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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
GRADUATE DIVISION, NORTHERN SECTION

SUMMARY OF THE DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL SATISFACTION
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

MARY JEAN KENNEDY
A.B. (Stanford University) 1938

ANTHROPOLOGY

JUNE 1956

COMMITTEE IN CHARGE:
Professor Emeritus Edward Winslow Gifford, *Chairman*,
Associate Professor Robert Fenton Heizer,
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1947–1948
1950–1952
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DISSERTATION

Culture Contact and Acculturation of the Southwestern Pomo

The processes of acculturation have been examined among the Southwestern Pomo who have been in contact with three cultures: Russian, Spanish, and American. Their history illustrates the survival of an Indian subculture despite more than a century of prolonged contact with Europeans.

The aboriginal culture of the Southwestern Pomo was shared with other central Californian Indian tribes, the closest resemblance being with other communities of the Pomo language group. The village community with one or two chiefs whose authority was limited to advisory power constituted the political unit.

During the initial period of foreign contact, 1811–1841, the Indians enjoyed friendly relations with the representatives of the Russian American Company, which established a base at Fort Ross in Southwestern Pomo territory. Among acculturative factors were interracial alliances between the visitors and native women, which were instrumental in effecting change in the native patterns of living, such as clothing, foods, work for wages, use of the Russian language, and participation in the rites of the Russian Orthodox church. Subsequent Spanish-Mexican influence brought substitution of the Spanish language and Roman Catholic rites.

Increasing pressure from American settlement turned the Indians to the messianic Bole-Maru cult, an outgrowth of the 1870 Ghost Dance. Group solidarity was maintained through specific ceremonies performed by the faithful under the direction of the cult leader to achieve mechanical control of the supernatural. Social adherence to the cult was reinforced by strong kinship ties, by group marriage, and the fear of witchcraft.

Within recent years the majority of the Southwestern Pomo have been brought into an organized Christian church of predominantly white membership. Acceptance of Christian theology has ended the supernatural basis for the taboo system and native concepts of disease and curing. Many dissident individuals no longer have the support of the majority group. It is regrettable that there may be an accelerated acculturation.

The data indicate that today the Southwestern Pomo, like other Californian Indians, form a separate subculture in California, due to long continued native tradition, social segregation by white society with marriage largely endogamous, and a set of values and attitudes which are correlated with the aboriginal traditions rather than approximating the values predominant in modern American culture.

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Seminar in Types of Culture. Dr. W. B. Cline.

Seminar in Culture History of the American Southwest. Professor A. V. Kidder.

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PREFACE

The material and ideational content of Californian Indian culture has been altered drastically by contact with foreign cultures over the past one hundred and fifty years, yet there are still identifiable social groups which consider themselves as Indians and are regarded as such by other segments of American society. The extent of this Indian identity and the manner in which it is maintained are significant for ethnological study.

A bill before Congress proposes the termination of the special status of Californian Indians in matters of law, property, and privileges. In the event of this action, it may be of interest to examine the history of one group of Californian Indians in terms of their acculturation or assimilation into the mainstream of American life.

Field work for the present study was done in the winter of 1952-53 under the direction of Professor E.W. Gifford. The writer is indebted to Professor Gifford for many helpful suggestions during the field study and during the writing of the thesis. I also wish to express my appreciation to the other members of my thesis committee, Professors Robert F. Heizer and Lawrence Kinnaird, for their criticisms and suggestions.

The historical research was done in the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley. The Bancroft Library collection of western history, especially the seven volumes concerning Russian-America were of great value. I wish to thank the staff of Bancroft Library for the courtesies extended to me. Ynez Haase drew the map of

Tools - Bancroft

the area.

Finally, I am indebted to those Southwestern Pomo who gave their time and interest to the field study, notably Essie Parrish, Nellie Pinole, Alice Meyers, and Herman and George James, whose friendly co-operation helped materially in this work.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE CULTURAL IDENTITY OF THE SOUTHWESTERN POMO

Ethnographic studies of aboriginal California for the most part were concluded a generation ago when there were natives still living who had knowledge of the conditions or structure of aboriginal California life. Today that generation has largely disappeared; yet, one hundred years after the arrival of Americans in the state, there remains a segment of the population which is identifiably Indian, racially and culturally. In view of the steady pressure put upon a disadvantaged minority to assimilate American culture, it is surprising that thousands of individuals have remained within the Indian life sphere. The Californian Indians have not been, nor in the near future are they likely to be, biologically absorbed; they are increasing in numbers; and the hypothesis is advanced that they constitute at present a sub-culture separate from the dominant Euro-American pattern of life.

If Indian society is a separate sub-culture, certain questions arise to test that assumption. To what extent have the native peoples retained any of the aboriginal culture or attitudes toward the material or the supernatural world? What defenses have the aborigines raised against complete absorption in the dominant culture? The unity and persistence of personality exhibited by the Indian group here considered has been termed its identity. The question of cultural identity is

particularly acute when, as in the case of Californian Indians, members of the dominant culture, which is technologically superior, control the means of livelihood, assume the prestige positions, and vastly outnumber the representatives of the subordinate culture.

The processes of acculturation occur everywhere in the world where culture contact exists, but it is crucial where contact is aggressively carried out by the dominant group. It has been the fate of the native population of California to be exposed to constant and cumulative culture contact with the dominant culture. Under these conditions, it is worth examining the extent to which the natives have insured survival and preserved any part of their way of life, or have reinterpreted new culture traits into a new social structure. The impact of an outside, proselytizing culture affects the psychological balance of the individuals concerned, which in turn changes the structure of that culture.

For the advancement of anthropological theory, a study of culture contact offers a useful set of data from which hypotheses concerning the dynamic processes of culture can be formulated.

It is assumed that in a situation of culture contact, the acquisition of traits proceeds selectively, some categories of traits being received without alteration, while others are reinterpreted to fit the needs of the borrowing culture. It is further assumed that practices which deal with overt aspects of life, the observable patterns, will meet with less resistance than traits dealing with the covert part of culture, the sanctions underlying religion, value systems, interpersonal relationships, and group identification. The hypothesis is advanced that the analysis of historical contacts and of contemporary field data will indicate in similar fashion positive correlation to overt, and negative

correlation to covert, aspects of the receiving culture.

The use of historic materials for a demonstration of processes of change in culture content and orientation has become generally accepted for acculturation studies (Beals, 1953, p. 631). Acculturation is used here as defined by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936): those phenomena which occur when groups of individuals of different cultures come in continuous firsthand contact and the resultant changes in original culture patterns of either or both groups. The diachronic acculturation study has been praised by Herskovits as especially appropriate for the analysis of culture processes. Herskovits (1938, p. 118) states that historic control over the data provides an approximation of the laboratory method of the scientist and further that "the study of acculturation offers the most favorable conditions for research into the nature and processes of culture because one is dealing with more known quantities than in any other type of investigation into the problems that challenge the student of human civilization."

The Southwestern Pomo were selected for this study because their history illustrates the problem of native survival, they are representatives of the central Californian culture which was dealt a deathblow by the impact of Euro-American civilization, and their history is well documented from the Russian and early American sources as well as by ethnographic data. The Southwestern Pomo maintained their cultural identity by purposive control of supernatural sanctions -- adherence to the religious cult and avoidance of organized Christian churches as proselytizing agencies for American culture. This religious cult, which was an outgrowth of the anti-white 1870 Ghost Dance movement, provided the core of a spiritual resistance to the engulfing American culture. It

is postulated that the religious cult, more than any other factor, kept this group of Californian Indians as a cultural entity. Maintenance of the cult until the present time is due to the personalities of several cult leaders, particularly to one woman, whose role will be discussed later.

The Indians who are residents of Kashia Reservation in Sonoma County are the coastal extension of the large group of north central Californians who have been designated as the Pomo. They are also the lineal descendants of the band of Southwestern Pomo who were in intimate contact with Russian colonizers during the existence of the Fort Ross colony, 1812 to 1841. They have, therefore, a unique history among Californian Indians because of this early culture contact.

Following the Russian period, the coastal Pomo suffered the usual invasion and land pre-emption on the part of the incoming Americans. The southwestern group established a rancheria inland from Stewart's Point, on the land of a friendly German-American, Charles Haupt, who had married an Indian woman. After more than forty years of residence on private land, the people moved in 1919 to the recently purchased (1914) government reservation of Kashia, a forty-acre plot of land atop the first mountain range along the coast, approximately four miles inland from Stewart's Point. Although individuals have left the reservation for work, it has remained the community center and the retreat to which they can return.

The long continued group solidarity under the guidance of native religious leaders makes the Stewart's Point community unusual, for this spared them the severe cultural disorganization which other Indian groups experienced. The religious cult which provided the bulwark for community life is the Bole-Maru religion. It swept through the Pomo area beginning

in 1872 and was revived and reinterpreted by later "dreamers," notably a Southwestern Pomo woman, Annie Jarvis.*

The aboriginal culture of the Pomo has been documented by ethnographers, notably Barrett (1908a, 1908b, 1917a, 1917b, 1933, 1952), Kroeber (1925), Loeb (1926, 1932), Gifford (1926), and Kroeber and Gifford (1937). A study of aboriginal Southwestern Pomo culture by Gifford in manuscript form was consulted before field research began and during preparation of this paper. These studies provided the background material on native culture which is essential for the present research.

Before consideration can be given to the present status of this Indian group, the historic forces which shaped the present must be delineated. Aboriginal life provided one pattern, while the interplay of Indian culture with the Russian, Spanish, and mid-nineteenth century American cultures established the precedent for subsequent realtionships between members of the dominant and subordinate culture groups.

The source material employed falls broadly into two groups: (1) reports on the Indians of the Sonoma Coast made contemporaneously during the existence of Ross Colony, augmented by data on the aboriginal culture; and (2) the observations made by the writer during the course of field work in 1952-53. The time interval between 1850 and 1890, about which only reconstructions based on retrospective statements can be made, is more difficult to document.

It may be of interest to students of native life to note what consistencies of conduct or attitudes of the Indians have survived one hundred and forty years of continuous and aggressive culture contact. The

*Du Bois (1939) has discussed the development and spread of the revivalistic movements in northern and central California.

efforts which the leaders of the Indian community have made to maintain morale and morality, to strengthen the identity of the group, and finally to correlate the group with the more positive aspects of the dominant culture are data which can be useful to those interested in adjustments between dominant and subordinate groups in human populations.

CHAPTER II

ABORIGINAL SOUTHWESTERN POMO CULTURE

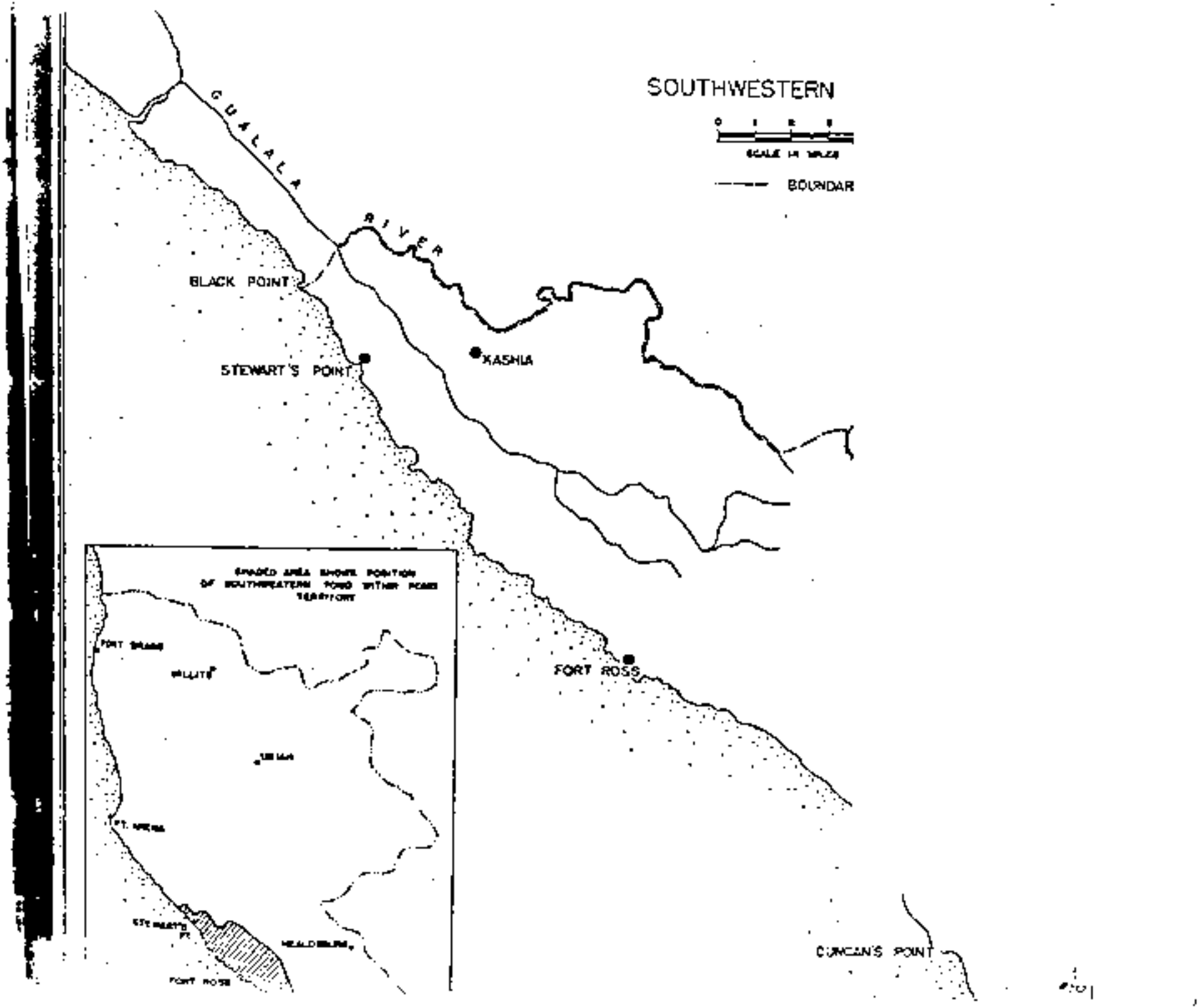
Since the ethnography of Pomo life has been the subject of intensive research, this sketch of Southwestern Pomo culture is outlined only as a background for the present acculturational study. It does not assume to be, nor could it be, complete, for the links with the aboriginal culture have been broken. Further, it was not the purpose of the writer while in the field to reconstruct this past way of life. The writer has therefore drawn freely on the work of other ethnographers for the necessary data.

Pomo is the term which has been applied to a linguistically related group of tribes or communities of north coast central California. The Pomo language has been assigned to the Hokan language family. There are seven commonly accepted divisions of the Pomo communities: Central, Northern, Eastern, Northeastern, Southern, Southeastern, and Southwestern (Barrett, 1908a, pp. 102-106; Kroeber, 1925, p. 227). The descriptive material from other Pomo groups has been used as a comparison with Southwestern Pomo data. Fortunately, specific information is available in Gifford's unpublished manuscript on Southwestern Pomo aboriginal culture. The data indicate the probable close ties once existing between the Southwestern Pomo and the now extinct Coast Miwok, which the historical material from the Russian period also suggests. The difference in language is not significant culturally as the Yurok-Karok-Hupa culture of Northwestern California exemplifies.

Geography and Population

The area which has been designated as Southwestern Pomo territory was roughly between the mouth of the Gualala River on the north and Duncan's Point, 4 miles south of the mouth of Russian River, to the south, but the exact boundaries are subject to a difference of opinion among informants. Barrett gave Salmon Creek as the southerly line dividing the Southwestern Pomo from the Coast Miwok, Kniffen the Russian River, while Kroeber, Merriam, and Stewart agree that Duncan's Point was the southern boundary (Barrett, 1908a, p. 232; Kniffen, 1939, p. 381; Kroeber, 1925, map, p. 356; Merriam, MS; Stewart, 1943, p. 49). Duncan's Point appears to be the likely line of demarcation. On the north, Kniffen, Barrett, and Kroeber give the mouth of the Gualala as the line dividing the Southwestern Pomo from the Coast Central Pomo, while Stewart cites evidence from informants to the effect that Black Point was the northern boundary, with some of the Yotiya or Southern Pomo of Rock Pile intervening between the Kashia and the Bokaya of Point Arena. Merriam (MS) also states the northern boundary to have been Black Point. The easterly boundary as given by Barrett runs along the middle fork of the Gualala River easterly and southerly to the headwaters of Austin Creek and southerly across the Russian River to the headwaters of Salmon Creek and westward to the ocean (Barrett, 1908a, p. 227).

The territory of the Southwestern Pomo includes the mountainous terrain typical of the redwood belt of the Coast Range and a narrow coastal shelf. This shelf averages one mile in width. The temperature averages between 50° and 60°, seldom going below 35° in winter or rising above 80° in summer, as the climate is tempered along the coast by the


SOUTHWESTERN
BOUNDAR
GUALALA RIVER
BLACK POINT
STEWART'S POINT
KASHIA
FORT ROSS
DUNCAN'S POINT

ocean and frequent fogs. This climate varies 10° higher or lower in the mountains, where snowfall occasionally occurs. Rainfall averages 30-40 inches annually (Barrett, 1908a, p. 11; Kniffen, 1939, p. 381).

Evidence of numerous village sites or camp sites may be found within the boundaries of the Southwestern Pomo. Haase counted 140 sites on the coastal shelf between Stewart's Point and Fort Ross (Haase, MS, p. 55). Barrett listed 3 occupied modern villages in 1903, 26 village sites and 22 camp sites along the coast, and 17 village sites and 10 camp sites in the interior (Barrett, 1908a, pp. 228-239). It is unlikely that all of these were occupied contemporaneously, but the sites were named as known by Indians living at the turn of the century. Kroeber listed 9 village groups for the Southwestern Pomo, considering the others as temporary sites only (Kroeber, 1925, p. 234). Stewart, on the basis of his research, listed Meteni (Fort Ross) and 5 additional villages which had evidence of assembly houses and 10 villages without a chief or an assembly house (Stewart, 1943, p. 50).

Kniffen emphasizes the unity of the tribe under a single chief, especially after Russian contact (Kniffen, 1939, p. 384). Barrett relates that each Pomo community was independent, acting as a separate political unit, and might unite with neighbors of a different linguistic stock for ceremonies or war as readily as with a village of the same linguistic affinity. Barrett emphasizes the political separatism of the aboriginal Pomo village community (Barrett, 1908a, p. 20).

Estimates on the aboriginal population of the Southwestern group of Pomo vary. Kroeber estimated the population at 8,000 for the Pomo, assigning 1,000 plus persons to each of the seven language divisions, but added the cautionary note that this was probably an excessive number for

the Southwestern group (Kroeber, 1925, p. 237). Barrett cites the estimate of McKee made in 1851 that there were 500 Indians from Fort Ross to San Francisco Bay, but states that these numbers may have been less than the actual figure (Barrett, 1908a, p. 42). Kroeber writes that this enumeration overestimates the Coast Miwok population and ignores the coastal villages north of Fort Ross (Kroeber, 1925, p. 237). Stewart cites the estimated aboriginal figure given by an elderly Indian as 800 and by an early white settler as 1,200 (Stewart, 1943, p. 51). Kniffen suggests a pre-white contact number of 550, or 90 families and houses, averaging 6 persons per household, in 15 villages, which amounts to 540 for the Southwestern group (Kniffen, 1939, pp. 388, 389). An estimate of 550 for the aboriginal population appears to be a reasonable figure.

Material Culture

Since the Southwestern Pomo lived partly in a redwood forest area, they made use of its products in their basic pattern of subsistence. The houses consisted of slabs of redwood bark and wood placed against a center pole to form a conical structure. The smoke hole was at the top of the cone (Gifford, MS; Kniffen, 1939, p. 386). The houses were small, being 8-12 feet in diameter and 6-8 feet in height (Barrett, 1916, p. 1). The small size of these coastal houses tended to limit house occupancy to the biological family group, in contrast with the extended family dwellings of the valley Pomo (Kniffen, 1939, p. 386; Gifford, MS). Barrett refers to long, wedge-shaped slab houses which existed "on the coast" at one time, but further data are lacking and it is not known if the Southwestern Pomo built this type of house (Barrett, 1916, p. 1).

Other structures important in the aboriginal life were the sweathouse (chap'acha) and the assembly or dance house (macha). The sweathouse, or men's house, was an earth-covered conical structure (Kostromitonov, 1839, p. 83; Gifford and Kroeber, 1937, p. 144; Gifford, MS). Laplace described the sweathouse used by the people at Fort Ross as semi-subterranean, 5 meters (16 feet) in diameter and one fourth as deep.

Laplace noted that the sweating was followed by the bathers scraping off perspiration with pieces of wood (Laplace, 1854, p. 153). The use of deerskin fire fans and a direct fire to induce perspiration is noted for the Southwestern Pomo (Gifford and Kroeber, 1937, p. 144). Laplace said that women were not permitted inside the sweathouse (Laplace, 1854, p. 153).

The dance house (macha) was semi-subterranean, with a center pole, tunnel entrance, and rear door (Gifford and Kroeber, 1937, p. 143). The aboriginal dance house has been described by Barrett as being 40-60 feet in diameter, with a subterranean tunnel 10-20 feet long, which made it the largest structure in the village (Barrett, 1916, pp. 11-16). The present above-ground dance house at Kashia is approximately 40 feet in diameter, with a board entrance passage 10 feet in length; hence the presumption that the predecessors were like those described by Barrett.

It is interesting that no Russian period observer mentions a dance house for the Southwestern Pomo. Marie James is quoted as saying that she was about eight years old (c. 1857) when the dance house at Metemi (Fort Ross) was built. Before then, she claimed, there were only open brush shelters constructed for a dance house. At the Haupt Ranch, where a group of Southwestern Pomo lived between 1870 and 1914, there were two earth-covered dance houses and a later board house built above ground

like the present one at Kashia. There was also said to have been a summer brush house for dances at the Haupt rancheria (Gifford, MS). Temporary brush houses were built for dwellings when the people were in their summer round of food gathering (Baer, 1839, p. 72; Kostromitonov, 1839, p. 83), hence brush shelters for dancing were probably also used.

Clothing for the Southwestern Pomo was simple. Women wore front and back skirts of deerskin. There were no basket hats, and women wore their hair long and loose (Gifford, MS) or gathered at the nape of the neck (Kostromitonov, 1839, p. 82). Men generally went naked or used a cape of deerskin in winter as protection against the cold (Kostromitonov, 1839, p. 82). They wore their hair tied at the neck (Gifford and Kroeber, 1937, p. 128) or tied on top of the head with a piece of wood (Kostromitonov, 1839, p. 82). No footgear was used (Kostromitonov, 1839, p. 82; Gifford, MS). Both men and women were tattooed, the men on the face and chest, the women on the chin (Kostromitonov, 1839, p. 81; Laplace, 1854, p. 146; Gifford, MS). The tattooing was done when the people were young (Gifford, MS). Baer and Laplace both mention the use of earrings, mostly of feathers, while Kostromitonov says both sexes wore eagle's foot bones in their ears (Baer, 1839, p. 76; Laplace, 1854, p. 160; Kostromitonov, 1839, p. 82). Blankets of bear and panther skins were preferred bedding (Gifford, MS). Men wove blankets of twisted rabbitskins (Gifford and Kroeber, 1937, p. 127; Gifford, MS).

There were no boats used along the coast (Gifford, MS), although there is evidence that the coastal Pomo made rafts of redwood logs in order to cross rivers or to venture into the ocean for shellfish on certain rocks (Barrett, 1908a, p. 24; 1952, I, p. 166; Kroeber, 1925, p. 243). The Southwestern Pomo used a basketry fish trap for taking fish;

they also employed a weir, fish spear, and harpoons (Gifford and Kroeber, 1937, pp. 133, 134; Kniffen, 1939, p. 386). Fishing nets were said to have been lacking (Gifford, MS).

There were no dogs anciently (Gifford, MS).

The basketry made by the Pomo is known as the finest in California. Both the coiling and twining techniques were employed. In contrast to the high development of basketry, the Pomo had no pottery, carving, or painting (Kroeber, 1925, p. 244). The Southwestern Pomo used the same materials as other groups did (i.e., hazel, willow, and roots) except for a greater use of bracken root (Gifford, MS). Men wove some of the plainer twined baskets, such as cradles or wood baskets (Gifford and Kroeber, 1937, p. 131; Gifford, MS). The opinion has been expressed that the basketry art did not develop as highly on the coast as it did among inland Pomo (Barrett, pers. communication). The art is nearly extinct among living Southwestern Pomo; very few fine baskets have survived because of the practice of burning them with the dead or destroying them at the death of the owner. Pomo basketry in general was analyzed by Barrett (1908b) and is discussed by Kroeber (1925, pp. 244-248).

The Pomo manufactured money and were the principal purveyors for it through central California (Kroeber, 1925, p. 248). The raw material of which money was made was clam shells. Loeb states that all Pomo had recourse to the chief source of supply at Bodega Bay, in Coast Miwok territory, where they could dig the clams without charge (Loeb, 1926, p. 177). Kniffen (1939, p. 387) states that the Southwestern Pomo gathered clams within their own area and did not visit Bodega Bay until modern times. The shells were broken and ground into discs, pierced, and strung. The clamshell currency (SWP kumu) varied in value; it averaged

a dollar a yard about seventy years ago. The Pomo counted beads rather than measuring them by length, as was the practice among most Californian tribes (Gifford, MS). Scarcer than clamshell money and more highly valued were cylinders of magnesite (kabe kis, rock red) which the Southwestern Pomo said they secured by trade from the east (Gifford, MS). This mineral was ground, baked, and polished, turning red or brown in the process. One piece observed by the writer, in the possession of a Southwestern Pomo woman, which was 2 1/16 inches long, was valued at 2,000 clamshell beads. Money was used to make payments for curing or was buried with the dead, so that there was little opportunity for inherited wealth. Informants stated that money was not needed for trading purposes because the coastal people had everything they needed and permitted people from the interior to come to the coast to gather their own seaweed, salt, and shellfish without making payment. Kniffen's informants stated that there was no trade with interior Pomo who came to the coast for sea products (Kniffen, 1939, p. 387).

Some villages appear to have been permanent ones. The Southwestern Pomo lived in wintertime in villages withdrawn from the ocean, but the necessities of obtaining food caused the population to move back and forth from the coast to the interior seasonally (Baer, 1839, p. 76; Barrett, 1908a, pp. 224-239; Kniffen, 1939, p. 385). The coastal sites were aboriginally camp sites. There was no private ownership of land or fishing sites, the rights going to the first arrival (Kniffen, 1939, p. 385). There was no highly developed system of property rights such as Gifford found among the Clear Lake Pomo (Gifford, 1923, pp. 77-92). Women did not claim exclusive gathering privileges for trees or fields (Gifford, MS).

As among other Pomo, hunting was accompanied by a series of taboos on the behavior of the hunter or members of his family. If the hunter failed to observe continence before going out, or if he went hunting while his wife was menstruating, something would go amiss (Gifford, MS). George James said that a pregnant women could not break deer bones and eat the marrow, lest bad luck come to the hunter. Further restrictions on the hunter occurred upon the birth of a baby. Hunting was done with bow and arrow (using a sinew-backed bow), by communal hunts, and by the deer disguise (Laplace, 1854, pp. 161-162; Kniffen, 1939, p. 387). Only men engaged in fishing; it was a tabooed activity for women (Gifford, MS). Fishing was accompanied by magic songs to bring good luck and by the observance of continence the night before salmon fishing (Gifford, MS). In addition to the fishing implements mentioned previously, the Indians used fish poisons: buckeye, soaproot, and manroot (Gifford, MS).

The Seasonal Round

The season for securing food determined in great part where the people would be located. In the autumn the women gathered huckleberries, acorns, and buckeyes in the mountain area. During the winter the Indians remained in the interior villages where foods were stored. Dances were held, the women made baskets, and the men prepared hunting equipment for the coming season. In the springtime the men left the villages for salmon fishing and the women to gather clover and roots; then all went to the coast for seafood, salt, and seaweed (Kniffen, 1939, p. 386). The men gathered the less accessible foods on distant rocks, while the women took the easier sources (Gifford, MS). This round of food gathering activity

of the Southwestern Pomo was described by Kostromitonov (1839, pp. 83-85), and as it appears to have been little affected by Russian contact, it is reproduced here from a translation.

> The season determines the place where they may find subsistence. In the spring they live near rivers and in well watered places, in order to catch fish, and gather roots and herbs. They spend the summer in the forests and the steppes where they collect berries and the seeds of wild plants. In the autumn they pile up stores of acorns, wild chestnuts [probably buckeyes, although wild chestnuts are also available], and sometimes also nuts; and shoot bisons [elk?] and wild goats [deer] with their arrows. The Indians' diet consists of everything they can find; large and small animals, shellfish, fish, lobsters, roots, herbs, berries and other products of nature, including even insects and worms. Some meat and fish are roasted, but the rest is usually eaten raw. Acorns, of which large stores are accumulated, are their staple food. The manner of preparation is as follows: after the acorns are picked from the trees, they are dried in the sun. Thereafter they are cleaned, transferred to baskets, and pulverized with specially shaped stones [mortar and pestle]. They are placed in a hole in the sand and covered with water, which is absorbed by the earth. This rinsing is repeated until all the peculiar bitter flavor has been removed. The mash is then cooked in a kettle into which glowing stones are thrown. However, if a sort of pancake or bread is to be made from the acorns, a coarser powder is made from them, and the mash is left in the hole for a while after the bitterness has been removed. A sort of dough is formed. This is shaped into cakes which are wrapped in large leaves, (either whole or cut into pieces), and baked on the coals. Chestnuts [buckeyes] are prepared in the same way, but are eaten only as mash and not as bread. The beginning of July is used for the more convenient gathering of acorns and seeds. [Acorns are later, usually November.]
>
> As soon as the acorn harvest is completed, the Indians begin the collection of the seeds of a certain plant [one of the tarweed family], which grows in large quantities on the plains. The appearance of the plant is as follows: it reaches a height of 1 1/2 to 2 feet. Several shoots sprout from the root. The leaves are narrow and long, and are covered with a fine fuzz. They have a peculiar smell and stick to the fingers. The flowers are yellow and grow in pointed clusters. The small black seeds are similar to latuk [Russian for lettuce]. They are shaken from the plant with specially made spades [basket beaters], dried, ground into flour and eaten dry. The taste is similar to that of burnt, dried, oatmeal. Wild rye, wild oats, and other grains are also collected and are eaten, after proper preparation, either dry or as sour mash.

Chestnut (1902, pp. 394-395) has given a complete description of the foods used by the Indians of Mendocino County which provides greater detail than the passage cited above.

As Kostromitonov justly observed, acorns were the "staff of life" for the coastal Pomo, but they made use of nearly every edible in their environment. A variant on acorn preparation was a mush made of moldy acorns (Gifford, MS). Animals and birds stated not to have been used by the Southwestern Pomo were sea lions, seals, whales, lizards, toads, frogs, owls, vultures, hawks, and crows (Gifford, MS). No reason has been given for not eating sea lions, seals, and whales, while the others listed were definitely taboo.

Although the practice is now abandoned, the gathering of seeds once provided an important source of food. Women gathered seeds, using a basketry beater and burden basket (Baer, 1839, p. 68). The meal made from seeds has been given the Spanish term "pinole." It was significant in the diet until pasturing cattle and sheep consumed the grass and made a change in food habits necessary. Fields were burned every few years to assure a renewed crop of oats and other grass crops (Kniffen, 1939, p. 388). Early visitors to the area refer to this practice of burning (Golovin, MS, p. 87; Ernest Rufus in Anonymous, 1880, p. 368). Powers noted wild oat harvesting as late as 1872 among the Cuniala (Southwestern) Pomo (Powers, 1877, p. 187). The chaff was removed by passing burning wood over the oats which were then pounded into flour and eaten dry or pressed into cakes. Salt was obtained at certain coastal deposits, such as that at Salt Point Ranch, and also from kelp or seaweed. A drink made of crushed manzanita berries and water was used (Gifford, MS; Kniffen, 1939, p. 388).

A native tobacco (kawa kale), probably Nicotiana bigelovii, was gathered by the men in summer and dried for later use. This was smoked

in straight wooden pipes by the men. Herman James cited an instance when his grandmother made a tobacco offering in the fire (Gifford, MS).

In the aboriginal period food was eaten at any time of day, but there were always two scheduled meals. One meal was in the early morning before the day's work began; the second was in the evening when all the family gathered. Mussel-shell spoons were used by the men and women (Gifford, MS). Communal eating was an important part of ceremonial life for most Pomo groups, and Barrett states that feasts were an occasion when all members of the community contributed foods, collaborated in their preparation, and ate together. Barrett commented also that among the Pomo feasts were given if a sick relative recovered, or as part of the treatment (Barrett, 1952, I, p. 64). It is assumed that this custom was observed aboriginally by the Southwestern Pomo, since feasting is part of the present day Bole-Maru cult.

Social Organization

Information about social organization among the Southwestern Pomo is scant and subject to probable distortion because of the effect of contact. Most Southwestern Pomo living today have a tradition that they had only one chief (noponopo) over all the tribe (Stewart, 1943, p. 49, Gifford, MS). Stewart (1943, p. 50) found evidence that in the Russian period there was more than one chief at a time, and Kostromitonov (1839, p.86) states that the larger settlements had several toyons (chiefs). It seems probable that the Southwestern Pomo had a chief for each village, based on the kinship grouping, as Kostromitonov reported: "The one who has the most relatives is acknowledged as head or toyon" (Kostromitonov, 1839, p. 86). The earliest named chief remembered by informants was Toyon (the Russian

term for a native administrator, used throughout Russian-America). Tebanu, his son, was followed by Sem Ross. The adoption of a single chief gives evidence of the effect of the Russian centralization of authority. An assistant chief for administration is recorded aboriginally for the Southwestern Pomo (Gifford and Kroeber, 1937, p. 154). Another official was the ceremonial fire tender and door watchman (howa madja) who carried the message sticks for the chief to other villages to announce the date for a ceremony or the number of days for a dance. The office of fire tender was held for life and passed from father to son (Gifford, MS).

The chief had advisory rather than governing power. Again, Kostromitinov (1839, p. 86) reports that these chiefs did not have the right to command or to punish disobedience. The chief publicly lectured the people on their behavior and duties. Gifford's informants in 1950 knew of no women chiefs or of a title for the chief's wife (Gifford, MS). Whether the office of chief descended through the female line, that is, from a man to his sister's son, as posited by Barrett (1908a, p. 15) for the Pomo, is not clear. Gifford (1922, p. 256) shows that cross-cousin marriage and patrilineal institutions evidence close correlation in California kinship systems. The restriction on cross-cousin marriage among the Southwestern Pomo does not necessarily indicate a tendency toward matrilineal reckoning, as other data to support this are lacking.

Life Crises

As among other branches of the Pomo, the crises of life were surrounded by ritual practices to control the dangerous power provoked by the event. One of these major events was birth. Among the Southwestern Pomo

a separate childbirth hut was built by the prospective father. A relative (grandfather, father, or uncle) made the baby cradle which was of the sitting type. The mother spent four weeks in the hut, and after she was "baked" over the fire pit in the hut, she resumed her household duties. During this four-week period, the new father could not hunt or fish, although he could procure wood and water. The restrictions on the father were reduced to a one-week period for subsequent children. Two days after the birth, the maternal grandmother pierced the infant's ears. After the navel cord dropped off, it was put in a basket and tied in a tree. It was believed that if the tree died before these objects disintegrated, bad luck would come to the child (Gifford, MS). Infanticide was admittedly practiced aboriginally, but abortion was denied. Informants also denied that twin births were treated differently from single births (Gifford, MS).

Among the Southwestern Pomo the newborn child was given a name by either the mother's or the father's relatives. Sometimes it was the name of a grandmother, other times of a maternal or paternal aunt for a girl, or of male relatives of either side for a boy. Often a living relative gave his own name. These names belonged in the family and were not publicly used. Relatives employed terms of relationship in direct address or in reference to one another. These terms distinguish between older and younger sister, older and younger brother, and older and younger aunt or uncle. (See Gifford, 1922, pp. 111-113, for kinship terminology.) Nicknames were much used, as they are today among the Southwestern Pomo. Reluctance to divulge real names appears to have been due to fear of witchcraft; also it was considered more respectful to use relationship terms where applicable.

Puberty among girls, as in aboriginal California generally, evoked

a number of taboos. The pubescent girl was kept in a menstrual hut (later the house) for a month. She was led to the toilet by a woman relative, and her head was covered with a basket. She used a wooden scratching stick, and had her face washed and hair combed by another woman, usually her mother. No animal skins could be used as bedding--only woven mats. During first menstruation and for an additional month, the girl was not permitted to eat meat or fish. A shaman sang over her to remove the taboos on animal foods before she could resume eating them. This ceremony was followed by a feast, but without dancing. For a year the pubescent girl could not harvest foods, lest she spoil the crops. A girl who broke the menstrual taboos might be turned to stone, like the traditional rock in the Southwestern Pomo territory (Gifford, MS). Later menstrual periods entailed disabilities for a woman and for her husband. She could not eat meat or fish during her periods, nor could the husband hunt or gamble. A woman in catamenia could not cook for anyone; nor could she feed a boy child, lest he die of gas swelling. The menstruating woman was thought to have dangerous power which only proper observance of the ritual taboos could control (Gifford, MS).

Marriage was an agreement entered into by the man and woman and was accompanied by an exchange of gifts such as baskets or beads. As more was given by the groom's family, this amounted to a degree of wife-purchase (Gifford, MS). There was no religious sanction given to the marriage. Persons from the same or neighboring communities might marry, but they must not be closely related on either the mother's or father's side. Cousin-marriage was not permitted. The levirate and sororate were practiced after the death of a spouse. The existence of the levirate and sororate is indicated in the kinship terminology, for the term for

stepfather (djigin) is the same as that for father's younger brother, while the term for stepmother (cigin) is the same as that for mother's younger sister (Gifford, 1922, p. 112). The prohibition against marriage to either parallel or cross cousins is in line with kinship terms, since the Southwestern Pomo use sibling terms for both types of cousins, based on the ages of the connecting parents (Gifford, 1922, p. 162). Virginity on the part of the girl at marriage was not considered important; strict sexual mores seem not to have been observed among the Southwestern Pomo. Extra-marital affairs may account for the traditional high divorce rate among the Southwestern Pomo.

Post nuptial residence was matrilocal, but the couple might move to the bridegroom's settlement after several years. Gifford's informants earlier denied the existence of a mother-in-law taboo (Gifford, 1922, p. 258; Gifford and Kroeber, 1937, p. 149). Different informants questioned in 1950 said a limited form of parent-in-law avoidance had been practiced, in that a man did not ask a mother-in-law or daughter-in-law to cook for him, and a man and his mother-in-law did not converse (Gifford, MS). Polygyny was denied by Gifford's Southwestern Pomo informants in 1950 (Gifford, MS). However, polygyny did exist among the Coast Central and one of the two Southern Pomo villages from the element list (Gifford and Kroeber, 1937, p. 149), and kinship terminology recorded for the Southwestern Pomo reveals a special term for a co-wife (Gifford, 1922, p. 176). Kostromitonov (1839, p. 88) noted that public mockery, presumably by the Russians, caused the custom of two wives to be abandoned. This custom was said to have been the privilege of chiefs only. Apparently contact with European culture caused an early abandonment of the practice of plural wives. Laplace (1854, p. 154) commented on the existence of the

berdache among the Southwestern Pomo at Fort Ross, where several young men dressed as women and fulfilled those roles. Kostromitonov (1839, p. 88) also noted that men prostituted themselves instead of women.

Following a disagreement between the two parties, divorce was easily obtained, but it is difficult to say how often it was resorted to in earlier times. Kostromitonov's observation indicates that divorce was as common in the early period as it is today.

> . . . If a quarrel arises between married people, they separate without further ado. If it is only a quarrel of words, they are sometimes reconciled; but if it goes as far as actions a reconciliation is seldom achieved. The children stay with the mother, but the father does not lose his attachment to them [Kostromitonov, 1839, p. 87].

Divorce was nearly always followed by marriage to other persons.

Death was another life crisis which evoked a strong emotional reaction and many ritual observances. Kostromitonov (1839, p. 88) leaves a record of his observation:

> . . . The dead are cremated. The whole family gathers around the pyre and all manifest their grief by lamenting and howling. The nearest relatives cut their hair and drop it into the fire while pounding their chests with stones and throwing themselves to the ground with frenzy. Sometimes, out of a particular attachment to the deceased, they strike their bodies until blood comes or even smash themselves to death. However, these cases are infrequent. The most valued possessions of the dead are cremated together with the body.

The widow did not put pitch on her face, but she did cut her hair, as the above passage indicates (Gifford, MS). In the aboriginal period the dwelling hut was burned after a death and a new one built nearby (Gifford, MS). Personal property was destroyed or given away after the death, but it was not burned. The person in charge of the cremation of the corpse

had to be in retreat for four days thereafter (Gifford, MS). This sounds like ritual uncleanliness as described by Loeb for the Central Coast Pomo, but details are lacking (Loeb, 1926, p. 295).

Religion

Gifford's informants in 1937 and 1950 denied the existence of any mourning ceremony or memorial service among the Southwestern Pomo (Gifford and Kroeber, 1937, p. 153; Gifford, MS). However, the existence of the custom among the Central Coast Pomo, one village of the Southern Pomo (Gifford and Kroeber, 1937, p. 153), and recorded by Loeb (1932, p. 115) among the Coast Miwok indicates the possibility that the custom lapsed rather than that it was non-existent among the Southwestern Pomo. It seems likely that this group transmitted the trait to the Central Coast Pomo from the Miwok to the south. There is, moreover, the evidence of the ceremonies described by Kostromitonov which bear a close resemblance to the mourning ceremony of the Coast Miwok and Central Coast Pomo recorded by Loeb (1926, p. 294, and 1932, p. 115). The practice of self-mutilation among the Coast Miwok was observed by Sir Francis Drake and his men (Drake, 1854, pp. 123, 129; Heizer, 1947, pp. 285-286).

Kostromitonov (1839, pp. 88-89) gave the following description of the ceremonies which he witnessed:

> Every year a celebration is held in commemoration of the dead, most frequently in February as has been noted. The ceremony develops as follows: Ten or more men, according to the size of the settlement, are chosen for the performance. These men must first purify themselves by fasting, and for several days they actually eat extremely little, especially no meat at all. After this preparation, the performers disguise themselves on the eve of the celebration in a barabara [winter house] assigned to them for that purpose. They smear their bodies with soot and various dyes and adorn them with feathers and grass blades. After that

> they sing and dance until nightfall. Then they enter the forest where they run about singing and carrying torches, whereupon they return to the barabara to spend the whole night there with songs, dances and weird body movements. The following day and night are spent in the same manner. The third morning, however, they betake themselves to the relatives of the departed who await them in their barabaras, and after receiving them in a proper manner, raise loud lamentations. The old women scratch their faces and beat their breasts with stones. The relations of the dead believe firmly that they are seeing their departed loved ones instead of the performers. During this ceremony the whole settlement observes the strictest abstinence from food. Sometimes meat is not eaten till much later.
>
> Because of the reluctance of the Indians to answer the questions they were asked with reference to this celebration, it was impossible to find out more details about it.

Lest it be thought that Kostromitonov was describing the Coast Miwok, who were also under Russian domination, reference should be made to his assertion (1839, p. 80) that by 1822 the villages on the Bodega shore lost their inhabitants from epidemics or emigration, so that the Indians under his observation were more likely to have been Southwestern Pomo around Fort Ross. It is entirely possible that the migrating Coast Miwok carried some of their customs with them, but the cooperation of the people implies a familiarity with the practices above described.

Warfare was said to have been due mainly to avenge the witchcraft suspected of a neighboring community, although an example was given to Loeb of a war waged by the Coast Central Pomo on Danaga, a village at Stewart's Point, because a chief had been publicly humiliated by the Danaga people (Loeb, 1926, pp. 210-211). These wars were in the nature of feuds. The war party painted the face and body red and black, sang war songs for magic power, and then went on a surprise raid. No scalps or heads were taken. Peace was made between feuding families (Gifford, MS). Kostromitonov (1839, p. 89) remarked on the peaceable nature of the Indians and said that they went to war only in numbers and were satisfied with shooting

a few arrows.

The Southwestern Pomo believed in a creator, who was Coyote, to judge from the abbreviated myth given by Kostromitonov and from other informants (Gifford, MS). This creator had given his power to other spirits so he "can do neither harm nor good now." This coyote creator made man and woman (Kostromitonov, 1839, p. 93; Gifford, MS).

The Pomo attributed sickness or misfortune to the breaking of taboos or to the work of an enemy. The Southwestern Pomo believed in human type spirits who represented dangerous power: hamoko, a forest being who led people astray; chuyedac,* who punished people for breaking birth taboos; and kavas, a supernatural being who had a paralyzing effect and whom the individual saw while in bed (Gifford, MS). Sacred power, or mana, was present in sacred outfits, songs, or objects, and could be transferred from one person to another. Thus, an albino mole skin brought luck in gambling, and a pelican feather (kaidu) was carried as a preventive of rattlesnake bite (Gifford, MS). Menstruating women contaminated and counteracted mana.

The Southwestern Pomo believed that illness or death could be caused by the malevolent power of others. This was called poisoning (baci). It was believed that a person could arrange a death by various means--for example, by contact or by the use of exuviae of the intended victim. Even the shadow of a "poison man" was dangerous to the victim. A person who prepared himself as a poisoner could not eat meat, fish, or salt; if he did so, he would lose his power. People who would not eat were suspect. Feuds arose between families or villages because of the

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* C not followed by h pronounced as sh.

belief in witchcraft. A shaman was summoned to attempt a cure or to wreak revenge for a death thought to have been due to witchcraft (Gifford, MS).

The Southwestern Pomo believed in the ability of people to change into bears for the purpose of killing others or to secure unusual power of locomotion. They believed in the idea that some shamans might turn into bears instead of wearing a disguise. A bear doctor had to be shot four times (Gifford, MS). Further details on this practice are lacking. (Barrett, 1917b, gives a detailed account of bear doctors among the Eastern Pomo.)

The aboriginal religious ceremonies of the Pomo have been separated into two sequences, the ghost society and the Kuksu cult (Gifford and Kroeber, 1937, pp. 160-163). It is significant that in the years of contact between Russians and Indians very little of the native religious systems of beliefs was communicated to the representatives of the occupying power. For example, Kostromitonov (1839, p. 94), careful observer as he was of the material culture and overt aspects of behavior, noted of the Indians: "They have no religious customs." He stated further that the Indians were unwilling to disclose their secrets to strangers, under the conviction that death would follow. No account of the Russian period gives evidence of the existence of secret societies among the Pomo, except an oblique reference to the possibility of a cult of some type in connection with the wizard or shaman (Kostromitonov, 1839, p. 93, fn.). However, visiting Russian scientists obtained dance outfits which were apparently part of the secret society's rites.*

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*Henry Field, touring the Institute of Ethnography in Leningrad in 1946, noted collections from peoples of former Russian colonies, especially those gathered by the Russian naturalist, I.G. Voznesenskii, who visited Ross Colony in 1841. Field commented of this museum collection:

Thirty years later Powers observed some of the ritual of the religious ceremonies, but misinterpreted their significance as a method of keeping the women subjugated. The esoteric rites and initiation of members were not expounded at that time. Indeed, although Powers was present at Clear Lake at the beginning of the Ghost Dance religion, he was not aware that it represented a new departure for Californian Indians (Powers, 1877, p. 209).

These early ethnographic accounts exemplify the difficulties which an outside observer has in perceiving and recording the covert forms of culture such as religion and beliefs represent. The exposition of Pomo religious cosmology required painstaking inquiry, and at a time when the rites had ceased to be an operative part of the culture.

Loeb states that of the two religious systems, the ghost religion and the Kuksu cult, the ghost religion was more ancient, featuring the bull roarer, the subterranean dance house, and the foot drum in connection with the return of the dead and initiation of novices (Loeb, 1926, p. 338). Women were excluded from the ghost society, and were not supposed to know the identity of the ghosts (SWP putsi). Loeb cites the death and resurrection ceremonies, wherein the victim was "stabbed" with a spear or "shot" with arrows, as being part of the ghost religion. He states that the ceremonies recorded by Powers (1877, pp. 180, 194) among the Gallinomero

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----"Of great value are two feather garments and a number of articles referring to the rites of the secret societies of the Pomo, Wintun and others. These articles were brought in 1839 from California just before the sale of Ross settlement and not long before the beginning of the gold fever" (Field, 1946, p. 386). A letter written by this observer to the Institute of Ethnography has just brought a reply to the effect that some of Voznesenski's collection is to be reproduced in the forthcoming publication Proceedings of the Anthropology and Ethnography Museum of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. A publication of the Museum shows a picture of one of these feather garments.

and Southwestern Pomo were also part of the ghost religion (Loeb, 1926, p. 351). Barrett, too, identifies the "devil dance" of the Qualala noted by Powers as part of the ghost religion secret society (Barrett, 1917a, p. 405).

There is the possibility, however, that the Southwestern Pomo had no ghost society or connected observances. Gifford's informants in 1950 denied the existence of such a cult, citing the Kuksu religion only as the aboriginal one. They denied also that the Southwestern Pomo knew or used the bull roarer (Gifford, MS). The Makahmo village of Southern Pomo also denied the presence of the ghost secret society (Gifford and Kroeber, 1937, p. 160). It is, however, equally possible that knowledge of the ghost religion secret society had been lost by the mid-twentieth century. Gifford's 1950 informants were mainly three old women and the son of one old woman who drew upon her recollections of the past. Since women were not members of the ghost society nor could they witness the ceremonies, these informants may not have known of the ghost religion practices. Ethnological data indicate that an observance of ghost ceremonies is to be found among all neighbors of the Southwestern Pomo: the Central Coast Pomo (Loeb, 1926, p. 338 ff.), the Southern Pomo (Loeb, 1932, p. 102), the Makahmo village of Southern Pomo (Gifford and Kroeber, 1937, p. 160), and the Coast Miwok (Loeb, 1932, p. 115). The Coast Miwok limited the ghost ceremony to a tribal initiation for boys and did not incorporate it into a secret society (Loeb, 1932, p. 115). Kroeber's analysis of Pomo culture indicated a 95 per cent correlation of elements of culture of any Pomo group with its neighboring communities because of the high consistency of Pomo culture as a whole (Gifford and Kroeber, 1937, p. 246). This makes it more likely that the presumably ancient and established ghost society would have been present among the Southwestern Pomo.

Finally, the passage from Kostromitonov quoted in connection with the mourning rites for the dead gives evidence of observances in which the ghosts of the dead enter on the last day of the ceremonies. This sounds like a combination of the mourning ceremony as employed by the Coast Miwok and the ghost initiation of the Pomo. Loeb states (1932, p. 117, fn.): "The Eastern and Northern Pomo had a return of the dead ceremony on the last day of the Ghost initiation ceremony. I believe that this feature was diffused from the Coast Miwok to the Pomo, for the Miwok, being situated to the south, made greater use of memorial ceremonies in general." Kostromitonov's description (1839, pp. 88-89) of the wearing of paint on the body, the carrying of torches, restrictions on eating, and impersonation of the dead, all closely resemble the features of the ghost ceremony for the Eastern Pomo described by Barrett (1917a, pp. 422-423).

Considering the presence of the ghost religion among all other language divisions of the Pomo, it seems likely that there was a failure in the transmission of cultural practices. The possibility that the ghost religion existed among the Southwestern Pomo appears stronger than that it never existed among them.

Evidence from informants places the existence of the Kuksu cult on firmer ground. Gifford recorded that members of the cult were called yonta and that all of them were shamans. The impersonation of Kuksu was carried on in the dance house. The impersonator was said to have been naked and to have run around the dance house with a bow and arrow in his hands. The death and resurrection ceremony described by informants, presumably as part of the Kuksu cult, was the achacholi (the person shot). A man stood behind a screen with only his abdomen, on which down feathers were glued, exposed. This person was shot with bow and arrows by a shooting

yomta (achachayomta). The feathers became bloody when the victim was shot. The yomta who shot the victim worked on him, revived him, and thereafter no wound was to be seen (Gifford, MS). There was said to be no grizzly bear impersonation, no shalnis partner, and no thunder ceremony (Gifford, MS).

The accounts of the Kuksu cult among the Southwestern Pomo are fragmentary, and it would be necessary to read the fuller accounts of Loeb (1926, 1932) or Barrett (1917a) to follow the development of these esoteric rites. Loeb cited two specifically Southwestern Pomo ceremonies of the Kuksu cycle; one was a symbolic cutting initiation of novices, called djaukau djaukau or "cut cut"; the other was a type of death and resurrection ceremony for the making of chiefs, called djok djok (Loeb, 1926, pp. 361-363). There was no school for initiates among the Southwestern Pomo (Gifford and Kroeber, 1937, p. 162; Gifford, MS).

All members of the secret society (yomta) were shamans who used outfit objects with magic curative power. There is a tradition as well of sucking doctors (dukadatu), who might be women, and who acquired power by visions. The disease objects were animate--such as a worm, a stone, or a fish. These might be sucked out without cutting. Loeb (1926, p. 127) stated that the outfit doctor among the Pomo made vows for the patient to fulfill upon recovery, especially the giving of a feast. This custom of feast giving continued even with the maru (ghost dance) cult of doctoring. Loeb reported that it was believed that generous payments insured recovery. There is no reason to believe that these practices existed aboriginally among the Southwestern Pomo because of their observance in the dreamer or Bole-Maru curing in recent years.

Ceremonies and Games

A first-fruits ceremony seems to have become part of the Kuksu cult of the Southwestern Pomo. This was observed for salmon, acorns, and strawberries, and was in the nature of a common feast before the crop was harvested. Acorns and huckleberries could be eaten before the feast was held, but not strawberries (Gifford, MS). It is interesting that the picnic before the strawberry season has been revived in the dreamer religion and is observed at Kashia even today (1953). The absorption of the first-fruits ceremony into the Kuksu cult was noted among the Southern Pomo (Loeb, 1932, p. 104).

Listed by informants as old time dances were the toto (common dance), lehuye (feather), kilak (eagle), and oho (fire) (Gifford, MS). However, earlier information indicates that these dances were introduced among the Southwestern Pomo (from a probable Wappo source) after the 1872 visit of the Southwestern Pomo to Lake County (Du Bois, 1939, pp. 99, 100). Hence they are not really "old time" among the Pomo. Others said to be ancient were the lole ko'o (crazy dance), which was danced in the spring in the dance house, the women wearing floral headbands and the men carrying long sticks; the djane ko'o (feather dance), a women's dance, held any time of the year; the cukin (bear) dance; and the yukac ko'o (clown dance), which was held in the dance house or the summer brush dance house. The toto was danced both indoors and outdoors in summer and for the acorn harvest in the autumn. The women wore the flicker feather headband in the toto dance and danced with hands clenched. Generally, women carried nothing in their hands in the dances. The kilak was said to have been danced by men only. They were painted with white and black horizontal stripes on face and breast, but they wore no feathers (Gifford, MS). The feather

apron worn in most dances was called the ecetu. Dances proceeded counter-clockwise, and then the dancers danced in the four directions (Gifford, MS).

Musical instruments used in connection with the dances were the foot drum (batem), the split-stick clapper, and the double whistle of bone and more recently of elder. The six-holed flute of elder (lolo) was played by men for pleasure, but it was not used in the dances (Gifford, MS).

No account of Southwestern Pomo aboriginal life could be concluded without reference to their games and pastimes, for the early accounts emphasize how devoted the people were to these activities. Gambling was a favorite sport, and earlier reports from the Russian period and those by Powers describe the hand or grass game (achuse), which was played with marked and unmarked deer bones. There were other gambling games, such as the six split-stick dice used by women. Other games, such as the popular shinny game (pikopiyu) and the hoop and pole (pililichaka), might have wagers laid on them (Gifford, MS). The shinny game was played by the Southwestern Pomo at Metcni and at Haupt Ranch and was enjoyed until the people moved to Kashia Reservation in 1918. Powers (1877, p. 189) witnessed the game being played at the Haupt Ranch. It was primarily a men's game, but women often joined in. There were eight players with shinny sticks, and eight with netted sticks. A pepperwood burl ball was struck back and forth over a 100-yard field, but could not be touched with the hands or feet. An umpire (mameta) held the stakes and controlled the twelve counters which kept score (Gifford, MS). In the hoop and pole game, the player tried to throw an eight-foot stick through a hoop. Other games included a women's game of jackstones in which acorns were used; the

with them have been lost through disuse and changed local conditions.

The cultural position of the Southwestern Pomo prior to Caucasian contact has been defined from two different approaches. Gifford, on the basis of the kinship system, posited the Southwestern Pomo as peripheral to Central Californian culture. He placed them in the Central Californian Mountain culture area, pointing out that although the Southwestern Pomo shared 70 per cent of its items of culture with the Southern Pomo, it also shared 65 per cent with the distant Kawaliisu and Northern Diegueño of the Hokan language family (Gifford, 1922, p. 209). In the kinship terminology, Gifford found Penutian influence, presumably through the Coast and Lake Miwok, least operative among the Southwestern of all Pomo branches. To Gifford, the distinct and different development of the Southwestern Pomo kinship system can be attributed to its isolated position geographically, which he hypothesizes may have preserved the original Hokan kinship system, as indicated by the high degree of correlation with distant members of the Hokan language family (Gifford, 1922, p. 209).

Kroeber analyzed the culture element list of sixteen Pomo communities, including that of Metemi, a Southwestern Pomo village. On the basis of comparative data, Kroeber identified the Southwestern Pomo as but a coastal variant of Southern Pomo. He suggested that the dialectic division was arbitrarily made, and that on the scoring by individual culture items the Southwestern Pomo most closely resembled two villages of the neighboring Southern Pomo (Gifford and Kroeber, 1937, p. 242). There is evidence to indicate that the coastal Pomo culture was not as highly developed in significant aspects as the interior Pomo cultures because of more widely distributed food resources available and the scantier population of the coast.

Comparison of the culture element lists evidenced a connection between the southern coastal Pomo and the Lake Miwok, which Kroeber states was undoubtedly explained by cultural interchange of the Southwestern Pomo and the now extinct Coast Miwok (Gifford and Kroeber, 1937, p. 244). The coastal environment of both groups made such interchange more likely.

It appears that the acculturation process was operative among the Southwestern Pomo even in the aboriginal period. While the kinship remained unaffected by contact with the Penutian Miwok, other items of culture, such as the mourning ceremony or material culture traits, diffused to the Pomo group, possibly by marriages between the two areas. Because of the constant interplay between neighboring Pomo groups, there was a tendency toward uniformity of practices and items of culture. This makes any speculation concerning acculturation in the pre-contact period extremely hypothetical. Contact of two civilizations of completely different traditions provides a problem of greater interest in consideration of the processes of culture change.

acorn as a buzzer toy, a children's game with hazelnuts or acorns (telema) which were thrown to strike those of an opponent; and cat's cradle (Gifford, MS).

Personality

Children were disciplined by being threatened that the owl (a dangerous and taboo bird) might get them, or that the featherman (walepu) who traveled at night and made a whistling song, would take them. Good behavior was inculcated by reference to external factors, such as generosity to strangers lest they practice witchcraft against one, and observance of ritual lest harm befall the individual. Of the type of personality formed in this environment, Kostromitonov (1839, p. 95) made the following observation:

> Simplicity and good nature are the main character traits of the Indians. Theft and murder hardly ever occur among them. If one does not provoke or insult them one can be completely sure of them. However, this is due more to fearfulness than to pure trustworthiness.

Summary

This chapter has summarized the material and social culture of the Southwestern Pomo as it appears to have been in the aboriginal period. It is not always easy to ascertain the native way of life because of the effect of culture contact and the reduction in numbers. Information about some aspects of the culture, such as the religious systems, is sketchy and probably unrecoverable. New traits, such as the post-1872 dances imported from the Wappo, were soon regarded as traditional usage by the younger generation. Other traits of culture and the attitudes connected

CHAPTER III

THE RUSSIAN SETTLEMENT: FIRST CONTACT OF CULTURES

From all historical evidence and by oral tradition, the Southwestern Pomo had their first contact with European culture upon the establishment of a settlement in California by the Russian American Company in the year 1811. Prior to that time the Indians became aware of the Spanish settlement of Upper California, more particularly Mission Dolores at San Francisco, by the expeditions sent out in the upper bay area to retrieve fugitives from the mission or to secure new converts for the missions at San Francisco, San Jose, and Santa Clara. From the mission records examined by Cook, it appears that these expeditions in the coastal area went no farther north than the villages of the Coast Miwok of Tomales Bay and north to Bodega (Cook, 1943a, p. 77).

To the Southwestern Pomo, the presence of Spaniards in California meant the danger of capture and removal to the missions, concerning which they may have heard from escaped neophytes among their congeners. There is no record that any of the Southwestern Pomo were removed to the missions. In view of the fate of the missionized Indians of upper and lower California, especially following secularization, it appears that this group owes its survival to relative inaccessibility from Spanish California.

In order to evaluate the effect which Russian occupation had upon the natives of the area, it is essential to distinguish the motives and methods employed by them from those of the Spanish authorities.

Spanish Policy Toward Aborigines

The Spanish settlement of Upper California meant to the natives the mission system, with its strict limitations upon physical and spatial freedom. Although the aims of the Franciscan fathers were avowedly altruistic, in that they sought through gentle persuasion to convert the souls of the gentiles and induct them gradually into civilization, the actual operation of the mission system often entailed forcible conversion and labor conditions which were destructive of the Indians' health and welfare.

The missionaries locked up the unmarried young Indians to guard against sexual immorality, which they had undertaken to control. However, the combination of crowded and unsanitary housing with epidemic or communicable diseases, inevitably resulted in a very high death rate among missionized Indians. Measles, syphilis, tuberculosis, and forms of dysentery took heavy tolls from the massed groups of non-immune Indians.*

Whereas early in the contact situation the Spanish missionaries had permitted only voluntary conversion, the necessity of maintaining

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*A detailed study of disease incidence among mission Indians is given by Cook, 1943a, p. 13 ff.

mission activities entailed securing converts from greater distances to replace those who had died. To effect this, the missionaries used the troops of the Spanish government, or armed converts from the mission. These raiding expeditions cost lives, especially among the gentiles, and created much hostility. This practice was noted by early travelers to California, who commented upon it (Chamisso, in Mahr, 1932, p. 82; Duhaut-Cilly, 1835, II, p. 107; Golovin, MS-1, p. 86; Kotzebue, 1830, II, pp. 109, 141; also Cook, 1943a, pp. 74-81). Under the mission theory of civilizing the aborigines, after a ten-year period of training at the mission, the Indians were to be given land and equipment for individual farming. This program turned out to be a dismal failure even in the period before secularization ended mission control of lands (Duhaut-Cilly, 1835, II, pp. 177-178).

At the mission, the Indians were to be provided with food, clothing and instruction in exchange for surrendering their freedom. Both food and clothing were produced by the neophytes themselves under the direction of the priests. As the Indians had no tradition of continuous labor toward the goal of food production for the common good, it was probably inevitable that labor had to be performed under duress. The Indians, who had a tradition of periods of hard labor alternating with indolence, found this effort tiresome and attempted to avoid it by non-cooperation or by flight. The latter led to recapture, corporal punishment and virtual peonage.

Until the missions were secularized in 1834, the missionized Indians had to accept these limitations upon their activities or flee. As already mentioned, escape was usually followed by military expeditions to recover the apostates or to replace them, with resultant hostility

between the aborigines and the Spanish authorities.

Russian Colonization

In contrast to the Spaniards, the Russians were neither missionaries nor colonists but were, instead, employees of a Russian chartered company which had come to California for commercial reasons. The natives' known hostility to the Spanish authorities could be turned to advantage if the Indians could be convinced that the Russians were preferable as an occupying power and as neighbors. This aspect of settlement was important because the Russian company occupied the land without the consent of the Spanish authorities and despite the ineffectual protests of the Spaniards. The Russians could not afford to have an unfriendly local population which might give assistance to any military expedition sent by the Spanish authorities to oust them from the country.

The accounts of the Russian American Company and other records show that the friendly relations existing between the aborigines and the company employees were due not only to the peaceable nature of the natives, but also to a deliberate and carefully maintained company policy of dealing fairly and justly with the natives. The official policy is stated in the rules and regulations governing the Russian American Company, entitled "Matters Related to Peoples Inhabiting the Coasts of America where the Company has its Colonies."

> Art. 57. Since the main object of the Company is hunting of land and marine animals, and since therefore there is no need for the Company to extend its sway into the interior of the lands on whose shores it carries on its hunting, the Company should make no efforts at conquest of the peoples inhabiting those shores. Therefore, if the Company should find it to their advantage, and for safety of their trade, to establish factories in certain localities of the American coast, they must do so with the consent of the natives, and use only such means as would help retain their good will, avoiding everything that may arouse their suspicion about encroachment on the independence.
>
> Art. 58. The Company is forbidden from demanding from these peoples any kind of tribute, tax, fur-tribute, etc. Also in peace time, the Company are not to take any captives as long as they are given hostages from these peoples according to the existing custom. These hostages must be kept in decent conditions, and the authorities must see to it that they are not offended in any way (Tikhmenff MS, pp. 557-558).

The regulations in Article 58 were employed in the conflict between the Company and the Koloshi (Tlingit) of the Northwest Coast. Aside from sporadic killing of livestock, there is no record of any aggressive act being committed by the Californian Indians against the Russians, hence no need of hostages.

The representatives of the Russian American Company also made a token payment to the natives for the sites of the new establishments at Bodega and Ross. For Ross, they were said to have given "three blankets, three pair of trousers, glass beads, two axes and three pickaxes" to the chief, Pnnac (Payeras, MS, p. 429). An official of the company cited purchase and possession as justification for the Russian claims:

> Aside from the right of first occupation the justice of our claim to this locality is strengthened by the fact, that it was purchased from the native inhabitants and that we have had peaceable undisputed possession for over twelve years (Kolebnikof MS, p. 257).

Friendship with the natives was useful political propaganda to support

claims of occupancy and to cover possible future expansion of the colony.

The development of Ross Colony has been the subject of intensive investigation in its historic and economic aspects. Although information concerning the natives was recorded by administrators of the colony and travelers of the era, no study has concerned itself primarily with the effect of Russian culture contact upon the natives.*

The colony was established by the Russian American Company primarily as a base for the pursuit of the sea otter, and secondarily as a source of foodstuffs for the colonies in Alaska, which suffered from a lack of cereals for the European and Creole employees (Khlebnikof, MS, p. 203; Tikhmeneff, MS, p. 268). Previous hunting expeditions along the California coast had familiarized the Russians with available harbors north of the Spanish settlements. Spain had strict laws against commerce with foreign ships by Californians, but the Spanish authorities were powerless to prevent the depredations of the Russians and Anglo-American ships in the pursuit of sea otter along the California coast. The usual method of hunting sea otter, whether in Alaskan or Californian waters, was the sending of a party of five to fifteen Aleuts, each in a skin bidarka, to harpoon the curious sea otter which swam about the boats. If the animals were caught on land, they were clubbed.**

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*For contemporary accounts of the Russian colony in California, see Tikhmeneff, MS; von Baer, 1839; Kostromitonov, 1839; von Kotzebue, 1830; Laplace, VI, 1854; Duhaut-Cilly, 1835; and Golovin, MS-1.

**See Ogden, 1933, for the history of the sea otter trade.

Finding that the northernmost Spanish settlement was at San Francisco, the Russians chose the coastline north of that as the base of operations for sea otter hunting and explored it with the idea of settlement. The ship Kodiak was sent down the California coast in 1808, with Aleut hunters under the control of Kuskoff. The ship remained at Bodega Bay from the fifteenth of December until August of the following year, obtaining 1,453 sea otter, 406 yearlings, and 491 cubs during that time. In 1810, Kuskoff took twenty-two bidarkas to Bodega Bay on the Chirikoff. Finding the hunting poor, the party of hunters went to San Francisco Bay, where they secured 1,190 sea otter and 78 yearlings. Other hunting parties, based on other vessels, secured a comparable yield (Khlebnikof, MS, pp. 16-17).

Encouraged by the excellent prospects of the California sea otter trade, and bearing in mind the plan conceived by Rezanov to found a settlement for the company on the coast of New Albion where breadstuffs could be grown, the Governor of the Colonies Baranov dispatched Kuskoff in November, 1811, to establish a settlement at whatever place seemed advantageous, with ninety-five Russians and forty Aleuts with bidarkas (Khlebnikof, MS, p. 205). Kuskoff, mindful of the difficulties caused by the Koloshi (Tlingit) in the environs of New Archangel (Sitka), sought to win the friendship of the natives. Finding that Bodega Bay (Port Romiantzoff) lacked wood and water, it was decided to erect the main settlement further to the north. As the natives of Bodega Bay are Coast Miwok, the construction of Fort Ross was the first Russian contact with the Southwestern Pomo.

In the winter of 1811-1812, Kuskoff established friendly relations with the natives and gave them medals and presents in exchange for

permission to build a settlement. In the spring of 1812, wooden buildings were erected for the Russian and Aleut personnel. Tikhmenoff (MS, pp. 271-274), in a history of the Russian American Company stated that few earth huts were built as the Aleuts imitated the Russians in constructing wooden buildings.

Fort Ross was European in appearance, and must have been impressive to native eyes. A contemporary traveler described it as follows:

> Ross appears as a quadrilateral of eighty meters frontage, at the center of which is stationed the house of the governor, those of the officers, the arsenal, the barracks, the magazines, and a Greek chapel surmounted by a cross and belfry of very attractive appearance. The enclosure, formed by thick timbers, is four meters in height; it is pierced by openings protected by cannon, and at opposite corners two hexagonal bastions are erected, of two floors, and armed with six guns (Duflot de Mofras, in Du Four, 1933, p. 85).

From the time of its establishment, Ross Colony emphasized both agriculture and sea otter hunting. It was essential to make the colony self-sufficient in foodstuffs, and the officials hoped to produce a surplus for the Alaskan colonies if possible. Seed, cattle, and domestic fowl were secured through the missions in exchange for Russian trade goods, despite the Spanish Government injunctions against trade with foreigners (Khlebnikof, MS, p. 217). In the immediate vicinity of Ross, gardens were planted to provide vegetables such as cabbages, beets, turnips, lettuce, and carrots for the settlement and for visiting ships. Potatoes were planted and harvested twice yearly, and yielded eleven to one, except that many were destroyed by gophers (Tikhmeteff, MS, p. 274). Wheat, barley and rye were planted in order to provide cereals for the colonies to the north. Other staples in the diet were the meat of sea-lions and of a type of sea gull, both salted and fresh, obtained from the

Farallone islands by the Russians and Aleuts stationed there (Tebitchinoff, MS, p. 6; Khlebnikof, MS, p. 234). The sea-lion skins were used to make the bidarka boats, the meat and blubber for food, and the oil used for lamps or as food by the Aleuts.

Description of Aborigines

While these activities were in progress, what of the native inhabitants of the Fort Ross area? Archaeological evidence can be cited to indicate that Indians had occupied the bluff where Fort Ross was constructed before the Russians arrived. Five village sites were noted in the immediate vicinity of the fortress, one of them being cut through by the north wall of the stockade. A test excavation at this site yielded porcelain pendants, indicating European contact (Treganza, 1954, p. 18). Treganza suggests that Indians may have lived at this site both before and after Russian occupancy, but would not have been permitted alongside the stockade wall during the Russian period.

One Russian authority (Potechine, MS, p. 5), commenting on the settlement of Ross, wrote of the native inhabitants:

> Native inhabitants in different places were seen not everywhere in great numbers, but all received them kindly, and not the least suspicion and unfavorableness were shown, and fire arms they had none, as many others, living higher up of this Bay, and causing misery and woe to the foreigners. To many of them, who were more kindly disposed and showed their services, was given above the presents, glass beads, pearls, clothing, some small iron trifles, and silver medals to be carried on the neck, with the inscription: The Allies of Russia, with which they were very content.

The reference to firearms recalls the troubles which the Russians had with the Tlingit of Sitka Island, who had been furnished with firearms in

exchange for furs by American traders and had then used the guns on Russians within their boundaries. It was against Russian American Company policy to furnish firearms to potential enemies, and Russian reluctance to do so is attested by the fact that Laplace, visiting Fort Ross in 1839, twenty-seven years after its founding, noted that the natives were not permitted to bring any arms within the fort, and that firearms were nearly unknown to them (Laplace, 1854, p. 160 and p. 70). Presentation of gifts was a standard policy of the Company to insure the goodwill of the natives.

How did these aborigines appear in the eyes of the Russians who were their new neighbors and employers? The Russians noted especially that the Californian natives were peaceable, also that they were not of fixed habitation, unlike many Alaska natives (Potechine, MS, p. 7).

The most complete account of the aborigines during the early contact period was written by Kostromitonov (MS, pp. 80-96), who was manager of Ross colony for seven years. He noted that the men went naked, the women clothing themselves only in deerskin skirts. Both sexes used sea shell pearls (probably abalone), wore eagle's foot bones in their ears, and went barefooted. He observed that the natives lived in brush shelters in summer, in pole houses in winter, and built sweathouses like the pole winter dwelling house. Concerning social organization, Kostromitonov noted that the authority of the chiefs, "toyons," was nebulous, based on kinship, and was not as strong as among the Tlingit of the north. Kostromitonov characterized these Indians as peaceloving, indolent, given to pleasure, and fearful by nature.

Golovin, who visited Ross Colony briefly in 1818, remarked on the good disposition and peaceableness of the Indians of the region. His

comments on their personal appearance and customs corroborated the material given by Kostromitonov. Golovin was impressed by the fact that the natives were not agriculturalists, and by the willingness of the aborigines to eat nearly everything available. Golovin commented on the custom of using the deer disguise in hunting deer, the use of acorns as a staple food, and the collection of grain by burning the fields of wild grain (Golovin, MS, pp. 87-88).

Another report on the life of the natives was made by von Kotzebue (1830, pp. 126-127), who visited Ross for several days during the winter of 1824. We may assume that he secured much of his information from the Russian officials of Ross, since it repeated the observations of Kostromitonov.

Despite the differences between the aborigines and the newcomers, there were liaisons formed between native women and the visiting men which provided a meeting ground between the two groups (Tikhmeneff, MS, p. 284).

The Aleuts

Of the men brought down from Alaska to establish Ross Colony, the Aleuts were on a level of culture which most closely approximated that of the aborigines of the California coast. Bearing in mind the effects of culture contact, one must remember that there were twice as many Aleuts as Russians during the life of the colony, and that intermarriage was most common between Aleut hunters and native women.

When the first Russian trading companies entered the fur-bearing areas of the Aleutian island chain, they had the privilege of hunting as long as they collected tribute from the natives for the Russian

government. This tribute was repealed in 1779, but the companies continued to take whatever they wished from the natives (Golovin, MS, p. 1). During the period of intense rivalry by various Russian fur companies, thousands of Aleuts perished through the cruelty of and exploitation by the Russian hunters. This situation was improved when sole charter for the area was given to the Russian American Fur Company in 1798 (Tikhmeneff, Hist. Rev., p. 87). This company, realizing the shortsightedness of a policy which liquidated the Aleuts, established rules for strict and just dealings with them. However, the company demanded that half of the able-bodied men between the ages of 18 and 50 from every Aleut or Kodiak village should be obliged to service for the company in the pursuit of marine animals (Lutke, MS, p. 154). Service was hunting for the company for a three-year period in any place to which the company wished to send the hunters (Baer, in Wrangell, 1839, p. xxxi). According to the Russian writer Lazareff (MS, p. 98), this discriminatory service was unjust to the Aleutian natives, since only they were forced to hunt for the company.

In the early period of the Russian American Company, the Russian and Aleut hunters had been on a shares basis, but at the time of the establishment of Ross Colony the hunters were paid wages. From this salary the men were expected to buy shoes and clothing, and such European foods as tea, sugar, flour, rice and honey from the company stores.

The usual Aleut diet in the native habitat consisted of dried fish, whale meat, sea-lions, seals, fresh fish, edible roots, berries, sea-cabbage, various mussels, and aquatic birds. The greatest delicacy was the blubber of whale or seal (Golovin, MS-2, p. 32). Tchitchinoff, who came to Ross Colony in 1818 as a young boy, states that a party was sent to the Farallones to salt down sea-lion meat for the Aleuts, who did not

like beef and did not know how to raise vegetables, and suffered from scurvy in consequence of inadequate diet (Tchitchinoff, MS, p. 6).

The priest Veniaminov spent ten years among the Aleuts, and wrote an account of them (in Wrangell, 1839, pp. 177-225) contemporary to the period in which the Aleut hunters were brought to Ross. Veniaminov characterized the Aleuts as honest, peaceful, patient, and long suffering. The Aleuts were modest in their demands and expectations, content with a few words of praise or expression of thanks, and had no interest in accumulating things they regarded as useless. Wealth consisted of a new bidarka, clothing, and equipment for hunting. The Aleuts were generous in sharing the spoils of the hunt, food, and in their hospitality to strangers. The priest said that the Aleuts were not disputatious, even when they knew themselves to be right, but obeyed their superiors even to death. Murder was unknown, though drunkenness became common, according to Veniaminov.

Concerning the personal habits of the Aleuts, Veniaminov conceded that they were not cleanly even though they washed daily and were fond of bathing. Veniaminov called them a sensual people because of their sexual laxness. Polygamy, formerly common, was abolished under Christian teachings. The usual costume of the Aleut men consisted of a long shirt or parka of birdskins, with boots to the knees, and for hunting a cone shaped visored hat shaped of a single piece of wood (Ivanov, 1928, p. 478). Over the parka, men wore shirts with hoods of sea-lion intestine for use in the boats or in bad weather. Women wore parkas of furs. Both sexes lived and slept in their clothing. The houses were communal, occupied by as many as one hundred persons, divided into family groups. The house was dug in the earth, lined with upright poles of driftwood, and roofed

with planks covered with turf. The entrance was by ladders through holes in the top. Every island and larger village had its own toyon (chief).

In appearance, the Aleuts were light in color. Hair was coarse and black, the mustache and beard of the men sparse. Tattooing was practiced by both sexes as was the wearing of a bone cylinder in the nose, placed so as to distend the nostrils (Dall, 1870, p. 386; Bancroft, 1886, I, 1, p. 88).

Although from the Russian point of view the Aleuts seemed a shiftless and simple-minded people who lacked the quality of foresight, their generosity in sharing with those in need was noted by Russian officers (Golovin, MS-2, p. 129). Cooperation, rather than individual amassing of wealth, gave prestige among the Aleuts.

The first commander of Fort Ross, Kuskoff, had orders to send the Aleuts hunting for sea otter whenever they could be spared, but not to antagonize the Spaniards by sending them to San Francisco Bay. As a result, the sea otter were nearly exterminated by the intrepid Aleuts on the coast between Point Arena and Drake's Bay within the first ten years.

The Russians

The development of agriculture at Fort Ross presented many problems to the administrator, not the least of which was the labor force at his disposal. Neither the Russians nor the Creoles, as the children of Russian fathers and Indian or Aleut women were called, had much interest in agriculture, except to follow orders. The planting of cereals and the cultivation of the soil offered great difficulty to the director of the colony. The Russians who came to California consisted of men

mainly of the laboring class from various areas of the Russian domain. Khlebnikof (MS, p. 226) mentions that ploughs of Little Russian (Byelorussian), Russian, and Siberian agricultural traditions were used. Von Baer referred to two Yakuts being part of his entourage visiting the "plains of Ross" in 1833 (Baer, in Wrangell, 1839, p. 78). Service for the Russian American Company may not have been as hard an alternative serfdom in Russia proper. Employment by the company emphasized the procurement of furs, under difficult and dangerous conditions, and appealed to adventurers rather than to colonizers. Most of the Russian employees were single men, and the liaisons they formed with native women in Alaska were not always of a permanent nature. The children of these inter-racial alliances were termed "Creoles," and as the group increased numerically, these half-breeds were given the privilege of schooling and guaranteed employment by the company. A number of the men employed at Ross were Creoles, and some of the women who came with the group were also Creoles.

The group of employees fluctuated as to number, being sent from or recalled to New Archangel (Sitka) as the need arose. The Russians performed the skilled trades, such as blacksmithing, shipbuilding, lumbering, tanning, or cheesemaking, and were in charge of agricultural work or hunting expeditions. The population of Ross Colony varied, depending on the program and personnel at the disposal of the director. By contract agreement, the Aleut or Kodiak hunters were to be returned home at the end of three years service, their place being taken by another group of hunters. The Russians and Creoles were hired on a different basis, being sent wherever needed for any length of time. The nuclear labor force of Russians were used at Fort Ross, the Farallones, Port Roumiantzoff (Bodega Bay) and at the three farms established by the company. We have the following

statistics on the numbers at Ross Colony during its existence.

According to Khlebnikof (MS, p. 205), 95 Russians and 40 Aleuts accompanied Kuskoff at the time Fort Ross was founded. Golovin (MS, p. 76) reports that at the time of his visit, 1818, there were 26 Russians and 102 Aleuts. Tikhmeneff (MS, p. 264) puts the figure at 27 Russians in 1819. The English navigator, Corney (1896, p. 82), visiting Ross in 1817, noted: "This settlement consists of about 100 houses and huts, with a small fort on the point, and about 500 inhabitants, Russians and Kodiacks." Kotzebue (1830, p. 121), on the basis of his 1824 visit, reported: "The garrison consisted, on my arrival, of a hundred and thirty men, of whom a small number only were Russians, the rest Aleutians." Duhaut-Cilly (1946, p. 10), on a visit in 1827, reported of Ross: "Outside the square are disposed or scattered the pretty little houses of sixty Russian colonists, the flattened cabins of eighty Kodiaks, and the cone shaped huts of as many indigenous Indians." The historian Potechine (MS, p. 15), having access to company records, listed in the year 1833, 50 Russians, 88 Creoles, 83 Aleuts and 72 Indians in residence, a total of 293 individuals of both sexes, including children. In the same year, 1833, Vallejo paid a call on the Russian establishments at Bodega and Ross. Because of his suspicion of the intentions of the Russians, there was every reason for him to calculate the number of the personnel carefully. He reported a population of 300 persons, of whom 70 were Russians of all classes and both sexes, while the major part were either Creoles or aborigines (Vallejo, MS, p. 108). This correlates closely enough with the official figure given by Potechine.

Only three years later the priest Veniaminov (MS) listed the population of Fort Ross at 120 Russians, 51 Creoles, 50 Kodiak-Aleuts, and 39

baptized Indians. Duflot de Mofras, the French diplomat, visited Fort Ross briefly. He states (1937, II, p. 5): "During my sojourn in California [May 1841-January 1842] the Russian establishments were in their prime. The nucleus of the population consisted of 800 Russians, or rather Asiatic Russians, around whom had gathered tribes of Indians who worked indifferently for a small stipend." Carruti, secretary for Vallejo, said that after the Russian settlement was sold to Sutter, 437 men and 84 women returned to Sitka (Carruti, MS, p. 6). Since neither Duflot de Mofras nor Carruti had access to official records, it seems obvious that they exaggerated the numbers at Ross Colony. The average was nearer one hundred and fifty men, of whom only a third to a half were Russians, according to the consensus of reports of visitors and official Russian figures.

One outstanding aspect of the Russian personnel was its strict organization. While only two or three of those in residence were officers, discipline was strict and duties were diligently performed. Duhaut-Cilly [1946, p. 10] compared this to the Spanish presidios to the disadvantage of the latter. "Much order and discipline appear to exist at Ross; and though the director is the only chief who is an officer, everywhere is noticed the effects of a minute care."

The strong feeling of discipline extended to the relations with the aborigines as well. Vallejo relates that during his 1833 visit to Fort Ross, the commandant, Kostromitonov, expressed his disgust with the natives who in their secluded rancherias were joined by some who had stolen wheat from Ross, and that Kostromitonov proposed that if one of the objectives of Vallejo's visit was a hostile expedition against the Indians, he and thirty of his men would accompany him. Vallejo says that he excused himself

from this, and added that the Russians treated the aborigines fairly but were very strict with them (Vallejo, MS, pp. 197-201). Duflot de Mofras (1937, p. 5) noted that the Russians had a military organization which kept unfriendly tribes of Indians under control, and served to protect the Spaniards living north of San Francisco who were endangered by raids on livestock or assaults on settlers. The Russian chronicles do not mention protection being given to any Spanish neighbors.

Relationship Between the Races

It was predictable that a colony consisting predominantly of men would make efforts to acquire women. A few women were sent from the colonies to join their men. Tchitchinoff (MS, p. 4) reported that in 1818: "About a dozen of Creole and Aleut women were on board who were sent to the Ross settlement to join their husbands . . ." Cerruti (MS, p. 2), secretary to Vallejo, probably exaggerated when he wrote that "during the years 1813-14-15 the number of the dependents of the company has been augmented considerably, since each ship which comes from Sitka or even from Okhotsk carries laborers and at times entire families, the brigantine Nicolafei alone bringing twelve laborers and twenty-two women, some of them Kodiaks, but the major part Russian."

Concerning the early contacts between the occupying force and the natives, Tarakanoff (MS, p. 4) wrote of his first visit to Ross, around 1818, that a number of Aleuts had married native women, and that the Indian men helped build houses for them.

Most Russian sources noted the intimacy between races which developed subsequent to the foundation of the colony with approbation. Tikhmeneff

cted that these intimate ties were primarily with the Aleutian hunters (Tikhmeneff, MS, p. 284). Tarakanoff (MS, p. 35) stated: "They are peaceable, and their women, though homely and not skilled in any labor, have made good wives for many of the Aleuts and Creoles." Kotzebue (1830, II, pp. 123-124) stated that the Indians worked as day laborers for the Russians, and that many of their women were married to Russians and Aleuts. He credited these unions for the good feeling which existed between the natives and the Russians, in contrast to the ill will held against the Spaniards.

Tchitchinoff, who was a youthful employee at Fort Ross between 1818 and 1825, recorded in his memoirs concerning an exploring trip in the mountains behind Ross: "We had orders to go on until we met the Indians and then only proceed with their consent. Consequently we stopped there until we could find an opportunity of conversing with the natives" (Tchitchinoff, MS, pp. 19-20). On the same trip the group saw plenty of game, but were told not to shoot any lest they alarm the natives. This consideration stood to the self-interest of the Russians, who needed the cooperation of the Indians, yet it indicates that both policy and practice were to treat the Indians as people.

When he came to Ross, Tchitchinoff found his father, a Russian, living with an Indian woman, daughter of the chief of the tribe in the neighborhood, "but they were not married, as there was no priest in the settlement then" (Tchitchinoff, MS, pp. 5-6).

It would appear that this colony had a peculiar aspect because of the almost total lack of Russian women. Every account emphasized the fact that Creole and native women only were to be found, and only the last commandant at Fort Ross, Alexander Rotchev, is clearly shown to have had

a Russian wife with him. This factor probably did make racial relations easier, but with the difference that the acculturation of native women was probably postponed because of a lack of Russian women for them to pattern themselves after.

Religion

The reference made by Tchitchinoff to the absence of a priest in the settlement sharpens the contrast between the Spanish and the Russian method of colonizing. The Russians probably assumed their faith made them superior to the unenlightened natives, but were generally indifferent to the conversion of the aborigines. This Russian attitude is indicated in the following quotation from Tarakanoff (MS, p. 35):

> The natives of New Albion seem to have no religion. I have never seen them worship or pray, but as there has not been any Orthodox priest at the settlement, no attempt has been made to induce them to join our Church.

The tolerance, or perhaps indifference, of the Russians toward conversion of the natives strengthened the conviction of the latter that Russians were preferable to Spaniards. An indication of this preference is the letter of Father Mercado of Mission San Rafael, to Governor Figueroa, dated November 25, 1833, in which the priest complains that Kodiak women had been sent from the Russian establishments to seduce the neophytes from the rancherie at Tamales, and that the Russians purchased stolen property belonging to the mission from them (Mercado, MS, p. 319). Apparently Governor Figueroa discounted much of this story, since he sent back a letter requesting the exact number of Indians detained by the Russian commandant, so that their complaint would not appear ridiculous (Figueroa,

MS, p. 320). To one familiar with the strictures of mission life, it would appear that the Indians had fled to Ross Colony to avoid servitude, but the priests regarded any escape as a flaunting of authority.

In all parts of the continent controlled by the Russian American Company, the charter provided that the company would build and repair churches and chapels and pay the salary of the priest or the church servitor. Support of the church was to be by voluntary gift, or through sale of candles (Tikhmenoff, MS, p. 375). Apparently an officer of the company was appointed to conduct services at Ross, since there is no record of a priest in residence. We do know that in the summer of 1836 the priest Ivan Veniaminov, later Innokantii, Metropolitan of Moscow, visited Fort Ross colony to set church affairs in order. Veniaminov (MS) noted that the chapel at Ross was very modest in church furnishings and was rarely visited by the Russian members of the congregation.

Veniaminov (MS) recorded further that in the course of his six weeks visit, he performed fourteen marriages and anointed, among others, two Indian adults, as well as seven children. One person so anointed was "an Indian woman of the Catholic faith." Veniaminov noted giving confession to forty-six people, and communion to all who had confessed, but did not specify whether these people were Russians, Aleuts, or Indians. Veniaminov gave particular mention to instructions given to the children, and to the Aleuts not knowing the Russian language through their tolmach (chief); also that one morning "after the Mass I blessed the waters of the creek and there was a church procession around the Fort" (MS).

The notation by Veniaminov that he found thirty-nine baptised Indians upon his arrival in 1836 indicates that some religious instruction had already been given. We have the account of another author who

stated on the basis of company records that in 1833 as many as one hundred and fifty Indians of the area attended prayers (Potechine, MS, p. 15).

Since the greatest intimacy seems to have existed between the Aleuts and the Indians, it is noteworthy that the Aleuts were said to have been devoted followers of the Orthodox church.

Veniaminov praised the religious devotion of the Aleuts, noting their faithful attendance at long services and their generous gifts to the church. However, the extent to which the Greek Orthodox doctrine was understood or accepted by the Aleut or Kodiak hunters is open to question. In their homeland many continued to have recourse to their shamans along with the practice of Christianity. A recent find at Fort Ross (now in the Fort Ross Museum Collection) is a carved wooden figure which is identified as of Aleutian origin, and suggests the survival of aboriginal religious practices. The finding of several "charm stones" of ascribed Alaskan origin, also in the Fort Ross Museum, indicates that the Aleutian natives had not given up their traditional magic practices despite Christian teachings.

If the Russians seldom visited the church, and the Aleutians were but half-convinced members, it would be surprising to find wholehearted commitment to the new religion among the Indians in contact with them. Apparently the majority clung to the old traditions. Golovin (MS-1, p. 88) admits that he gained little knowledge of the religious practices of the natives in his brief visit (1818): "Of their religion I can say nothing, but I know that they believe in the supernatural powers of their conjurors or 'shamans' as the Siberian natives call them." At Port Romantzoff (Bodega Bay) a Coast Miwok village, Golovin watched a sick

ma being treated in a ceremony at which the curer sang and talked, meanwhile brandishing a stick ornamented with feathers.

In 1833, von Baer rode out from Fort Ross toward the plains. Upstream from the Slovyanka (Russian) River, in what may have been Southwestern Pomo territory, the party came upon an old Indian woman gathering seeds in a basket and loudly singing. When the old woman recovered from her fright, she explained that she sang to drive away the evil spirits (Baer, 1839, p. 68). Kostromitonov, in his general observations of the Indians written on the basis of seven years acquaintance, regarded the Indian customs as superstitions. He noted the custom of feast giving following recovery from an illness, and the belief that coyote had created man and woman from two sticks. Kostromitonov said the shamans practiced very simple deceptions in their art and healed by sucking and the use of herbs and roots (Kostromitonov, 1839, pp. 80-96).

Introduction of Disease

Because of the known ill effects which the introduction of a European population has upon the morbidity of native peoples, this aspect of culture contact cannot be overlooked among the Southwestern Pomo.

Kostromitonov noted that the villages on the Bodega shore disappeared after the founding of the Franciscan missions (San Rafael, 1817, and San Francisco Solano at Sonoma, 1823). Many of the Indians moved to the missions, he wrote, and the remainder of the population emigrated to Ross or perished in the epidemics prevailing between 1815 and 1822 (Kostromitonov, 1839, p. 80). These epidemics probably spread to the Southwestern Pomo through the constant intercourse between the two areas, but the nature of the epidemics is not known.

Since the Russian American Company did not require the natives to live under supervision as in the Spanish missions, there are no Russian records available of births or deaths among the natives, or the causes of death. The Indians at the missions were reported to have succumbed primarily to three diseases: syphilis, dysentery, and tuberculosis, although there were epidemic diseases such as measles or influenza which caused occasional high mortalities (Cook, 1943a, p. 22). Kostromitonov (1839, p. 94) noted that the Indians of Ross Colony suffered from various ailments, especially high fevers, colic, and syphilitic diseases, and for treatment of the last named the natives employed baths. Concerning the Russian colonies during the first quarter of the 19th century, Tikhmeneff (n.d.) noted that the general state of health was good, although people were subject to boils, scurvy, and colic in stomach and chest. The Russian employees especially were subject to scurvy, because they were loath to accept the native diet.

It is probable that the incidence of syphilis was high among the natives in the Fort Ross area, since the Russians, Creoles, or Aleuts were probable carriers, and most of the men came without women. The connections or liaisons formed between them and the native women have already been mentioned. A second factor favoring the quick spread of syphilitic disease was the sexual license or freedom which was traditional among the Pomo (Loeb, 1926, p. 280; Powers, 1877, p. 412). Premarital promiscuity and shifting marital partners made it likely that syphilis, once introduced, would become common to all. Laplace (1854, p. 152) visiting Fort Ross in 1839, noted the incidence of smallpox, measles, and even cholera among the tribes of the Northwest Coast, and said that syphilis was worst of all, as it had left its marks on everyone, from puberty to old age. For

treatment, the natives had recourse to the sweathouse.

The extent to which syphilis was fatal is not known, but probably the sufferers had lesions or other stigmata which were immediately observable. The effect of syphilis on a previously unexposed populace, as Cook points out with regard to the missionized Indians, undoubtedly increased their susceptibility to other diseases which proved fatal if the syphilis did not (Cook, 1943a, p. 28).

The danger of smallpox and the method of combating it were known to the Russians of that period. A Russian surgeon on board a Russian vessel brought smallpox lymph from Lima to Monterey in 1821, but it was recorded that it had lost its potency and had no effect (Cook, 1939, p. 171). James Ohio Pattie recorded that he visited Bodega in June of 1829 to vaccinate the entire population, as he had done in the rest of California. He narrated that the commandant sent word that all who wished should come to be inoculated. Pattie claimed that he was constantly occupied for three days and vaccinated fifteen hundred people (Pattie, 1833, p. 219). This is by far the greatest population figure ever given for Ross Colony, and appears to account for more people than were ever concentrated there. Cook, in an analysis of Pattie's work, estimates that the figure of 22,000 persons vaccinated in Spanish California is equally exaggerated (Cook, 1939, p. 178). Pattie recalled a mountain behind the Russian fort which had perpetual ice and snow -- a statement so contrary to fact that it threws doubt on his credibility in other matters.

The smallpox epidemic of 1837, or "Miramontes epidemic," which had such a disastrous consequence for the Indians of upper California, was said to have originated at Fort Ross. According to Cerruti, a soldier of Vallejo's returned from Ross infected with smallpox. From him, the disease

spread rapidly, and it was estimated that from this epidemic perished 200 whites, 3,000 neophytes, and from 60,000 to 100,000 free Indians in the Sonoma, Russian River and Sacramento valleys, and around Clear Lake, and north to Mount Shasta (Cerruti, MS, p. 8). There is no record of the number of deaths or the source of infection in the Fort Ross annals, but Tikhmenaff (MS, p. 390) noted its passage among the natives and gave it a California origin. Tchitchinoff (MS, p. 22) stated that smallpox raged in Alaska in 1836, having been introduced by the Russians. It seems likely that this virulent epidemic passed from Alaska to Fort Ross, from whence it spread through native California with such disastrous consequences.

Laplace, in his 1839 visit, noted the presence of tuberculosis among the population of Fort Ross. He expressed surprise that it should cause a heavy mortality where the populace was well fed as in this Californian colony. He placed the blame on the slovenly living habits of the people (Laplace, 1854, pp. 73-74). Tuberculosis is known to have a high mortality among previously unexposed populations, and the lack of personal sanitation or crowded living conditions would undoubtedly play a contributing factor in spreading infection.

From documentary sources of the time, it appears, therefore, that syphilis and tuberculosis were prevalent among the natives of the Fort Ross area, and presumably caused an abnormal death rate if the studies from the California missions are of comparable value (Cook, 1943a). Since there were no major wars nor massacres among the Southwestern Pomo in the post-contact period, one must conclude that the reduction of the native population from an estimated 540 in aboriginal times (Kniffen, 1939, p. 389) to the present figure of around 120 must be attributed to the agency of

disease through contact.

Economic Foundations of Ross Colony

It is not to be assumed from the foregoing description that relationships with the natives or their welfare was of first importance to the administration of Ross Colony. This California enterprise was primarily a commercial venture. The Russians were brought in as skilled laborers in all endeavors, the Aleuts principally to hunt for sea otter or seals. The Aleuts, under direction of the Russians, were used also to secure sea lion meat and sea gulls from the Farallones (Tikhmeneff, MS, p. 274). These hunting parties were so efficient that furs as a source of income were soon extinguished. Whereas between 1812 and 1815, 714 sea otter and 143 yearlings were caught, by 1817 only 44 sea otter and 11 yearlings were obtained, and by 1822 the annual catch was 30 or less adult sea otter and 4 to 6 yearlings (Khlebnikof, MS, p. 206). It was obvious that Ross Colony needed another source of revenue.

An effort was made by the second commandant of Ross, Schmidt (1821-1826), to start a boat-building industry for the company. Tchitchinoff (MS, p. 10) stated that in 1823 all the men were occupied either in getting out timber or working on the vessels, so that little attention was given to agriculture. It is possible that the Indian men were employed in the timber operation, beginning a tradition which has lasted to the present day. Although several ships were built and launched from Ross, the use of unseasoned redwood resulted in the wood rotting within a few years, hence this endeavor was given up.

The next venture was a greater commitment to agriculture, so that the colony might serve as a granary for the Alaskan settlements. Despite

strenuous efforts toward sowing and raising grain, the crop was reduced to half by a rust caused by salt air. Moving the grain fields to a higher elevation avoided fog, but entailed a great deal more hand labor (Tikhmeneff, MS, p. 275).

In addition to the other difficulties attendant to the development of agriculture were the reluctance and inexperience of the labor force. The Aleuts, Creoles, Russian hunters and natives were united in their dislike of agricultural pursuits.

In an effort to improve the productive capacity of the colony, small industries had been started at Ross. Duflot de Mofras (1937, II, p. 6), visiting Fort Ross in 1841, reported: "Extensive shops for joiners' work, forging, coopers' work, and ships' carpenters have been established at the foot of Fort Ross near the small creek where ships anchor." Golovin (MS, p. 83) referred to the tanning yard for the manufacture of shoe-leather, and a windmill. Probably the best guide to the varied industries is contained in the list of Russian properties offered for sale to Vallejo in 1840. These include a forge, anvil and shop for a blacksmith, tanning shop, coopers' shop, threshing floor, bakeshop, orchard with 260 fruit trees and cultivated fields, all at Fort Ross (DuFour, 1933, Document X, pp. 67-72). The surplus products from the industries were used in the trade with Californians to secure vital foodstuffs for Alaska, such as wheat, barley, lard, tallow, flour, and dried meat. The Russians exchanged tobacco, sugar, and iron goods. There are records of trade with Vallejo and the mission fathers, who sometimes came to Ross to trade in person. The warehouses were kept at Bodega, where sea transportation was better. The participation by the natives in these enterprises was probably on the menial level.

Another enterprise which was pursued with anticipation of improving the usefulness of the colony was the livestock industry. Because of such hazards as the mountainous terrain, it was difficult to achieve large animal production. In 1821 there were only 187 head of cattle; 736 sheep, and 124 pigs. A disease killed all but 200 of the sheep; the hogs, feeding on fish, had unpalatable meat and were disposed of; but cattle breeding increased. By 1833 there were 1,830 head of cattle (small beside the vast herds of California) which produced tallow, hides for the tannery, and salt beef (Tikhmeneff, MS). Butter and cheese were produced, but it is doubtful if the natives either ate or produced them, as these were skills and products probably limited to the Russian employees.

Employment of Natives

The operations of the Russian American Company at Ross Colony were of a type which could use a large supply of unskilled labor. The aborigines, if they were well disposed, could supply this need and from all accounts were of great help to the colonists (Tarakanoff, MS, p. 35; Tikhmeneff, MS, p. 284).

In agriculture, the Indians were especially useful, since the cereals were grown on upland fields to avoid the heavy fogs of the coast. "There were rocky localities where no plough could be used and there Indians were employed to dig up the soil with spades" (Khlebnikof, MS, p. 226).

Besides the fields cultivated at Ross, other farms were established by the Russians. These included the Kostromitonov, at the mouth of the Russian River, the Khlebnikov, near the present Bodega Corners, east of

Port Roumiantzoff, and Tschernich, or Gyorgy's fruit ranch, apparently in the area of present day Sebastopol, where a fruit orchard and vineyard were established. With the exception of the Kostromitonov Ranch, which was begun following the visit of Governor Wrangell in 1833, the other farms are outside the territory of the Southwestern Pomo. According to the inventory of property listed by Kostromitonov for Vallejo at the time of sale, the Kostromitonov Ranch, which consisted of approximately one hundred acres of wheatland, contained a residence, barracks, bathhouse, and a house for the Indians, the latter built of planks 42 feet long and 15 feet wide (Du Four, 1933, Doc. X, pp. 67-72). It is probable that several Indian families lived in this house at the same time, like the lodgings described by Laplace at Port Roumiantzoff (Laplace, 1854, p. 58).

Since cooperation was on a voluntary basis, it was necessary to provide compensation to insure the natives' faithful attendance at work. According to most sources of information, clothing, food, and ornaments were the accepted payment for the natives. "The Russians, Creoles and Aleutians were either on yearly wages (salary) or on day payment, and the Indians received for their work board and clothing" (Etholine, MS-1, p. 15). Kostromitonov (1839, p. 93) commented that the Indians were so addicted to gambling that after a hard day's work at Ross, they would play until four in the morning and return to work without sufficient sleep, and that they gambled the fruits of their labor without thought.

Laplace quoted Rotchev, the last commander of Port Ross, as saying that each year more of the aborigines remained through the winter, working with the colonists and boarding as they did. Khlebnikof reported that in the work of herding cattle, two Russians and two Aleuts or Indians were

employed. The work was difficult because the cattle were wild, and the animals roamed the mountains where they fell over cliffs and were killed, or were sometimes killed by Indians (Khlebnikof, MS, p. 227). Von Baer mentions having four Indian vaqueros on his 1833 trip to the Santa Rosa plains, and comments that the Indians were well trained and daring riders (von Baer, 1839, p. 78).[3]

Apparently, the greatest usefulness of the Indians was in the manifold tasks of agriculture: speding, threshing, harvesting. It was proposed that the colony's agriculture be extended to the Estero Americano, where "free Indians" could be hired to do the work (Khlebnikof, MS, p. 241). Khlebnikof further proposed that small industries such as potteries, glassmaking, soap manufacture, leather products, and felt making to provide felt mattresses in place of the bear and deerskin beds then in use, should be started to make the colony more profitable. Khlebnikof suggested that Indian women married to Aleuts could card and weave woolen blankets to pay for agricultural labor and other things. These plans, although never adopted, did anticipate full use of Indian labor. The Russian administrator, Kostromitonov (1839, pp. 81-82), who knew the Indians well spoke highly of their capacity to learn necessary skills, especially in the grasping of physical matters.

> They appear stupid only because of their immoderate laziness and lightheartedness. However, they need only once observe some work that is not too difficult or complicated, in order to copy it immediately.

Duflot de Mofras (1937,II, p. 5) traveling in California in 1841, noted that at the close of their occupation the Russians had gathered "tribes of Indians" about them whom they treated kindly and remunerated fairly.

European who had seen many native peoples during his travels, and represented a nation which was inclined to view critically both the Spanish and Russian experiments in colonization. His views are worth careful examination to ascertain the degree of change apparent in native life after a generation of contact.

Concerning the observations made by Laplace on California during his visit, Bancroft (1885b, p. 155) made the following observations: "Laplace was a man of much ability in a literary way, some of his descriptions being very fine; and he was also an intelligent observer. The value, however, of his published work, so far as it affects California, is seriously impaired by his habit of drifting constantly into the byways of long and fanciful speculations; and also by the fact that it was published after the discovery of gold, so that the author's impressions and predictions of 1839 are inextricably blended with the knowledge of later years. His general view of the country's condition is accurate enough; and should any student ever have the leisure time to classify and condense his diffuse material, the result would probably be a sketch similar in many respects, though less complete, to that of his predecessor Petit-Thouars."

Laplace visited a village where the aborigines and their families, a population of several hundred persons, dwelt. He found them living in the traditional brush shelters, where all the family slept around the fire at night. The men were nearly nude, and the women dressed only in a wool or skin skirt. Food was being prepared over coals in the aboriginal fashion except that beef rations and wheat were given to the Indians as part of their pay. Laplace observed the women roasting the grains mixed with hot coals rotated in a basket. The natives were said to be devoted to

The gradually increasing participation of the Indians in the economic life of Ross Colony was an indication of native adaptability to new conditions. The voluntary nature of this adjustment probably made their acculturation less painful than that of natives under Spanish mission control. According to the Russian historian Tikhmenieff (MS, p. 452), the natives became indispensable for harvesting grain, but learned the value of their labor so well that they hired out to the newly arrived Americans of the vicinity -- presumably for better pay.

Effect of Contact upon the Aborigines

What was the net effect on the Southwestern Pomo of the years of culture contact with the Russians and their Creole and Aleut employees? Some of the writers quoted indicate that a great deal of change came into the life of the Indians because of the presence of representatives of European culture, who did not exact religious conversion or work patterns through force. Other commentators emphasized the resistance of the Indians to any essential change in their pattern of living.

Fortunately, a record is available which gives the impressions of a visitor to Fort Ross in the year 1839, twenty-eight years after contact with the aborigines first began, and two years before the Russians sold Ross Colony. This record was made by the French navigator, Cyrille Laplace, concerning his experiences on a voyage around the world. Laplace was a careful observer and a man of definite views and prejudices. Although he visited Ross for only a week in August, 1839, the record is more valuable because Laplace drew extensively upon the knowledge of the last commandant of Ross, Alexander Rotchev, whom he quoted. Laplace was an educated

chewing dried seaweed incessantly.

Laplace described in detail the native sweatbouse, conical in shape and covered with turf, to which the men had recourse for their sweatbath. He was impressed by the dignified bearing of a chief who paid a formal call dressed in a cloak of tree bark ornamented with abalone shells. Both the chief and the men accompanying him were tattooed on the face and chest.

Laplace was told that the natives continued to hunt deer with bow and arrow, using the deer disguise, since firearms were not issued to them.

The commandant, Rotchev, pointed out to Laplace some young men who were regarded as women and treated in that fashion to the extent that they did women's work (pp. 146-173).

Laplace, having observed much of the life of the natives which was still close to the aboriginal pattern of life, apparently expressed his surprise to the Russian commander, Rotchev, that such was the case. His views, and the replies of his host, are recorded by Laplace:

> Mr. Rotchev seeing my astonishment that contact with his compatriots had not modified more the manners and habits of the aborigines, assured me that the latter, like their kind in New Archangel, obstinately refused to change their habits for ours. 'However,' he added, 'thanks to much perseverance and many enticements, I managed to diminish a little this adverse feeling toward the whites among the natives of the tribes which frequent Bodega. Several chiefs and a goodly number of young people, encouraged by the goodness and generosity with which they are treated by the Russian representatives, and finding, with reason, horribly miserable the life they lead during the winter in the woods, where they have no shelter against the cold and the snow than the caverns and hollows of trees, and no other means of existence than the chance products of the chase, stay near the fort during the bad season, working with our colonists and are boarded like them. Also one sees them acquire each day a greater liking for the different articles of ornamentation, of dress and other things, with which their services to the colony are paid. Therefore one can flatter oneself with the hope, if the company keeps this establishment for a long time yet, of bringing them little by little to submit to the yoke of civilization. Seeing their labors generously remmerated, their

liberty, their religious beliefs, absurd as they are, respected; the principles of the most indulgent justice observed in their respect, to the point that deportation to another of our establishments is the most severe penalty which I am able to inflict on those who have committed the most serious offenses against our properties; seeing, as I say, the interest which the public officials take in their well-being, they return each spring in a greater number than the preceding year, to cultivate our fields and attach themselves to us, to the point that in their desire to remain on good terms with the colonists, they are generally the first to denounce the disruptive people who, for vengeance or from love of disorder, kill the beasts in the fields or devastate our plantations.'

'But,' continued my obliging guide, 'I have yet to make these children of nature understand the value of foresight and the attractions of property. Passionate for clothing, men as well as women, they eagerly seek what can satisfy this taste, and demand it in preference to all things. Scarcely have they obtained it, than they are rigged up with necklaces, trousers, shirts, vests, and consider themselves in this ridiculous accoutrement as the most handsome, the most happy beings on earth; then the next day one meets them as denuded of ornaments and of clothing as they had been before. It is common that the tribe to which they belong, and of which each member has been no less generously recompensed, finds itself, when it returns to Ross toward the end of the bad season, as poor, as denuded of everything, as it was well supplied a few months previously.'

The cause of this denudation, in the opinion of Kotzebv, was that the aborigines were devoted to the practice of gambling. The winner in two out of three chances won the clothing or whatever was chanced on the odds and even game.

Despite the passion for gambling, the natives were becoming more used to the European pattern of work. Toward the close of the Russian period, the number of families which left the colony at the onset of winter to return to the mountain villages had decreased (Laplace, 1854, p. 173). Gradually the aborigines were yielding to the new order.

The adjustment between the representatives of Russian culture and the aborigines which had advanced so far came to an abrupt ending two years after Laplace's visit. The colony had for years been an economic

loss to the Russian American Company, which had to decide whether to enlarge the settlement or to abandon it. Failure of Wrangell to secure additional land through the Mexican government left only the alternative of disposing of the properties. The story of the withdrawal has been covered adequately and will not be repeated here (Du Four, 1933).

The property was sold to John Augustus Sutter, a Mexican citizen, for $30,000. The official contract of sale was signed December 13, 1841 (Du Four, 1933, p. 82). As Sutter was anxious to consolidate his holdings at New Helvetia, he transported all livestock to the Sacramento valley, and dismantled and shipped buildings and fixtures to his Sacramento settlement. The extent of the establishment is indicated in the list of properties offered to Vallejo for purchase (Du Four, 1933, Document X, pp. 67-72). Through removal or neglect, within five years nothing was left of this European colony except the major structures at Fort Ross.

The Russians, Creoles, Aleuts and their families, including by oral tradition a few native women and their children, left the colony during the fall and winter of 1841-1842.

Nowhere in the recorded exchange between seller and buyer is there any mention of the native inhabitants or of their interests. The Indians were left to make their own adjustment to the new owners of the land.

CHAPTER IV

IV. THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, 1841 - 1900

Effect of the Sutter Purchase

Information about the Indians left in the vicinity of Fort Ross after the departure of the Russians is fragmentary. The incoming Americans had no hostile encounters with the local Indians, and perhaps on that account tended to minimize their role in the community. The new owner of Ross Colony, John Augustus Sutter, removed all usable structures from the colony to his development on the Sacramento River. He wrote that he wanted to retain some Russians as hired men, but their officers said that he could not possibly be severe enough with them (Sutter, MS, p. 57; Gudde, 1936, p. 76). Although Sutter had observed that the Russians employed the local Indians as laborers, apparently his plans did not include continuing the establishment on that basis. Sutter in his memoirs noted that

> In the fall of 1841 and the spring of 1842, I gradually removed everything which I could carry away from Fort Ross and Bodega to Fort Sutter, dismantled the fort, tore down the buildings, and shipped it all up on my schooner. . . . It was at least two years before I had transferred everything from the Russian settlements to my place. . . . (Sutter, MS, p. 82; Gudde, 1936, p. 79).

John Bidwell, sent by Sutter in 1842 to Fort Ross to complete the dismantling of the structures and arrange for the transfer of livestock from the coast to Sutter's inland ranches, related very little in his memoirs concerning the natives. Bidwell was in charge of the overland

drives for the cattle, and also was charged to retrieve all the wild cattle which he could find. Deer, elk, and antelope were plentiful along the Russian River, but the cattle were most elusive. Finally, Bidwell contracted with a Mexican to lasso the cattle for the hides. "One that they killed had an arrow head imbedded in its liver" (Bidwell, MS, p. 89). Obviously, the Indians were still using bow and arrows, and had lost their fear of killing the Russian-owned cattle, a deed which was formerly punished.

Bidwell (MS, pp. 95-96) wrote of the natives of the area:

> The Indians at and near the settlement of Ross and Bodega were greatly attached to the Russians and regretted their departure. They had almost forgotten their own language and, except by the oldest, spoke to each other in the Russian language.

Since the use of the native language has continued to the present day, we can take the statement on the Indians' forgetting their own tongue with some reservation. Bidwell stayed fourteen months, during which time he made a cider press, and dried peaches and apples. He does not state if he employed Indian labor in this work.

It is common knowledge among Indians now living that Nokaria, the mother of Marie James, the oldest living Southwestern Pomo, aged 104 in 1953, spoke and prayed in Russian and crossed herself in the Russian Church fashion. She and her sister were said to have been baptized at Fort Ross.* But the practices of the Russian Orthodox church were dropped

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*Nokaria's female cousin left with the Russians, Herman James said she was returned three years later. She reported the place she had gone was much like California, but colder, with salmon, deer, and mushrooms. Herman James doesn't know if she had any children.

by the majority after the Russians left, and it would have been surprising if these untutored aborigines had been able to retain them.

The next report on the Southwestern Pomo was made by the Swedish traveler, Sandels, or Wasturtz af Sandels, as he was also called. In his visit to Fort Ross in 1843, Sandels found the property in the process of being transported by Sutter to Sacramento. Concerning his trip from Bodega via Basilii Farm (probably Tschernik ranch near present Bodega Corners) Sandels (1945, p. 80) wrote:

> An old Indian had engaged to guide me. It was most astonishing to see such affection as the Indians had for their former harsh and tyrannical masters, and how they took me in their good graces, fancying I was in some way related to them. There had been in this establishment a great many Finlanders, and as I was a true model of one, I suppose they reckoned I belonged to them. The old men and women came asking me in the Russian language after this and the other of my "gone countrymen," and, as I chanced to know something about them, I became quite a favorite. I took this favorable turn to attach them to my friend Capt. Smith's interests (Stephen Smith, who was granted Bodega Rancho.) He was very glad to hire their labor and to pay them well.

Upon his arrival at Fort Ross, Sandels noted that everything was quiet and in ruins. Sandels thought the population had been a thousand people, of whom one hundred were Russians. This number appears excessive in view of other information, and Sandels formed it through the descriptions of others. The traveler examined the boathouses and tanning vats, the ruins of the deserted houses near the fort, the orchard, and the small wheat plot of three acres. Finally, Sandels was received into the fort itself by some Indian women who opened the gate and allowed him to inspect the buildings inside the fort.

The next day, Sandels left an area which he found gloomy and abandoned looking, and with his guide returned to Bodega, visiting the "so-called Russian Indians" en route.

> They were a fine, healthy and active set of men, willing to work with foreigners though they denied their services to the Spaniards and Mexicans out of antipathy for former ill usage. They lived, as did the other Indian tribes, sometimes wandering about, sometimes settled. Their huts were round, well constructed and half underground. They seemed to retire more and more from the neighborhood of the white man (Sandels, 1945, p. 82).

From this allusion we may assume that the Indians had acquired habits of work through their association with the Russians, but they still through necessity or choice changed their residences, probably in the pursuit of food. The fact that these Indians used semi-subterranean dwellings makes it seem probable that they lived south of the Russian River, and were more likely to have been Coast Miwok than Southwestern Pomo. Conical bark huts, above ground, were the typical dwellings of the coastal Pomo.

The Spanish Influence

Fort Ross took on a new importance when William Benitz was sent there by Sutter as his major domo, succeeding John Bidwell. Benitz later rented from Sutter, in partnership with Ernest Rufus. Rufus related that he found wild oats that grew to ten feet when he came to Fort Ross. Since the Indians set the grain fields afire to collect the grains, fences and small houses outside the fort were destroyed (Anonymous, 1880, p. 368). Fort Ross and environs, known as The Muniz Grant, was awarded to Manuel Torres, brother-in-law of Stephen Smith of Bodega Rancho, in 1845. Benitz thereupon bought out Torres' title and began to farm the area in his own right.

Concerning the residence of Benitz and his relations with the Indians, the History of Sonoma County made the following account:

> Benitz continued to reside here for a number of years. He had a large band of well trained Indians, and it is said that he could get more work out of them and managed them more systematically than any other rancher in the State. He had a large bell which was rung at six in the morning. The Indians all arose at the sound of the bell, and having dressed, they formed in a line and marched up to the commissariat when the rations for breakfast and a drink of whisky were issued to each man. At seven they had their breakfast and were in the field at work. At half-past eleven the bell rang again and all marched up again and received their allowances, whisky included. Work was resumed at one in the afternoon. At six the bell called them in from the labors of the day and rations and whisky were again issued. Benitz finally disposed of the Muniz Rancho to various parties and went to South America where he died a few years since (Anonymous, 1880, p. 374).

It seems debatable, to say the least, that an employer should issue whisky rations so early in the day, and this tight-order type of agriculture sounds unlikely with Indian labor. The Indians recall Benitz in a more realistic fashion. Alice Meyers said that her mother cared for the Benitz children. Mrs. Benitz showed the people how to make coffee, and Benitz showed the Indians how to cook white foods. There were a number of Spanish-Mexicans employed by Benitz, including a Mexican priest, and most of the people of that generation learned Spanish, since the Benitz family spoke to the Indians in Spanish, and many of the other employees spoke Spanish. Alice Meyers said that her mother, Maria, and her sister Helena were baptized by the Spanish priest, as were Marie James and her sister Helena. Alice Meyers said that her mother told her that the people followed the Catholic way for some years -- probably as long as the Benitz family was in residence, until 1859.

From the Mexicans, the Indians learned to make flour tortillas, which are still a major item in the present diet. Benitz raised potatoes, wheat, and barley, employing Indian women to clean the barley by winnowing it with baskets, as they did with wild grains. Benitz gave sacks of barley and peas to the families of men who worked for him. At this time

the Indians learned to eat clabbered milk with potatoes, a combination which is no longer popular. The Indians continued to consume their favorite foods such as acorns, shellfish, seagrass, and kelp.

According to several informants, the Indian women of that time avoided the Mexican cowboys if possible, because they mistreated the women, in contrast with the Russians, who did not have that reputation. It was said that an Indian woman alone was likely to be raped by the Mexican cowboys employed by Benitz. ---

The Fort Ross natives were exposed to an attack by Spanish-Californians, which illustrates the ruthless attitude which they held toward unbaptized Indians. This raid occurred in 1845, during the tenancy of Benitz, and was in the nature of a recruitment expedition to secure free labor. Benitz (MS, p. 395) wrote to the civil authorities complaining of the raid made on his property.

> While absent from the Presidio [Fort Ross] the other day on business, Anto. Castro, Rafael Garcia, Mariano Smith, Steward Sobero, Mnl. and Nasario Sais, came to the presidio, broke open my house, they have abused the Indians which I kept in charge, and have nearly killed the chief, they have stolen a number of things from me and have plundered the Indian Village.

Following this complaint, a process was served against Antonio Castro and his companions in August, 1845, in Sonoma. According to testimony, the group, consisting of some fifteen men, went to the coast with the intention of capturing some young, healthy Indians to use as servants and laborers. According to testimony, several groups of gentile Indians from various rancherias, numbering 150 in all, were taken by the marauding party. They killed at least three Indians during this operation. At Ross, the party seized two captains or chiefs and belabored them in an

effort to secure more Indians. Entering the house of Brcitz forcibly, the men seized several Indian women found there and raped them. The next day they took fifty children and young people from the nearby rancherias and left with them for San Rafael. The testimony stated further that these Indians had been at peace with their neighbors, the Spanish-Americans of nearby ranchos, and that the Indians had not resisted or harmed any of the raiding party (Archives, MS, p. 387).

Such a flagrant disregard of the rights of person and liberty was not forgotten by the Indians, and accounts for the distrust of Mexicans which characterized the Southwestern Pomo throughout the historic period.

Relationship Between Indians and Whites

The Gold Rush of 1848-1851 left the Southwestern Pomo unaffected, since there were no gold bearing streams in their area, although it had disastrous consequences on aborigines elsewhere in California (Cook, 1943c). The long-range result of the Gold Rush was the settling of the area by more white settlers, homesteaders from Missouri or the Middle West primarily, who brought with them prejudices against the Indians which made any rapprochement between the two races difficult indeed. During the fifties, there were a number of episodes in Northern California reported in newspapers of the period concerning the kidnapping of Indian children or young girls by unscrupulous whites to sell as servants (Hayes Scraps, V, 35, copy #166). The only instance given of a Southwestern Pomo being kidnapped was Jack, who told Barrett that he was stolen by a ship's captain near Big River, just before the Mendocino Reservation was opened in 1856 (Barrett, 1952, 1, p. 18). The practice of kidnapping indicates the

disregard which the whites had for the rights of the aborigines. The ruthless and often bloody efforts to drive Indians into a reservation and hold them there by military force evidenced a similar callous indifference to the rights of the natives.

Since the first settlers were usually single men, they often formed liaisons with native women which resulted in a high degree of infusion of Caucasian blood among the Coastal Indians. An early history of the area by Palmer (1880, p. 169) reports:

> There were quite a number of men who, in the early days, cohabited with the tawny daughters of the forest, and there are quite a number of half-breed children in the county as a result. These children are the most unfortunate of all people. They are too good to associate with the people of their mothers, and not a whit better than their mothers' people in the estimation of the whites.
>
> The majority of the men who, in an early day, consorted with Indian women, as soon as practicable married white women.

Palmer noted that in some parts of Sonoma County the whites resented having the half-breed children in school in contact with their children, especially with their daughters. Herman James said that no Indian children went to school with Benitz's children, but the practice changed later. At least by the nineties, Indian children in western Sonoma County shared the local grammar school facilities with their white age-mates.

Although in most of northern California, the dominant white group favored moving Indians to reservations in order to remove hazards to cattle raising or farming, this fate was not meted out to the Southwestern Pomo. A reservation was established in 1856 above the mouth of the Noyo River in Mendocino County, to which the Northern Pomo, some Coast Central

Pomo, and even the Coast Miwok of Bodega Corners were removed by popular demand of the whites, but there is no record that the Indians between the Russian and Gualala rivers were sent there. The reservation did not provide for the needs of the people, hence the records indicate that the Indians left the reservation as rapidly as they were brought on. Military expeditions were sent out from Fort Bragg to recapture these runaways. This reservation was abandoned in 1867 (Palmer, 1880, p. 169).

It seems probable that the natives were spared impressment into Mendocino Reservation because the local economy of the Sonoma Coast could use Indian labor. Benitz used Indian laborers in his agricultural efforts, to which reference has been made earlier. Although Benitz employed the Indians, it is interesting to note that in 1856 he replied to an inquiry from Superintendent Henley that it would be best for the Indians to remove them to a reserve where they would "have overseers there that compel them to cultivate the ground, in order to raise sufficient produce to supply them" (U.S. Congress, 1856, pp. 793-794). Benitz noted further that the Indians were completely happy so long as they had sufficient game, shellfish, and fish, and were content to eat and sleep only. Benitz took no account of the devotion which the Californian Indian has to his original home or to his native diet, yet in other ways he appears to have been sympathetic to the Indians. Benitz noted that the people burned the dead, cremating clothing, beads, and provisions; that they believed in witchcraft, including the power of transformation into a bear. From Benitz's statement, the diet consisted mainly of the aboriginal foods: "acorns, wild oats, manzanitas, different roots, herbs, game, fish, shellfish, sea grass, etc." (U.S. Congress, 1856, p. 794).

Those Indians living along the coast, he said, thought themselves best off, because sea foods were always available.

The Earth Lodge Cult

One other story current among the present generation of Southwestern Pomo concerns their initial contact with the Earth Lodge cult, a secondary development of the 1870 Ghost Dance, and its nearly disastrous consequences. This story was given separately to the writer by Herman James, Essie Parrish, and Alice Meyers, and is in substance the same. The version given by Alice Meyers is recorded here. The time is probably 1872.

"They got a message from Lake County, that the world was coming to an end. They were afraid, and believed it, so they all went over. They packed their things. Some abandoned things, some put them away. They already used wheat, and dutch ovens; they took them and comforters, started traveling. They had knives and axes to make trails, go over mountains and down the river. Some doubters blazed a trail by tying the limbs of trees. They went through to Lake County, the people from different tribes. This Lake County preacher told them that anything they brought with them would turn to stone, and they would turn to stone. The Indians in the valley were glad to see them, gave picnics and dances.

One day they gathered in an open field, the coast Indians on one side, the valley people on the other. They said there was an Indian who was raised by the whites, knew their language. He told the whites the Indians were gathered to make war on people. The whites sent for the Army. The Army told the Fort Ross people to line up, were getting ready to shoot them. Old lady Moxaria [mother of Marie James] ran to the

officer with a piece of paper given by Benitz. The officer read the paper, said, 'These people aren't warlike, they are taken care of at Fort Ross, by American people.' They sent the army away. They stayed there three months, then the people came home. They almost starved on the road, because they didn't have enough food. From Lake County to Ukiah, four or five people died and were cremated en route home. Then the people scattered, went home to Fort Ross again, until Benitz left the country."*

Not only was there a cordial relationship between Benitz and the Indians at Fort Ross, but also between other scattered groups and the white ranch owners along the coast, such as at Porter Ranch and behind Fisk's Mill. Benitz lived at Fort Ross until 1867, although he had sold the property earlier (Bancroft, 1885a, p. 716). The Indians say that Dixon, a subsequent owner, didn't want them at Fort Ross, so they went up the coast, most of them settling on the ranch belonging to Charles Haupt, who had married an Indian woman. This probably occurred in the sixties, since Stephen Powers found them settled at the Haupt Rancheria at the time of his visit in 1871 or 1872, though a remnant group dwelt near Fort Ross.

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*Powers (1877, p. 210), states that many Indians went to Clear Lake with written passes from their employers. They stayed so long that many Americans thought a general uprising was planned. Others complained that it was a relapse into savagery.

Powers' Visit to the Southwestern Pomo

The visit made by Powers to the Gua-lá-la, or Southwestern Pomo, is recorded in his Tribes of California (Powers, 1877). These observations are amusing and instructive in a reconstruction of the post-contact history of the tribe. Of the material culture remaining from the aboriginal period, Powers noted the use of conical-shaped houses of redwood bark, the manufacture of feather-trimmed basketry of fine workmanship, baskets for harvesting wild oats or pounding acorns, employment of mortar and pestle for pounding acorns or pinole flour, the snare noose for taking game, and the straight pipe for smoking tobacco. Of the native foods, Powers observed that acorns were mainly used, also wild oats for pinole, wild roots called hí-po, clams, and mussels.

Concerning other aspects of Indian life, Powers remarked on the native addiction to gambling, which he observed until past midnight, but which continued until two a.m., he was told. The favorite gambling game, odd or even, is that described by the Russian Baer (1839, p. 72) forty years earlier. The gambling sticks consisted of four bone cylinders, about two inches long, two of which were plain and two marked with rings and strings around them. There were two opposing players on each team, consisting usually of the older men. These men squatted on their knees on opposite sides of the fire, and juggled the cylinders and fine grass in their hands. The opponents sought to guess in which hand the marked bone would be. Twelve counters were used by each side, and when all of these were won or lost, the game was over. Powers observed that the assemblage, about forty men, women, and children, split into two groups and wagered on the opposing players. They matched silver money, beads,

clothing, and blankets to an amount Powers thought equalled $150, which was considerable for this group. The winning side doubled their winnings (Powers, 1877, pp. 189-191).

Powers noted that these Indians counted beads up to one thousand, slept naked, used the sweathouse and cold water baths; that they abhorred marriage to a cousin, chieftainship was hereditary, and the present social system patriarchal. Powers referred to the annual autumnal games, which lasted for two weeks, at which time the people had the spear dance, gambling, and other festivities.

Of the specific ceremonial observances among the Southwestern Pomo, Powers (1877, p. 194) has left us a description of what he calls the devil dance.

> In the midst of the ordinary dances there comes rushing upon the scene an ugly apparition in the shape of a man, wearing a feather mantle on his back reaching from the arm-pits down to the mid-thighs, zebra-painted on his breast and legs with black strips, bear-skin shako on his head, and his arms stretched out at full length along a staff passing behind his neck. Accoutered in this harlequin rig he dashes at the squaws, capering, dancing, whooping; and they and the children flee for life, keeping several hundred yards between him and themselves. If they are so unfortunate as to touch even his stick all their children will perish out of hand.

Even more colorful, but subject to the distortion of his own images of the rites, was the description of the ceremonies of another group of the Southwestern Pomo, living at the mouth of the Russian River, whom Powers (1877, p. 194) called the E-ri-o.

> In their autumnal games, which continue as long as the provisions they have brought hold out, they have the spear dance, the dance of seven devils, the black-bear dance, etc. The dance of seven devils is like the devil dance of the Gualala, only there are seven devils instead of one, and they are more devilish, having horns on their heads, forked tails, and the like. In the black-bear dance they dress

> a man in a black bearskin and dance around him with hideous noise, being naked, but zebra-painted with black, and wearing coronals of long feathers. Possibly this may be an act of fetichism, performed, as the Indians cautiously say of all such doings, 'for luck'; because nearly all tribes regard the black bear in distinction from the grizzly as peculiarly of happy omen (p. 195).

These dances were equated by Powers to the devil dance of the Bavarian peasants, which were presumed to keep women and children in subjection to the adult males. Although Powers probably was given this reason for the ceremonies, it appears that he misinterpreted the evidence. The secret society of the Kuksu was not designed to subjugate women; there were, in fact, women initiates as well as men, and it was not an essential part of the society to guard the virtue of the women (Kroeber, 1925, p. 263). Powers (1877, p. 194) referred to a death and resurrection or spear piercing ceremony among the Southwestern Pomo, but does not state if he observed it.

Other observations on the Gualala Pomo were of a general nature. Powers commented on the effort which went into two weeks of dancing, stating that "like all savages they can stand the fatigue of amusements much better than they can the steady, hard grubbing which gets bread and meat" (p. 193). Of the gamblers, Powers observed that they accepted their losses good naturedly, unless they had been drinking. This complaint began to grow serious at the Haupt rancheria dating from this period.

Powers made a comparative study among various branches of the Pomo and other tribes of California in 1871-72, which may be of value in placing the group being studied in perspective for the period. Of the Pomo as a whole, Powers (1877, p. 146) wrote, "In disposition the Pomo are . . . simple, friendly, peaceable, and inoffensive. They are much less cunning and avaricious, and less quickly imitative of the whites than the lively tribes on the Klamath to whom they are inferior in intellect." It would

appear that Powers' criterion of intelligence was rapid adoption of the traits of his own civilization.

Concerning family relationships of the Pomo, Powers said that the whites found Indian parents reluctant to chastise their children, at most using berating words when in a frenzy (p. 153). Marriage still amounted to a form of wife purchase, since the bridegroom made generous gifts to the parents of the bride (p. 157). If there was disagreement between the couple, they separated, the wife keeping the children (p. 178). Powers observed the demonstrations of mourners at a funeral, where they threw themselves to the ground, sacrificed prized possessions in the funeral pyre, and evidenced their grief (p. 169, 172). For the year following, the dead were mourned two hours in the morning and two hours in the evening daily, by songs and wailing of the relatives (p. 182). American influence was such that some of the dead were buried rather than cremated (p. 152). Shell-money was still used in payment of crimes, or for adoption into a family (p. 177). The death and resurrection spearing ceremony of the Southern Pomo is described (p. 179) as are the Northern Pomo religious rites where men wore blazing torches on their heads (p. 159). Powers reported that the shaman treated native patients by scarifying, after which blood and the presumed disease object were sucked out (p. 181).

The remnants of the Southern Pomo were found by Powers living on a farmer's land near Healdsburg, where they gave some services in exchange for surplus foods and cast-off clothing. Among the Indians there was generous sharing of whatever any individual had in surplus. The basis of the secret society among the Pomo was inferred by Powers as due to the sexual promiscuity of the women (p. 158). In a chapter describing one branch of the Pomo, Powers (p. 171) expressed the view that "the California

Indians while accepting our outward customs cling tenaciously to their ancient beliefs."

The Indians at the Close of the Nineteenth Century

The general picture is that of a people of a simple culture, dwindling in number and engulfed in a more aggressive group of human society, who managed somehow to preserve what seemed to them the essential rituals of life. This people accepted those aspects of the dominant culture -- such as wage work, clothing, or foods -- which were necessary for survival, but rejected the values of the stronger group. The problem of adjustment, or process of acculturation, was that the situation could not remain static. Increasing utilization of land resources by the dominant whites meant less liberty and a decreasing native food supply, which enforced a greater dependence upon wage work. Cultivation of the soil was not traditional among the Pomo, and their tenuous land rights made such labor less rewarding.

Powers' observations among the Pomo indicates that the Kuksu and ghost religions existed among them until the emergence of the ghost dance religion in the form of the earth lodge and Bole-Maru cults. Loeb (1926, p. 394) states that the aboriginal cults were culminated by the ghost dance religion, and extinguished by it. The secret societies ceased to exist, and religious leadership passed to the dreamers.

The results of the first fifty years of contact with American culture had been increasing circumscription of the physical and social world for the Indian. He was permitted to reside in his native heath only upon the sufferance of the whites who legally owned the land. The Indians were found to be useful in the lumber industry, and in agricultural work.

Concerning their physical disposal during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, we have the following information:

> In 1871 there was still a fragment of the tribe living at Ross though most of them had moved to the Charlie Haupt Ranch or po'tol. Mr. Edward Kruse, pioneer ranch owner, said that when his father had bought the Kruse Ranch in 1877, there had been an Indian settlement back of each ranch in the area between Stewarts Point and Fort Ross. The Kruse Ranch which had been part of the German Rancho had about twenty or thirty Indians living on it up to the early 1890's. Most of them were Fort Ross Indians. The men worked at the landings while the women worked in the homes of the rancheros. By 1903 at the time of Barrett's trip up the coast, about half the tribe had moved down to the old village site of dana'ga, just south of Stewarts Point, to work in the logging camps. The number always varied according to the amount of work to be had in the forests (Kroeber, MS, pp. 62-63).

In addition to the work along the coast, the Indians were in the habit of going to the Russian River valley to work, seasonally picking hops or fruit. This work was done by each family as a group, or by the women and children if the men were otherwise employed. According to accounts, the chief, Sam Ross, contracted for their labor as a group, and paid each family on the basis of the work done. The season over, the people then returned to the rancheria at the Haupt Ranch.

Since the whites found some of the Indians' living habits objectionable, or at least peculiar, the dominant white majority usually exhibited some condescension in their relationship to the Indians. Whites always employed Indians, rather than the other way around. Except for the employment of Indian women in the homes of the rancheros, there was no visiting back and forth in the homes, according to the statements of older residents of the coast. This permanent relationship of superordination by the whites and subordination by the aborigines confirmed in the minds of the dominant group the belief that the relationship was due to inherent biological superiority. A history of Sonoma County by Gregory

(1911, p. 53) represents this conventional view held by the whites.

> But at the present day the Indians in this and adjoining counties, through association with the superior race, have improved on their animal-like progenitors. They have exchanged the unclean rancheria, the unwholesome fare, for the neater and more sanitary home near some fruit or hop ranch where they find employment and opportunities to imitate in dress and manner, the whites. Like all 'animals bred and reared in captivity,' a domestic instinct, from somewhere, appears and marks a change.

It is not surprising therefore to find that the one avenue of escape left to the Indians was retreat into a world which was inaccessible to the whites: religion, through which they were to go to a special heaven. While the aboriginal religious cults had been absorbed and reinterpreted into the new religions based on the 1870 ghost dance movement, both used the concept of the return of the dead. The development of the new cults will be discussed in a separate chapter, but it is important to recognize the social setting in which the new cults arose. White contact represented a threat to all native values, and in response the new cults provided an expression of group solidarity as members of the same race and believers in the same faith.

The attitude of most whites toward Indian religious customs is indicated in the following passage:

> The veneer of civilization is thin, and at times all throw aside its garb and in scant feathered skirts join in the barbaric dances and sing the weird songs of long ago (Purdy, 1902, p. 13).

These whites had little understanding or sympathy with a race of people who belonged to another tradition and practiced different customs.

It was in this setting that a series of preachers or dreamers arose to represent the link with the supernatural, took over the function of

uring formerly belonging to members of the secret societies, and provided
the stabilizing element in the native cultural tradition.

CHAPTER V

DAILY LIFE

General History and Background

The first impression of the Kashia community of the Southwestern Pomo is of a collection of frame houses set back on a dirt road, which is the through road from Stewart's Point to Healdsburg. The most impressive structure is the large white school building, which has "Kashia" painted on the front. A branch road through the southern part of reservation land has another cluster of houses and the dance house, or roundhouse, as it is commonly called, branching off from it. This road leads to the lumber mill where several of the men are employed, and south to mountain ranches.

A closer inspection of the houses shows some which appear to be quite old, some which are of new lumber and unpainted, and others in a middling state of repair, with whitewashed exteriors. There were twenty-one houses on the reservation, not including the dance house and the school buildings, during the winter of 1952-53; fourteen of the houses were occupied by eighteen families. This population of slightly less than one hundred persons represents seventy-five per cent of the number of individuals now living, listed as members of Kashia Tribe (or Southwestern Pomo) by the Sacramento Area Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The present (1940) census of Kashia lists 117 persons, of whom 87 were living at Kashia reservation where they were enrolled. Ninety-nine persons claimed to be full-blood, while others are listed as of three-fourths Indian blood. There were approximately twenty-five families in the Southwestern Pomo. The 1929 figure for the Southwestern Pomo was 109, hence present figures indicate a gain in total population.

Approximately half of the houses are enclosed by fences; the others stand forlorn, for it is impossible to grow and protect a garden without a fence. The domestic but unpenned hogs, half a dozen or so with their offspring, are too destructive to unprotected plants. Inside the fence or behind the houses a privy is located for each household, like the pattern of rural America until recent years. The visitor soon learns that the most common complaint about living conditions at the reservation is the shortage of water. Located on a hogback of the mountain, there is very little water naturally available. Of the four wells on the reservation, three usually run dry during the rainless season of August and September. The school uses only water which has been hauled from a nearby river and stored in a tank on the school grounds. The central well and tank used by most of the community often is out of repair, which means that women must haul water by bucket farther than usual. Only three homes have water piped into them, and this modernization cannot be used when the central pumping system breaks down, as often happens.

Inside the houses was an interesting blend of the very modern and the old. The majority of women had up-to-date butane gas stoves, and six of them had large gas burning refrigerators of the most modern type. Yet there was no electricity, for electrical service had not reached that

part of the Sonoma Coast as yet, and oil burning lamps were the rule.* There was no telephone service for any family or structure on the reservation. Two of the houses had living rooms furnished with couches, separate from the kitchen, but in most houses, the kitchen served as the central gathering place, furnished with a simple board table and straight-backed chairs.

The interior of the houses varied from a plain clapboard to the use of wallpaper, but this was done without any attempt to beautify it or to keep the wallpaper fresh. There were no pictures on the wall, except calendars. In many homes photographs of absent family members or relatives were placed on tables or other furniture. One home displayed the framed certificate of marriage at the temple in Salt Lake City over the mantel of a fireplace. This home, built by a white man before the reservation was established there, has the only fireplace used on the reservation. Most of the homes were heated by wood-burning stoves, for which the men supplied wood, even though butane gas stoves were used for cooking.

Since most of the houses are one- or at most two-bedroom homes, it is necessary for parents and children to sleep in beds placed in the same room. In several houses where a married child and spouse shared a dwelling with the parents, they had also to share the same sleeping room with their parents and their children. This is not regarded as an invasion of privacy to the same extent as it is by middle-class Americans; the people are used to living in close quarters from childhood. The idea of living alone is far more disturbing to them, and only one old man lives

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* Electricity did come to the reservation in the autumn of 1953.

in a house by himself. He has no child with a household to which he can attach himself, as is true of the other old people.

Standard equipment in every house is the washing machine. This is operated by a gas-burning motor, usually standing in the yard where the overflow water can run out during the washing operation. Three of the homes have sewing machines. All but two of the families possess a car, these exceptions being the old man and a young man just returned from military service. In several yards lies the wreckage of past automobiles which are no longer operable.

In the opinion of whites of the area, the Indians lack judgment in the purchases which they make. This is especially noticeable in the purchase of the more expensive model of car, or the most modern type of gas-burning stove or refrigerator. One family purchased the largest model refrigerator on the market, although a smaller or less recent model would have done as well. Clothing, too, is purchased in large amounts, but little attention is given to the question of repair and upkeep. These major expenditures are generally bought on time through the storekeepers at Stewart's Point or Santa Rosa. As the men were fully employed in the year 1952, their credit with these stores was good.

Why do the people remain on the mountain under living conditions which appear to be so difficult, compared with the modern facilities of life in Healdsburg and Santa Rosa or the adjacent valley area, only two hours away? At first examination, the reason would appear to be economic, for the lumber industry employs most of the men resident at the reservation. Fifteen of the eighteen men worked in the woods or the mills during the season; two were over sixty-five and one was unemployed. Lumber wages run high, fifteen to twenty dollars a day. Fortunately, the mill

which employs both white and Indian labor is only a mile from the reservation, which makes it easier for the men to live there. Work accessibility has possibly been the reason that six Point Arena men, some married to women from Kashia and some with Indian wives from the valley, live on the reservation. Without this economic incentive, such a development is unlikely, for the general practice at present is location with the husband's people.

Yet the answer is not wholly economic, although it appears to be. The people lived at Kashia before there was a revival of the lumber industry, and at the Haupt Ranch before they had learned any of the necessary lumbering skills. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Indians had lived in scattered family groups on various ranches between Jenner and Gualala, as noted earlier, and at Stewart's Point, where a number were employed. There was, and still is, a strong attachment among the Indians to their coastal home. Even though individuals or families went seasonally to work in the Russian River valley, they returned in the winter to the rancheria at Haupt Ranch.

After the Indians were requested to relinquish their rancheria at the Haupt Ranch, about 1912, there was considerable discussion as to where a reservation would be located. Many of the people wanted to live on the coast, and requested purchase of a coastal ranch. When the representative of the Indian Agency came to purchase land for them, the people found they had to compromise their desires to what money was available. Kashia Reservation was purchased in 1914 by a representative of the Indian Bureau for $1100. The forty acre plot included a homestead, well, and family orchard (U.S. Off. Ind. Affairs, MS). One of the older men told of his participation in the purchase:

> A government man came to see me. I thought of Salt Point [a coastal ranch], it seems like a place near the ocean is better. I asked the man how much money he had. It was $2000. I said you can't buy anything here with that. Hiram Hobles had this place for $1250. He [the agent] said that was too much. I said, 'Hiram, you know all the Indians, we been working for you all this time. If you give a reasonable price, we will have a home.' So Hiram said, he can have it for $1100. The Government man wrote a check for it. The Government man said, 'You can raise cattle, hogs up there.' I didn't figure nothing, I didn't know any better. There was no work here, only for Richardson [at Stewart's Point].

This statement indicates several things about the relationship between Indians and whites. First was the acceptance of the fact that the government would offer very little to assure the security of the Indian community, while a local man, who had known the Indians well, might be willing to concede more in their behalf. The Indians, by the early part of the twentieth century, were accustomed to taking the subordinate position to the whites. It is likely that the Indians had learned that accepting a subordinate role made it possible to secure guidance and protection from the more privileged whites.

At the time of this purchase, there was discussion of requesting the government to buy land in the Russian River valley for the tribe, but in view of the small amount of money available for purchase, this movement was ignored. Majority sentiment favored a coastal location, and the new cult leader, Annie Jarvis, seemed to favor an isolated location for the Indian group. Even the removal from the Haupt Ranch to the new location, some four miles away, was attended by ceremony, as Herman James explained:

> Annie Jarvis told the people to stay here, where the roundhouse was, ever since she began dreaming. Annie Jarvis told the people you have to have great sacrifices to move the roundhouse. She didn't want to move. She made big picnic, big dances, to move

the roundhouse. They brought the center post from the other roundhouse. They dedicated the roundhouse with a prayer and dance. All the adults danced.

At the new reservation, the farm house of the former owner was occupied by the chief, Robert Smith. Other houses were constructed by men when they had time and material. A dozen houses were constructed by the husband of the schoolteacher during the late twenties and early thirties, as a contribution to the people's welfare.

The nineteen thirties were a lean time for everyone, especially for the Indians. One man in a family was eligible for road work on the W.P.A. (Work Progress Administration), but others found it hard to obtain employment.

Housing on the Reservation

In 1936, the Bureau of Indian Affairs inaugurated a new policy to enable the Indians to achieve a measure of economic and social security. This plan was the purchase of additional land for Indian groups so that they could be partially self sustaining, and where they would be near a labor market. A number of tribes took advantage of this offer, including the related Central Pomo of Point Arena, who established a dairy on land purchased in their behalf and built new homes on long-term loans.

This opportunity was offered to the Southwestern Pomo of Kashia Reservation, as the Indian Bureau realized that the site was inadequate in its water supply and potential use. The group split as to its desire where to get new land; some again requesting land on the coast; others desiring land in the Russian River valley, and the conservatives fearing any change. The coastal ranch which some of the Indians wanted consisted of thousands of acres of grazing land, valued at $100,000. The

government refused to make this heavy investment.

The faction which proposed buying orchard property in the Russian River valley was outvoted. It was pointed out that the men didn't know how to prune or run orchards, but this seems like an excuse to cover a reluctance to move, to place themselves in a position of mixing with the whites. Most informants state that the prime factor in opposing the move to the valley was Annie Jarvis, the cult leader. She told the people that she had had a revelation that all the Indians would die off if they left Kashia.

The offer to purchase other land was made again in 1939 by a representative of the Indian Bureau at Sacramento. In response to this offer, the Indian community requested the government to purchase an additional forty acres next to the reservation which, they said, had a good spring "which never goes dry." The Irrigation Service of the Office of Indian Affairs reported to the contrary that the flow of this water supply was too small in August, the dry month, even to measure. By 1940, the Sacramento Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs took the position that because of adverse reports on the development of water resources at Kashia, and the problem of water pollution, there was no justifiable reason for considering further proposals for developing water (U.S. Ofc. Ind. Affairs, MS, 1940).

The final statement on the Government's position was made by the superintendent of the Sacramento office in a letter to the chairman of the Tribal Council. This stated that no additional adjoining land would be purchased as the water situation was not improved, and that indecision by the Indians would forfeit the possibility of securing other land.

> This is probably the last chance for a number of years for buying land elsewhere for the Washia; there is not a cent in the appropriation for the fiscal year beginning July 1st with which to purchase land, and in view of the war situation Indian Service appropriations for some years are likely to be drastically cut. (U.S. Ofc. Ind. Affairs, MS, 1939).*

The administration view and statement seemed reasonable and have proved to be correct. Although the Indians expressed their opinion that no other group of Californian Indians has been so unjustly compensated, the future gives no evidence of further government help.

At the present time, housing appears sub-standard primarily because of lack of water, a condition which is crucial during three months of the year. For this reason, gardens must be abandoned, shrubs and flowers wither, and a refinement such as a lawn cannot be maintained. More significantly, there is no incentive to install plumbing for kitchen or bathroom use if water is not available during a quarter of the year. Despite the difficulties of housekeeping, a good standard of cleanliness is maintained. Children usually look fresh and clean for school, men and women appear in clean cotton work clothes for daily use. For women with large families, this means frequent and heavy laundry work.

The reservation as a whole gives an impression of a declining community. This is due in part to the empty houses, of which there were five on the reservation in the winter of 1952-53. Several of these were boarded up and the others had broken window panes, which gave a desolate look to the houses. Also, broken fences, old cars in the yard, and bare ground around the houses give the impression of abandonment to Americans used to planted areas and more carefully maintained residences.

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* Letter of Superintendent Nash to Robert Smith.

However, the contrast of housing on the reservation with that of the rural coastal area is not a sharp one. The ranch homes are more modern and relatively better furnished, but the cabins and shacks used by white personnel of the lumber camps are no better than the reservation houses and often are less desirable. Lumber camps established for limited occupancy have no flush plumbing and are utilitarian in function.

Social Organization

The influence of the cult leader in the refusal of a land purchase in the Russian River valley indicates the strength which the religious leader has possessed among the Southwestern Pomo. The secular leader or chief, was not, as the data on the aboriginal cult indicate, the controlling voice in community affairs. Further, in the last thirty-five years the leader has been an elected rather than an hereditary chief. He represents the community in negotiations with the outside world and acts as spokesman vis-à-vis the government, but his authority is subject to public opinion. The custom of common consent has made it difficult for the "progressives" to come to any agreement with the "conservatives." Those who found themselves at variance with the majority opinion could block any action, or might simply remain quietly opposed.

The chiefs since the period of Russian contact were Toyon (also the Russian term for all native leaders), his son Tehama, and Sam Ross, who was either a cousin or brother of the last chief, according to George James. Sam Ross was the last hereditary chief, who exhorted the people, taught them how to behave, and arranged hop-picking expeditions to the valley. After the death of Sam Ross, in 1908, Robert Smith, who was not

related, was named chief. He was succeeded by his son, who left the reservation at the beginning of World War II. At that time, Sidney Parrish was chosen as the new leader, or chairman of the tribal council.

Particularly since the rise of the Bole-Maru cult, it appears that the religious leader, or dreamer, is the one who gives force and direction to the life of the community. By her forceful opinions and religious sanctions, Annie Jarvis shaped the community more than did any other secular leader. The opinion of an anthropologist may be of interest in this connection. Du Bois, visiting the Kashia reservation in 1932 or 1933, stated: "The coherence of the social life centers in the Bole-Maru, and in this realm Annie Jarvis represents the ultimate source of authority" (Du Bois, 1939, p. 101).

At the present time, even with the transfer of religious affiliation to the Latter Day Saints Church, Essie Parrish, the cult leader, is the voice of the community. It is reported that her husband, a Point Arena man, was elected chairman of the tribal council primarily because of her position in the group.

The social structure of the reservation depends primarily upon kinship groupings. Thus Essie Parrish counts on the support first of all of her immediate family, then of her sisters and their children, and finally of relatives of more distant degree. Reliance on support by kinship grouping was recorded for those ceremonies which occurred in the past, and for such survivals as are scheduled at present. Currently Essie Parrish is president of the Women's Relief Society of the Latter Day Saints Church, and the meetings are invariably held in her home. Similarly, the Sunday school, church, and the Wednesday evening social events are held in her house.

Besides the major groupings of those committed to the teachings of Essie Parrish and to the new revelation, there are several informal groupings in which she is not included. One of these consists of the Pomo women from Point Arena married to Kashia men, who have never joined wholeheartedly in local affairs. They return to their maternal home for family festivities or dances, and have not indicated any interest in joining the Mormon church or its social program.

The other grouping which is not subject to the influence of the cult leader is the Pentecostal group, which is united against the "idolatry" of the cult, and considers itself a doctrinal body separate from the Mormon church. This consists of three devoted members, several children, and occasional participation by other members of the community or visiting whites.

The development of religion will be considered in a separate chapter, but its interrelationship with other aspects of life is obvious.

Concepts of Property

What is left of native patterns of living after years of adaptation to the economic life set by the Americans? How do these people behave differently, or hold values at variance with that of any rural white community?

Housing is one point of distinction. Although the reservation has been home for more than thirty years, few of the houses show evidence of that remodeling or "improving" which is typical of American life today. This is due to several factors. First, a house may be occupied by a succession of inhabitants. If the head of the family has employment elsewhere, the family moves out and the empty house may be pre-empted by

another family upon application to the Council. No rent is paid for occupancy of such a house, as all houses are regarded as community holdings. Second, there is no incentive to improve a house which can be neither rented nor sold. It is not surprising if the Indians exhibit reluctance to invest capital under these circumstances. The third reason for disinterest in remodeling is that modernization gives no particular prestige in Indian society.

The question of property ownership awaits the solution of the reservation land itself. The Sacramento office of the Indian Bureau is seeking to end reservation status for all Indians under its jurisdiction. To this end, a representative has presented the alternatives to the residents of Kashia: to allot the land, to sell it, or to hold the property as an incorporated group. As there are but forty acres, it is obvious that there is not enough land for all registered members of the tribe. The majority opinion of those living at Kashia was for allotment, first choice going to those in residence, and the remainder of the land to be distributed among people living off the reservation but registered as members of the tribe.

Personal property as much as real property is subject to the claims of kinship. There is a considerable amount of lending and borrowing of equipment or tools amongst closely related people, which can be discomfiting to the nominal owner. Borrowing of money, which may or may not be repaid, also is prevalent. One man who has property and is chary of the practice has the reputation of being stingy. Both he and his wife are gossiped about because they keep themselves aloof and do not lend freely.

Children reflect the attitudes of their parents by borrowing

clothing from one another, sometimes simply by entering the house and taking it. During my winter of residence, there was an instance of a girl who borrowed a blouse from her cousin. When the second girl requested the return a month later, the borrower returned it with some unfavorable remarks, and for a time the girls would not speak to each other. The teachers say such borrowing is common practise and leads to quarrels between families.

On several occasions small boys were observed burning up fence posts. It is common knowledge that a vacated house is likely to be broken into, or at least the glass windowpanes broken -- hence the boarding up of some houses. Some informants lay the blame on white boys from the nearby lumber camp, but others state that it is undisciplined youngsters from the reservation, naming several boys in particular. Although extreme conduct is gossiped about, each family is expected to discipline its own children on this and other aspects of behavior.

Food Habits

Studies made of various cultural groups indicate that food practices are not easily amenable to change. In a contact situation, information about the stability or change in the diet would give an indication of the degree of acculturation of the group. As previously mentioned, foods acquired by wage work and limitations of activity began to affect the Southwestern Pomo diet during the Russian occupation. The process was accelerated in succeeding decades under American domination, and continues at present so that fewer of the native foods are used.

In the early years of American settlement, game was plentiful and regulations on the taking of fish or seafood minimal. Essie Parrish stated that in her childhood, forty years ago, there was a greater use of native foods and better health in consequence.

> When I was a girl, my father always had venison; we had acorns and fish. We ate well, and had good teeth. The children [now] don't have good teeth, or people good health, eating white man's food.

Although the tradition of hunting is honored by the men, the Indians are subject to the same regulations as whites off the reservation. They say that they have to purchase licenses for deer hunting, since the penalties for hunting without a license are severe. Some Indians take a different position about a fishing license, claiming that as Indians they are entitled to obtain sea foods without a permit. As working men, however, they do not have time for surf-fishing or gathering of sea food except as sport. These foods, although valued in the diet, can no longer be considered as staples as they were in the aboriginal period. Abalone, fish, and mussels are the popular ocean products today.

At present the bulk of the food is purchased in grocery stores at nearby Stewart's Point or in Healdsburg or Santa Rosa, both of which are more than forty miles away. Potatoes, beans, bread (especially flour tortillas made on the stove top), and beef and pork are the mainstays of diet. The flour tortilla has apparently remained popular since its introduction by Mexicans during the Benito occupancy of Ross prior to 1859. Vegetables and fruits are used, but not in quantity. Pies and cakes are favorite desserts. Beef is most popular, and pork, especially the meat of wild hogs, is favored. Although this is sheep country, the Indians do

ot like lamb or mutton and seldom eat it. Questioned as to the reason for avoidance of mutton, one informant said it "tastes like sheep-dip." Others remarked only that it didn't taste good. One informant said that her mother would eat neither lamb nor roosters as they were religious symbols and therefore taboo. This confusion of Christian symbols with food taboos possibly dates from the beginning of the Ghost Dance religions, as Du Bois (1939, p. 96) recorded a comparable taboo from a Southern Pomo man who attended a Bole-Maru ceremony at Kelsey Creek. "The maru men said not to eat beef or sheep. I ate some and my father drove me away."

Of aboriginal foods, besides those from the sea, the most valued are acorns. The older people claim that nothing tastes as good as acorns. The middle-aged or older women still gather acorns every fall and prepare the flour. The women take considerable trouble to gather the nuts, driving miles to certain groves of tanbark oak where the acorns are thick. Tanbark oaks (Quercus densiflora) occur in the vicinity of the reservation, and acorns can be collected nearby if the unpenned hogs have not already eaten the fallen nuts. The acorns are dried and shelled, the meaty part dried in the sun or at the back of the stove, and stored for use. Acorn meal was observed being made by putting the nuts through a food grinder, the flour placed in a dish towel over evergreen branches (out of doors) and cold water poured through it until the bitter taste was removed. Aboriginal practice was leaching by cold water, but formerly on fine sand at a creek. The usual method of preparing acorn flour is in the form of mush, hot or cold, although it is sometimes baked in the form of bread. Appreciation of acorns as a dietary item is limited to the middle-aged or older people. Children, used to the varied fare of the grocery store, do not care for the bland taste of acorn mush.

One other product which is held in esteem is seaweed, or sea grass (Porphyra laciniata, Stewart, 1943, p. 61, or Porphyra perforata, Barrett, 1952, I, p. 94). There are a number of varieties which grow on the rocks along the Sonoma Coast. In the spring, women gather sacks of the grass from rocks at low tide. In an expedition in which the writer offered transportation, three women and a boy drove to a particular beach on the ranch south of the Gualala River. The grass was readily accessible at low tide. The grass is about a foot long. It is pulled off, washed in the ocean in baskets to remove sand, and shaped into cakes about a foot in diameter and placed on the rocks or other flat surface to dry in the sun. After one or two days' drying in sunshine, the cakes are stored for use. It can be eaten raw, but most seaweed is fried for a few seconds in oil or lard, then served with a flour tortilla or fish. Sometimes it is baked. Barrett (1952, I, p. 94) in 1903 recorded from an old woman at Stewart's Point a similar method of preparing and frying seaweed.

The importance which the Indians attached to seaweed is emphasized by a complaint which was lodged with the Sacramento Indian Bureau by the "Stewart's Point" Indians in 1929. This complaint stated that the foreman of a coastal ranch had prevented the Indians from crossing the land between the highway and the beach where from time immemorial they had gathered seaweed. A letter was written on their behalf by the Superintendent to the owner of the ranch, asking if these privileges could not be continued. The owner replied that others also crossed the land, and the foreman could not always distinguish the Indians; that such people disturbed the pasturage and were a possible fire hazard. The owner concluded by writing:

> There are a great many miles of ocean frontage where the Indians can gather seaweed, if they wish. I do not think

> the Indians are inclined to make much effort to support themselves, as they refuse to work when work is offered to them (U.S. Ofc. Ind. Affairs, MS).

the merits of the charges made by the ranch owner cannot now be determined, whether the offers of employment were at sub-standard wages, or if the Indians preferred to maintain their independence through use of the native diet. It indicates the prejudice which exists against a hunting and gathering people by a member of the settled group. The present owner of the property, who knew these Indians from childhood, permits them to gather seaweed in their accustomed places on his beaches.

About half the families try to augment the food supply by raising vegetables for early summer consumption, before the water shortage curtails use. One family also raises chickens, and two individuals own hogs which wander at will over the reservation. The bulk of the diet consists of food purchased in the stores. This practice is encouraged by the fact that Indians over sixty-five receive county old age pensions. Since old people live with their children, their pensions are spent for family food purchases. The store diet has meant a preponderance of starchy foods, which have not provided the nutritional equivalent of the aboriginal diet, according to the informant quoted earlier. This imbalance is most severe in the winter when families live on the lower income of unemployment insurance. It is significant that in periods of shortage the Indians have come to rely on a lower standard "white" diet, rather than attempting to return to a full aboriginal diet. This is true because the game and fish of an earlier day are not readily available, and because the younger people have accepted a standard American diet.

The difficulties which confronted the Indian child who wanted an education and more contact with whites were recounted by a woman now in her mid-thirties. Twenty years later, these conditions no longer hold.

> I really loved school, I was the first to graduate. I was ready to go to Sherman. Annie (Jarvis) said if I went I would die. I was scared. It just broke my heart.

Her father confirmed this.

> I had the ticket already, I just put it back in my pocket. Annie said, 'We don't live the white way. We live our own way.' Annie said it's bad for her to go so far (away). Something might happen to her relatives.

Some years later, five young people from Kashia did go to Sherman for high school training, and several completed the course. It appears that encouragement from Mrs. McDermott was the major factor in achieving wider experience. Since 1952, no Californian Indian child is accepted in a boarding school, but is expected to attend public schools (Neumann, 1953, p. 113).

School is important to most Indian children as the place where they learn English as well as the usual school skills. Whereas twenty years ago, and earlier, most children entered school without knowing English, the situation has altered today. Intermarriage with other Indian groups and greater participation in American culture, including residence in the Russian River valley, has increased the use of English. Among younger parents who are both Indian but speak different native dialects (approximately one third of the recent marriages have been with Point Arena Pomo, who speak the Central dialect) the adjustment has been made by speaking English in the home. Most children appear to understand

the native dialect, but some will not or cannot speak it. It is considered "smart" by the children to speak English, or the native version of English, which is affected by native speech patterns and the speech habits of their teachers. A parent speaking to his child or adults engaged in intimate conversation usually converse in the Southwestern Pomo dialect.

The importance of the native language as a bulwark to cultural survival must have been intuitively felt by the cult leader, Annie Jarvis. She declared that only people with Indian names could go to heaven, and decreed that only the native language could be spoken in the dance house while ceremonies were in progress. This rule, informants said, was not strictly kept.

The grammar school at Kashia, grades one through eight, is subject to the control of the Sonoma County Superintendent of Schools. It is directly answerable to three trustees, all of whom are reservation residents. It is set up like other school districts, except that funds are provided by the State of California through the Sonoma County school system. For the five years after Mrs. McDermott left, and until the school was closed early in World War II, there was a man teacher at Kashia. He was never intimate with the people, and the crafts program he initiated has left no trace. The present teachers, Fred and Veda Hughes, have been in charge of the school since it reopened after the war. In the year 1952-53, there were 35 children in school, of whom 20 were Indian children, the others white children from the nearby lumber camp. The children from the coastal ranches who attended Kashia School between 1946 and 1951 have been withdrawn and now attend a separate school at Stewart's Point. This action is said to have been taken for various reasons:

criticism of the instruction, the water problem at the school, and the fact that the school was set up primarily for the Indian children.

Under the present teachers, the children from Kashia are for the first time graduating to the public high school. Five youngsters went to Healdsburg to attend the public high school in the year 1952-53. This change is due to a wider acceptance of white standards in the postwar years and also to the improved economic position of the Indians. Although the Indian children are given an allowance of $2.25 per school day attended, as students from an outlying rural area which has no high school, and they are given a subsidy through the state as Indian children, the sum would not be sufficient unless the family also contributed. The present practice has been to install the youngsters in apartments in Healdsburg to which the parents go on weekends. Even related adults have been unwilling to assume responsibility for the care and discipline of these teen-aged youngsters. The children want the experience of high school -- and perhaps the freedom from parental control which it means -- although they often lack the drive to complete the course. School authorities in Healdsburg and Santa Rosa state that the Indian children are poor in attendance and seem to expect discrimination. "They appear to be ashamed of themselves," one educator phrased it. The same man said that there is futility in the education of Indian children, and "they realize it." This man apparently spoke in terms of academic instruction, rather than the school as a socializing agent, and also reflected the prejudices of the dominant white group.

No teacher has charged the Indians with lack of capacity, but rather with lack of incentive or interest in education. Receptivity toward formal academic training is, of course, dependent upon other aspects of the acculturational process. Younger parents of Kashia, both

those who have completed secondary schooling and those who have not, subscribe to the idea of greater education for their children. The value of this education depends in turn upon the Indians' acceptance into American community life.

Marriage and Family Life

As earlier indicated, aboriginal marriage was a contractual arrangement between two individuals, accompanied by an exchange of gifts, which, being greater on the part of the man's family, amounted to a degree of wife-purchase. This was observed at Keshia even thirty years ago. Although marriage aboriginally had no sacramental connotation, this changed somewhat under the Maru cult. Informants say that marriages were performed in the dance house before the dreamer. Of this change, Herman James explained: "Big Jose brought a big cross. People were married under the cross, and it was legal marriage. Big Jose told parents to choose partners for children for marriage and celestial kingdom. It never came out that way."

The encouragement of marriage even of children was based on the belief that the married state was essential for salvation. Essie Parrish explained:

> The old prophets believed it was not good to be single, not good for eternal life. It's good to marry and bear children. You have to show what you've done on this earth. Annie [Jarvis] said it was bad to live alone. Such a person gets haunted by spirits. There was a man, not long ago, met a spirit woman carrying a flag which appeared on fire. Later, the man heard a voice, like [that of] a woman, in bed with him, saying she was going to marry him. That's bad, to have a spirit woman. It can be cured easy. Annie and I worked on this man. He is troubled no longer by the spirit woman, but he is still unmarried. It seems like an unmarried person is sort of haunted.

Only one adult from Kashia has remained a life-long celibate, which may be due to the physical handicap of his deafness. Elderly widows or widowers live with children or other relatives, with the exception of an old man who lives alone at Kashia. Although marriage is accepted as the normal state of adult life, there has been a considerable tendency to change marital partners. Loeb (1926, p. 283) refers to the practice of divorce in the aboriginal state, which was simple separation. Most of the couples belonging to Kashia have one partner who has been married before, and several have contracted more than two marriages. These changes usually occurred among the recently married, couples in their twenties. Usually the children remained with the mother, who was dependent upon her parents or brother for support until she remarried. Although the dreamers admonished the men, when parents separated, to make payments for the children's support, it was not generally done. Today the divorced wife may secure county aid if it is needed; and several children being raised by grandparents in families broken by death or divorce have the benefits of aid to dependent children through the county. It is significant that it is usually the maternal grandparents, the mother's mother, who rear the children if a young woman marries again or is unable to care for her children. Thus matrilineal kinship and descent are strong today. These brittle marriages happen frequently enough with the Southwestern Pomo to constitute a pattern of behavior. Older couples, who have had four or more children, are less likely to separate. One young couple are first cousins, the children of sisters. The older people say this is like "brother-sister" marriage, and claim that the wife's childlessness is due to her breaking this taboo.

Many of the younger couples in the last two decades have contracted

legal marriage by a justice of the peace, which places the woman in a
iter position legally for support, but has no guaranteed permanence of
e union. Separations and remarriage in the Indian fashion followed.
e entrance of the Mormon church has had the effect of encouraging the
ncept of permanent marriage. One couple, who had married and separated
previously, were remarried and "sealed" at the tabernacle in Salt Lake
City. This marriage "throughout eternity" is a serious commitment, hence —
their example has not been emulated yet. Several women have voiced their
desire to do so, but the husbands have not agreed to it. According to
Mormon belief, individuals will have no children in the next world unless
'sealed" to a spouse in this one. Even if a spouse is dead, the survivor
can be "sealed" in legal marriage.

The Mormon faith encourages large families, which continues the
tradition of the dreamer cult. None of the women questioned employed any
method to prevent conception, and families of six, seven, or eight chil-
dren were the rule. Eleven children constituted the largest number of
children for a single family. Children are wanted. On the other hand,
there is a high percentage of Southwestern Pomo women in recent years who
have never borne children.

Marriage to non-Indians seems to have been sharply reduced among
young people who grew up on the reservation while Annie Jarvis controlled
its social and religious life. First of all, there was little social inter-
change with whites or other groups, which would have made marriage likely.
The social life centered about the ceremonies at the reservation. Annie
Jarvis stated the doctrine that half-breeds would not go to heaven, hence
for any believer there was a block against marriage to a white. She is
said to have arranged marriages among the young people within the reservation,

even when they were related. Others were contracted with Central Pomo from Point Arena, with whom the Southwestern Pomo shared the same cult religion, and in whose ceremonies there was mutual participation.

Among Indians living off the reservation, freer social relationships resulted in marriages to whites, Mexicans, or into other racial groups. Such inter-racial marriages have usually been contracted by the women. The exception was the marriage five years ago of a reservation youth to a white girl. The man was unemployed after leaving military service and the couple are now separated. When this couple was living on the reservation, the mother's neglect of her young children was the subject of criticism. The young mother struck her fourteen month old son for falling off a chair. She was reprimanded by her husband's aunt, with whom they were living, who said it was the mother's responsibility to protect the child against accidents. Speaking of the incident, the aunt said that it was no wonder that white children grow up to be criminals, if the parents treat them cruelly and they grow up to hate their parents.

Child discipline by parents at Kashia is generally very easy, especially with young children. Physical punishment is rare, the child usually being verbally admonished. Women "shout at" their children but seldom follow with bodily punishment. There is much gossip about the bad behavior of "other people's children" in such matters as fighting, use of dirty language, or entering houses when the adults are known to be absent. Adults are reluctant to admonish youngsters or report them to parents not related to them because it might start bad feeling between the families. Children tend to form into play groups segregated by sex and age. Four or five small boys play together; older boys form their own group; and the teen-aged girls have their activities. These play groups include the

white children from the lumber camps in the after-school activities. Both sexes play baseball together on the schoolground.

Children, probably modeling themselves on the attitudes if not actions of their elders, are careless of their own possessions. With no concept of money values, they cajole expensive clothing from their parents and take little care of it once it has been obtained.

Concepts and Beliefs

It is significant to note that at the present time the Indians still view themselves as different from whites. These beliefs are sometimes flattering, as Essie Parrish explained:

> Indian people are different. They don't know hard times, because they always share. White people don't share. When I'm among white people, their ways are strange. Indian people are not stingy, that's why they are poor. They give away for free.

A less generous opinion of his people was made by a middle-aged man:

> Indian people dislike you if you have something better. The valley people find fault with the coast people. You can be friends only if somebody has nothing better. Indian people are different -- don't look ahead, just live today, content to wake up tomorrow.

With the concept of generosity firmly implanted as a virtue, it is not surprising that the American values of thrift, economy, and foresight have gained little headway. A family which is doing well economically often finds several relatives, or the children of relatives, sharing the facilities of the house and meals. Since most food must be purchased, this adds materially to the monthly expenses of maintaining

family. To refuse such help on the excuse of saving money, would lay the family open to criticism by the neighbors. One teen-aged girl, living in Healdsburg to attend high school, was asked by the writer if she requested the other Indian children (not related closely) that they help with supplies when they came to supper. She said she would be embarrassed to request this except to her mother's sister's son, who was raised in their family and was like a brother.

One of the beliefs still found among the Southwestern Pomo is the idea that disease is due to magic causes which among whites might be due to rational cause. Essie Parrish explained that whites are called "miracles" because they aren't effected by magic power. "Indians are different, they are subject to different laws, subject to different diseases." Rheumatism in Indians is caused by breaking the taboos of the menstrual period, according to Essie Parrish. When a girl enters puberty,

> . . . she should stay in the house, in bed, and not run around outside. There are snakes outside, which have a dangerous power. If a menstruating girl goes outside, she may be harmed by emanations, the evil power of snakes.

As proof of this evil power, Essie told of the death of her daughter. She said the white people said it was due to tuberculosis, but she found a snake's head hidden under the couch in her daughter's home, and that was proof to her that someone had caused the daughter's death. It is common belief also that arrowpoints or knives found should not be handled, as they have enemy power residing in them. Such artifacts could paralyze the arm which touched them, or might fly through the air and cause damage through the enemy power in them.

The Indian beliefs as to disease were the source of irritation to the government representative charged with responsibility for Indian health during the thirties. An Indian Service physician reported on the health of the inhabitants of Kashia in 1939. He found no evidence of trachoma, venereal disease or skin disease among the school children, but found evidence of active cases of tuberculosis. This doctor complained to the superintendent of the difficulty of working with the Kashia Indians on health problems:

> As you know, our health program at Stewart's Point is much hampered by the active hostility of two Indian medicine women or witch doctors [sic] who continually work on the superstitions of their fellow tribesmen (U.S. Ofc. Ind. Affairs, MS).*

It is not surprising that a medical doctor convinced of the rationality of his work would so view interference. Opposition to current medical practice has decreased in recent years and the Sonoma County Public Health Department has found the people cooperative. Through the visiting nurse, school children are immunized against smallpox, diphtheria, and many against typhoid. Essie Parrish has supported this work by including her own children and has not spoken against it. There is a greater resort to the use of licensed physicians and hospital facilities by Kashia residents. The hospital used is generally the Sonoma County Hospital, since the Indian Service no longer has facilities available.

Many of the customary rules of taboos were followed until quite recent times, particularly those surrounding the pubescent girl. She was isolated for two weeks, lying down under a blanket, and was led to the lavatory with her head covered. She might not eat meat, fish, or grease for a time -- six months to a year. The menstruating woman could not cook for the family, since the food would be poisonous. The

*Letter of June 30, 1939 on file in Bureau of Indian Affairs, Sacramento.

band could not hunt or fish during the woman's menstrual period. The degree to which these rules were followed probably varied according to the family, but most shared the idea that such observances were necessary for a healthy life. The world was conceived of as menacing, whose dangers could be controlled through proper observances such as the traditional taboos and participation in ceremonies.

When the Mormon missionaries arrived, they explained that these rules were like the Old Testament, but since Christ there is a higher law which makes such rules unnecessary. When Essie Parrish became convinced that the Mormon Church was the new revealed religion, she told the people these observances were no longer necessary. Pubescent girls may now eat anything, including fresh fruits and meat, and according to the new interpretation they will not be harmed by disregarding customary taboos.

Two other areas of native belief which have been challenged by affiliation with an organized Christian church are treatment of disease and the belief in "poisoning," i.e., witchcraft. The two are closely related, since, as mentioned earlier, Indian belief is that disease is caused by magic means, the evil power of another person. This concept is held in the face of American insistence upon the germ theory of disease, when certain illnesses were labeled as "tuberculosis" or "rheumatism."

Relationships with Other Indian Communities and with Whites

The mobility which the automobile gives to the modern Indian has permitted those Southwestern Pomo who moved into the Russian River valley to work in the woods to keep contact with the reservation and by extension to remain members of the group. There is frequent testimony to the effect that those working elsewhere came back to the reservation for

Indians, due perhaps to their increasing economic dependence upon the whites, were regarded as inferior. Their living arrangements and households were subject to criticism as being unclean, and their taboos of behavior and religion regarded with condescension. Therefore, except for friendships between children, or for particular Indians who had worked in white households, there was evidently little social interchange between the whites and Indians. Men of both races worked together in the woods, but families did not share the same intimacy. In an area where population is sparse, most white residents and Indians knew each-other by sight and often visited at the Stewart's Point store or post office which both used. There is an hereditary relationship between the reservation Indians and the local landowning family of Stewart's Point, which has employed most of the men or their fathers at some time during the past sixty years. There is a class distinction between the land-owning white residents and the impoverished Indians, as well as a racial barrier. Because of the lumber industry, there has been a group of white transients as well during the past eighty years, and they have an equally low social rating in the eyes of the landowning group.

The social segregation which was initiated by the whites was returned by the Indians who, under Annie Jarvis' leadership, withdrew from social contact with whites. The Indians emphasized their own traditions and religious ceremonies and rigidly excluded whites from these gatherings. This symmetrical arrangement of mutual exclusion broke down during the recent war years after the death of Annie Jarvis. For two years all families lived off the reservation and mixed with other racial groups wherever the men worked. The Indians attended white churches and found that not all whites were critical of their behavior. Hence the ground was

laid for the appearance of the young white Mormon missionaries, who flaunted local custom by eating with the Indians and joining in their social life. From the period when affiliation was made with the Latter Day Saints Church, the group as a whole has given greater acceptance to white living standards and values. The equilibrium which was maintained during the life of Annie Jarvis was broken, and the Indians are committed now to a course which will in time fuse them with the dominant culture.

CHAPTER VI

RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE SOUTHWESTERN POMO

Development of the Bole-Maru Cult

The development of the Bole-Maru cult religion among the Southwestern Pomo must be considered as but a special manifestation of the revivalistic cults which flourished among northern Californian Indians subsequent to the 1870 Ghost Dance movement. Du Bois, in her analysis of the 1870 Ghost Dance and its ramifications, finds no evidence that the Ghost Dance itself spread to Pomo territory.* The Ghost Dance traveled from the Paviotso of Walker Lake in Nevada to the Hill Patwin of central California. Among the Hill Patwin and Wintun a secondary religion arose which has been named the Earth Lodge cult from its most outstanding feature. Rather than the return of the dead, which was the central theme of the Ghost Dance, the Earth Lodge cult emphasized the coming end of the world. To protect the faithful, subterranean houses were built in which the believers gathered to hold dances and to await the predicted catastrophe.

In the Pomo area, seven earth lodges were constructed to which the various branches of the Pomo nation repaired to await the end of the world. Almost simultaneously with the introduction of the Earth

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*For more data on the Bole-Maru, see Du Bois, 1939, from which this was extracted.

lodge cult in 1872, was a special development of it which Du Bois has called the Bole-Maru, a term compounded of the Patwin and Pomo words for the cult. This cult stressed the afterlife and the supreme being, through the revelations of the local dreamer. Ceremonially, the Bole-Maru cult reached its highest development among the Pomo and Patwin (Du Bois, 1939, p. 1). Local dreamers or prophets arose in each community in response to the outside stimulus of the new religion. These dreamers drew their inspiration from the supreme being, referred to as "our father," yakiapin, or "the one in Heaven," halebakaes. Presumably from this source, the dreamer received guidance on dream dances, songs and costumes to be used for the dances, as well as divine authority for dicta on the moral behavior and conduct of the followers. The dreamer generally opposed drinking, quarreling, and other troublesome behavior, and urged the people to believe and to dance.

Three dances common to the Bole-Maru cult seem to have been employed wherever the cult held sway. These were the Bole-Hesi dance (SWP tcina bate), the costume or dress dance called maru or bole (SWP vitama ko'o) and the ball dance (SWP pika ko'o). Other standard devices of the cult included a flag and flagpole during ceremonies, and cloth costumes for men and women. The women's dresses were like the early period rural American women's dresses.

The Bole-Hesi dance is a secularized version of the aboriginal Patwin Hesi Big Head dance. The outstanding feature was a pincushion type headdress, composed of sticks tipped with feathers or cloth which were fitted in a basketry frame skull cap. Two men or two women danced this, bearing split-stick rattles in either hand, wearing a feather or shredded tule skirt. One dancer wore the Big Head headdress, the other,

headgear of a yellowhammer band, down cap, and magpie feather tuft. This dancer carried a bow, arrows, and quiver. The dance spread as part of the Bole-Maru ritual and was used by the Kashia group.

The Costume or Dress Dance, called Maru, was primarily a women's dance. The women wore a one-piece dress or a blouse and full skirt. The men wore trousers, vests, and shirts which, like the women's dress, were decorated with symbolic designs and abalone pendants arranged in pattern. The designs, especially the use of the cross, showed Christian influence, while the colors, black, white, and red, Du Bois suggested are based on aboriginal pigment colors (Du Bois, 1939, p. 133). Each dreamer had different costumes and designs, and directed the making of costumes, although these were privately owned by the dancers. The Maru dance was composed of two lines of women dancers on either side of the fire. The women carried a bandanna in either hand, and sometimes several men dancers performed between the women and the fire.

For the ball dance the same costumes were worn. This dance consisted of two lines of dancers, one of men and the other of women, who faced each other across the fire. Each dancer had a partner with whom he exchanged a ball which was tossed back and forth. This ball consisted of rag strips encased in a cloth which had dream symbols sewn upon it.

Other features of the Bole-Maru cult which are significant are the use of a flag and feasts. The sacred symbols which were used by the dreamer for the costumes were also appliqued on a cloth flag mounted on a pole before the dance house during Bole-Maru ceremonies. At the conclusion of the dances, which traditionally continued for four days, there was a feast for all the faithful of the community.

The foregoing is a description of those features of the Bole-[illegible] cult which were shared by the various communities of Pomo and Pat-[illegible] people adhering to the cult. Although the cult had an unusually [illegible] and late development among the Southwestern Pomo, it is important [illegible] recognize that the basic beliefs were shared with related branches [illegible] the Pomo. What was the specific history of the cult among the South-[illegible]stern Pomo of Stewart's Point reservation?

Cult History of the Southwestern Pomo

Most of the Southwestern Pomo have a tradition of having attended [illegible]e Earth Lodge cult gatherings in Lake County or Ukiah, where they [illegible]ited for the end of the world. When this did not occur, they returned [illegible]o their homes. The small number left at Fort Ross moved to the Haupt [illegible]anch in 1874 and around that time the first prophets of the maru (SWP [illegible]ata) cult came to the rancheria to carry the message.

The list of prophets or cult leaders was furnished by several informants for the Southwestern Pomo. George James gave the following list:

1) A man from the valley, whose name he doesn't recall
2) Cristoval or Kotce, 1874-1900, from Meteni, SWP
3) Big Jose or Hochetate 1880-ca. 1904. He was from Yorkville, but married to a SWP woman. Central Pomo.
4) Humboldt Jack (from Humboldt County)
5) Tom Smith (1880's) (Isabel Kelly's Miwok Informant) Coast Miwok from Bodega, married a SWP woman
6) Pete Antone SW Pomo, prophecy only
7) Annie Jarvis 1912-1943 SWP
8) Essie Parrish 1932 to present SWP

Essie Parrish gave the following list of dream leaders:

1) Kaokoad (from the valley)
2) Cristoval or Kotce 1874-1900
3) Humboldt Jack
4) Big Jose
5) Pete Antone (prophecy only)
6) Annie Jarvis
7) Essie Parrish

Information concerning the new cult was evidently brought to the Southwestern Pomo from its eastern origin among the Pomo and Patwin. All informants agree that Humboldt Jack was really from the north, probably Humboldt County. He was said to have left a ship at Stewart's Point and married into the local Indian community. All later prophets were either Southwestern Pomo or affiliated with the tribe through marriage.

In the early period, there seems to have been more than one dreamer operating at a time. It is difficult to ascertain from the present generation the distinctions between the various dreamers of more than fifty years ago and their particular message, dances, or other insignia. All the dreamers (yomta) preached that the world would come to an end and that the Indians and whites would die, but that the Indians would be resurrected and go to a special heaven. Entrance to this afterworld was to be achieved by participation in dances, feasts, and the wearing of particular costumes in the dances. They told the people to be good to one another and to behave like brothers, but the earlier prophets did not oppose drinking and gambling as Annie Jarvis did later.

An elderly man recalls of the early dreamers:

> The old people, especially the preachers, said the white people's God is a king. The dreamers say Christ is for the white people. 'We got the real God,' Annie said, Cristoval, Big Jose, Tom Smith also.

participation in the dances or for treatment by Annie Jarvis. This tie to the reservation and the religion is no longer as strong, although families do return for scheduled ceremonies such as the Fourth of July picnic.

Customarily the family accompanied the working man, and with a new social environment, intermarriage of young people with Indians of other groups naturally developed. Most of these marriages were among related Pomo groups of Ukiah or Point Arena. There seems to have been a traditional fear of the valley Indians as "poisoners," hence individual Indians from that area, unless related by marriage, were always subject to suspicion. The most continuous interaction seems to have been with the Central Coast Pomo of Point Arena, particularly after the automobile made visits easier. In the nineteen twenties and thirties, there appears to have been considerable intervisitation and participation in the dreamer cult festivities held at both places. From these friendly social gatherings a series of marriages developed, for the Pomo taboo against marriage among close relatives limited the number of possible mates in a small group.

Although individual ties of relationship or friendship existed, as a group each Indian community kept its sense of separateness. The affiliation of the Southwestern Pomo with the Mormon church in recent years caused an estrangement between them and the Point Arena group, as the latter were hostile to the new religious teaching and to its missionaries. The two communities no longer attend one another's special festivities.

The relationship between the Indians and whites seems to have become stabilized during the later years of the nineteenth century. The

Similar statements were heard from other Kashia residents:

> The old Indians told people here not to join any white churches, they are all false, we are the choice people of God.
>
> The king, or 'rey' wears a crown. He will take care of the whites. He is the false God.
>
> The prophets said there was a God, but there was no Jesus Christ.

The foregoing statements indicate that the ritual of Spanish-speaking Catholics, with their Christo Rey, or Christ the King, had diffused to the Southwestern Pomo. The claim was clearly stated that the dreamer cult leader had a special affinity with "our father in Heaven."

These earlier dreamers made various contributions to the Bole-Maru cult development. Cristoval is said to have been the first to introduce the Big Head, tcima bate, dance. Cristoval and Annie Jarvis both used the Big Head, but the construction of the headdresses was different. The Big Head headdress of Cristoval was trimmed with strips of white cloth. That used by Annie Jarvis consisted of sixteen headdresses: four trimmed with white feathers, four with ribbons, four with cocoons, and four with black feathers. Neither Humboldt Jack nor Big Jose used the Big Head headdress. Humboldt Jack told the people to build a dance house [macha] at the Haupt Rancheria. This was earth covered over a framework of redwood logs. He also introduced the ball dance, pika ko'o, in the dance house. He used cloth balls of all white. Four, eight, or sixteen people played the ball game. Annie Jarvis had special designs on the cloth balls, such as stars and crosses.

Big Jose used a cross. Under him, there were three or four women leaders. One was Marie James, who had a dress of all black cloth with abalone shell pieces sewn on it. These dresses were worn on special

...sions. Pete Antone was apparently of minor importance as a dream ...der. He never spoke before the people in the dance house, only at ...e. He is remembered by a number of people since he was the first ...have a revelation that a new religion was coming to the people. He ...ld them that white people shouldn't turn away from it. When the Latter ...y Saints missionaries arrived with the Book of Mormon, this prophecy ...s recalled as an argument in their favor.

All the yonta (dreamers) used the flag pole, which stood before the dance house entrance and carried the flag design of the dreamer in charge. Du Bois reports that Annie Jarvis had six flag poles within the then existing enclosure around the dance house (Du Bois, 1939, p. 100). The sacred numbers for yonta ceremonies were four, eight, or two. Dances were generally held for four or eight nights, and dances were repeated four or eight times in a night.

An item of culture which was revived by the new religious cult was the wearing of shell and bead necklaces. Clamshell beads continued to be in demand, and abalone ornaments were fashioned to be sewn on the dresses. These ornaments were fashioned on a pump drill, whereas the former method was use of a hand drill and stone point.

New yonta dances and songs were improvised by each dreamer. These could be danced to only by invitation of the dreamer. In addition, some of the old style dances continued to be used.

New Leadership of Annie Jarvis

Simultaneously with the development of the dreamer religion, the people became more involved economically in the dominant culture. These pioneer ranchers and lumbermen were in the habit of drinking heavily, and in association with them many of the Indian men seem to have acquired the habit. According to the older people, while at the Laupt rancheria people behaved badly, drank, fought, and gambled heavily. At this time, between 1908 and 1910, Annie Jarvis started having her visions. She was the first woman leader at Kashia, although the Bole-Maru leaders elsewhere had often been women (Du Bois, 1939). Concerning this early period, Essie Parrish said,

> The men's [early dreamers] work didn't work out right. They died before they did their work. The people fell away from them. Annie Jarvis trained them not to drink. They didn't smoke, run around with others. Annie insisted that they make sacrifice, give a feast, and promise the Lord not to do bad things again. But there were believers, half-believers, and non-believers.

Annie Jarvis made everyone give up drinking by refusing to allow them in the dance house if they were under the influence of liquor. She also opposed gambling, to which the people were strongly devoted, and it seems that the old hand game (achuse) was given up at this time. Annie Jarvis told the people they had to make sacrifices whenever they received something good; for example when a child was born, or money was received. This sacrifice usually took the form of a feast. She warned people that if they didn't attend the dances, they might fall ill. Because of this fear, Indians who worked away from the reservation made a considerable effort to return at least for the Christmas and Fourth of July dances,

the great events of the year. For the big feasts on these occasions, people donated money and cattle were purchased and barbecued; women cooked pies and roasts and other dishes. It was a cooperative venture. The people were forbidden to indulge in sexual intercourse the night prior to the big feasts, and there could be no drinking, arguing, or quarreling during ceremonies. If visitors were argumentative, the residents were expected to remain peaceable.

According to informants, Annie Jarvis set the pattern of life for the Southwestern Pomo for as long as she remained its dream cult leader. She decided which ceremonies were to be held and who was to participate.

The ceremonial importance of the dance house is indicated by the fact that Annie Jarvis decreed special ceremonies in connection with the moving of the structure to the Haupt rancheria. A description of the present structure at Kashia is appropriate here.

The dance house (macha) is constructed of redwood planks, except for rafters of fir. It is entirely above ground, and measures 37 feet across the middle from side to side, 40 feet from back to entrance. The redwood center post is 16 inches in diameter, the fire pit 6 feet from the entrance, with a rectangular smoke hole above the fire pit. There are twelve rafters resting on the center post and side posts. A bench runs around the inside of the structure, and within are several trunks containing dance paraphernalia. The entrance is twelve feet long by ten feet wide except at the inner and outer doorways. This structure can hold around 150 people at a time.

According to one informant, Annie Jarvis learned a "Hail Mary" from Big Jose, with which she opened and closed all ceremonies, the people

repeating this in Spanish after her. Dances were also opened and closed with prayers. Annie Jarvis had four men assistants (Frank Jarvis, Robert Smith, Herman James, and Dave Antone) whom she called her "witnesses." She also had a "counselor," Mary Samuels James, who relayed the contents of Annie's dreams to the people and told them what feasts needed to be made. This custom is reminiscent of the aboriginal custom of the chief and his messenger. The counselor, Mary Samuels James, had visions and could foresee the future.

It is obvious from what informants have said that the particular costumes and dances were regarded as having religious and protective significance. Annie Jarvis designed black vests for the men, with diamond shaped abalone pieces hanging to them. One man, who had special duties, had a shirt designed for him of white material, trimmed with beads, abalone shell pieces, and orange ribbon. The women wore black dresses with white diamond designs like those of the men's vests. For the waitress dance which Annie Jarvis initiated, women wore white dresses, consisting of a white short-sleeved blouse with a black ribbon design and a white skirt with a black ribbon circle design and abalone pendants on the upper part. Women were required to wear ankle-length skirts and be barefooted for dances in the dance house, although they might enter it in shorter skirts. For the dances everyone wore star-shaped abalone pieces hanging on a string from the shoulder for the dances; these had protective power.

The costumes and necklaces, which the Indians called their "rigging," were believed to have the power to take them to heaven, and all believers were to be buried in their dance costumes. The use of designs on the clothing -- circles, stars, squares -- was based on dream revelation. These served as protective insignia.

Ceremonial Dances

For the ball dance, pika ko'o, the costumes were designed by Annie Jarvis. The men wore light blue shirts, such as denim work shirts, while the women were dressed in short-sleeved light blue blouses and light blue skirts. The blouses were decorated with a white cloth cross on the right shoulder. There were eight men and eight women who dressed to participate in the ball game. The men stood on one side of the dance house, the women opposite, and threw light blue cloth balls, ornamented with a white cross, back and forth. These balls were about two inches in diameter.

In all the dances, movement was made counter-clockwise, which is the aboriginal pattern. It was explained that going to the right is good, to the left, evil, which indicates that following ritual was assumed to have magic power.

One of the favorite dances, the lulumu, or "rhythm dance," was like a modern Paul Jones dance. There were eight or sixteen men and women who danced as partners. The singers stood at one side, keeping time with a bamboo split-stick clapper. First everyone walked counter-clockwise around the fire twice. Following this, partners could waltz freely, then all danced twice again around the fire. This dance was repeated a second time.

In the wuya ko'o, or "spiritual dance," everyone lined up, men, women, and children. They shuffled around the fire twice counter-clockwise. One line faced the center pole, then they turned, faced the fire, and danced, all in a line. Each dancer carried a handkerchief in both hands at chest height, and those who owned a feather headpiece or flicker headband wore it. The singers made a motion when the dancers should quit and turn around to face the center pole. This was repeated four times.

There was another dance, the dowo'o, where the women sang.

Under Annie Jarvis' direction, a special ceremony was held for the blessing of a baby. At this time the parents gave the baby an Indian name, and this name was announced to the Father in Heaven, who "sealed" it to the parents. Sometimes a party was held afterwards, but no presents were given to the parents or to the baby. After a name was given to the infant, it was permitted to enter the dance house. It would be six weeks or more old before this ceremony was held. The naming ceremony was important because of the proclamation made by Annie Jarvis that only Indian names went to heaven.

Indian Beliefs Basis of Separatism

Annie Jarvis taught that there would be a resurrection, and that some would go to heaven, but not in human shape. There would be no marriage in heaven and no children. For that reason people should marry and have children, as they would get in the next world what they sowed in this. In the next world, everyone would be in one shape. Several informants said what Annie Jarvis taught was just like the Old Testament, but others denied this. George James remarked:

> Everything's different in the Bible from Indian preachers. They said Indians go to a different heaven. Annie said half-breeds won't go to heaven. We never heard that from earlier preachers.

It appears from the above quotation that Annie Jarvis regarded racial intermarriage or intermixture as a threat to the survival of the Indian race. She therefore arranged marriages for the young people within the group, and promulgated the doctrine that half-breeds would not go to heaven.

Opinion varied as to the achievements of the dreamers and their teachings. Some commented on the quarreling and bad feeling which existed despite the preaching. Others thought that the dreamers protected the community and were invaluable. One woman said, "I used to believe in the Indian way with all my heart, not just to have a good time and meet my friends there."

Annie Jarvis opposed change which represented too close following upon white ways. At first she spoke against the women having their hair bobbed. Later, she changed her mind and said that only dreamers should not cut their hair, but she still thought it was dangerous for the women to cut their hair.

The basic assumption of the cult that the world was full of danger, malevolent spirits, and the threat of witchcraft by others strengthened the role of the cult leader. For Annie Jarvis was not only the religious leader but the healer also. She doctored the Indians for their physical ailments which she diagnosed often as due to "poisoning" by ill-meaning persons, especially by Indians of other groups.

Concerning the control exerted by the cult leader, one informant said:

> Anyone who talked against the leader got bad luck. So you can't talk against them, have to believe what they say. Annie Jarvis told the people to be good, to follow her commandments, not to steal or kill, and then they would go to the Heavenly Father. For the first dozen years, people followed her commands closely, but the younger generation spoiled things. Annie Jarvis believed she shouldn't talk evil of people, or they would die or have bad luck. Her sister's children urged her to talk bad about people. They undermined her faith. Annie said she thought she was solid like a rock, but she became soft like anyone else, ready to die. I believe in her teaching and Sister Parrish's. I remember from the beginning until she died.

Annie Jarvis was a strong and powerful leader of the people, judging from the impression she made on those still living, even allowing for the difficulties suggested above. She held the community together by encouraging a strong in-group feeling through frequent ceremonies and marriage within the group, and bulwarked the social structure with religious sanctions. She attempted to keep disruptive forces at a distance by opposing marriage outside the group, especially with whites, and by dwelling on the evil power of non-members of the group. She never resorted to the use of American medicine. Her own death, said to have been due to tuberculosis, was by Indian belief due to witchcraft by other persons. She refused to go to white physicians or to be treated by American drugs. She died on July 2, 1943, at Kashia Reservation. The large collection of baskets which Annie Jarvis had acquired by gift or fee through her doctoring were destroyed by her sister. In the years since 1900, it had been the custom to bury beads and valuables with the body and to destroy personal property such as dishes, sewing machines, and household equipment. Some articles were given away or else the objects were left in the woods to disintegrate. The family would not keep articles which were intimately connected with the dead.

The death of Annie Jarvis marked the end of an era, for it occurred during wartime when the shortage of work in the woods and the gasoline rationing made it imperative for people to move to the Russian River valley for work. For two years the homes on the reservation were empty, the school closed, and families scattered. The Indians returned when work opened for the men in the woods, but the experience of living off the reservation had changed their perspective.

New Direction under Essie Parrish

Essie Parrish had been an assistant to Annie Jarvis for a number of years before she succeeded her. Du Bois, visiting Kashia Reservation in 1932 or 1933, found that Essie Parrish was already known for her dreamer ability, but as an assistant only (Du Bois, 1939, p. 100). Essie Parrish did a great deal of doctoring, but she also had dream revelations. Of this ability, Essie Parris says, "I had it in me as a little girl." She said that while Annie Jarvis had dreams only during sleep, she (Essie) had visions which came while she was awake. Essie Parrish had a vision of women in white robes surrounding the dance house. They sang a prayer song -- a new song -- then she heard a voice, speaking about the gospel. That was her first revelation. There is no question of training to become a dreamer, as the dreamer does not take advice from anyone in this world. Essie Parrish's revelations have included those on designs which were to be used on dance costumes. After putting the designs on the costumes, the people must dance in them to get protection. Essie Parrish said she could not use the same dances or costumes as set by Annie Jarvis, but must use only those which were hers by right of revelation. These dances and costumes were usually only a modification of the basic design already used by the succession of dreamers.

The most important revelations which Essie Parrish claims to have had include the one in which she foresaw that a black book would come, with a new religion, and the people must accept it. Essie Parrish told of this forecast:

> About four years before the Mormons came here, I explained to the people that a black book is coming, and it will come to pass among the people here. That's why we know it was good. I was the main one. About sixteen have visions, not as strong as mine; I call

> them my witnesses. A lot of people don't believe it, call me 'devil' and wrong. But I never give up.

Not only the new religion, but the war and the atomic bomb were also foretold, Essie Parrish said, through her revelations.

Both Annie Jarvis and Essie Parrish were sucking doctors, or kuradatu. The outfit doctor was called weya, but there has been none of this type among the Southwestern Pomo for many years. Loeb states that outfit doctors were never women, but sucking doctors might be (Loeb, 1926, p. 326). The sucking doctor has singers who sing special songs, such as those for consumption. Essie Parrish said of her own doctoring power:

> I have a doctoring instrument in my throat, it can't start until the singers begin. Then the instrument looks for the sickness. The sickness draws the instrument toward the pain like a nibble on a fishline. Some sickness can be cured by handpower, with the right hand, middle finger. The left hand helps.

Essie Parrish uses special paraphernalia in connection with curing. Some of it is traditional and some inspired by revelation. She uses a double whistle, a bamboo split stick clapper (replacing elder), and a cocoon rattle when singing dream songs. The most impressive items are two four-foot dance sticks of bamboo, which are covered with white cloth, with a black cloth star and diamond-shaped designs sewn on them. Cocoon rattles are tied at the top and mid section of the staff. There is a shaped abalone piece hanging on the doctoring stick, which is crescent shaped. In curing, Essie Parrish might touch the patient with the paraphernalia as well as using the sucking technique. Sometimes Essie Parrish cured by the use of her hands without calling on the singers. These singers

include her husband and two or three other persons. A doctor must be summoned before she can prescribe treatment. Sometimes the patient offers to give feasts to aid in recovery, sometimes the doctor suggests it. The treatment can be repeated, but the limit is four times.

It should be noted that in other areas where the Bole-Maru cult was followed, the maru dreamers were also curers. Among the Point Arena Pomo, the doctor also used curing songs and a terminating feast after treatment (Du Bois, 1939, p. 104; Loeb, 1926, p. 325). Similar developments were reported among the Eastern Pomo (Freeland, 1923; de Angulo and Freeland, 1929; and Du Bois, 1939, pp. 103). The outfit doctor of the old style employed curing songs and prescribed a terminal feast, and Loeb implies that the modern maru curing is a reformulation of this (Loeb, 1926, p. 396).

Fifteen years ago, before the Kashia people turned to American medical care, there were said to have been treatments, feasts, and related activities nearly every week. One woman recalled of this:

> I was afraid of white doctors; I went to the preachers, Annie and Essie. When you go to them, you tell them you are going to give a picnic, as well as pay them, maybe $5 to $20. It costs about $50 altogether. Essie said God gave her that power, to heal others. Now they go to the hospital.

According to Herman James, the "picnic" which a family gave when there was a sick member was for the whole community. The family provided meats, sandwiches, and always acorns, deer meat and salmon as available. Obviously, such expenditures amounted to a sizable figure for a family, but they served as a reinforcement of the social system by bringing all the people together in a crisis.

Although not summoned as frequently as in the prewar years, Essie

Parrish is still called upon to treat Indians of Kashia or the valley for various ailments, which she does in confidence of her calling.

The fear of witchcraft still obtains, although people are reluctant to discuss the subject. One woman explained that in the early days people were good to one another, especially to strangers, because of the fear of "poisoning." Herman James said that arrow heads could be poisoned by singing over them and fasting, making everyone in the enemy group sick thereby. A poisoning man may not eat meat or lard, according to tradition, lest his poison react on himself. Witchcraft can be done by close contact or at a distance. Essie Parrish learned how to protect people against "poisoning," but says she is not supposed to do evil. "I can cure them if it's poisoning, unless it's too far gone." She can tell when danger is threatening, as it comes in a vision. There are special songs which she sings for protection against witchcraft. Essie says that many Indians today believe in Indian doctors, and she has even treated an American woman who thought she had cancer and feared an operation. This treatment occurred two years ago. Previously Essie had not treated white people because "they ask too many questions."

Herman James said that Annie Jarvis protected the people against witchcraft. She had warned him that he might be "poisoned" by a certain man, so that he was able to safeguard himself. He knew instances of people being hired to "poison" others. Witchcraft is said to be peculiar to Indians. "If it's Indian poison, a white doctor can't find what is wrong. Whites won't believe in poisoning or in people turning into a bear." Herman James said that his grandmother's sister could turn herself into a bear so she could travel for food.

During the war, Essie Parrish had a revelation of a completely new

dance, the star hoop dance, kamuto bilillo. This was a protective dance done by the mothers to safeguard their sons who were going into service. The women danced this at the departure feasts during the war and in celebration of their sons' safe return. Each mother danced with a hoop fashioned of elder wood, about four feet across. In the center of each hoop was a five pointed star made of cloth in yellow, green, lavender, pink, and white. For each of the young men the family held a feast in the dance house followed by dancing for the one night. All of the young men for whom this was done returned safely from the war. Every year, following the war, the family of a returned soldier held a celebration on the honored guest's birthday. This custom continued for four or five years until the Indians joined the Mormon church, after which the ceremony was dropped.

The group also tendered birthday parties to Essie Parrish during the time she was the cult leader. This custom was not observed for Annie Jarvis. It entailed holding a feast in the dance house and giving presents such as dishes or other household goods. According to informants, Mary Samuels James organized the birthday party and the New Year's party. This may have been in gratitude for the power Essie Parrish conferred on her to hold ceremonies and cure the sick. This custom died out after the people joined the Mormon church and after the death of Mary James.

A dance revived by Annie Jarvis was held in May when strawberries were first ripe. At this feast the strawberries were carried into the dance by all the women in a basket or dish. The women proceeded in a line, walking twice around the fire, counter-clockwise, then set the berries on the picnic table. Prayers were said before the strawberries were eaten. Essie Parrish continues this custom in her own Flower Dance in May. It

appears to be a modern revival of the aboriginal first-fruits ceremony of the Kuksu cult.

Although many people remained faithful to the dreamer religion, Essie Parrish is said to have had a difficult time with some of them. According to several informants, she used to call them to the dance house to preach to them, but still people wouldn't behave, and they fell away from her teachings. Quite a few were attracted to the Pentecostal meetings held in the home of a returned convert to that faith, and for a while Essie Parrish attended these. When the Pentecostal missionaries said that the old religion was of the devil, and that the people who used the protective designs worshipped idols, Essie Parrish became disturbed. She turned against the Pentecostals because, as she explained, they opposed everything Indian, wanted to destroy the dance house, and their followers wouldn't wear their necklaces or participate in the dances. Essie Parrish thought that her revelations had been good ones and that she worshipped the real Heavenly Father. Of her revelations on the dreamer designs, Essie Parrish said:

> There are hundreds and hundreds of designs, with different meanings. I believe in the designs. Lots of people want me to give it up. I brought them here, therefore I keep them. Why did the Lord give them, if we shouldn't keep them? The Pentecostals claim we worship idols. The good believers believe I should keep the designs -- the rest pay little attention.

Rival Religions Introduced

During this period of deterioration of the cult, rivalry existed between the Pentecostal group and the Mormon missionaries to see which doctrine would win the allegiance of the people. A number who came to the Pentecostal meetings said they were "saved," and renounced their indulgence in drinking and smoking. The Mormon missionaries organized social gatherings and social dancing to offset that conversion, and called at every home to present their arguments.

Although for a while Essie Parrish appeared to be aloof from this rivalry, she finally chose to affiliate with the Mormon church, and exhorted the people to do likewise, recalling her prophecy about the religion with the black book, and calling upon their personal loyalty to her. One informant has stated that Essie Parrish quit the Pentecostal group because she felt "her power was about to leave her." The Pentecostal church emphasizes faith healing through Jesus Christ, without any intermediary, which would eliminate the recourse to native curing.

Adoption of Mormon Church

Essie Parrish has accepted the teachings of the Book of Mormon as the basis of her present religious concepts. The Indians of America are supposed to be descended from the Laimonites of 6000 B.C. This is Essie Parrish's version of Mormon teaching:

> Dark skin is a curse because the people didn't follow the rules of God. Negro people are different. The Indians believed the first person created was a man. The name the Bible shows was Adam. We studied about it in the Mormon church -- God created man from dust, then gave him the breath of life. He lived, then God thought it wasn't right for man to live alone.

> So he took one rib out of this man, said that is going to be a woman. They lived like brother and sister, naked, like babies. They weren't like these people. They don't feel shame. The Devil tempted them to take the fruit. The woman is weaker -- lower, I mean -- than the man. Right today we are weaker. She took it, broke the law. God told them if they partake of it they would die. The Creator found them clothed, knew they broke the commandment. The Lord said you can't return to the Garden. You must multiply. Man must work hard. He told woman you must get out, have children, and suffer. That's what we believe through Indian prophets, through visions and dreams.

The Indians learned that they had a favored position in the Mormon church in contrast with that of the Negroes. The Indians, as descendants of the Laimonites, are eligible for the priesthood and for full membership in the Latter Day Saints church, while Negroes suffer disabilities as presumed descendants of Cain. Further, the Mormon injunctions against the use of liquor, coffee, or tea made sense to a people used to observing food taboos in connection with menstruation, hunting, or birth. So far as could be observed, sincere converts to the Mormon church observed these restrictions.

In the first flush of enthusiasm for the Mormon church, Essie Parrish permitted meetings to be held in the dance house. She was criticized by non-members for this, who said she did not have the privilege of taking whites into the dance house. After this, religious services on Sunday and Tuesday night social gatherings were held in the Parrish home. Because of the presence of the American missionaries, the people were asked to pray in English if they could, otherwise to pray in their own language. Essie Parrish, although she speaks English well, found this somewhat of a restraint.

> It seems closer to the spirit when I speak my language. My grandmother taught me prayers before meals. Our Heavenly Father, then say "oh" four times. That's a warning word, before Our Heavenly Father. Then we pray from our hearts. We still do it.

this word "oh" is a traditional Pomo word widely used in aboriginal times, according to Barrett, as an expression of assent (Barrett, 1908a, p. 36, fn.). Loeb records the calling of "ho-o," or "ho-ho" in connection with ghost dancers and the down ceremony of the Central Pomo (Loeb, 1926, p. 347 and 389). Therefore it may have been used in a religious context, as Essie Parrish uses it today.

After affiliating with the Mormon church, the people were drawn into a wider range of activities within white society. Baptism was held for each convert in the church in Santa Rosa. On the reservation itself, the people followed the manuals issued by the Mormon church for the Mutual Improvement Association (M.I.A.) social gatherings on Tuesday nights, the Sunday School on Friday afternoons, and church on Sunday; at first this was under the guidance of the missionaries, later under their own leaders, especially Essie Parrish and her husband Sidney Parrish.

Some of the Indian men have been initiated into the orders of priesthood of the Mormon church. There are no corresponding positions for women, but Essie Parrish has managed to maintain her informal authority through prestige and as president of the women's association of the Mormon church and through the bonds of kinship.

Effects of Religious Affiliation on Group Life

Some critics on the reservation of the Mormon church have predicted that Mormonism won't last among the Indians. If it does not, it may be due to the fact that the new organized church depends upon the leadership of men, who were less devout followers of the dreamer cult than the women, and whose fervor for the present church has already waned.

There are now "backsliders" among the men who neither attend church nor live up to the strict commandments of the church. The women, who have no formal recognition within the Mormon organization, have generally welcomed the social interchange with whites in Santa Rosa and elsewhere which participation in church activities brings. An organization which ignores the capacity of leadership among Pomo women is overlooking a source of strength.

With less zeal than that which marked the earlier Bole-Maru gatherings, the families which consider themselves Mormon still convene at the reservation on the Fourth of July and Christmas for feasts and dances in the dance house. It has become primarily a social occasion to show the solidarity of the group. Those who belong to the Pentecostal church do not attend the feasts, lest participation be interpreted as approval of the dances and songs forbidden to them by their church, but allowed by the Mormon church.

Essie Parrish almost singlehandedly attempts to keep the old traditions alive. In the spring of 1953, she set the date for her Flower Dance in May. This was held when the wildflowers were in bloom so that the girls participating might wear the flowers in their hair. Strawberries, purchased from the stores, were carried into the picnic by the women and prayers were said over them before eating. The girls who participated in the dance had to be "clean," that is, not menstruating. When Essie Parrish took the writer into the dance house shortly before the Flower Dance, she explained that she had to be purified before she could take anyone in. This purification followed the menstrual period, when she was conducted into the dance house by a woman past the menopause. The woman led her

round the center post four times counter-clockwise, and four times around the firepit, before she was pure. In view of the lifting of other taboos concerning menstruation under the teachings of the Latter Day Saints church, it is interesting to note this particular survival.

In the winter of 1953, a church social meeting was held in Santa Rosa by the Mutual Improvement Association, attended by Indians and whites. When some of the ranking Mormons expressed disappointment that no Indian dances were presented, Essie Parrish explained that the "young people are ashamed to do the dances." The Mormon church has given approval to the continued use of native dances so long as they are not a religious service. Individual missionaries expressed interest in the native arts and crafts, and Essie Parrish fashioned dolls, baskets, and other objects as gifts for them.

One aspect of Mormon teaching which appeals to the family-minded Indians is the belief that deceased relatives and long dead ancestors may be brought into the same heaven by prayer. To effect this, genealogies of each family are being worked out, for only ancestors who have been named and approximately dated are eligible.

The doctrine of the Mormon church on permanency in marriage, and the religious nature of the contract, may be a source of difficulty for Indian converts. As already indicated, the traditional mores condone a change in marital partners, who were often of the immediate group. Insistence on permanent marriage seems more likely to alienate members than to keep the marriage intact.

The acceptance of an organized Christian church has ended the spiritual supremacy of the leader of the Bole-Maru (youth) cult. Increasingly, the people will undertake employment which will remove them from

e reservation and vicinity, for the necessity of remaining under the protection of the dreamer has been removed. Several informants stated that Essie Parrish thought the people were slipping away from her after the death of Annie Jarvis and the wartime disruption, and that was why she had led the people into the Latter Day Saints church. She expected to continue as the doctor and leader of the religious life and dances. But with conversion and increasing participation in American life, the people had changed. They went to American doctors, didn't believe in the dreamer religion, and wouldn't dance any more. One convert to Mormonism expressed this changed attitude: "Now the people can take care of themselves. Clean living and prayers are a safeguard. Before, someone had to protect you."

CHAPTER VII

AN ANALYSIS OF SOUTHWESTERN POMO CULTURE CHANGE

Concepts Used for Analysis

Present and past history of the Southwestern Pomo offers a chronological picture of the effect of culture contact upon an autochthonous Indian tribe which is unique in the annals of California. These aborigines had contact with three cultures in succession: Russian, Spanish, and Euro-American. The conditions under which culture contact developed have been described in previous chapters, insofar as the data are available. It seems worth while to examine the effect of these contact situations upon the culture of the Indian group in order to understand how the natives were effected and their way of life altered. A comparison of degree and rate of change in the indigenous culture in these three contact periods may provide a basis for significant generalizations concerning the processes of acculturation.

For the analysis of the processes of culture change among the Southwestern Pomo, concepts which have been employed in social psychology in analysis of change in group action have been applied. These concepts are a part of group dynamic theory as stated by Kurt Lewin. The first concept is that of the configuration of the whole, the second, of change of individuals through changing the structure of the group

(Lewin, 1948, 1951). According to Lewin, the social whole consists of interrelated parts; this whole has structural properties differing from the sum of the properties of the parts, and any change in one part will result in a change in the other parts. Change therefore is not a linear development from cause to effect, but of connected interrelationships, and it is these relationships which are significant (Lewin, 1948, p. 17; 1951, p. 192).

The second concept of group dynamic theory employed in the analysis is the hypothesis that the individual can be changed more effectively if the pervading influence of the group is altered. The system of values which shapes the ideology of the group depends upon the power structure within the group, therefore the nature and type of leadership must be considered in situations of culture change. Lewin's research in group dynamic theory demonstrates that it is easier to produce change in individuals formed into a group than to change each one separately. The individual who is not sustained by the group is uncomfortable if he alters his pattern of behavior. However, if the group standard is shifted by change in power structure, then the relationship between the individual and the group standard is altered, resistance to change is lowered, and change is accepted (Lewin, 1951, pp. 227-228).

In addition to group dynamic theory, a concept developed by Barnett in consideration of the processes of culture change has been used. Like Lewin, Barnett views culture change as a chain reaction of interdependent ideas. In addition, he suggests that one factor, which is called the dominant correlate, is the prime mover from which other changes in the structure of the culture flow. A situation which promotes innovation or diffusion multiplies the potential for change (Barnett, 1953, p. 90).

Three Cultures in Contact

How do the historic data correlate with these suggested hypotheses? First of all, we must consider the effect of the Russians and Aleuts upon the native population. Although the Russians represented a more advanced civilization, their Aleut and Creole employees were the instrumentalities through which this culture was largely transmitted and probably reinterpreted. Major changes introduced by the Russians were: agriculture, including the use of plows, horses, carts, sowing seed for the production of food grains; permanent settlements with new house types; the use of iron, dairying and livestock; working of wood, utensils; clothing; foods; the Russian language; the Greek Orthodox religion and burial; a class system based on control of the economy; firearms; and the practice of wage work. To these traits of culture, the Indians responded in varying manner. Possibly because the Russian agriculture was relatively unsuccessful, under conditions previously described, the Indians did not freely adopt its practice. The advantage of being a food-producing rather than a food-gathering society does not seem to have impressed the aborigines as important, possibly because a generous nature had provided adequate foods for the taking. Neither in the Russian nor subsequent periods is there indication that the Southwestern Pomo turned to farming for basic subsistence, except under the orders of others. What the Indians did accept -- and it appears that this is the factor which brought correlative change into their lives -- was the practice of wage work. The desire for clothing and ornaments and for the trade goods which the Russians possessed seems to have motivated the Indian group into greater adoption of other traits in the new civilization. In order to communicate, the Indians learned the Russian language. Working for the Russians under

their terms, the Indians wore European style clothing; and in the course of work they used axes, hoes, plows, and other equipment capably enough to win praise for quick adaptability. Through intimate association with the newcomers, some of the Indians were attracted to the services and ritual of the Russian Orthodox church, and enjoyed the use of new foods and new methods of food preparation. Thus, although wage work might be considered as the prime mover in initiating innovation among the Southwestern Pomo, other traits were acquired through acceptance of the first change.

The limiting factors on full acceptance of the new civilization lie within the tradition of the receiving culture. Religious practices were not greatly affected by Russian contact, nor was the practice of burning the dead. Some indication of limitations on cultural receptivity is the report by Laplace, who visited Fort Ross twenty-seven years after its founding (and only two years before the colony was abandoned). Laplace (1854) made astute comments on the manner of life and psychology of the aborigines. Although passionately devoted to European style clothing and trinkets, the Indians gambled to excess and were usually destitute at the end of the season. Accumulation of private property obviously was not a value easily accepted by the Indians. From the report made by Laplace on the official visit of a chief dressed in a shredded redwood bark cloak trimmed with abalone pendants, we can surmise that native dress, and by inference the native way of life, still had prestige in the eyes of the Indians. Laplace specifically mentioned the dignified and proud bearing of the chief and his men, which is in contrast with the contemporary reports of the listless, miserable

appearing natives of the "reduction" policy in the Spanish missions. The Southwestern Pomo did not have physical limitations set upon their movements, nor were they subjected to intensive religious indoctrination such as existed in the Spanish missions. The optional aspect of the relationship between the aborigines and the Russians or their employees is significant in this initial contact situation and may have contributed to the survival of the Indians. The natives apparently felt that they could choose whether or not to accept items of culture from the Russians, which allowed for a gradual and more constructive adaptation or acculturation.

The association between Russians and natives over a period of time induced a change in group practices which made for individual acceptance of Russian traits. It became the accepted practice for the Indians to work for the Russians, to accept their goods in payment, and to seek their protection. This relationship between groups made individual change and diffusion of new traits easier, and the commonly accepted practice of marriage and liaisons between individuals of the two groups brought wider acquaintance with Russian culture. Those individuals who were most indoctrinated with Russian concepts -- native women married to Russians, Creoles or Aleuts, and their offspring -- were removed when Ross Colony was sold. Their departure probably reduced the lasting effect of this early contact quite considerably.

The next culture contact for the Southwestern Pomo began with Spanish influence under the Benitz family at Fort Ross (1845-1859). Although Benitz himself seemed to have exercised a benevolent rule over the Indians, his Mexican cowboys represented the lawless, exploitative aspect of Spanish settlement. The brutal episode of the Castro raid for Indian

farm labor occurred in 1845 and evidenced the ruthless disregard many Spaniards had for unconverted Indians. Southwestern Pomo now living testify that the Mexicans as a group were feared and disliked because of their arrogance toward and mistreatment of the natives. Despite this feeling, there were marriages between Indians and Mexicans, and a surprising number of Spanish-Mexican traits entered Indian life -- such as the use of flour tortillas, cooking with lard, Catholic religious practices, and the Spanish language.

The permanent effect of Russian or Spanish contact is indicated in the loan words acquired from each source. A list of foreign terms applied to objects introduced in Southwestern Pomo culture was obtained from individuals whose forebears had lived at Fort Ross. These are listed with their origin:

table	mesa	(Spanish)
calico	manta	(Spanish)
cat	gusga	(Russian, gushga)
wheat	senicha	(Russian, pshinitza)
cow	waca	(Spanish, vaca)
bull	toro	(Spanish)
horse	gawaiyu	(Spanish, caballo)
pig	cochina	(Spanish)
chicken	gallino	(Spanish)
turkey	wahelote	(Spanish, guajolote)
milk, cow's	malaka	(Russian, moloko)

Of this list, only three terms, cat, wheat, and cow's milk, are identifiably Russian in origin, although there is documentary evidence that the other articles or animals were introduced and used first by the Russians. The Spanish terms used by the Benitz family and their employees, as well as subsequent contacts with Spanish-speaking Mexicans in harvesting work in the Russian River valley in later years, may account for the greater

use of Spanish loan words for introduced items of culture.

The Spanish contact appears to have contributed certain traits and beliefs to the Southwestern Pomo Indian group despite their conscious opposition to that influence. Active receptivity therefore does not seem necessary for the diffusion of certain culture traits, since prolonged contact inevitably causes certain changes in the receiving culture. Spanish influence was intermittent but intimate, and a considerable degree of acculturation seems to have taken place from this contact.

The American period of culture contact has been divided into two phases: the early contact situation, and recent historical development.

The early period was described by Powers, who visited the Southwestern Pomo in 1871 or 1872, and by local historians of the time. Apparently the Indians had continued as wage workers in local employment, for Powers noted that they wagered $150 worth of silver money, clothing, and blankets on the hand gambling game during his visit at the Haupt Ranch. Presumably this property was earned by them, although Powers (1877, p. 186) stated that the Indians were "if possible a little more indolent and a little more worthless than those who were subject to the Spaniards." Powers noted aspects of aboriginal culture during the time of this visit. These included the native type house, sweathouse, the use of acorns and wild grass seeds for foods, and the observance of Kuksu cult ceremonies. The native people located their rancherias on property where they were employed, such as the Haupt rancheria. Traits of American culture noted by Powers included wage work and what developed out of this -- the use of United States currency, American style foods, clothing, and woolen blankets. Powers stated concerning Californian Indians of the era that they accepted the outward customs of American life but kept their ancient beliefs.

Consistent with the values of the culture, the Southwestern Pomo retained their devotion to gambling, sports, and ceremonial activities through the early contact period. This record seems but an illustration of the usual process of acculturation in which material traits are acquired more readily than concepts or beliefs.

One distinction between the contact situation of Americans with Indians as contrasted with Russian and Spanish influence was the complete control of land resources by the Americans. Retreat for the Southwestern Pomo into the mountains was possible no longer because the Americans, who claimed absolute ownership, were everywhere. The Indians were forced to concede that they lived and gathered their native foods only on the sufferance of the more powerful whites. Control of mobility combined with assumption of superiority by the Americans seems to have been the determining factor in Southwestern Pomo acceptance of the Bole-Maru cult, an outgrowth of the 1870 Ghost Dance movement. Complete control of the resources of this world induced the Indians to a receptivity to a cult which promised them favored treatment in the next. The resort to a nativistic movement is essential for understanding the recent history of this Pomo group.

The Bole-Maru Cult as a Nativistic Movement

A nativistic movement, as defined by Linton, is "any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture (Linton, 1943, p. 230). Kroeber states that the support given to a nativistic movement, which it is postulated the Bole-Maru represents, is evoked in a situation where the culture

has received a severe shock, amounting to a death blow, which drives the people into the use of the supernatural as a method of restoring the whole or part of the native culture (Kroeber, 1948, p. 439). The Bole-Maru cult reinterpreted the Indian heritage, and attempted to provide supernatural sanction for these practices. The cult represented an anti-acculturation movement, which preserved the cultural identity of Pomo life.

Retrospectively, it appears that the Bole-Maru cult nearly had run its course because of deterioration of leadership and loss of faith by the adherents when it was revitalized by Annie Jarvis in 1912 and maintained until after her death in 1943. The Southwestern Pomo located at the Haupt rancheria early in the present century were depicted as a demoralized group which tacitly acknowledged its inferiority to the dominant whites. Because of prejudices against the Indians, it appeared impossible for the group to become assimilated racially, and the result had been increasing tension among individual members.

On the basis of new dream revelations, Annie Jarvis seems to have revitalized the belief of the Indians in their own heritage. She selected as the items of symbolic significance the use of the native language, native personal names, dances, costumes, ceremonial equipment, curing practices, marriage within the group, certain foods, and traditional puberty and other taboo observances. It is important to recognize that magical power was ascribed to adoption of these practices. Of the use of such symbols, Linton (1943, p. 231) remarked:

> The more distinctive such elements are with respect to other cultures with which the society is in contact, the greater their potential value as symbols of the society's unique character.

Through this manipulation of the cultural institutions, Annie Jarvis was able to turn what were peculiar Indian traits into a positive reinforcement of their social life.

Linton's final observation on nativistic movements is that they serve as a mechanism of good mental health in situations where assimilation is not possible because of psychological or other barriers in the contact between races.' Outside observers who know the Kashia residents and the difficulties of their situation similarly commended the dreamer religion. A former Indian Bureau employee told the writer that during the past twenty years, the residents of the Stewart's Point reservation were outstanding among northern Californian Indian communities for their self-respect and good appearance. The evidence indicates that the nativistic dreamer cult was largely responsible for maintaining the cultural identity and the mental well-being of the Indian group at Kashia reservation. Although the community is due in part to social segregation by whites, it still seems evident that adherence to the Indian ceremonies provided psychological security for Indian members until the recent period when culture contact between whites and Indians is not as definitely patterned in a dominance-submission relationship.

Reformulation of Cultural Values and Practices

The early phase of the modern period gives evidence of greater acceptance of the tools, techniques, and outward behavior of the dominant white group by the Indians. Houses, automobiles, regular wage work, language, and dress brought the inhabitants to a greater conformity with the standards of white society. Although the religion was based upon

concepts borrowed from Christian religion, such as a supreme being, "our father," and a flowery afterworld, these were interpreted as a different eschatology from the whites. The religious ideology strengthened their resistance to underlying assumptions of values in American life, such as thriftiness, foresight, advancement through education, and the superior worth of persons who conformed closely to Anglo-Saxon standards of behavior and appearance.

The recent phase of the modern period began with the decision of the dream cult leader, Essie Parrish, to lead the Indians into an organized Christian church and is still in process. This shift has oriented the Southwestern Pomo toward the commonly accepted mores and practices of white middle class American society. Church activities attempt to integrate the Indians into the framework of American life. The essential difference of the new religion from the belief in the native cult has been the substitution of personal responsibility in religious practices and the acceptance of cooperative endeavor between Indians and whites as members of the same society. A change correlated with the new religion is greater acceptance of white concepts of disease and methods of treatment.

An instance of the interrelationship of the structural whole in the contemporary period is that of food habits of the people. This Californian Indian group had achieved a nearly maximal exploitation of the food resources of their environment. Even after initial contact, they adhered to the customary diet because of availability, taste, and economic reasons, and used introduced foods only supplementally. Increasing land utilization by American settlers reduced the amount of native foods available, but wage work by Indians made substitution of potatoes, flour, and beef possible. The necessity of substitution led to an acquired taste for

the new foods, so that over a period of years the aboriginal diet was no longer preferred. Aboriginal foods have ceased to have prestige, which was maintained by religious usage. Under the dreamer cult, the serving of acorn meal, pinole, and seafoods was enjoined for feasting, and were required in the proper observance of puberty taboos and diet. Supernatural sanction having been removed, it seems likely that prestige foods will be those taken from American magazines or based on personal taste. In this manner, a new social usage is established for the group, in which a basically American diet replaces the aboriginal one. The Southwestern Pomo situation is comparable with that of Californian Indians in general, where Cook found that private land usage by Americans set in motion a chain of developments which changed the food habits of the indigenous population (Cook, 1941, p. 35).

The second hypothesis of group dynamic theory -- that the individual can be changed more effectively when the group standard is altered -- is useful for examining change within the individual. Attitudes and behavior reflect the conception which the individual has of himself vis-a-vis his group and the outside world. If the group changes its basic position, then the majority of individuals tend to shift with the group. Two phases of group-controlled change in behavior and attitudes can be charted clearly among the Southwestern Pomo in recent years.

When the dreamer religious cult came under the control of Annie Jarvis, she is said to have discouraged the people from intimacy with other Indian communities, and especially opposed close association with surrounding whites. Warnings against the practice of witchcraft by Indians from outside reduced intervisitation with them. Pressure from the cult leader discouraged friendly interchange with whites, which had

existed following the earlier period of intermarriage with whites. Americans visiting the reservation found doors closed in their faces and people unwilling to talk, while several Indian women who had married whites or were considered too intimate with them, were ostracized. This self-isolation bred an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion toward all outsiders which was shown in the behavior of the residents.

The next swing in group atmosphere was induced when Essie Parrish adopted the teachings of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints as the new religion for the people, as related earlier. After the war years, with the experience of mingling with various races in different communities, the people no longer seemed satisfied with a separatistic, anti-white religion, and the restrictions of its system of taboos. Acceptance of a common cause and destiny has brought greater receptivity to traits of American culture. Individuals exemplify the change by the more open manner in which they meet outsiders, especially whites. In both instances, change in group values led to change in the attitudinal system of the individuals composing the group.

One major distinction of this Indian group from whites is the additudinal system within which the Indians operate. This consists of the body of tradition or customs which sets them apart, encourages marriage within the group, and leads them to regard themselves as different. The value system for the Indians until recently consisted of religious beliefs, already described, of a different orientation from the religion of the dominant culture, and which in effect sanctioned opposition to American engulfment. This orientation produced a strong in-group feeling distinct from other Indian communities, and especially in contrast with the whites. This in-group sentiment was based primarily

on kinship, but also on consciousness of kind. Unlike many other Indian groups in the United States, the Pomo were never subjected to forced assimilation by attendance at boarding schools. Throughout the historic period, school attendance was voluntary at the public schools of the area and was accepted as a method of learning English and thereby participating in the economic life of the dominant culture. Boarding school experience came only within the lasttwenty years and attendance was optional. The small size of the Southwestern Pomo group and its dependence upon the white community for subsistence has made all living Pomo bilingual, and has promoted a shift in language use from the native tongue to English, especially among younger people.

Where intermarriage is common practice, the lines of division between two races tend to break down. However, among the Southwestern Pomo, as with other California Indian groups, the marriages and liaisons between natives and whites which were frequent in the early contact period did not continue in the later period. White disapproval of interracial marriage, reinforced by the economic disadvantage of marriage into a group which was at the lowest level of the social stratum, was the significant factor in reducing interracial alliances (MacGregor, 1940, p. 55). Further, the population had stabilized so that no longer was there a shortage of single white women such as resulted in the earlier racial intermixture. The racial composition of the Southwestern Pomo is therefore typical of other Californian Indian groups within the Sacramento jurisdiction of the Indian Service, where it was found that racial intermarriage was no longer operating as a factor in assimilation. The Indian population seems stabilized at 75 per cent Indian blood (U.S. Dfc. of Ind. Aff., 1939, pp. 13, 15).

It would be an erroneous assumption to postulate that wage work integrated the Indians into white culture since the Southwestern Pomo operated within the American economic structure for years toward their own ends. Those persons who seek to accumulate wealth are subject to criticism rather than praise in this Indian group. Easy spending and generosity to kinfolk give greater prestige than improvement of the household or saving for the future. Even those modern conveniences which are purchased, such as a refrigerator or car, represent symbols of prestige rather than tools for modern living, as evidenced by the selection of the largest or most expensive available, purchased on time installments. The lack of correlation between economics and other aspects of Indian life may be an adaptive trait which has permitted the continued existence of an Indian culture.

Another aspect of the preservation of an Indian sub-culture is the attitude of the dominant group. As documentation in the chapter on the transitional period indicates, the early white settlers and most of the later white population presumed themselves to be superior to the native people because they were representatives of a more advanced civilization. Yet from sentiment or a sense of justice, the whites often conceded benefits to Indians that they would not have given to members of other racial groups -- employment, houses, or the privilege of gathering wild crops. Old settlers on the Sonoma coast have usually been generous to individual Indians in these matters so long as the Indians remained in a subordinate position.

The last decade has brought significant changes in the interracial attitudes in Sonoma County. Many Indians gained greater mobility during the war, when the young men went into service, and other able-bodied men

worked in war industry. There has been an influx of whites into Sonoma County who did not inherit the old concept of patronizing the "Diggers," and in the immediate area of the Southwestern Pomo territory there are a number of white families attached to the lumber industry whose economic and social position is equivalent to that of the Indians. Like the situation of the Pomo in the Russian River valley studied by the Aginsky Field Laboratory, wider participation in white society has reduced the separation between races, and resulted in more extensive adoption of traits of the dominant culture on the part of the Indians (Aginsky, 1949).

The factors of religion, race, language, and tradition, plus the attitude of the dominant culture group, have contributed toward the formation and continuance of an Indian sub-culture, as the Southwestern Pomo illustrate. This conclusion was drawn by the survey of Californian Indian communities made in 1936:

> The groups clustering on the rancherias of northern California are neither primitive Indians, nor are they assimilated Whites. They are Indian groups which have been partially acculturated and must be dealt with on that basis (U.S. Off. of Ind. Aff., 1939, p. 16).

It is suggested on the basis of recent data that the Southwestern Pomo sub-culture which exists at present will not be stabilized at the status quo. Realignment in religious beliefs and in the Indian conception of their place in American society have caused a drastic shift in the attitude system. If a group of white society provides an atmosphere of acceptance, it is probable that the Indians will lose more of their specific Indian characteristics which no longer have symbolic value through the nativistic cult. The process of acculturation will proceed more rapidly when the underlying sanctions against intimacy with and imitation

of whites are dissolved. The nature of the relationship between Indians and whites has been changed from the viewpoint of the Indians. Time will show whether the racial majority concedes enough to make this new relationship rewarding to the Indian community.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

The processes of acculturation of the Southwestern Pomo have been examined in situations of contact with three successive cultures.

In the culture contact situation, the historical data indicates that as long as adoption of culture items was optional, only those objects or patterns of behavior which could be fitted into the existing social structure were accepted by the Indians. The underlying sanctions of the culture were not displaced by those of the more complex Russian or Spanish civilizations and these sanctions were rephrased only when American control of the environment threatened the survival of the group. This history of the Southwestern Pomo indicates that the material culture and social organization of a people can be altered to a considerable extent without losing the essential psychological identity of a people if they are able to hold to their own system of values. The covert, or underlying sanctions of a culture, have the greatest survival value in situations of culture contact, especially when upheld by religion.

The religious system which maintained the cultural identity of the Southwestern Pomo was a magically based nativistic movement which arose in response to the engulfing American culture. The movement included elements of the aboriginal religion but reinterpreted those elements. The cult was manipulated by a strong leader to provide a tradition which would give to the Indian group a basis for self-respect and prevent their complete demoralization as a social unit and as individuals.

The power of the cult leader was based upon a mechanical control of the supernatural through specific ceremonies performed by the faithful. Although the cult was not unique, being shared by the neighboring Pomo and Patwin groups, the isolated character of this community gave the cult a particular historical development.

Within the past few years, a changed social environment and greater participation by individual Indians in white society have culminated in the dissolution of the dreamer cult of the Southwestern Pomo and its absorption into an organized Christian church of predominantly white membership. Acceptance of Christian theology has dissolved the supernatural basis for the taboo system and native concepts of disease and curing. Individuals who hold to native traditions no longer have the support of the group, hence further change in individual attitudes is to be expected, with consequent alteration in personality responses.

It is predicted that reorientation of the Indian group to work cooperatively with a white social group, if successful, will cause the process of acculturation to continue with increasing velocity.

Contemporary field data indicate that the Southwestern Pomo form a sub-culture which is distinguishable from Californian society and in this respect typifies Indian communities of Northern California. The separate identity is formed by long continued native traditions, the segregation of the Indian people by white society with marriage largely endogamous, and a set of values or attitudes which are lineally related to the aboriginal culture rather than approximating the values predominant in American life.

The application of group dynamic theory indicates that acceptance of certain traits affects the other areas of the receiving culture because of the interrelationship of the structural whole. Therefore, acculturation in this or any other social group cannot be viewed as static or completed.

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UC	University of California Publications
-AR	Anthropological Records
-AS	Archaeological Survey
-IA	Ibero-Americana
-PAAE	American Archaeology and Ethnology
-PH	History

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