If you see rattlesnake while you are doctoring you can tell by looking at him what he is thinking. He never looks at you. If you are a doctor you can tell what rattlesnake is going to do and you tell your relatives' children to look out next spring, because rattlesnake is going to do this."

^dThe rattlesnake axaiki, when called by the shaman, demanded for himself "pine bark ten earth's pollen," that is "a piece of pine-bark on which are placed ten small heaps of puff-ball spores, which are called 'pollen of the earth.'"¹²⁷

^hHowever, there were a number of axaiki who called for this and it was these who could treat rattlesnake bites. But, "if I am using those rattlesnake feathers [feathers tipped with rattlesnake rattles, listed in the rattlesnake shaman's paraphernalia]¹²⁸ for doctoring, rattlesnake is supposed to be my friend and I tell my boys, 'Don't kill rattlesnake.' No doctor should kill a rattlesnake, because if he did anything to a rattlesnake he couldn't cure a rattlesnake bite." Should a relative of a shaman who had the rattlesnake for a friend kill a rattlesnake, this relative explained to it that it was nobody from around here doing this, but somebody from So-and-so.

^cThe grizzly axaiki was a guardian of male shamans and must be called to cure the bite of a

¹²⁴Dixon, 479.

¹²⁵See Dixon, 481-484, for enumeration of paraphernalia.

¹²⁶Dixon, 481.

¹²⁷See Dixon, 484, for description of rattlesnake shaman's ceremony.

¹²⁸Dixon, 481.

grizzly bear. The dancing shaman growled and acted like a bear, finally rushing at the patient and seizing what was supposed to be the tongue of the bear that had bitten him. ^hAt once he stiffened and fell, just as did the shaman upon the extraction of the pain in other cases, and was similarly caught by two men and his hands put into the basket of water.¹²⁹

^cA shaman or axaiki might put a pain under the doorsill of a house, to kill those within, or place pains centrally in a village to kill all the inhabitants. Were this suspected, because of much illness in the village, a powerful shaman was called to remove the source of the trouble. ^hThe decision to call a shaman was reached by the assembled residents, the oldest and most important men doing most of the talking, and she was hired by the wealthy men of the village. The ceremony¹³⁰ was held in the okwá'umma, if the village possessed one, otherwise in the largest house. ^cThe shaman had a pole set up and called her axaiki, as described above¹³¹ for the novice's and shaman's winter dance. She and her axaiki dislodged the pain, pushing it into the river and drowning it, and the ceremony ended in a feast of celebration.

^hBut the shaman need not always summon the axaiki to relieve the village of such a buried pain. Sometimes she could see it and she danced and sang all night, telling where it was buried. Just before daylight she said, "Now get ready, we will go," and went quietly out of the house, all the others following her. She slipped up on the pain and seized it, the others shook their things so all sickness would be sent back with the pain, and the shaman shot it away, returning it to the village of the shaman who had sent it. The latter knew nothing of what had happened until someone in her village got sick and, she being unable to help them, another shaman was called and told her it was her own pain causing the sickness.

^cThere was no such thing as a purely accidental sickness or injury, ^hunless, perhaps, it was a cold. "That is just in the air, even an axaiki gets a bad cold." ^cAll sickness or injury was caused by an axaiki, a shaman, ^hor somebody's ill wishes. Sickness might be caused not only by an axaiki, or pains sent by a shaman, but also by the ill wishing of an ordinary person. "Maybe you have some neighbors, nice, quiet people, and everybody likes them. Maybe your children are around making trouble for everybody and you get jealous of those people because everybody likes them and people are always picking on your children. You hate them and after while your bad thoughts get to working and one of their children gets sick." Or one might actively set about

¹²⁹See Dixon, 484-486, for description of the grizzly shaman's dance.

¹³⁰See Dixon, 487-488, for details.

¹³¹See above, p. 329.

sending an evil wish against another person. The best time to send such evil wishes was early in the morning, before daylight. "This is the time to get him, like killing, when he is asleep." Were the evil wisher a woman, she arose thus early in the morning and stirred the fire, poking the two backlogs put there for the night, talking to the fire and saying it was the person's heart that she was poking. Children were not allowed to play in ashes "because ashes are not good for anybody"; for ^cit was there the shaman put an extracted pain to kill it, ^hand the ashes were thus stirred while dispatching evil wishes. If the wishing was by a man, he went out alone in the very early morning, while still dark, and smoked and talked "just to the air," about all the bad luck he wished for that particular individual. If his village had a sweat house, he gathered wood while thus smoking and talking in the dark, and with this wood he sweated in the morning. This wishing must be repeated each night for quite an extended period, a month or more. It was done when one could not afford or, for some reason, did not wish to hire a shaman to send a pain against someone. Hiring a shaman, however, was quicker and surer.

^hBut this hatred and ill wishing had another side. It might react against the person who had harbored the evil thoughts, and cause his sickness or that of some of his relatives. "Anything you hide in your heart covers it with blackness. You get away with that and do something else and hide it. It keeps piling up till it gets too much and gets you down." Then the only cure was confession of what one had done.

^hWhen one was sick from somebody's ill wishes, the shaman saw it as a kind of white fog covering the patient and could trace it as a white streak to its source. If the guilty party then confessed what he or she had done, the shaman could cure the patient. Thus a shaman might have been called for a girl who was ill from the wishes of a rejected suitor. "The man may be there when the doctor is doctoring and the father and mother of the girl keep asking the doctor what is the matter. The doctor says it doesn't seem to be much of anything, but she points at the man and says it is some of his wishes. If he doesn't tell, the doctor rushes over and takes some of this black stuff from his heart and says, 'This is what your heart looks like.'" If he persisted in not admitting his guilt, the girl died. This was one of the most difficult illnesses to cure. As a cold does not "pain you in a certain place, it is just in the air," so from wishes there was no pain, one was "just weak and sick in the bed."

^hThe proceeding was similar when one's own evil deeds had reacted upon him or his relatives, the most usual target for such reaction apparently being one's children. "Maybe you are where your brothers or someone are planning to kill somebody for revenge and you hear it and think it is all right. If that isn't paid for and settled, it may

be a long time after, you may have gone off and have a home of your own and have a child. The child gets sick and a doctor comes and sees what is the matter. She says, 'You ought to know what is the matter,' but you still don't tell. Then the doctor takes handfuls of this black stuff from your heart and says, 'That is what your heart looks like, all covered with this because you keep it secret.' If you admit it, then the doctor can cure your child and that is over, as long as you have told what you did." Or, "maybe I am your brother and you are my sister and you have children. I don't have any enemies or any reason to kill anybody, but I just get to thinking I would like to kill that person, just for meanness. I talk it before you. I don't have any business to because you are a married woman with children and it will come back on them. You don't tell anybody, because I am your brother and you don't want to. The folks of the person I killed hire a doctor to send a pain. If they are women they always send too many, they are the ones that send a pain to kill a whole village. One of your children gets sick and you send for a doctor. She says, 'It looks like you had something to do with this, looks like something you had better do something about.' You don't tell, you don't want to or maybe you don't think about that being it. Maybe the doctor is a friend of yours and she takes you aside and tells you what it is and tells you you had better do something about it, you may lose all your children. So you say, 'I did hear somebody saying something about this.' You put it out in the open and then the doctor can cure it. If I was doing it to revenge some trouble I had it wouldn't act that way, only if I wanted to pick up some innocent person." Or one might be sick from something his mother or father, or great-grandfather, or some other relative had done long ago. In that event, "every word the axaiki tells about this is curing it and when it is cured that is settled and you will not be sick from that again."

^hA shaman's sins were thus visited upon her children also. Perhaps she had sent her axaiki to kill some children in the next village and later did something to anger her axaiki, who thereupon made her own child sick. Sickness caused by her own axaiki a shaman was unable to see or treat effectively. So after treating her child to no avail, she would send for another shaman who, seeing the difficulty, would say, "No use to send for me, you know what is the matter. Looks like you might have been doing something around here, you might say a few words." So the guilty shaman would take a pipe and smoke, having a little basket of water by her side. She admitted what she had done and told why she did it, apologizing and saying she "must have been out of her mind or something." She then took a little of the water in her mouth, what she could dip up with her fingers, and blew it over the

child. This "cleared it up" so the other shaman could cure the child.

^cA shaman who extracted a pain sent by another shaman, killed it by breaking it, thus causing the death of its sender, or returned it to the village of the shaman who sent it. ^dIn the event of the latter, the people in the village began to die, one dying every now and then. If this continued the villagers sent for an outside shaman, who proceeded as just described. If the home shaman did not admit what she had done she was likely to be killed. Then the other shaman could remove the pain and the matter was cleared up.

^eNegotiations for hiring a shaman to kill an enemy by shooting a pain into him were carried out in a very careful and indirect manner. One visited a friend or relative in the chosen shaman's village and confided his trouble, saying, "What do you think about this doctor?" The friend replied, "I think maybe she will do, you might try." Then when a group was sitting talking together, the friend went and told the shaman this person wished to ask her some questions, or to talk about something, "I don't know what about." Soon the shaman wandered toward the group, as though she was "just out to visit folks there." She sat down, the others soon left, and the two talked. Very little was said and that little indirect. As she left, the shaman said, "Well, I would like to see you before you leave," and that was all. When making his farewells before leaving for home, the visitor managed to meet the shaman as though to tell her goodbye, and it was then the arrangements were made. The shaman would inquire, "How do you want to take your meal?" meaning, "How do you want your enemy killed?" and enumerated the various possibilities from which one made a choice. The shaman never committed herself but merely said that if she were to do it, it would be in such and such a way. She was not paid then, but when the victim died in the manner agreed upon she remarked to the friend who had helped in the negotiations, "Well, the message came, I guess it turned out the way he wanted." The friend understood her meaning and took the word to his friend, who replied, "Well, you will see me up there some time soon, I am getting tired of staying around here," and very shortly he would bring the shaman her reward.

^fThe shaman was also called upon to find lost or stolen articles, persons lost or killed, and to find and punish the culprit. For instance, a wealthy man's grave might be robbed and a shaman called to find and punish the robber. She danced at night, calling upon her axaiki and describing to the audience what he did and said. The axaiki described the thief's thoughts as he came to the grave, dug up the body, took the things, etc., then said he would go to the sleeping culprit and try to shoot him. He described how the thief was lying there, then he would shoot at him and run away, stopping to look back and saying he was not sure that he shot him, he would shoot again. Finally

"he says he is not sure if he hit him, you can look around for yourself in the morning and see. Then you will hear maybe somebody away over the mountains some place just died while he was asleep. People call it heart trouble now." The sun was the best source for finding the whereabouts of lost articles or persons, or what had happened to them, for "he can look around any place." When thus appealed to "the sun says, 'There is a place here where I can't see very good and you might go and look around there,' but it isn't so, because he can see every place." Any shaman could call upon the sun "to look around for her," for the sun axaiki did not "belong to anyone." Perhaps a shaman was called to find what had happened to someone lost. She might first dance and "try to look around for herself," but failing to get results would say, "Nobody but that headman up above can tell." This her axaiki said to her and she repeated it. Then she had a male helper call upon the sun, telling him what they wished and saying, "We think you are strong and the only man that can help us." The sun, like the other axaiki and the shaman, did not commit himself too definitely. "He doesn't come right out and tell them. He says, 'Look around in that place over there, it doesn't look just right to me. I don't see any place else to look around, no other place looks like that, it may be and it might not be.'" The sun did not call himself an axaiki (though at other times Sargent referred to the sun axaiki), but he could talk and was the only one who could be asked anything one wished.¹³²

Ceremonials

^cThe Shasta apparently had practically nothing in the way of ritual except the girls' puberty dance, the war dance, and the shaman ceremonials, though they sometimes attended the Karok and Yurok dances.

^dThere were, however, some very simple, personal ceremonials for acquiring luck. ^eDuring a certain moon each year (about February) boys and young men went alone on dark, stormy nights to a certain rocky point and piled stones. They heard strange things walking beside or behind them and heard strange voices; they could almost hear the words. Should they look around, however, or become frightened, they would be lifelong cowards. Only one boy could go on any one night, and all knew who was going. "Even the Gamutwa came up and did this." This was to make them brave and one might do it once in his life, or several times; but one who never did it "didn't amount to much." ^fOr on very cold nights in the middle of winter, a man will go out just before dawn, and, after praying for luck, will plunge into the river, and

¹³²See Dixon, 486-487, for other powers and characteristics of the sun and several stars.

swim."¹³³ ^bThese things were done chiefly when young, for "if he doesn't make his luck when he is young, he won't have it."

^dThere is also another method of acquiring luck, of which, however, only confused accounts have been secured. It may be practised by one man, or by several men at once, and consists, apparently, in scarifying the arms, thighs, and knees, rubbing some sort of powdered herb into the cuts, and then lying on the back in the sweat-house, and pounding the floor with one heel, singing meanwhile. This is done only in winter, and at night.¹³⁴ ^bThis was for luck when hunting in the mountains, "or they may do it in the sweat house just to be doing it." One man danced by the fire while the others lay on their beds singing and pounding the heel in time to the dancing. They did not scarify themselves.

^cThere were a few simple songs or prayers for use when in danger from a grizzly bear. ^bWere the bear actually upon one, he called on the ground for help, saying, "Jerk your child off me." If he said this at once the bear would let him go and run away. Another form was a certain sound one made when he saw a grizzly bear. Soon the bear would hear this, stop quite still for a moment, stand up and look around, then turn and run away. Or at sight of a grizzly one stamped on the ground and said, "Drive your child away from me," and the bear turned and went away. A grizzly-bear song was also used at the war dance. This made one strong so he could overpower the enemy, for "everybody is afraid of a grizzly bear."

Dixon records a prayer to the sun for help in war.¹³⁵ This, according to Sargent, was offered only by a certain man who always "talked to the sun" as it rose each morning. Just who this man was and the exact nature of his simple ceremonial was not quite clear. There was some confusion in Sargent's accounts of him. At times he seemed to be a semi-official character who prayed to the sun each morning for the benefit of the whole village, one who knew the proper formula which he had learned from "the old people." Then again Sargent insisted that he performed this ceremony only for his own and his relatives' benefit, that he was always a close relative of a shaman who had the sun for an axaiki, and who had taught him the correct formula, and he only performed this ceremony after her death.

^bBe that as it may, there were, apparently, certain men, only a few in the whole tribe, who possessed the requisite knowledge and performed a simple ceremonial, "talking to the sun" each morning at sunrise. This man painted in a prescribed manner; he had paints of all the colors they possessed in a row before him and threw a pinch of each in turn toward the sun as he made his requests,

saying, "This is for you to paint. I am doing this for you." He called to the sun, saying, "Chief, when you come over that place, here I am waiting for you." He then offered the paint and asked the sun to care for them, keep sickness from them, protect them from their enemies, etc. This finished, he washed his hands and ate his breakfast. A war part just as they were leaving, might hire this man to make the prayer recorded by Dixon.¹³⁶

^bMany old women at sunset threw a little red paint toward the sun, saying, "I want you to be good and look at us in the right way." This was "just to keep on the good side of the sun so he won't look back and think anything wrong about them."

Dixon also records¹³⁷ a prayer for the grizzly-bear hunt. ^bThis was "making medicine," and only a few people knew the prayer. One could, however, hire someone who knew the prayer, or medicine, to make it for him or to teach it to him. ^dWhen hunting grizzly bears the hunter built a fire and, after making a small offering of food, leaves, etc., prayed, first stamping on the ground twice. He said, "Now I ask you for aid, this earth your child. Drag off from me the darkness going down, your child, drag it away." This darkness was said to be "the darkness which disappears in the west at dawn." Then lighting the fire and making the offerings, the hunter continued, "Now there is a fire. I throw it down for you a white cloud. Good it is. Now look at me. Now kick off hither the fleas, lice, etc., from your body. I hope you will kick off to me five mats. Now here I break sticks for the fire, over the leg of a deer." ^bThe reference to the earth's fleas and lice is a mistake in this grizzly-bear prayer, for "the grizzly bear is not the earth's fleas or lice, it is the earth's child, it is partly human."

^bMany men, when they went deer hunting, put cedar boughs on the fire to make it smoke. They rubbed the boughs, when smoking and wilting down, over their gun "to rub off all the bad things," meanwhile naming the kind of deer they wanted and the place where they wished to find it, asking the mountain where they intended to hunt to give them his fleas or lice (the deer), and they sprinkled a little tobacco about for the mountain. For bear, one smoked himself with fir boughs. When deer hunting, the man, even though his wife was along, built the fire and as he broke up the wood mentioned with each piece he broke a certain joint in the deer, saying this was what he was breaking. Then he might put some fir or cedar boughs on top and pass his quiver through the smoke.

^bThere was no "medicine" for hunting other animals, but one used their "medicine" for hunting deer, "because they all hunt the deer."

¹³³Dixon, 489; for other simple ceremonials, see pp. 489-490.

¹³⁴Dixon, 489.

¹³⁵Dixon, 490.

¹³⁶Ibid.

¹³⁷Ibid.

The wildcat song was best for this. One did not use the timber-wolf song until he crippled a deer and was on its track, "because the timber wolf, when it starts after a deer, doesn't run very far till he catches it." The wildcat song consisted in calling the deer's name, aróintú, over and over again in a low, musical song. When one killed a timber wolf he took the little piece of gristle at the base of the tongue and carried it in his quiver for hunting luck. When on the track of a deer, the hunter put this bit of gristle in his mouth as he sang the timber-wolf song, which consisted of a certain sound, intú intú, sung softly over and over again.

^hWhile hunting deer one might see a small, two-headed snake (one head on each end) lying in front of him. Sometimes one end was in a hole. This was good luck and one pointed his gun across the snake, mentioning the name of the place, thanking it for good luck and saying that one wanted a buck of so many points, or a white deer, etc. Whatever kind of deer one mentioned he was sure to get; if not, at once, then the next day.

^hThere were certain people, not shamans but "medicine men" or "medicine women," who could "make medicine" and "whatever he wants, it happens just the way he wants it when the time comes." These men or women made medicine bundles consisting of some sort of dried herbs or other things, wrapped in grass and the whole wrapped in buckskin. One who bought a bundle did not know its contents, for if he looked inside certain of them would kill him, while others merely lost their power. The medicine man, or woman, went off alone and talked, while making the bundle, about what he wanted to happen. He was not talking to an axaiki, but "just to nature." One could purchase one of these bundles for any sort of luck. If purchasing from a man, one negotiated directly with him, if from an unrelated woman, one gave the articles in payment to her son or some male relative, asking him to get the bundle. He, in turn, gave the articles to her and she made the bundle. The owner of such a bundle was careful always to keep it dry. It was kept away from the house when not in use. A bundle for hunting luck was carried in the bottom of the quiver when hunting, so the points of the arrows rested on it. If the owner did any tabooed thing

while hunting, this medicine would "work on" his children or, had he no children, on himself. "It makes them sick, decays the bones. It won't kill you right away, but wears you out, leaves a running spot that never heals." One could also purchase such a bundle for killing somebody. In that case one went to his bundle before daylight and talked to it, asking for the person's death.

^hThough the same people made medicine for fishing luck, this was not a bundle. One took the article, the gig or spear or some part of the net, to the medicine man or woman, who rubbed it with the "medicine" and told one how to care for it. None but the owner could then use this implement, else his (the owner's) luck would be spoiled.

^hMen could also purchase "love medicine" from a medicine man. Certain plants were used by women and a different song went with each of these. The suitor rubbed the plant designated by the medicine man between his hands and blew it toward the girl, saying what he was wishing and singing the song the medicine man had given him.

^hOne could also hire a medicine woman to make rain, negotiating with her directly for this. Reasons for asking for rain might be to settle the dust on a grave, or before a hunt. For the latter, one would say to her, "Don't you think we had better have a little rain before the hunt? It hasn't rained for a long time and all the old deer tracks will look just like fresh ones. If it rains the new tracks will show." For making rain she used a certain herb procured in the mountains. She burned this and when it reached the sky it rained. She called for so many days of rain.

^hThese medicine men and women were not very numerous. The knowledge went down in the family and only one in the family practiced at a time. A woman, apparently, did not usually make such medicine when she had small children. She did it more as she grew older, and she grew more expert with age.

^hIf one came upon one of the small, two-headed snakes mentioned above, he could kill and cook and make a bundle of it. Only if wanting something very badly the owner went to such a bundle where it was hidden, talked to it, and told it what he wanted, which he was sure to get.

VARIOUS

Storytelling

^hStories were told only in winter and in the evening. If told in summer, rattlesnake would be offended just as would a person were the name of the dead mentioned.

^hSun stories were told by the first people, "when animals were people." Nobody could cross Sun's path. Spider was the messenger to Sun and one called upon him for a favor. For instance, should the man who talked to the sun each morning¹³⁸ become sick, his mother or sister interceded for him, saying, "Spider, I am calling on you, take pity on me and go and find out what that Sun has to say." When the messenger arrived Sun would say, "Get out of my way, you smell bad, I will shoot you with my bow and arrow." But Spider would say, "No, I am hired by the people." "Where is that paint?" Sun would ask. "There it is," Spider would reply. Each thing Sun asked for was provided, then he told what the trouble was and the shaman told the people what he said.

^hUsually a certain old woman in the village told stories and the children gathered at her house every evening in the winter to listen. The storytelling seemed to be primarily for the children's benefit, though adults might also be in the audience, and those bringing children usually stayed with them. Adults never told stories merely for their own entertainment, but only to illustrate a point in conversation, and this might be done at any time of year because the whole story was not told. The children repeated the story, sentence by sentence, after the storyteller, each word being repeated until they got it right. Some children disliked the storytelling but were compelled to go, being told their backs would be crushed if they did not go. Little girls, the older ones, frequently practiced telling the stories to a group of their little friends, who watched for mistakes. This was done in daytime, but only in winter.

^hEvery evening when the storyteller finished she took each child in turn and pressed on a vertebra in its neck, saying, "This is the grizzly bear and you must be strong and brave like the grizzly bear." Then pressing on the vertebra just below the shoulders she said, "This is the joint of the panther's back and you should be stout like the panther, he takes any kind of deermeat and walks off with it." Then pressing each vertebra below this, she told with each one something that the panther did. As she pressed the little girls' vertebrae she told them they must be strong so they could carry a big basket of wood, and so on with everything that women were supposed to do. Before each child left he told her he would come again for the stories.

¹³⁸See above, p. 335.

Education, Etiquette

Children were taught to be industrious.¹³⁹ "Anybody lazy is no good, nobody wants to have you around. We had lots of money but father always talked to his children and told them they must learn to work." They were told always to be good to old people, to feed them when they came, etc., "and they will think good thoughts of you. They will not be here long and when they die you will be the last ones they think good thoughts of and you will live long and happy." Grandparents were constantly advising and instructing the children and young people. "Everything you are supposed to know, the old folks told you." The following is an example of the "preaching" to boys: "They tell them to keep away from the neighbors' houses, don't bother around. They teach them the manly way: 'Never take anything that doesn't belong to you. Don't go to the neighbors' houses and be fooling around with girls; if you want to go around where the girls are, you get married. Don't be lazy. Be hunting all the time; when you get married you will have children to feed and your wife to feed. Don't let any girls make a fool of you. Get married to the woman you want, not just any woman that likes you. Any woman that likes you, it will be just a little while and she will be off and leave you. When you have children after you get married, keep them home, don't let them run around in front of people's houses. Tell them what could happen to children when they bother in other people's houses. Teach them not to take anything to eat from other people's houses, teach them to come home when they get hungry. [This last was practical advice, not merely "what the well-bred child should do": someone might be there who did not like them and might give them something to make them sick.] If you are running around and getting into trouble before you get married, you might marry a good girl that stays home and wants to do right and people would talk about what you used to do and think she wants to be a little better than you and children will hear their parents talking and will talk too, and people will laugh at you. So when you have children, try to teach them what you know and keep them out of trouble. Teach them to be good to the neighbors, and people always like your children if they are good to the people.'"

In the evening old men told the boys not to sleep with too much cover, lest they be taken by surprise. If they slept too warm and comfortably they would not hear an enemy coming and might be killed in bed; such things had happened. On the contrary, if they did not use too much cover and early in the morning went swimming in the river,

¹³⁹The remainder of the material in this paper, from Sargent, deals with aspects of the culture not included in Dixon's monograph.

they would "always have a good feeling," and their luck would always be good. Each morning, just before daylight, one or more old women went about the village looking through the surrounding brush to see if any war party lay in ambush. They called to the boys to get up, not to be sleeping this time of day, that once So-and-so, naming person and place, was killed, the enemy "just jumped right on him and killed him while he was in bed." They told all that might happen and said, "That is why I want to see you boys get up."

Young people were not supposed to talk in the presence of their elders. At meals they should eat daintily and slowly and say nothing. They were told they must eat slowly or "people will say you don't know much, you don't have any feeling for yourself."

Men, women, and children ate together, the children sitting quietly at one side. They "ate a long time," slowly, and "if you are an outsider you are the last one eating." Men sat cross-legged or on one knee while eating, women with legs bent to one side. There were three regular meals: soon after sunrise, "when the sun is right square over us," and after dark.

One never went visiting without taking gifts. To near-by places visited frequently, food was taken. To a distant place one took more substantial gifts, a little money, something to wear; a man might take a bag of arrows or some flint knives, a wealthy woman might take a large basket of cooking baskets. The visitors, in turn, received gifts upon their departure. The woman might receive a deerskin robe to sleep under, the man some elkhide armor, etc.

Upon arrival of visitors the hostess prepared a meal for them at once. One need not eat all that was offered but should eat a little of everything, or, if not eating something, should make some explanatory remark such as that he was not in the habit of eating that. One would be offered more by his hosts, but should not ask for more.

A traveler wishing to stop at a village sat down somewhere in the village until noticed. Soon someone would come to him and say, "Are you here now? Where are you going?" Learning where he was from, the villager would say, "This is far enough, you must be tired. Tomorrow you can go to a certain place up there and from there you can make it." If a village had a sweat house a traveler sat down outside its door, and soon one of the village men would come and talk to him. Lacking a sweat house, the man sat any place. Were no men about, an old woman invited him in, but usually some men were about, and the traveler talked to them. Soon one would say, "Come in and have a drink of water with me," which was an invitation to eat.

Men and women, unless relatives, did not talk freely together.

If one met a stranger on the trail either might speak first, but the stranger would explain himself.

Upon arrival of important visitors, the headman of the village came out and talked. "He says for

them to be satisfied, that the visit will be all right, that we are not the kind of people that dig up something that happened a long time ago," etc. Such a visitor was expected, in turn, to make quite a speech also, but whether upon arrival or departure is not clear. Should he come and leave without saying anything, people said, "Well I didn't see anything of him, he didn't act like much of a man."

There was no kissing of children or adults and no handshaking except at the formal peace settlement.

Pets

Dogs were kept in a sort of kennel built against the back of the house and were fed through a hole in the house wall. They were fed deermeat and squirrels, but must not eat what they killed themselves. They were named but my informant did not know what kind of names they had. An old woman might have a pet dog which she kept with her in the house, but ordinarily the people did not play with or pet a dog, for if it was "running around the people it would spoil him, he wouldn't be any good as a hunting dog." Dogs were taught to follow treed game from tree to tree. Gray squirrels were easiest to learn on because they bark as they go from tree to tree.

Sometimes children got little crows and bluejays from the nests for pets. They built a little shelter for them and fed them. If there was only one, it stayed, if several, they left for the winter with the others but would return.

Sometimes little foxes were kept for pets, but only stayed when they were small.

Sometimes men took young eagles from the nest. A platform was built for them by the creek where they were tied. "They would rise right up when you came to feed them and try to take it away from you." When half grown they were killed (clubbed) for the feathers. When the young ground squirrels began to come out and the hawks, in the evening before dark, swung and circled overhead and made a "funny noise," one knew that the young fawns were out. The eagles feed the fawns to their young before they fly, so one knew it was time to get eagles.

Nonshamanistic Care of Sickness and Accident

Broken bones were not set, but a splint was made for them with boards and they were wrapped tight with buckskin until they knit. If the patient progressed nicely nothing more was done; if not, the injury was believed caused by an axaiki or someone's wishes and a shaman was called to find the source of trouble.

For a bruise, cut, or sore, white-oak (tchukarú) bark was burned on a rock until the ashes were fine and white. The sore was washed with clean water and these ashes, when cold, were sprinkled on it. This burned a little but was healing.

Resin from a young fir was spread on a cut, which was then wrapped.

Sometimes for a cut a poultice was made of the mixture of deerbrains and moss used for tanning hides. One of the small cakes was broken up and soaked in hot water and the poultice was applied while quite hot.

Sometimes a shaman was called for a cut and she "took off something just like a knife blade," then one of the above treatments was applied. But often a shaman was not called at all unless the patient was not doing well.

The root called garawihú' (*Helianthus cusickii*), which was burned in the house after a death,¹⁴⁰ was also used for treatment of a long, slow sickness characterized by chills and fever. A fire was built in a pit lined with rocks, a large quantity of pounded garawihú' roots spread on the hot rocks, and more rocks put on this. The juice from the pounded roots and a little water made steam and the patient was laid on this and steamed. This killed the pain inside the patient. This was the only poison against a pain and a shaman could never handle or come in contact with garawihú', for it would kill the pains inside her and thus kill her. Also, upon hearing of an epidemic elsewhere, these roots were burned to keep away disease. A beverage made from these roots mashed and boiled was a remedy for gas. "It will come right up and clear out the stomach."

Another treatment for chills and fever was a drink made from boiling the bark of the aspen. A poultice of garawihú' roots might also be used at the same time.

The whole stem or just the bark of gwátagatupúkiras (Coyote's rope; *Clematis lasiantha*) was pounded and boiled and the face steamed in it for a cold. The roots of iknish (wild celery) were burned or chewed for a cold. This was also a food plant, the stems being eaten like celery.

The root of a plant known as xáma was roasted whole in the ashes and mashed while hot. This made an oily poultice for a bruise or a sprained ankle. If swollen badly, some of the garawihú' root mentioned above was put on also, to kill the axaiki. The xáma root was also pounded and soaked in water and the liquid used to wash dogs suffering from ticks. The inside of the stem was eaten as a green.

For deer ticks on a person a poultice was made of dried venison mixed with a little water or chewed. This killed the poison, "because they don't poison the deer."

For poison oak (mütná) chewed alder bark was rubbed on the place affected.

The root of the Oregon grape (papúas) was broken up by pounding and boiled. This made a deep green tea to be drunk lukewarm as an emetic and cathartic. The sugar from the sugar pine was also eaten as a cathartic. Tea from the root of gakiwakük

was also taken as an emetic, "when you feel dizzy and bad."

The powder from pounded manzanita berries was used to stop diarrhea.

Trillium bulbs were grated, with a drop of water if dry, without water if green, and put on a boil to bring it to a head.

A certain little plant that looked like trillium, except that it was very small, had tiny bulbs which were squeezed, the juice being used for eye trouble, especially cataract. Occasionally one found a yellowhammer tail tipped with white instead of the usual black. This was always saved and used to clean anything out of the eye; a cataract was picked with this before putting on the above juice.

It was the women who knew about these herbs and who did the nursing and caring for the sick and injured; there were always some especially skillful whose services were continually in demand. "Some are so rough handed that they will put the same thing on and it will make it worse." This was especially true of boils; one got just certain women to care for them. The woman caring for a wound, broken bone, or sore of any kind must do nothing until the patient recovered, for if she stirred about actively, chopping wood, working, etc., it hurt the sore. No charge was made for such services, "but when they got through you always gave them something, money or some nice thing you think they would like."

Planting; Names of Plants

Tobacco was planted. Seeds were obtained from the Gamúta, who got them from the Karok, who in turn got them from the Yurok. "The people here on the lower Klamath had the most tobacco, so if anyone from Oregon or Shasta Valley visited them they gave them tobacco. That is why the best and strongest medicine was made down here." Men did the planting. They burned the brush, removed the largest coals, and sowed the seeds in the ashes. Apparently the planting was attended by no special ceremony.

The following is a list of plants for which names were obtained:

Chwahú' (*Fritillaria recurva*). Bulbs eaten.

Awáshihú' (*madroña*). Berries eaten.

Horaihihú' (*horai*, spider, hihu, bush; *Osmaronia cerasiformis*). Berries eaten.

Mü'kurúru (wild currant, black). Food plant.

Garawihú' (*Helianthus cusickii*). Used medicinally.

Papúas (Oregon grape). Used medicinally.

Gwátagatupúkiras (coyote's rope; *Clematis lasiantha*). Used medicinally.

Xáma. Food and medicinal plant.

Iknish (wild celery). Food and medicinal plant.

Wachwí (black fir). Used for fire sweating and inhaling the smoke, particularly for some special luck.

¹⁴⁰ See above, p. 324.

Itāyihú (joining together; Ribes). Used for foreshaft. A small piece was bound to the point with sinew and the other end sharpened and stuck into the arrow socket. Used because "it was the toughest wood for its size."

Ira'tuqwa (a hook; Eriogonum). Children played with it, each having a stick which he hooked over the other's stick. The one whose stick was broken lost the game.

Irahátraga (Achillea millefolium, var. lanulosa). Leaves used to pad women's cap when carrying burden basket, because of their sweet odor.

Wasá (Artemisia vulgaris, var. discolor). Handful of the leaves used to wash body in preparation for burial. Stem used for the fire drill, the hearth being of cedar.

Ícosusurú' (unidentified). Dry stems used for holding salmon in shape when hung up to dry.

Ítsuwaid (Equisetum). Used for smoothing things, such as arrows, gambling sticks, and the like.

Gitar itu'wi (summer salmon's eye; Ranunculus occidentalis). When this bloomed, time to fish for summer salmon.

Tjas itu'wi (steelhead trout's eye; Ranunculus, sp. unidentified). When this bloomed, time to fish for steelheads.

Ánoháchcha (mountain lily).

Mútná (poison oak).

Sa'ki' (maple).

Arú' (cottonwood tree).

Tchukarú (white oak). Used medicinally.

Úgaha (tree).

Útchasi (any kind of dead tree standing).

9	írahaia watáha'
10	áčaháwi
11	áčaháwi tuk cháa gáháha
12	áčaháwi tuk húk'wa gáháha. Or 'chími may be substituted for tuk, thus,
15	áčaháwi 'chími áchá' gáháha; for brevity 'chími may be used and the final gáháha dropped, as
16	áčaháwi 'chími chúwa táha', etc.
20	'cháhis
21	'cháhis 'chími 'cháa, or 'cháhis tuk 'cháa gáháha, etc.
30	'cháhis 'chími áchaháwi
31	'cháhis 'chími áchaháwi chími 'cháa, etc.
40	húk'wahis
41	húk'wahis 'chími 'cháa, etc.
50	húk'wahis 'chími áchaháwi, etc.
60	háchkihis, etc.
70	háchkihis 'chími áchaháwi
80	írahaiahis
90	írahaiahis 'chími áchaháwi
100	ácháhis
200	húk'wait ácháhis
300	háckíu ácháhis
400	írahaia airúk ácháhis
500	áčhirúk ácháhis
600	chúwatirúk ácháhis
700	húk'wawatirúk ácháhis
800	háckiwatirúk ácháhis
900	írahaiaawatirúk ácháhis
1000	áčaháwihis

My informant knew no word for a million. The word tdjáahú means "whole"; isi, "middle"; isíditc, "up to the middle," or "one-half." My informant knew no other fractional words.

Counting

Counting was apparently developed in connection with counting the dentalium shell money, and the form of the numerals reflects the method of the dentalia count. In counting dentalia the first ten were laid aside, the next ten put with these, then they were grouped by twenties and every five groups of twenty each were kept separate as a unit of one hundred. Five seems to be the basis of the numerical system, the numbers one to five being primary numerals, with fundamental form changes at six, ten, and twenty. The count proceeds quinarily from one to ten, decimally from ten to twenty, and vigesimally beyond twenty. Three nonnumeral words used in the count are tuk (there), gáháha (that many more), and 'chími (more, or again). Following are the numerals:

1	'cháa
2	húk'wa
3	háckí
4	írahaia
5	áčhá'
6	chúwa táha' (one after five)
7	húkwa watáha' (two after five), etc.
8	háckí watáha'

Time Reckoning; Directions

The Shasta year was counted by moons from the two solstices, each of which was called "the big moon." Every village marked the north and south progress of the sun by a tree on the ridge back of the village. They selected the tree struck by the first rays of the rising sun on the shortest day of the year and that struck on the longest day, also the two trees struck by the last rays of the setting sun on the shortest and longest days. Many people also noted the north and the south progress of the sun by marks on the floor at the head of the fireplace, and in villages having an okwá'tumma (the large ceremonial house) this was noted by notches on the central post, the notches getting lower as the days grew longer, the sun striking the post at the same place for about two days at the two turning points. The marks on the floor by the fireplace were only good for the summer months. The beginning of fall was marked by the first appearance of the Pleiades (the seven stars) just over the hills at daylight, and their disappearance marked the beginning of summer. Various periods of the day were marked by the progress of the sun.

The following are terms for different periods of the day:

- gútauK, just between light and dark, but the beginning of light.
 tchúar gú'tsits, sunrise (tchu'ár, sun).
 gútcha katswa, shortly after sunrise, about from eight to nine o'clock.
 gágaháxamu, middle of the morning, still looking ahead.
 tchúar gúnita'tsahá, the sun looking straight down, noon.
 ganíyakid, mid-afternoon, looking backward.
 ditchuíwa, just before sunset, means getting close to sunset.
 gitchuwáha, sunset, lying on a ridge almost out of sight.
 djapú, just between light and dark, but beginning of dark.
 ápax, night.
 isí apax, middle of night.

The seasons were marked by various natural phenomena, as the appearance of certain flowers or birds, the falling of the leaves, etc. They were designated as follows:

Gús itná' gwíhiúk (now spring is here; gús, now; it ná', spring; gwíhiúk, here). This was when the frogs began to croak.

Gús atahí gwí hiúk (now summer is here; atahi, summer). The beginning of this season was indicated by the arrival of a certain bird and the completed leaving-out of the trees.

Gús wú'kwúhai gwíhiúk, or gús wú'kwúhai gwíki (now fall is here; wú'kwúhai, fall). This was about the last of August or the first of September, when the summer birds left and the leaves began to turn.

Gús wúkwí dhiúk (it is going to be winter now; wúkwí, winter). This was "not a real season," but was used for any time before the first winter storm when it was expected any day. Dhiúk (it has not come yet but is expected at any time) might be used in connection with any of the seasonal terms. Gwíhiúk (it is already here).

Gús wúkwí gwíhiúk (now winter is here). The first rainstorm, which took the remaining leaves from the trees, marked the beginning of this season. This was about November and the rain ended with a little snow. This was the month during which they did not hunt deer because the deer were mating. Then came a heavy rain which "clears the deer all up clean and they can do some more hunting." This, however, was only for a short time and during the middle of the winter, the month of the "big moon," "no matter how much they hunt, they can't find any and they say the deer are in their sweat houses sweating." Then came a snow with big, soft flakes and they said, "Well, the deer are shedding their horns and these are to heal up the sores," and began hunting again. During this winter season they lived

mainly on their stored supplies and "whoever hasn't got it has a hard time," for it was not easy to get from place to place. They did not like to go to other people's houses and ask for food in winter, though they thought nothing of it in summer. However, if one knew someone was having good hunting luck and getting plenty of meat, he might go there for some. Relatives helped each other, and were a family short of food, others, especially the headman, took them some, though they would not receive as much as in summer.

The word for sun is tchúar. Atchěitsu tchúar is "day sun" (atchě, day, atchěitsu, today). Apaxitsu tchúar is "moon," that is, "night sun."

The following are some of the designations for the various moons:

Tchúar iknúk (big moon; nńk, big), the moon in which the solstice, winter or summer, fell.

Tchúar iknúk tuk gútuhi' (the next after the big moon; gútuhi', going next after something).

Tchúar xía (little moon; xía, little), the moon before the big moon.

Wúkwitsu tchúar iknúk (the winter big moon).

Gús atahitsu tchúar iknúk (the big moon in the summer).

Itná'tsu tchúar gús gútsdjei (the spring moon is out now; gútsdjei, dropped into something [as one drops something into a pan of water], also: right now). This was said when the new moon was seen in the evening. This was the moon when the gooseberry bushes leaved out.

Gús tchími itná'tsu tchúar gútsdjei (another spring moon has come).

Gús atahí tuhu rúyaga, or gús tchími tchúar atahí tuhu rúyaga (another spring moon going toward the summer; tuhú, toward, in the direction of something, rúyaga, going). This was the same moon as the above, but the latter part of it. It was during this moon that the little bird designated by Sargent as the mockingbird (long-tailed chat?) came.

Gús atahitsu tchúar gútsdjei (the summer moon is now here). This was the first new moon after the above birds arrived.

Gús wú'kwúhaiitsu gútdjehak (the fall moon is here, the first one).

Tchími tchúwar strutsdjei (the next moon after the first fall moon, or: the next moon is going to be a fall moon, too; gútsdjei, right now, strutsdjei, is going to be).

Wú'kwúhaiitsu tchúar gús gútsdjei (fall moon).

The following are the phases of the moon:

Tchúar gús gútsdjei (the new moon).

Gús réyahu gwaiyága (now growing up [the moon a few days later]; gús, now, réyahu, growing, gwaiyága, up).

Gús da^dtin^dtin (now is going to be a full moon).

Gús gwá^dtin^dtin (now is full moon; tintin, anything round). One could use the same word for

a short, fat woman or man. Da and gwa apparently mean nothing of themselves, only as affixes. Da^dtin^dtin (just beginning to be round); gwa^dtin^dtin (already round).

Gūs isiditchdídaxiswa (when the moon is about half gone; isi, middle, ísiditch, as much as the middle). The word gúsdídaxiswa is used for anything sliced off.

Djapurúk (dark of the moon).

There seem to have been only two cardinal directions, "the daylight side" and "the dark side," that is, east and west respectively. Gútauk hútuhu' (on the side the daylight comes from).

Status and Kinship Terms

umá, baby
omáxia, a little child just old enough to run around, boy or girl
yuhar, child
yúhuhiad, a group of children, girls and boys
giaxá', girl
giaxa'hía, a little girl until about eight or nine years old
wapaxo, a girl from eight or nine until puberty
wapxe, a pubescent girl
giaxá, from puberty until marriage
wapsahóa, a bride until the first visit home
wapsó, a menstruating woman
giaxhápsi, an unmarried woman, after twenty or so
tarí'chi, woman
sú'kwahía, a little boy until about eight or nine years old
su'kwa, a boy from eight or nine until about fifteen years old
gimpisú'kwa, from about fifteen until marriage
sú'kwahapsi, an unmarried man, after twenty or so
awatíkwa, man

átsmu, paternal grandfather and his brothers, m. or w. speaking
ákwid, maternal grandfather and his brothers, m. or w. speaking
ámu, paternal grandmother and her sisters, m. or w. speaking
áchwit, maternal grandmother and her sisters, m. or w. speaking

The terms listed above are self-reciprocal.

atá, father, m. or w. speaking
aní, mother, m. or w. speaking
kariwá, brother, m. or w. speaking
kwáku, sister, man speaking
achí, sister, cousin, woman speaking
ahuhí, older brother, child speaking
achúna, older sister or older girl cousin, child speaking
a'chúki, younger brother, sister, or cousin, adult speaking of child
arú'ts, paternal uncle, m. or w. speaking, reciprocal term
úptk, maternal uncle, m. or w. speaking, reciprocal term
ámpa', paternal aunt and her female cousins, m. or w. speaking, reciprocal term
áñit, maternal aunt and her female cousins, m. or w. speaking, reciprocal term
yapu tarí'chi, wife (my woman; yapu, my)
yapu awatí'kwa, husband (my man)
atári, wife's sister or cousins; brother's wife and her cousins
giraik, wife's brother and cousins; sister's husband and cousins
aoxána, wife's mother, not used by son-in-law himself, but by other people
idigáxá' (old lady), term used by man to mother-in-law or any other old woman
wápsíd, wife's father; daughter's husband, m. or w. speaking
awawi, son's wife, m. or w. speaking; husband's mother; husband's father (?)

CONFLICTS AND RESIDUAL PROBLEMS IN THE DATA

Those points on which Sargent disagreed with Dixon, most of them trivial, but a few more important, I am equating in the following.

In the Shasta's own names for their four divisions,¹⁴¹ I am inclined to favor Sargent's interpretation. The most important difference is in regard to Gamítwa, which Dixon gives (Kammátwa) as the name for the Klamath River Shasta; but which Sargent applied to a separate group between the Shasta and Karok and which he regarded as poor relations of the Shasta. Sargent is undoubtedly right on this point, for it was not a matter of hearsay with him, but a vivid, living memory of association with them in his youth. Curtis also supports this view.¹⁴² Another point of disagreement was on the names Ka'hosadi, which Dixon applies to the Oregon group, and Gí'kats, which Dixon applies (Kíkatsik) to the Scott Valley group, both of which Sargent said were general terms applying to any of the four groups. I think it very likely that Sargent is correct on this point also; for he was very definite and detailed in his statement and Dixon remarks that Kíkatsik seemed also to include sometimes the Shasta Valley people. Such a mistake could easily be made, for if the terms were general, an informant might refer to a group by the general term which would thus be recorded as the term for that group. The point seems of some importance, for if there were these terms of general application, it implies a certain feeling of kinship or unity which might underlie a vague tendency toward a tribal grouping.

Dixon and Sargent were also in disagreement on the matter of the sweat house. Dixon describes the okwá'úmna, or "big house" as the sweat house and men's general lounging and winter sleeping place, whereas Sargent said that it was the place for general assemblies of the whole group and that the men's sweat house was a different structure.¹⁴³ According to Sargent, Dixon's description of the construction of the okwá'úmna also confuses it somewhat with the true sweat house. If Sargent is correct, we have the central and northwestern Californian motives fitting into the culture side by side, rather than an intermingling and confusion of the two, and his distribution would indicate the central Californian as the older with an intrusion of the sweat house of northwestern Californian type. Again I believe the evidence favors Sargent's statements: for the picture of the two as completely separate structures and institutions was very clear and definite in his mind, also the name for each (okwá'úmna and wú'kwú) and the definite distribution. Also,

his description makes of the okwá'úmna a less anomalous institution.

Less important is the difference in regard to the summer brush shelter, which Dixon describes as roofless and back from the river in the hills, and Sargent described as roofed and by the river.¹⁴⁴ As between the likelihood of either the roofed or roofless shelter there is no way to judge; but Sargent's location by the river seems more likely since it fits better with the seasonal round of activities¹⁴⁵ with its salmon fishing in summer.

There is also some difference of opinion in regard to the hereditary nature of chieftainship, though a difference of degree rather than kind. Dixon speaks of a headman for each of the four divisions, the position being hereditary, whereas Sargent stated that only the chieftainship of the Oregon group was hereditary and that the chiefs of the other three divisions were somewhat subordinate to him and attained their position by a process of selection.¹⁴⁶ Probably the truth lies between the two. The hereditary nature of the office was probably not quite so definite and fixed as it would seem from Dixon's description; but on the other hand it was doubtless active in the selection of all headmen. One question, too, the probability of quite so definite a political organization as a hereditary chieftainship for the group as a whole. It seems more likely that if there was such an ascendancy for any one headman, it was a matter of personality and ability rather than of office.

Related to this is Dixon's statement that a chief's sister could not marry anyone of sufficient rank to be elected chief, which Sargent considered a mistake.¹⁴⁷ Sargent seems more likely to be correct here, for Dixon's statement implies a more fixed stratification of society than a simple people like the Shasta seem to have as yet attained.

Sargent's denial of Dixon's statement that captives were taken in war and kept as slaves¹⁴⁸ probably reflects a relative rather than an absolute truth. For Dixon says the custom was not generally practiced or favorably regarded, and Sargent at one time made the passing remark that Modoc boys and girls were sometimes taken and kept for work until bought or given back. It is presumably a case of a slight penetration of the northwest Californian custom of slavery which had not obtained a very firm foothold.

¹⁴⁴See pp. 307-308 above; and Dixon, 421.

¹⁴⁵See p. 312 above.

¹⁴⁶See p. 316 above; and Dixon, 451-452.

¹⁴⁷Dixon, 451; above, p. 316.

¹⁴⁸Dixon, 441; above, p. 313.

¹⁴¹See above, p. 301; and Dixon, 388-389.

¹⁴²Edward S. Curtis, "The Shasta," in *The North American Indian*, 13:106.

¹⁴³See pp. 306-307 above; and Dixon, 413, 418-420.

I am more inclined, however, fully to credit his denial of Dixon's statement that wives were sometimes captured in war,¹⁴⁹ for that does not fit in the Shasta picture. If a bride price had not been paid for the mother, there would be nothing on which to base the value of the children, and in the Shasta concept that was simply not to be considered. This also lends weight to Sargent's statement that when a girl was sent by her parents to a man whom they considered a desirable husband for her, it was a matter of deferred payment rather than a free gift, as described by Dixon;¹⁵⁰ and his limitation on Dixon's statement that a man divorcing his wife for recognized cause could demand the return of the bride price, Sargent saying that this would be done only if there were no children.¹⁵¹

In Dixon's account of the girls' puberty ceremony Sargent made a number of minor corrections, but only two of any importance. He laughed heartily at the idea of the girl being burned alive to save the village from a calamity of which she had dreamed.¹⁵² According to him, she merely ran through the fire, which burned off the evil effects of the dream. This does seem to accord better with Shasta culture, which did not seem to tend to the spectacular or sensational, and the idea seemed so utterly absurd to Sargent that one inclines to believe that Dixon's statement was probably due to a misunderstanding. The other difference was in regard to the last night of the ceremony, which Dixon describes as one of general license;¹⁵³ but Mrs. Erminie Voegelin has noted marginally in a copy of Dixon's work that Sargent, in 1936, vehemently denied this. I know of no way to judge between the two statements.

A minor point of disagreement is in the matter of salt, which Dixon lists as one of the articles the Shasta received in trade from the lower Klamath whereas Sargent denied this, listing it with the articles they gave in trade.¹⁵⁴ Sargent seems likely to be right, since he definitely located two large salt deposits in Shasta territory and stated that in summer people from all over the territory came to these deposits for salt.

Another point which seems minor but may have more important religious implications is in regard to the words of a prayer for luck in preparation for a grizzly-bear hunt. Dixon records the prayer as including the words, "Now kick off hither the fleas, lice, etc., from your body."¹⁵⁵ Sargent said that this should not be in the grizzly-bear prayer, for "the grizzly bear is not the earth's fleas or lice, it is the earth's child, it is partly human."

In Dixon's description of the novice shaman's

dance, he states that as she began to revive from her trance and called out her axaki's name, blood oozed from her mouth.¹⁵⁶ This, according to Sargent, was not blood, but a certain dark substance that settles on one's heart when one does something he shouldn't and keeps it secret, and this must be removed "to clear the system." The chances are that Sargent is right in his interpretation, since this black substance covering a wicked heart seemed to figure very prominently in their beliefs as recounted by Sargent.

Sargent denied knowledge of the beliefs concerning the travels and destination of the soul recorded by Dixon,¹⁵⁷ but this may have been merely a personal lack of knowledge.

For the following disagreements between Dixon and Sargent there seems to be no way of judging which is more likely correct. Most are matters of detail in which the contradictions seem to have no great significance.

Birth

For first five days of child's life, father remained by himself away from village, brought wood each night to sweat house where he sweated each morning at dawn. (Dixon, 455.)

Remained for this period with wife in menstrual hut, sweated in individual sudatory by steam. (Sargent, above, p. 319.)

When mother returned to normal life after month of seclusion, changed baby to larger cradle. This cradle saved until child no longer used a cradle, then both cradles taken and hung on oak tree. (Dixon, 455.)

Each cradle hung on tree as it was outgrown. (Sargent, above, p. 319.)

In case of stillbirth, both parents fast and sweat for ten days. (Dixon, 455-456.)

Period of seclusion is one month. (Sargent, above, p. 319.)

Puberty

Boy ceremonially whipped with bowstring when first ate game of his own killing. (Dixon, 432.)

This occurred when he killed his first game. (Sargent, above, p. 312.)

Girl's mother or an old woman stayed with her in the menstrual hut doing everything for her, including combing her hair. (Dixon, 457.)

Did not comb her hair. (Sargent.)

When the girl tired in the dance, two men supported her. (Dixon, 459, 460.)

These helpers were women, rarely men, though occasionally upon the arrival of visitors two men of the newcomers would seize and support her while dancing. It was on the last day of the dance that she was supported by men. (Sargent.)

A party of new arrivals at the puberty dance cut bunches of brush and approached slowly, the men holding their bows and arrows. (Dixon, 459.)

Did not carry bows and arrows, for nothing

¹⁴⁹Dixon, 463.

¹⁵⁰Ibid.; and above, p. 322.

¹⁵¹Dixon, 464; and above, p. 323.

¹⁵²Dixon, 458.

¹⁵³Dixon, 461.

¹⁵⁴Dixon, 427; and above, p. 312.

¹⁵⁵Dixon, 490; and above, p. 336.

¹⁵⁶Dixon, 473; and above, p. 328.

¹⁵⁷Dixon, 469-470.

pertaining to hunting was permitted in the puberty ceremony. (Sargent.)

The girl's feather visor was finally removed and thrown into the air toward the east, where it was caught by a man sent out for the purpose. (Dixon, 460.)

It was caught by the girl's mother or grandmother. (Sargent.)

Marriage

In case of child betrothal, the full bride price was paid at the time of betrothal. (Dixon, 461.)

Part paid at time of betrothal, the remainder not till marriage. (Sargent, above, p. 321.)

When the bride was brought home, she was accompanied by a bridal party of her relatives, decked in gala attire which was left as a gift to the groom's family. (Dixon, 462.)

This gift-bearing visit of the bride's relatives did not occur until after the young couple's visit to her home. (Sargent, above, p. 321.)

A man unable to pay for his wife lived with his father-in-law and hunted and worked for him until an equivalent of the bride price had been paid. (Dixon, 462.)

This was a lifelong arrangement. (Sargent, above, p. 322.)

A widower could not marry outside his wife's family without their consent. (Dixon, 464.)

Sargent denied this. (Sargent, above, p. 323.)

Death

When a person dies the body is taken out at once through a hole made in the roof. (Dixon, 465.)

This opening is made either in the wall or at the junction of the roof and wall. (Sargent, above, p. 324.)

One or more of a man's best hunting dogs was buried with him. (Dixon, 466.)

The dog was killed but was not buried with his master, he was hung up somewhere in the woods. "It would make trouble if you buried anything with him that was not natural. A dog is a dog and doesn't have anything to do with a human body, that would not be right." (Sargent.)

If a child died within five days after birth, the father buried it and remained for a period of ten days with his wife in her menstrual hut, sweating and seeking the renewal of his luck. The mother remained in seclusion for a month. (Dixon, 468.)

Both parents remained in seclusion for a month. (Sargent.)

Shamans

The child of a shaman could not practice in her shaman parent's lifetime. (Dixon, 471.)

She could practice in her parent's lifetime,

but could not use the same axaiki. (Sargent, above, p. 327.)

When the novice was ready for her winter dance, after the first dance, at which she received the shamanistic call, she was assisted by an older shaman whom she asked to call her axaiki for her. (Dixon, 475.)

This helper was a man, but not a shaman. (Sargent.)

Apparently all the objects listed for the novice's collection must be provided for each axaiki. (Dixon, 476.)

All were not provided for each axaiki. Different axaiki called for different things and the novice must be prepared to meet his demands, whatever of the conventional list he asked for. (Sargent, above, p. 329.)

One method of disposing of a pain she had removed was for the shaman to chew it up and swallow it. (Dixon, 479.)

It was the Karok, not the Shasta, who did this. (Sargent.)

Sometimes, instead of sucking directly at the seat of the pain, the shaman sucked through eagle feathers. (Dixon, 479.)

Sucking with feathers was "not our way, somebody else might have done it." (Sargent.)

The rattlesnake shaman had the rattlesnake for an axaiki. (Dixon, 481, 484.)

Rattlesnake is not an axaiki. (Sargent. See above, p. 332, for discussion of difference between rattlesnake and a rattlesnake axaiki.)

The grizzly-bear shaman wore a feather collar in his curing dance, and he would bite and scratch people who were not out in plain sight. (Dixon, 486.)

Sargent denied both these statements.

When a shaman had been called to rid a village of a pain suspected of being buried in the village, she called her axaiki and when he arrived the shaman said to him, "Push with your shoulder," meaning for him to try to dislodge the buried pain. (Dixon, 488.)

It was the axaiki who said this to the shaman, and she repeated his words. (Sargent.)

Having dislodged the pain, the axaiki returned to the pole and ate what had been placed there for him. Meanwhile the people had a feast to celebrate their release from the pain, then the shaman danced again for the axaiki's return trip home. (Dixon, 488.)

The people did not have their feast of celebration until after the axaiki had safely reached home. (Sargent.)

If she failed to cure a patient, the shaman must return half the fee. (Dixon, 479.)

She must return the whole fee. (Sargent, above, pp. 331-332.)

Religious Beliefs

The axaiki inhabited rocks, cliffs, lakes and mountain summits, rapids, and eddies in streams. (Dixon, 470.)

Axaiki are people and live only on dry land.
(Sargent, above, p. 326.)

Ghosts were much feared and were seen in the form of flickering flames and vague lights.
(Dixon, 468.)

Ghosts did not figure in Shasta belief. These lights were "Indian devils," wizards. (Sargent, above, p. 325.) No doubt these flickering flames and vague lights were connected with a belief in wizards, but perhaps ghosts also were believed in.

Food

The Shasta ate mountain lion and wildcat.

(Dixon, 424.)

Sargent denied this. (See above, p. 311.)

Games

The counters used in the men's gambling game were usually merely seven of the decorated playing sticks. (Dixon, 442.)

The playing sticks were never so used. The counters were made new each time because everybody handled them. Few people handled a man's gambling sticks. (Sargent, above, p. 314.)

CONCLUSION

Shasta culture is transitional, as both Dixon¹⁵⁸ and Kroeber¹⁵⁹ have pointed out, between central and northwestern California. It gives the impression, however, of being fundamentally a central Californian culture (or Californian, following Kroeber's more recent classification)¹⁶⁰ which has taken over and thus had the direction of its development focused by northwestern Californian values. Coming into this region, perhaps, with the Californian basic culture, the poorer Shasta were bedazzled by their wealthier neighbors on the lower Klamath and were largely influenced by them. There seems to be nothing in Shasta culture which is not easy to understand from this point of view. Given the money basis of northwestern California with its emphasis upon wealth as the source of prestige, the Shasta culture would easily develop as it did.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find material culture so strongly influenced by the northwestern Californian tribes, since it was their superior material possessions that so impressed the Shasta. Thus the house type seems a poorer copy of the Yurok house, retaining central Californian features. Whereas the *okwá'ümma*, or "big house," which seems to be essentially the central Californian dance house influenced in structure by the house type of the lower Klamath, would easily fit into the wealth and display orientation of the culture and so be retained.

Or turning to social structure: the Shasta,

like north-central Californians, show rudiments of a tribal organization with a chief or headman of considerable influence and lesser headmen of the local groups. But northwestern Californian ideas of social stratification based on wealth underlay these chieftainships. Again, the shaman, like the central Californian shaman, received her power from and performed her feats by the aid of guardian spirits; but these guardian spirits shot "pains" into her and her power was bound up with her ability to manipulate these "pains," just as was that of the Yurok shaman.

A number of Plains influences seem also to have reached the Shasta, probably through the Modoc and the Klamath, and these fit well into the northwestern Californian bias of the culture. The influence on dress, for instance, with greater use of buckskin and somewhat more ample clothing, and the bead and porcupine quillwork would be features which might well impress a people preoccupied with the individual display of wealth; while the small steam sudatory was well suited to the simple, individual nature of most Shasta ceremonials for luck.

Even the germ for taking over this northwestern Californian ideology that shaped the subsequent development of the culture is to be found in the basic Californian culture, for "money is prized and establishes influence everywhere in California."¹⁶¹ So it is understandable that the Shasta with a generic Californian culture might be impressed by their wealthier neighbors and strongly influenced by them; and the impetus having been given for the elaboration of this phase of their culture, development along other channels was inhibited.

¹⁵⁸Dixon, 494.

¹⁵⁹Kroeber, Handbook, 288.

¹⁶⁰A. L. Kroeber, Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America, UC-PAAE, 38:1-242, 1939.

¹⁶¹Kroeber, Handbook, 2.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS USED

- AMNH-B American Museum of Natural History, Bulletin.
BAE-B Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin.
UC-PAAE University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.