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Cultural and Social Change Among the Coast Central Pomo¹

DOROTHEA J. THEODORATUS

THE Central Pomo are culturally identified as one of the seven Pomo dialect groups (Hokan speakers) residing in Central California. The division "Coast Central Pomo" refers to a subdialect of Central Pomo located in the Coast-Redwood zone of the Central Pomo area in present-day Mendocino County (Barrett 1908; Gifford 1937; Stewart 1943). The term "Pomo" is used only by non-Pomo. The people refer to themselves by the name of their aboriginal village community or tribelet,² or the name of the present-day local American town. In this paper, I first refer to them as Bokeya, the aboriginal tribelet name, and later as the Manchester Pomo.

My intent is to outline the transformation of Bokeya society into the contemporary Manchester Band of Pomo. I will examine the processes of cultural change from the traditional (pre-1800) through periods of increased Americanization (post-1850) to the contemporary condition. For purposes of analysis, Pomo culture history is broken into five conceptual stages.

THE PRE-CONTACT BOKEYA (PRIOR TO 1800)

The aboriginal Bokeya area extended from just north of the Navarro River south to the mouth of the Gualala River on the Mendocino coast. This tribelet, consisting of three to five principal village communities (a village with peripheral subsidiary settlements),

extended from five to twenty-five miles from the coast and covered a total area of approximately three hundred square miles. This was the largest Pomo tribelet in terms of territorial area, with a population ranging from 380 to 1,190 persons (Kunkel 1962).

Although there were minor cultural differences between these single kin-group communities (clustered in the northern, central, and southern parts of the area), all considered themselves Bokeya and did not recognize formal boundaries between their groups (Kunkel 1962:363). Each community was a composite residential kin-group, consisting of two or more nuclear or joint family households with descent reckoned ambilaterally through uterine or agnatic linkages.³ Each residential unit was also a political unit of the larger tribelet, and each subunit was headed by a kin-group chief. The tribelet's kin-group chiefs had equal authority in regard to their extended kin division. The kin-group chief looked after the welfare of those related to him and controlled with other kin-group chiefs intergroup economics and other tribelet matters. Succession for the chief position was through either one's patrilineage or matrilineage.

While these head chiefs had authority, they had less prestige than the ceremonial chief who directed the entire tribelet's Kuksu Cult (a religious cult including ghost impersonation, and god or Kuksu impersonation) (Kunkel 1962:230). Each kin-group village

had a men's assembly house for their ghost society ceremonies. These ceremonies were associated and integrated with the tribelet "secret society," dominated by the ceremonial chief, and served to integrate the kin-groups. The secret society was responsible for tribal initiations, ghost ceremonies, and curing ceremonies, and for coordinating ritualistic and secular power. Thus the political role of the Kuksu Cult was socially integrating (Kunkel 1962:217, 226).

Prestigious professionals such as hunters, fishermen, and shamans inherited their names, occupations, and ranks, from a kin-group member. These were conferred at the time of their initiation into the ghost ceremony aspect of the Kuksu Cult. After an apprenticeship and upon the retirement of the namesake, the professional began to exercise his official role. One of these professionals, the shaman, was concerned with driving away the individual and collective sickness of the Bokeya. (These inherited positions were 70% matrilineal according to Loeb [1926:568]).

The Bokeya economy was primarily self-sufficient, based on resources from the ocean (sea animals and plants), rivers (fish), the forest (acorns, redwood bark for houses), and the coastal shelf (berries, deer). A system of exchange existed with the interior Pomo who came to trade for ocean products. In times of superabundance, trade feasts between allied groups were held to distribute the surplus.

THE EARLY POST-CONTACT PERIOD (1800-1899)

The Pomo peoples were differently affected by European contact. Earliest contacts in the Bokeya area were brief and had minimal direct effect. The Bokeya tribelet was peripheral to the early Spanish missionization of Northern California, commencing in 1776 (Cook 1943:8), although it is certain they were aware of the Spanish obliteration of other native groups to the south.

Russian colonization was more direct and was amicable. The Fort Ross Russian colony, established in 1812 immediately south of Bokeya territory, had an additional outpost immediately north of the Bokeya. Their interest was mainly commercial (seal and sea lion pelts). These foreigners were considered to be friendly and hospitable, a contact situation which is still held in high regard today in marked contrast to the devastating Mexican situation.

Radical changes occurred after California came under control of the Mexican Republic in 1822. Massacres and slave raids were extended to the Mendocino coast in the 1840s, which together with disease and warfare nearly decimated the Indian population. In 1844, two Mexican land grants were established in the Bokeya area and the overseers raided along the Mendocino coast for native slave labor. In 1848, the territory was ceded to the United States and the Bokeya came under the jurisdiction of the Americans.

The impact of American invasion was immediate and intense, since vast numbers of emigrants came to California for gold and land. Initially, the practice of capturing Indians for the labor supply was continued. The Americans murdered native peoples and asserted their rights to Indian land, causing acute friction between the two groups. As a result, the Indian population was again greatly reduced.

Lumbering was the major reason for white settlement in the Bokeya area in the 1850s, but the agricultural value of the land was soon recognized. By the 1860s the towns of Point Arena and Manchester were established and a rapid American influx occurred. The whites considered the Indian way of life to be inferior and savage; the Bokeya found themselves aliens in their own land.

Public efforts to resettle local Indian populations began with the establishment of the Mendocino Indian Reserve near Fort

Bragg in 1856. The Bokeya, along with other tribelets, were rounded up and forced to occupy the reserve. First attempts were made here to teach the Indians to farm. The reserve was discontinued in 1867, and its Bokeya residents returned to their native area to find it settled by white farmers. They established themselves at these farms, where they were used as a source of cheap labor in return for rent. Although the population in general was now dispersed, there was a report of a concentration of 100 Bokeya in the northern division of the area (Palmer 1880:173), the site of the largest aboriginal population. Here the Bokeya turned to tie-cutting, seasonal wage labor, and general farm labor for their livelihood. Individuals began taking the names of the white settlers as their own. Since aboriginal names were considered private property and could be used in poisoning, nicknames became common terms of identification and are still used today along with relationship terms. Anglo names are used primarily for identification by whites.

Pomo culture became increasingly weakened. It was a time of crisis because the traditional ways of life were no longer effective. The message of the prophetic Earth Lodge Cult (developed from the 1870 Ghost Dance movement) which offered survival and emancipation from their situation was quickly accepted. The Bokeya went inland to two of seven Pomo centers to learn the new religion. Almost immediately after its inception this cult was elaborated into the Bole-Maru religion (DuBois 1939). The Maru cult absorbed the aboriginal religion and its ceremonial organization. This was a new religion with new leaders (called dreamers) who gained authority concepts and rituals according to dream revelations. Women played a stronger role in ritual here. The spread of the cult and the unanimity of its acceptance was an expression of solidarity against whites. A strict localized version was developed at Bo-

keya, and a series of dreamers determined the form of the religion and its ceremonies. A close association developed between dreaming and curing. Doctoring was often (although not always) in the hands of the Maru leaders. The Bole-Maru, in contrast to the aboriginal system, was not as closely integrated with the political and economic spheres of Bokeya life. Although the Bole-Maru did serve as a social mechanism, it was not as totally integrating as the original religious structure.

THE RANCHERIA PERIOD (1900-1935)

At the turn of the century, many Bokeya were congregated on a small acreage given them in return for clearing a farmer's property. They were forcibly removed around 1902, and as a result the California Indian Association purchased an adjacent 40 acres. The Bureau of Indian Affairs called this new village the Garcia River or Manchester Reserve. Sixty-five additional acres were purchased by the BIA in 1907, and in 1912 the original 40 acres were acquired from the Northern California Indian Association giving the Bokeya a total of 105 acres for their occupancy. This rancheria (an isolated small acreage for Indians) became the home base for seasonal agricultural employment in the valley. The population of 60 persons in 1902 was composed primarily of Bokeya but included other Central California Indians, as well as a few non-Indians of Italian, Mexican, and Spanish extraction.

During this period, there was constant and intense communication by mail between the Bokeya and BIA officials. These letters clearly indicate Bokeya problems and the anticipation that the BIA would correct them. This situation was verified by my own field work in 1967-1969.

One of several serious problems mentioned in this correspondence was the question of leadership. There were those recognized as leaders at various times by govern-

ment officials and those on the rancharia who believed themselves or others to be leaders. References were often made to different persons as leaders for the same year or situation. Letters were written by persons who considered themselves to be "chief" or who had disputes with whomever they believed the BIA considered the leader. In answer to a complaint regarding the lack of leadership, the BIA stated that although they thought a certain man was competent they did not believe there was even a need for leadership. BIA inconsistency, then, prevailed during these years; officials would name a leader on one occasion, but far from confirming this person's authority on the next occasion, would name a different leader. If hereditary rights to such positions existed they were not acknowledged by the BIA which dealt with the rancharia primarily by mail. Thus, for the sake of communication, the qualifications for leadership had changed from that of heredity to literacy. Toward the close of this period (1934) some formality (and a degree of stability) were attained by the introduction of a voting system for the selection of leaders.

Internal conflict centered around another core problem: family relations and intermarriage with non-Indians, particularly Italians. The BIA received many complaints, but investigations revealed that the bases of the disagreements were usually personal slights rather than nationalities, and sides were usually chosen along family lines. Such issues as land rights, moral questions, marriage, drinking, theft, and economic exploitation were major and deeply rooted in interfamily relations and related to economic success. The government was accused of helping Italians rather than the Indians.⁴ There were no complaints during this period about intra-Indian marriages, but some problems existed regarding "half-breeds," (although 10 of the 18 families were mixed). Reference to na-

tional or tribal identity was and continues to be important.

By virtue of contact with them in the local white community where Pomo worked and traded, the non-Indian contributed to Bokeya culture change. The amicability of these relations was based upon and reflected close personal situations of the individuals involved. Although whites sometimes expressed displeasure over interracial mixture at a local school, merchants and Indians developed workable economic arrangements. Some merchants allowed Indians to charge purchases and one made rancharia deliveries. A local doctor worked to improve Indian health conditions for a fee provided by the BIA. Still, ranchers and Indians had disputes, especially over boundary lines (no plat existed), and each group accused the other of trespassing.

Change was effected in Bokeya life from many different directions. White attitudes varied: to some the Bokeya were brutal drunks and degraded people, while others respected them because they upheld American values, e.g., "they paid their bills and didn't cause trouble." Respect generally corresponded with Indian behavior in terms of white values: ideally a "good Indian" behaved like a white, although he was quieter. Local whites considered interrelationships for this period to be generally positive.

Aboriginal practices of health, education, and welfare were severely altered by the introduction and enforcement of American standards. A county Indian health center was in charge of health and welfare. Only certain categories of illness were considered legitimate for treatment by white doctors; other problems (such as poison sickness) were handled by Indian curers. A public health field nurse periodically visited the rancharia and distributed food and clothing to whomever she considered needy (she based distribution on her standards of work ethic). Several native complaints were issued over her appar-

ent bias and the favoritism of those she entrusted to distribute goods. Sides again appear to have been drawn along kin-group lines.

The earliest school facility was established about 1895. It was moved to the rancharia in 1902 but was discontinued shortly thereafter. By the 1920s, 20 rancharia children attended local public schools where whites opposed their attendance because they believed the Indian children were abusive to their children (about half of the 30 pupils were Indian). When the BIA contracted to pay Indian tuition rather than acknowledge the situation (believing the charges were "trumped up"), the dissatisfied white parents withdrew their children. In 1930, an Indian "emergency" school was opened on the rancharia "to give the Indians a better chance." A school building and teacherage were built, and an Indian school board was elected but controlled by a local white. Families of school-age children received a monthly allowance. This school was used until 1952 when a consolidation of area schools returned the children to the public school system.

Many Bokeya were converted to Christianity after the 1890 establishment of a Methodist-Episcopal mission at their living site. By a petition the Bokeya (including Bole-Marú leaders) sanctioned the church. This did not, however, preclude participation in the Bole-Marú religion, and, in fact, the two religions co-existed, with some conceptual incorporation of the former into the latter. The lack of conflict and active involvement in church activities continued until the mid-thirties. During the Depression, church activities were curtailed, because, "When the preacher stopped coming the people quit going to church."

The Bole-Marú, however, continued to flourish. Three dreamers (one a woman) dreamed during this period (there were two simultaneous dreamers most of the time), a

ceremonial house was built, and paraphernalia and ceremonial procedures established. Indian curers handled those illnesses related to the spiritual world by dream songs and by sucking them out. Two of the Marú dreamers were also doctors (the native term), and thus during part of the period doctoring was associated with the Marú cult. Fear of "poisoning" was a relevant feature of rancharia life and moreover was clearly distinguished from other illnesses. White doctors could not cure such things as poisoning because they neither had the power nor understood the sickness.

Methods of earning a livelihood ranged from partial continuation of traditional patterns to an ever increasing participation in the Anglo-American pattern. Bokeya continued to gather sea products and to hunt. The BIA encouraged them to cultivate their land; most raised gardens and some raised crops to sell locally; some owned farm animals. The BIA believed such encouragement would curtail their annual "demoralizing" trek to the valley for seasonal work. Some men cut and sold pickets (also a subject of dispute) from rancharia timber. Toward the end of the period another source of income was collection of fees from non-Indians who drove onto the rancharia to fish.

Several Bokeya men worked off the rancharia in the logging industry and in road work. In spite of BIA efforts, some families also continued their work as farm laborers in the valley. Some women were employed in domestic work and others weeded local garden crops. Men continued in local agricultural employment for coastal farmers where the family often set up a camp or semi-permanent residence.

During the 1930s, American Indian relief measures were established and several Bokeya entered special Indian civil works and rehabilitation programs such as IECW (Indian Emergency Conservation Work), where they

earned the same wages as their white counterpart, the CCCs. They were also employed by the CWA (Civil Works Administration), under which they added their school, built their teacher's cottage, and improved the school's water system. The Bokeya felt financially secure during this time and the BIA Superintendent considered this group one of the most promising in the California jurisdiction.

In addition, major changes were also made in the Indian Service. A resolution for promotion of community ownership and control of lands was adopted and corporate ownership was suggested as a means of preserving Indian culture. The 1934 Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) was offered to native people. Bokeya voted to accept the IRA and used most of the advantages it offered. The changes initiated as a result were important for the direction of Pomo life.

THE RANCHING ERA (1936-1960)

The ranching era was one of accelerated change. With the acceptance of the IRA, and in accordance with the new governmental policy, the Bokeya during this period became more intricately involved with the BIA, whose authority they generally accepted at face value. A loan was made for the purchase of new land and a business corporation was established. The band became officially organized and established new formal leadership patterns.

The IRA encouraged Indians to learn modern practices of administration, finance, and political activity common to the rest of the United States, and in compliance the Bokeya framed a Constitution and By-Laws. This included popularly elected councils subject to recall. The Bokeya also took advantage of a Corporate Charter, the purpose of which was to strengthen Indian governments and to provide them with new forms of business experience. While tribes had power to make laws and spend their own funds, in actual

practice these were subject to BIA review. And although Bureau controls were to be decreased as the tribe gained experience, its involvement actually increased.

With the approval in 1936 of the Constitution and By-Laws, the Bokeya became officially known as the Manchester Band of Pomo Indians and will hereafter be referred to as such. This document provided jurisdiction over rancheria land; members included those on the "official roles" and their descendants (although no official role was ever drawn up); and the governing body (Community Council) was to be composed of all qualified voters. A qualified voter was a person twenty-one years of age who had resided at the rancheria for one year. In 1940, a decree was added to the By-Laws which required that each band member be seven-eighths or more Indian and be related by marriage or descent to a Manchester Pomo.⁵ One could be admitted by written application upon the approval of the community. Continuous residence away from the rancheria for one year or more meant loss of membership. A Manchester woman lost her membership if she married a non-Indian.

The BIA considered the old rancheria to be of minimal economic value, and a proposal was made for resettlement on new land in an Indian-built community. All families would purchase homes in the new community and work on a cooperative enterprise. A 254-acre farm two miles from the Manchester Rancheria (five miles by road) was chosen at a cost of \$25,199 and is referred to here as the ranch as opposed to the rancheria. Specific plans were made for the layout of the new community (such as grazing land, buildings, water supply), but the land was primarily for dairy production. The band was believed qualified to run the ranch because of previous work experience with local farmers. The ranch was expected to bring income to the band and give them a "new lease on life." Each new house would have electricity and

running water, neither of which members had ever had before. A loan of \$5,000 was secured by 1938 to begin the dairy ranch operation. The IRA specified that the ranch be a chartered corporation operated by a business committee of four members and run by a Ranch Manager. In addition, the Manchester Pomo were to be advised and encouraged by a farm agent under whose direction they would acquire the additional expertise necessary for a successful farming operation.

Band population fluctuated during the ranch years. Some members continued seasonal work in the valley and others occasionally took up residence elsewhere. By 1940 there were 116 members; in 1943, 112 (including 17 residing elsewhere); and in 1953, 143 members (including 63 residing elsewhere). In 1953, 77 members were of voting age and 44 were registered to vote in county elections.

Membership qualifications were questioned, and it was found that many could not qualify because of the seven-eighths blood degree requirement. This, however, was not universally enforced and while some were denied membership, others were never questioned. In 1973, a BIA official stated that the requirement itself was illegal.

The band had prescribed meeting dates which were seldom enforced. Officers were to be elected once a year, but in fact elections were held almost at random. Toward the end of the period the number of business meetings decreased as interest in the farm waned. The Business Committee met regularly in the early ranch years when they made basic decisions on ranch organization, house occupancy, and expenses. Participation and meeting attendance was most vigorous from 1945 to 1948 after the ranch loan had been paid and where concerns were primarily financial. Important matters settled at meetings included questions of elections, ranch salaries, loan and payment schedules, white access to the ranch, liquor

problems, purchase and sale of farm animals, planting of crops, and house payments.

The Community Council, the Business Committee, and the Ranch Manager did not always communicate nor cooperate and therefore turnover in these positions was considerable, especially the position of Ranch Manager. Many of the problems the two communities faced were of a financial nature.⁶ Their success in solving problems was dependent upon the composition of the Business Committee and its relation to its fourth member, the Ranch Manager, whom they could fire. The Business Committee was controlled by the Community Council and so was not always effective. Manchester members were caught between their old rancheria kin alliances and their new democratic system. The latter did not find effective expression and finally the band turned to petitions as a way of achieving results. The BIA accepted such petitions as legal band action.

Provision for new and better housing was made by the IRA. Initially, it was decided that eight houses would be built at the ranch. In a community meeting, a price of \$600 was established for each house. Individuals applied for a house, assignments were made by the Council, and a contract for the house loan was drawn. Each assignee was to help construct his own house (beginning 1939) though not all did, and the accumulated payments were to be used for additional houses for those who had not yet received them. Questions arose as soon as the first payment was due. No one wanted to pay unless he was sure that all were paying. The Bureau explained the payment system several times. Still none were made, and in 1947 rent was set at \$30 a year in order to build up a repair fund. Thus eight years after new housing was begun there were still no housing funds for other rancheria members. At one point, house residents requested that payment be made from ranch funds, but the BIA declared this illegal since it

would not result in equitable distribution to all members. Several BIA attempts were made to "inspire" payment: house loss was threatened for non-payment; in return for payment clear title was promised with the right to will to heirs or to rent. In spite of inquiries made by rancheria members, the issue was dropped and no mention of it was made until 1960 when the BIA wrote that they did not know how many payments were delinquent and that the band could declare the loan balance payable. This was never done. Band members were suspicious where money was involved, and it is doubtful individuals would pay into a fund handled by a limited number of persons, in this case the Business Committee. In 1967, rancheria members blamed the BIA (rather than failure of band members to make house payments) for the fact that their houses had not materialized.

Over the years, the ranch houses have been equipped with modern conveniences, all of which were sources of dispute at one time or another. In contrast (with the exception of the teacherage), none of the houses at the rancheria had any luxuries until the 1960s.

By 1946 the BIA was concerned over the fact that the ranch was not earning money, but could see no resolution to the problem. A 1951 BIA report expressed doubt as to the ability of the band to operate a profitable cooperative dairy. BIA officials concluded that the Indians did not get along well together and that they wanted the fruits of labor without work. In addition, the Ranch Manager had difficulty in obtaining funds from the Business Council with which to operate the ranch. In 1954, the Ranch Manager complained that the Business Council was ineffective and ignored him. He requested BIA assistance but the BIA said they had no right to intervene since the band was under Corporate Charter; they could only meet with the community to discuss the problem.

Finally, the last Ranch Manager quit and a

rancheria member came over daily to care for the cows. Then one band member sold most of the cows. Eventually, the ranch failed to bring in enough money to pay the salary of the rancheria member, and he wrote the BIA asking what they wanted him to do with their cows. Initially, 36 cows had been purchased; this was expanded to 80 in 1942 and decreased to 40 in 1952. The BIA determined that failure was due to irresponsibility and the Indian belief that they could earn more elsewhere.

Although attempts had been made by local white farmers to lease land from the Indians prior to the dairy enterprise, leasing did not become a concern until the dairy failed. Local whites saw in its disintegration the opportunity to acquire these lands. In 1959, a meeting was held and a specified acreage was designated for rent.

While life on the ranch was immersed in dairying activity, the rancheria continued much as it had before. It lacked the modern conveniences of the ranch (except the school) and the road was so bad the school bus would not drive there. Activities such as food gathering, gardening, and fishing continued. Seasonal labor in the valley was still an important source of income, as was lumber work and welfare. Some men worked for the same lumbering operation for several years. Largely because of the Indians' reluctance to send their children to the school in town, the Indian school functioned until 1952. Controversy resulted from this change. Health services remained much the same.

By the end of the Ranch period, all of the known Bole-Maru dreamers had died. However, religious ceremonies did retain certain dances and were called by new dreamers, and Christmas and Fourth of July ceremonies were still held. Dreamers continued to be an important part of religious life.

While it is apparent that spiritual involvement in the Indian religion continued, it is

also evident that the physical segregation of the band may have made it easier for the new non-Indian religions to make inroads. The Mormons came in 1949, but had little success. By 1952 the Pentecostal Church had seven members; others joined later. The Pentecostals opposed the Indian religion, believing it to be of the devil; thus those band members who joined the Pentecostal Church were no longer allowed to participate in Indian religious ceremonies. A number of Indians still belonged to the Methodist Church, now established in the town of Point Arena.

THE POST-RANCH PERIOD (1961-1969)⁷

After 1961 the leasing of the cumbersome ranch was to relieve the band of the responsibility of its care, and the Manchester Pomo again stepped into a rancheria status. This time they found themselves located on two separate parcels of land and separated by five miles of road. According to the BIA, the only remaining function of the Federal Government was that of trustee of the land, and this responsibility was limited to the trust property which included the land and water system. In 1963, the first lease was established.

Two community meetings, both of which involved elections, were held in 1963 because of internal disputes over leadership positions. The first election was won by the ranch side and the second by the rancheria side. Members requested meetings, but the chairman believed it was easier to do things by petition. And indeed petitions during this period resulted in rancheria road repairs, installation of a water system for all homes of the rancheria, and home improvements on the ranch.

In 1967, there were five homes on the rancheria inhabited by 25 Pomo and one white. Eleven of the occupants worked away from the rancheria and resided there only on weekends. There were now 14 homes on the ranch side (five new ones having been built at

owners' expense), with 55 Indian and three non-Indian occupants. Six Pomo resided at the ranch, but only on weekends. There were, then, a total of 70 Indians and four non-Indians residing at the rancheria at the time of this study. Thirteen were employed in 1967 (eight from the ranch and five from the rancheria). Five ranch families and three rancheria families were on welfare, pensions, or social security. Only one family continued agricultural work in the valley.

White attitudes were radically altered by this period. It was no longer possible to charge groceries, and many whites stated that Indians did not pay their bills. Such rumors contributed to the widening gap which was apparent during field work. Some of the Pomo drove to other towns rather than buy locally.

In 1967, 22 Indian children were in grade school and two in high school. School officials felt that the children were uninterested in school, a fact they attributed to lack of parental stimulation. According to band members, their children had been more interested in school during the rancheria period, perhaps because they then had their own school and could more fully participate in it.

Involvement in Christian religions continued. I found 47 people who considered themselves to be Methodists in 1967 (27 from the ranch and 20 from the rancheria). Methodist church members freely attended services of other Christian churches on occasion. The Pentecostals claimed 21 members in 1967, all from the ranch side. An Indian Methodist church member stated that the Pentecostals caused a lot of trouble and were not liked by the other residents. The Pentecostals, in turn, did not respect the Methodists, who continued to participate in native religion and doctoring ceremonies. The Pentecostals, however, have curing ceremonies of their own and have practiced on ill band members, not necessarily Pentecostal. This method of curing

(using hands and singing) is not substantially different from the one more traditional rancheria members follow today, although the basic philosophy is different. Thus the Pentecostal religion fulfills a similar function. This is perhaps pertinent to the complete conversion of the members involved.

Certain ceremonial festivities and curing practices are continued today by many of the Manchester Pomo, and are held traditionally on the Fourth of July and Christmas. The dance house built in the early decade of the century was kept under heavy lock and key by the last dreamer (now deceased), who boasted that white people have not been allowed to enter. Religious paraphernalia is still a prominent part of the ceremonies. The service of Indian doctors is still required, and there were six people who worked individually or as two teams of singing doctors on the rancheria in 1967. I was told there were so many singers "because people do things wrong." An Indian doctor from Santa Rosa and one from Stewart's Point also worked occasionally on the rancheria.

I expected to find conflict between those living on the two land parcels. I found that conflict did exist, but it was not always along geographical and economic lines as I had anticipated. Instead conflict was generally random and varied according to the situation, only occasionally reflecting differences between the two sides. Conflict centered around inclusion of Italians and persons of mixed marriages. Other disputes arose over the non-fulfillment of an obligation, gossip, and envy over the economic success of an individual.

SUMMARY

In pre-contact times, the Bokeya were economically and socially self-sufficient. Social and political status was limited and intricately related to inheritance patterns, and these were validated through the religious system. Authority was kin and territorially

based. Economic, social, and religious interests politically linked the kin units and the tribelet.

The early contact period was a time when the Bokeya were enslaved, moved, and resettled. Their kin ties were weakened by this dislocation, which in turn weakened their sense of community, traditionally based on the residential kin group. Descendants of the three major aboriginal divisions resettled in the northern part of their territory, primarily in one location, thus establishing a multi-kin group area and disrupting the former political chieftainship pattern. The once self-sufficient economic system, while still using native resources, became increasingly dependent upon agricultural wage labor.

The ceremonial system previously headed by a hereditary ceremonial chief was now led by anyone who could acquire revelation through dreams. The former religious cult was replaced by a prophetic movement led by one or more of these dreamers.

This was a period of struggle for survival. Basic alterations were made, particularly in the political organization and in the economic and ceremonial systems. There was a loss of former cultural compactness but at the same time hope appeared in the form of the new Bole-Marú.

During the Rancheria period, the government stressed assimilation through the ability to function in the dominant American system. A formal land base was established and the political system changed; new leadership qualifications based on educational abilities became important. New standards of health, education, and welfare integrated traditional practices. Literacy became politically important and education—formerly a kin-group matter—became a social function necessitating a physical plant and agent—the teacher. There was a partial economic adjustment; cash earning activities were adopted, but certain aboriginal aspects were maintained. The post-

contact Bole-Maru religion functioned similarly to the pre-contact ceremonial pattern as a cohesive force. In addition, Christian religion coexisted with native religion.

Intragroup conflict entered into most areas of Bokeya life (except religion), with leadership, personal rights, and economics as main foci of divisiveness. Feuds usually occurred along kin-group lines. Face-to-face relationships of Indians to non-Indians were increased and were instrumental in effecting change in many areas of native life.

At the close of this period, the Depression hit the United States. BIA policy reflected Depression conditions and the Bokeya found themselves with a new social structure, a new set of opportunities, and new procedures through which they could operate. As part of this new policy, conceived as beneficial by the BIA, the band started a dairy ranching cooperative and correspondingly entered into an era of better housing, electricity, running water, and telephones. The ranch operation was initially successful, but due to lack of cooperation and financial mistrust it deteriorated rapidly.

Meanwhile, life on the rancheria continued as before under conditions of substandard housing and a lack of modern conveniences. Means of livelihood were much the same as in the Rancheria period.

This was also a period of community separation. Those on the ranch became less interested in rancheria activities as the physical separation of the band limited the previous common face-to-face situations and put the ranch members of the community in a better economic position. Many ranch members turned to a white religion which prohibited participation in native ceremonies thus limiting contact in an area which at one time had been the unifying force. Native religious activities were less intense, although some ceremony continued.

In the 1960s, the Manchester Band of

Pomo Indians settled down to life without the worries of the ranch operation. They continued to live much as before although with some loss of internal cohesion due to geographical separation. Primary concerns at this time were leadership, membership, and economic progress. Indian involvement in the white community was minimal, although they continued to be employed by whites. Local whites looked at the failure of the ranch as a failure of the people themselves. Those whose Christian affiliation did not prohibit them continued traditional religious practices.

CONCLUSIONS

By 1967 the Manchester Pomo had experienced a century of unfulfilled goals and internal strife, demonstrated here as a series of socially disruptive stages. Overall, it can be seen as increased participation in and conflict with the contact world.

Traditional economic patterns were altered substantially although not entirely abandoned. This is perhaps as much a result of the appropriation of Indian lands by the encircling whites as it is due to the introduction of a new economic system. Certainly alien control of land severely limited economic pursuits and the fulfillment of economic goals. There was an increasing dependence on the larger American economy: from an economically independent situation the Pomo evolved to one dependent on outside wage work and public assistance.

Historically, social conflict has increased due in part to disruption in the native system of social control. This has affected most aspects of Pomo life and is an important result of cultural change due to the loss of the closely integrated self-conscious social unit (Linton 1936:229-230). Perhaps as Murdock suggests (1949:20) in relating factionalism to culture change, this is a way of draining off internal aggression instead of translating it to outgroup hostility.

Disruption in political organization has also been demonstrated. BIA-imposed qualifications for leadership at the expense of the former integrative system based on heredity have resulted in conflict rather than cooperation and underlies divisiveness on the rancharia today. Politics, conflict, and the lack of complete acceptance of the new system made it increasingly difficult to maintain the ranch between 1936 and 1960. Both political and economic priorities have been imposed from the outside world, with little attention given to the felt needs of the Pomo.

Group membership became a focus of conflict. Outsiders, particularly non-Indian, were seen as socially disruptive and detrimental to the preservation of the group. This attitude therefore served to maintain the Manchester Pomo's identity and separateness from the outside world.

Divisiveness cannot be understood in the usual sense of categorically dichotomous groups (Beals and Siegel 1966) since there appears to be a lack of strengthening on opposable sides at Manchester. Instead, the divisiveness has been random, constant, and cumulative, and can only be understood as historically developing webs of interpersonal conflicts. Although it might have been expected, disputes did not occur along the lines of the physical division of the land.

Since identity concerns the efforts of people to cope with disruptive forces and events, Manchester Pomo culture change has been an experience in identity crises. Group survival has been threatened throughout the contact period. The establishment of the rancharia/ranch provided territory where they could maintain their identity as Manchester Pomo. White attitudes toward the group have varied according to the way the Indian has measured up to the white "ideal." Further, BIA personnel have seriously threatened group identity by a lack of awareness of its underlying values. It is interesting that while

the BIA and local whites see the ranch as a failure in both economic and personal terms, the Manchester Pomo have no regrets. Thus external and internal views continue to differ. The failure then, has not been in the mechanics of operation but in the willingness and ability of the Pomo to adjust to an imposed socio-political structure.

The area of greatest exclusion of whites has been in the ideational aspect. Throughout their history, religion has been a socially integrative force; in post-contact times, it has been a mechanism for excluding whites from their lives. Since it is the area in which the white world is least interested, and which is ignored by the BIA, it has become a major focus for group identity. Although the religion changed more abruptly than other aspects of Manchester Pomo culture, it has been the least disruptive area. Exclusion of whites may partially account for this. Religion has thus been a major factor in the preservation of identity, although this appears to be changing with the recent inclusion of non-native religions.

For the Manchester Pomo, change has been uneven. First, there have been definite periods of relatively rapid and relatively slow change. Second, some facets of Pomo culture have been more resistant to change than others. These uneven changes have taken place in the context of governmental attempts to institute new principles of cultural direction and social integration. Yet the Pomo have not been fully assimilated into the larger socio-cultural system. Instead, selective acculturation by groups of individuals in specific areas of culture has occurred. These changes reflect the Pomo's felt needs and concerns, and the choices they have perceived in a changing natural and socio-cultural environment. It is clear then that the idea of progress as defined by non-Pomo differs substantially from that of the Manchester Band of Pomo Indians. This conceptual discrepancy is not

unique to the Coast Central Pomo, but generally typifies differences between Indian and non-Indian viewpoints.

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NOTES

1. This paper is based on intermittent field research among the Coast Central Pomo from 1967-1969, and on archival research in the Bureau of Indian Affairs records in Sacramento. A preliminary version was presented at the 72nd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, December 2, 1973. (See also Theodoratus 1971.)
2. A tribelet is an independent political unit made up of two or more kin-groups who reside in single kin-group villages or cluster together in multi-kin-group villages (Kunkel 1962).
3. This was not a true unilineal group, rather it represented a residential group with membership determined by flexible rules of residence and involving matrilineal, patrilineal, or affinal relationships. Outsiders could casually join by adoption into or marrying into the group (Kunkel 1962:218).
4. The BIA stated officially that there should be no whites on Indian rancherias. They also stated that if an Indian woman married a white man she no longer needed land, however, she could stay on the rancheria as long as her husband did not create trouble. The suggested procedure for removal of Italians was a petition signed by a majority of adults.
5. In 1938, 46% of the band was seven-eighths to full Indian; 99% were over half Indian.
6. These included establishing salaries for the manager and his assistants and the relationship to the amount of work accomplished; payments for purchases made without approval; vacations; the number of assistants hired; use of machinery for personal convenience or gain; the use of ranch animals as if they were personal property.
7. The conditions described in this section generally continue to the present.

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