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THE SHASTA

THE Shasta were regarded in Powell's classification as a distinct linguistic stock; but now, thanks to the elaboration by Dixon of Gatschet's suggestion, they are known to be only a branch of a stock that includes also the Achomawi and Atsugewi, or Pit River Indians. Furthermore, this stock has been extended, mainly by the collaboration of Dixon and Kroeber, to include also nine other supposedly distinct California stocks: namely, Karok, Chimariko, Yana, Pomo, Washo, Esselen, Salinan, Chumash, and Yuman; as well as two Mexican stocks, Tequistlatecan and Serian. This new stock the collaborators have named Hokan, from the native word for "two," because this word exhibits cognate forms in more branches of the stock language than does any other single term.

The Shasta branch of this great family occupied a large part of Siskiyou county in California and a portion of Jackson and Klamath in Oregon. This irregular territory is defined by a line extending northward from Mount Shasta in California to Mount Pitt in Oregon, westward to the junction of Bear creek with Rogue river, southwestward along the divide between Bear creek and Applegate creek, curving around the head of the latter stream and running westward along the ridge of the Siskiyou mountains, including the drainage area of Klamath river almost as far as Happy Camp; then southward and eastward along the edge of the Scott river and Shasta river drainage areas to Mount Shasta.

With the exception of Shasta and Scott valleys and small valleys where tributaries cut into the cañon of the swiftly flowing Klamath, this entire area is mountainous, much of it being well wooded and all abundantly watered. Fish, game, and vegetal products, such as roots and acorns, were plentiful.

The Shasta had no collective name for themselves, and the name by which they have been known to us from the earliest times is of uncertain origin; though, as Dixon has pointed out, and as a native informant of the present writer inclines to believe, it probably is an adaptation of Sustika, the name of a prominent man who lived near Yreka in the days of the gold prospectors. There were five or more groups of these people, differing more or less in language and habits.

The Katiru extended along Klamath river from just above Happy

Camp to Seiad valley. From Seiad valley to Scott river and up this stream at least as far as Scott Bar, were the now extinct Kammatwa, speaking a dialect unintelligible to the other Shasta. The Iruwaitsu (properly Iruaítsuhis) occupied Scott valley from a few miles above Fort Jones down to the territory of the Kammatwa. The Kikatsik (Kíka'ts!) were in Shasta valley as far south as Edgewood and on upper Klamath river, extending into Oregon. In Oregon the Íkarakatsuhis[1] extended along Rogue river from Ashland to Table Rock. All these groups may be distinguished as the Shasta proper. In addition there were three other divisions which Dixon classifies as linguistically Shastan: the New River Shasta, on New river in the northwestern corner of Trinity county and on the upper course of the Forks of Salmon river in Siskiyou county; the Konomihu, at the junction of the Forks of Salmon river; and the Okwánuchu, between Mount Shasta and Shasta Retreat on the headwaters of Sacramento river.

The westerly neighbors of the Shasta in California were the Karok on Klamath river; and in Oregon the Takelma and various Athapascan bands on Applegate creek and Rogue river adjoined them on the west and north. East of them were the Achomawi, the Klamath, and the Modoc. On the south lay Wintun territory.

The Oregon Shasta were in frequent conflict for territory with the Rogue River Athapascans, and the Shasta Valley bands lived in fear of the ever-present threat of Modoc invasion and the less frequent menace of the Wintun. Not a summer passed without a raid by the Modoc, who came principally for the purpose of carrying off children to sell to the Cayuse, a trade by which they obtained their numerous bands of horses. In 1908 there lived at Yakima reservation in eastern Washington an aged Shasta who as a child had been captured and traded from tribe to tribe until at last he reached the country north of the Columbia. For a number of years after the founding of the mining settlement at Yreka (Waiíka, Mount Shasta) the Modoc would come down ostensibly to trade in the town, but actually to kill a few Shasta and carry off captive children. It was not their practice to burn houses, but both Modoc and Shasta took scalps.

A few years before the Modoc war of 1872 a large band visited

1 Dixon gives Kahósadi, which has an Athapascan sound.

Yreka and committed the usual depredations on the Shasta. When they were preparing one morning to start homeward, a small party of Shasta waylaid one of their chiefs on his way from the town to his camp, and as he crossed the bridge over Yreka creek they killed him. When Judge Steele of Yreka, an old resident and the staunch friend of the Modoc, heard the news, he upbraided the Indians and warned them to cease their brawls before some one of them should kill a white man. The Shasta protested that it was all the fault of the Modoc, and Steele sent a Modoc woman, wife of a white man, to invite her people back to the town for a council. The Shasta thereupon despatched messengers to Scott valley and Shasta valley, and the two hostile tribes met in council on the south side of the town, where the settlers had provided a quantity of flour and beef. At the conclusion of Steele's strong speech to both tribes, the Modoc promised to cease their depredations, and that was the end of hostilities.

Apparently the Shasta never invaded the territory of their neighbors, but among their different divisions there were the usual feuds and assassinations, which were soon compromised by the payment of blood-money.

Though they were as unwarlike as most California tribes, the Shasta had a war-dance, which they performed before setting out for another village to demand satisfaction for the injury or murder of one of their fellow townsmen. Twenty to thirty men would stand in a row and sing the war-song while striking the ground with the right foot, and two young men with eagle-feathers in the hair and eagle-bone whistles in the mouth would dance and -leap about in front of them, occasionally shouting with a strong expulsion of breath, *"Pah, pah!"*

The first white men in the Shasta country were fur-traders who came down along Klamath river. An old man living near Yreka remembers the unexpected appearance of the first party seen by his band near the site of Ashland, Oregon. They were armed with flintlocks. The Indians fled, but the white men motioned them back with their hats, and when the natives returned, the white men made signs to sit down, placing their hands on their breasts and saying, *"Makoí, makoí!"* which the Indians took to mean that they had friendly intentions. Probably the men were French-Canadian trappers, and said, *"Bon cœur, bon cœur!"*

With the discovery of gold in California came an influx of adven-

turers, and the troubles of the Shasta, as of all Indians in the northern half of the state, rapidly became acute. There were depredations on both sides, and when in 1853 the "Rogue River war" broke out, many of the Shasta bands became involved. Never very populous, they were much reduced when peace was restored, and succeeding years of combating disease and famine finished the work, until now careful search is required to find a full-blood Shasta. It is a tale that becomes wearisome with repetition in the history of California Indians.

The simplest costume of Shasta men consisted of a deerskin loincloth. As temperature, environment, or occasion made them desirable, moccasins, leggings, shirts, robes, head-bands, belts, and hats were used. Moccasins were made of deerskin or elk-skin with an extra sole of bear or elk rawhide. For winter wear there was a single sole of bear-skin with the fur on the inside; but poor men simply wrapped the feet in ordinary fur or even moss or dry grass, and encased them in summer moccasins. The leggings reached to the hips and sometimes were ornamented with dyed porcupine-quills or beads, in the fashion common to the Plains tribes. Three deerskins were required to make a shirt, one forming the front, another the back, and a third smaller one the sleeves. The seams were fringed, and the garment sometimes had porcupine-quill ornamentation. Ordinarily the men wore nothing at all above the waist, and frequently instead of a shirt a deerskin was thrown about the shoulders. On special occasions rich men wore belts made of wide strips of blackened elk-skin, and head-bands decorated with porcupine-quills. Such men had also for occasional use elk-skin hats painted with blue and red designs and adorned with eagle tail-feathers.

Warriors protected the upper part of the body with a corselet of elk rawhide or of a double thickness of service-berry rods held together by cord twining.

Women ordinarily wore nothing but a knee-length deerskin skirt and an apron of fringe to fill the gap at the front. A few had sleeveless shirts for cold weather, but mostly mere skins were draped about the shoulders. On particular occasions they wore over the ordinary skirt an ornamental one of deerskin, fringed at the sides and with each fringe covered with braided grass and ornamented with beads, shells, or pine-seeds. The moccasins of women were like those of men, but the well-to-do had knee-length leggings sewed to the tops of their footwear.

Basket-caps were worn at all times.

Men either allowed the hair to hang loosely, or twisted it into a rope which they confined in a knot at the nape of the neck by means of deerskin thongs or on the crown of the head by means of a bone pin. Fighting-men wore upright in the hair a slender stick with numerous white downy eagle-feathers attached by short strings. Women parted the hair in the middle and wore it in two ropes in front of the shoulders, wrapping the ends with strips of skunk or mink fur. The comb was the skin of a porcupine tail with the bristles stiffened by singeing off the ends.

Every girl at about the age of twelve had the chin tattooed in three vertical lines by a woman who made such work her profession. The skin was scarified with an obsidian chip, and pitch-pine soot collected on a flat stone was rubbed into the cuts. Some men, but not all, had designs tattooed on the forearms. Most men and some women had the nasal septum pierced, and on occasions wore therein either a pair of long dentalia or, if they could not afford those, a blackened spill of wood or a feather. Both sexes had the ears pierced and wore in them, either pendent on a short cord or thrust through the holes, ornaments consisting of five or six porcupine-quills dyed yellow by boiling with yellow-green moss (*háta*) that grows on pines. On special occasions the face was ornamented with various designs in red paint (*isur*). War paint was white earth and soot.

The winter house of the Shasta was built over an approximately rectangular excavation three or four feet deep. The ridge beam, in two sections, rested on a row of three crotched posts erected in the excavation on the line of the longer axis, and the eaves-poles were supported by similar but shorter series at the sides. Rafters extending from the eaves to the ridge supported a number of battens, on which were arranged slabs of bark, which at one side of the ridge overtopped those of the other side, in order to shed water at the peak. In the centre of the roof was a smoke-hole. The walls were of slabs, sticks, and bark, banked up with earth; but a few rich men had board houses. All the timbers were lashed together by means of withes. The doorway at the middle of one end was less than the height of a man and was covered with a tule mat. At night the entrance was partially blocked by means of a log across the bottom and poles lashed across the doorway above the log. The very poor inhabited huts made by erecting two crotched

posts in an excavation, placing a short ridge-pole on them, and raising a set of rafters, the bottom of which rested directly on the ground in an approximate oval. This frame was covered with grass, tules, sticks, and earth, and the opening in the front was closed by a mat.

The communal sweat-house was used mainly by young unmarried men and old widowers, the married men generally sleeping in the dwelling-house and going occasionally into the sudatory for the morning sweat. The framework of this structure consisted of a stout crotched post planted in the centre of a circular excavation, and numerous rafters, large and small, extending from the edge of the pit to the crotch. This frame was covered with bark, pine-needles, and earth. In the front a space was left between two heavy rafters, and a stout bar lashed across them a few feet from the bottom supported a mat curtain; while at the back a small tunnel led into the open. When the oak fire was started in the fire-pit at one of the rear corners, the tunnel and doorway were left open to create a draft; but after it was reduced to a bed of coals, a closely fitting slab was inserted into the mouth of the tunnel, the mat curtain was lowered, and the inmates lay at ease on a floor covering of pine-needles. They slept without clothing or covering; but if the heat became dissipated before morning, they drew blankets over themselves. At dawn they dismissed any boys who might have spent the night there with their fathers, and then built up a fire, opening the tunnel but leaving the doorway covered. They sat about chanting in low tones and gently striking their chests with their palms. After replenishing the fire once or twice, they bathed in the stream and went to their homes for the morning meal.

Still in occasional use by the few remaining Shasta is the true sudatory, which they construct by covering with tule mats a hemispherical frame of willow rods with their ends thrust into the ground and with lashings at the intersections. It is heated by pouring water on hot stones, and is employed only in the treatment of sickness.

The small menstrual hut was constructed on a frame consisting of two forked posts, a connecting ridge-pole, and numerous pole rafters resting on the ground. The roof consisted of bark slabs and was banked up at the bottom with pine-needles and earth. Regardless of age, women withdrew to these huts for their menstrual periods, and during parturition.

Campers slept in the open without shelter, unless they were to

remain in one place for a number of days, when they erected windbreaks of dead wood and bark.

Nuts, berries, and roots furnished the Shasta a varied and abundant supply of vegetal food; while deer, antelope, elk, bears, and small game gave them their meat. Salmon also was one of their principal foods.

Chief among edible nuts were several species of acorns, which were usually eaten in the form of thick soup or mush. After the kernels had been dried, the outer membrane was removed and they were crushed into fairly fine meal in a mortar consisting of a flat stone and a basketry hopper. The bitter principle was then removed by leaching. On a miniature scaffold of sticks a few inches from the ground a layer of dry pine-needles was placed, and on them a slightly concave bed of sand. On this filter the meal was spread, and a quantity of water, warmed by heated stones, was poured over it. The palm was then pressed down on the wet meal, which adhered and was lifted away to have the sand removed by dipping hand and meal into a basket of water. Finally the meal was placed in another basket containing water, where it was cooked by means of heated stones.

Sugar-pine nuts were gathered in August, the men climbing into the trees and shaking the branches with their feet and the women gathering the cones, which were roasted on hot stones in a covered pit. The nuts were then picked out, dried, and stored for winter use. The meats were crushed and made into cakes, or the whole nuts, mixed with dried salmon, were pounded up and eaten without cooking.

Red manzanita-berries were crushed and stirred in cold water, which was lapped up by means of brushes made of hairs from a gray squirrel's tail tied to a stick.

To obtain yellow-pine bast, the Shasta girdled a tree by bruising the bark with a stone and ripped the section longitudinally with a sharp stick. The inner surface was then wiped off with a bunch of grass, to remove the pitch, and the bast was scraped off with a sharp-edged piece of manzanita and eaten uncooked.

Madroña-berries were eaten after boiling, and pinole, or parched meal, was made principally of tarweed seed, which was gathered by shaking the plant over a deerskin bag sewed on a circular frame. Camas and *ipha* (Calochortus) were the principal edible roots.

Deer were captured in noose snares set at narrow openings in brush fences, along which the animals were driven slowly in order not

to frighten them and so cause them to leap the barrier. When they came to an opening they would attempt to pass through, and the noose would catch them by the horns or the neck, when they were clubbed or shot. There were a few men so fleet and persistent that single-handed they could run down a deer, remaining on its track all day and sometimes for two days. As they ran, they would frequently utter a long call, "*Peu, peu, peu!*" somewhat like the bay of a hound. In summer deer were sometimes driven by firing the Mountainside, and on one such occasion a hunter known to the informant became engulfed in a whirlwind of flame and was burned to death.

Deer were killed also by stalking, the hunter wearing the skin of a deer and the stuffed head with imitation horns. For summer use the horns were made by sewing mink fur on a pair of forked sticks, imitating horns in the velvet.

Elk were sometimes stalked, but more frequently were run down in deep snow by men on snowshoes.

Some hunters successfully imitated the bleat of a fawn by holding a thin leaf between the lips and drawing in the breath forcibly; and by uttering the chirping call of young rabbits they brought the old ones within reach of their arrows. Ground-squirrels also were called out of their burrows.

Black bears were stalked while feeding in the evening or early morning by several men in a party, who, after the first shot by the leader, surrounded the animal and as he charged past them in the effort to escape, implanted their arrows. When an occupied bear den was discovered, the hunter would stand in front of it and shout: "Come out! It is time now!" And the arrow would fly when the bear, aroused by the noise, showed his head and shoulders in the mouth of the den. Grizzly-bears were sometimes stalked by men brave enough to try it and active enough to avoid the wounded animal's charges; but generally they attacked the grizzly at his den, setting a number of sharp stakes around the entrance and then shooting while the enraged animal was demolishing the barrier. Small animals were killed only with arrows. Deadfalls, pitfalls, and traps of all kinds were unknown.

Venison was never boiled, but was either roasted, or dried in the sun and stored in long tule bags. After killing a deer, the hunter cleaned out a length of intestine and filled it with blood and pieces of kidney and lung. When he brought the sausage home, the woman placed it in

hot ashes, watching carefully to see that excess of heat did not burst it, and testing it by piercing it with a sharp stick: when no blood bubbled out, the contents were cooked.

The carcass of a hibernating bear was placed unskinned on a large brush fire, and scraped and turned with a pole until the hair was singed off and the hide roasted to a crisp. It was then cut into large pieces, which were boiled, wrapped in fine grass, and laid away for future use. The Indians compare this meat to fat bacon. Sometimes the skin with a thick layer of fat was singed and roasted, and then eaten.

Salmon were taken principally in wicker traps and dip-nets. It is said that formerly the salmon run in Klamath river and its tributaries occurred in the spring at the time of greening grass, and at that season weirs were built at a few favorable points in the Klamath and at a number of places in the smaller streams. The building of a weir was begun by driving a row of strong stakes into the bed of the river with the tops inclining up-stream. On the up-stream side a transverse line of poles was lashed to the stakes at water level, each end being anchored to a tree by means of a grapevine. Brush weighted with stones was then placed along the upper side of the weir. At each of several openings was the mouth of a wicker trap, which was eight to ten feet long and two or three feet in diameter at the opening, tapering to a much smaller diameter at the upper end, where a trap-door was placed. These traps were sometimes set also in a riffle ten to fifteen yards below the weir to catch some of the fish which, finding their upward progress barred, turned back. When a trap became partially filled, the fisherman raised the trap-door and after clubbing the salmon took them out and strung them on grapevine withes. The weir belonged nominally to the chief who owned the fishing rights at that particular locality, but actually the catch was communal property, being divided according to the need of the different families; and any man had the right to spear salmon at the weir.

In the spawning season the Shasta built small shelters of tule mats at the edge of a stream, and at dusk and on moonlight nights they would crouch there in the shadow, spear in hand. If a female salmon came within reach of their spear, they would not strike, but waited for the numerous males that soon would be attracted to her.

Of the type used all along Klamath river was the conical dip-net suspended on a pair of divergent poles and two transverse rods. The

fisherman stood on a platform built over the water at an eddy, where the set of the current held the apex of the net up-stream while the opening was down-stream. he outer side of the net was held against the current of the eddy by a grapevine rope running down-stream to a fixed object, and the inner side by a grapevine loop attached to the frame of the net and sliding freely up and down a pole at one side of the scaffold. A number of light strings fastened at regular intervals to the bottom crosspiece of the frame crossed the mouth of the net and converged into a single strand, which the fisherman held, so that the slight tug caused by a salmon touching one of the strings as it entered the net would warn him to raise it.

Salmon were dried in the sun without salt or smoke, and stored in large, bag-like receptacles of tules with pine-root twining. For the average family about one hundred salmon were stored. Fresh and dry salmon were cooked by roasting on skewers. On the roasted dry fish a little water was sprinkled in order to soften it.

The manufactures of the Shasta were of fairly wide variety, but not remarkable for workmanship or artistry. Stone objects include knives, arrow-points, and hide-scrapers of obsidian; mauls, pestles, arrow-straighteners, and arrow-smoothers of massive stone; and shallow dishes of steatite. In making a knife the workman heated a piece of obsidian and split off a sliver by a sharp blow with a stone. This he reduced by chipping the edges with the pressure of a deer-horn point attached to a stick, which extended under his forearm in order to give greater leverage. Sometimes the knife was fastened by lashing in the cleft of a piece of wood, which served as a handle. In butchering game, the hair that adhered to the uneven edge was removed by the lips. Mortars were not made by the Shasta, but were found in their territory and were regarded with awe as being used by shamans in their evil work of "poisoning" victims. They were held to possess the power of moving from place to place, which is a superstition common to many tribes of northern and central California.

Awls were made of a slender bone, usually that of a wildcat; spoons of a portion of a deer's skull, but more frequently of wood or antler; salmon-gigs of deer-bone; and wedges of elk-horn. Shell objects were dentalia, abalone, and clam-shell beads and pendants, but these were obtained in trade with the Indians on the lower course of Klamath river.

From wood the Shasta made a few rude canoes of the Klamath river pattern, but they were not clever workmen and as often as not employed the makeshift tule balsa. The wooden craft was made of a cedar or a yellow-pine log. The tree was felled, and the log cut off and hollowed out, by means of fire, and the finishing was accomplished by rubbing a large smoothing stone back and forth across the parts to be cut away. They made excellent yew bows, strengthened by a backing of sinew, which was protected by a covering of salmon-skin heated in the fire between large leaves and then scraped thin. Lieutenant Emmons, who led a contingent of the Wilkes expedition through this region in 1841, reported that the Shasta arrows were deadly at a hundred yards. He saw an archer strike a button three times out of five at sixty yards. Inferior bows were made of manzanita, and arrow-shafts were syringa or manzanita, with three grouse-feathers singed straight by passing an ember along the edge. Other wooden objects were salmon-spear shafts, tubular tobacco pipes, three-holed flutes, fire-drills, soup-paddles, canoe-paddles, and tongs for lifting heated stones used in cooking.

Baskets for a variety of uses were made after the fashion of the Klamath River baskets, the usual material being hazel and willow rods for the warp, willow and pine-roots for the weft, and Xerophyllum grass and maidenhair fern stems for white and black ornamentation respectively. Tules were the material for mats used as mattresses and for balsas. Cord employed in weaving nets and ropes for deer-snares were made of hemp.

The games of the Shasta were few, the principal one being *kahátapik,* a form of the widespread hand-game. Each of two players had a bundle of about twenty small, slender, nicely made rods, all except two being variously marked with painted rings according to individual fancy. Among Indians gambling usually involves pseudo-religious observances by the players to insure good luck. The making of these sticks is a case in point. Two players, after five days of continence, retired into the hills, where, on a limited diet of dry fish and acorn meal and to the accompaniment of songs and prayers, they performed their work. The game was played as follows: The two players sat facing each other, each with seven tally-sticks thrust into the ground. One of them then rolled a decorated stick and an unmarked one in separate bunches of grass, and interchanged them rapidly from

hand to hand while singing his gambling songs. His opponent, when the shuffling ceased, endeavored to guess which hand contained the plain stick. If he succeeded, no tally-stick changed hands but he received the "deal"; if he failed, he paid a tally-stick and the other continued the game as before. When a player had only two counters remaining, his failure to guess correctly did not entail the loss of one, but his opponent shuffled again, this time using three bunches of grass and two decorated sticks. The other then indicated two of the three bunches of grass, and if either of the two contained the plain stick he received the deal; but if not, he paid over both remaining counters and the game was ended. This provision of course greatly favored the losing player, and had the effect of prolonging the game. The play was attended with constant singing and great excitement, and wagers were laid between the numerous backers of the two principals. The game is still played by many tribes of California.

A game of similar principle, *kú'ik*, was played by two women, each of whom had a bundle of numerous slender rods painted from end to end, and one with a single band of paint at the middle. The bundle was shuffled by twisting the ends in opposite directions, and then was separated into two portions; and the opponent guessed which one contained the marked rod.

Kíratik was a game of shinny played by women, in which by means of throwing-sticks they endeavored to toss over the goal of their opponents a pair of short sticks joined by a deerskin thong.

Athletic contests of men included archery, foot-racing, and hurling sharpened shafts in such a way as to make them stick upright in the ground. Children played string-games, and people of all ages enjoyed a form of the widespread cup-and-pin game, using twelve salmon-vertebræ strung on a cord which was attached to a short, pointed stick, the object of the game being to give the vertebræ a sharp upward swing and catch as many as possible on the point of the stick.

Socially and politically the Shasta were organized on extremely simple lines. There were no clans, the family and the village being the sociological units. There is however a trace of tribal organization, as the phrase is generally understood, inasmuch as the Shasta recognized five divisions of people speaking their language: two of them on Klamath river, the others respectively in Scott valley, in Shasta valley, and in Oregon. Each of these divisions, and each considerable com-

munity, had its headman, and the office passed to the son, or other male relative in the direct or collateral line, of the deceased incumbent. Women seldom occupied theposition, but there was a woman at Íkiruk (Jacksonville, Oregon), named Hápautuqharápha, who by reason of her eloquence and her ability to prevent fighting became chief.

The principal duty of a chief was to preserve peace among the people and to this end act as mediator between disputants. In themorning or the evening he would stand in front of his house and harangue the people, urging them to live at peace with one another, to do good, to have kind hearts, to be industrious, to rise early and hunt game perseveringly. When any offense was committed, such as theft or bodily injury, the chief was in charge of the ensuing negotiations. All such cases, and even murder, were settled by the payment of property, which sometimes included women; and if the offender was unable to pay, the chief paid for him, trusting to the future fortunes of his debtor for recompense. It follows that wealth was a necessary qualification for chiefship.

The only trace of personal ownership of land among the Shasta was in the possession of rights for fish-weirs by a few wealthy families; but since the owners were compelled to call for communal assistance in constructing the weirs, they were bound to give a reasonable number of salmon to any who asked for them, and sometimes they even permitted others to fish for a limited time.

The few slaves held by the Shasta were prisoners of war captured in childhood. They were treated like members of the family, and when grown were permitted to marry into families of not too high standing.

In all cases wives were acquired by purchase. By marrying on any other terms a woman would have confessed herself worthless and made herself and her prospective children social outcasts. The negotiations as to price were far from being an occasion for the purchaser to practise shrewdness; for the more he paid for his wife, so much the more would he receive for his daughters at their marriage and for his sons if they were murdered. A man unable to pay for a wife sometimes sold his services to his father-in-law, living at his bride's house and hunting and fishing for the family until the purchase price had been paid in labor.

Among wealthy families wives were generally sought in more or less distant communities, and the match was made in early childhood,

of course without consulting the principals. In other families however their wishes had some weight.

Desiring to marry a certain girl, a man sent a relative to her family to make the negotiations. If her parents were willing, a price was set, and the young man borrowed from his relatives what was necessary. The very next day the messenger was sent back with the property, and various persons, aware of what was going on, followed him to witness the bargain. The man led his bride back to his father's house, and in the evening her family came to partake of a feast. The couple lived permanently in the bridegroom's father's house, and etiquette required that the other occupants pay no attention to the young couple's actions.

Only the wealthy purchased more wives than one, and these were members of the same family. Other men sometimes had additional wives obtained in war or by the common custom of marrying a deceased brother's widow without payment.

When a man learned that his wife was unfaithful to him, he had the right to kill his rival, but he would then have to pay indemnity to the dead man's family, the usual price for a "good" man being forty strings of dentalia, or about four hundred dollars. But if his first anger passed before there was an opportunity to kill the guilty man, he might instead of killing him compel him to pay damages to the amount of about four fathoms of dentalia, and then dismiss his wife, or keep her, as he chose. Even when thus justified in killing an enemy, a man had to pay for the privilege, or at some time, even after the lapse of twenty years, his life would be forfeited, and all the time he would live in dread of assassination. And when finally he had paid the penalty and the score was apparently settled, blood still called for payment, and there could be no peace between the two factions until each life had been redeemed by money. Sometimes a man who killed another without provocation would offer his sister to one of the dead man's relatives. If the offer was accepted, the incident was closed, and later the woman's husband would make a small payment to her brother in order to give her good standing.

For either adultery or sterility a man might discard his wife and receive back the full amount of purchase money; but if for any other reason he sent her home he received nothing. In some cases the family of a sterile woman made amends by giving her husband an additional wife without payment.

Childbirth was attended by a great many taboos and regulations. Throughout her pregnancy the mother restricted her diet in quantity and variety, and she was particularly circumspect during this period lest some unusual occurrence exert a malign influence on the child. Meanwhile the father was not so active as usual, restricting his hunting and travelling to a minimum and killing only deer; for the Shasta believed that to kill other game would fasten upon the child the most conspicuous peculiarity of the animal killed. During parturition, and for a month thereafter, the mother occupied a menstrual hut under the care of an old midwife. The umbilical cord, before being severed, was tied with a hair from the mother's head. During the succeeding five days, the allotted time for the sloughing off of the cord, the father ate no meat, a restriction observed by his wife during the entire month; and if the cord was slow in dropping off, he smeared pine gum on it to make it "rot" quickly. Were he to eat meat during this process, the infant would die, swollen almost to bursting with an excess of blood. He lived in seclusion, and took a sweat-bath each morning. The cord generally was wrapped in a bit of deerskin and kept by the mother in a secret place.

Names were usually taken from some peculiarity of appearance or deportment on the part of the child or its parents, or from some circumstance of birth. Thus, an informant was named Ahaíya' ("dog-trot"), because his father was a great deer hunter, who ran down his game at a slow trot, and hoped that by so naming his child the boy would develop a similar ability. His wife is Usúwi ("goes ahead"), because her father was a high chief and a very rich man, who outstripped all his rivals in the accumulation of wealth. Her sister was Kimpinúni ("large one"), because she was a large child at birth. Names of the dead were for several years taboo to the surviving relatives and to those who spoke in their hearing, and apparently the names of deceased ancestors were never bestowed on children. The childhood name was retained through life.

Rather elaborate rites were performed by the Shasta when a girl of good family arrived at puberty. The ceremony lasted ten nights at the time of her first menses, and five nights at the next two recurrences. In summer it included much dancing inside a brush enclosure, the girl sitting under a bark shelter; but in winter the dancing was all but omitted and the rites consisted mainly of singing in the dwelling-house, with

a few rounds of dancing outside. For the summer ceremony people from near and far assembled, especially the young. The girl wore a cap, and an eye-shade of bluejay tail-feathers thrust under the edge of the cap and extending far over her eyes; for if she looked upon the people, or the sun or the moon, she might have troublesome dreams, which would result in her early death. Any sickness that ordinarily would prove inconsequential would in her case terminate fatally. For a similar reason, when she slept a bit of charcoal was placed in each ear, lest she dream of the sun, or moon, or stars, or sky, which would-have been exceedingly unfortunate. Red stripes were painted from her forehead to her chin, and at her wrist dangled a pointed deer-bone, called *hisák,* with which alone she was permitted to scratch her head. During the ten days which in large part she spent in the hut, accompanied by a female companion, she avoided looking at fire; she spoke very little, and only to her attendant and in low tones; she ate no meat, and very little of anything else, and drank only warm water; she slept little.

Twice in the night the attendant would put bits of charcoal into the girl's ears and tell her to sleep. After about half an hour she would then arouse the girl and inquire if she had dreamed. If the answer was negative, all was satisfactory, but if she had dreamed of the sun or of anything connected with the sky, the woman in great haste blew upon the girl's wrists and said, speaking to the thing dreamed about: "Now I have found you out. But you will not poison this girl." Each day with the assistance of several others of her own age, the girl brought fuel for the evening's dancing, and distributed a small quantity to each house in the village.

The girl's hut stood at the rear of the brush enclosure, facing its entrance and the east, and the fire was placed at one side of the hut and behind the rows of spectators and participants, who faced eastward. The women started the singing, keeping time with rattles consisting of pieces of deer-hoof pendent on short sticks, or with batons struck on thin boards; but as the men joined in the song, the women gradually ceased. The girl herself, with her deer-hoof rattle thrust upright into her belt at the back, danced forward and back, with light, running steps. After a while the others formed in a circle, joined hands, and shuffled slowly to the left, while the girl, between two men, danced from side to side, still facing the east. There were frequent intervals for

rest, but if the girl was not inclined to stop, she continued to dance forward and back, shaking her rattle, while behind her a woman danced with her hands on the girl's shoulders.

Whenever a party of new arrivals announced their approach with a shout, the dancing was immediately interrupted. The men of the newcomers, in war paint and holding before their faces bows and arrows and green branches, entered the enclosure and danced. Discarding the branches, they danced sideways, and their women now ran up and danced behind them, each grasping the belt of the man in front of her. Then all joined in the continuation of the interrupted dancing in a circle. All these events were repeated on each of the ten nights, the dancing continuing until near daylight. On the last night however it ceased only at dawn, and was resumed after the morning meal. About noon one of the men removed the girl's cap and eye-shade and tossed them eastward over the heads of the dancers, to be caught by another man. Meanwhile a fire had been burning in a trench about eighteen inches deep. The ashes were now raked out, and the bottom was covered with dry grass, on which the girl reclined, while a little wickiup of sticks and bark was built over her. There she remained until sunset, when the attendant led her to the stream to bathe. Returning in her finest garments, she participated in the war-dance, and was then given a meal of meat. During the last night of the ceremony all restrictions as to relations between the sexes were removed.

The Shasta disposed of the dead by burial in graves excavated by means of digging-sticks and shallow baskets; but those who died far from home were sometimes cremated, the ashes being carried home for burial. Immediately after death the corpse was removed head foremost through a hole made in the wall or the roof, and was laid out on the ground, where relatives of the same sex as the deceased person washed it and clothed it in the finest garments and ornaments. Meanwhile word was sent to friends and relatives in other villages, and the body lay outside the house until they had come to view it, four or five days perhaps elapsing before the burial, even in the case of poor people. A fire burned constantly near the corpse, which from time to time was removed to a new spot. At frequent intervals a party of relatives and friends, twenty or more in number, holding fir or pine saplings tipped with leaves, would dance about the body and wail, while the village chief sat by as host, smoking a tubular wooden pipe about four

feet long. After smoking, he stood up, and the dancers stopped. Amid perfect silence he cried out: "It is good! You have come to help me with my food! I am glad you have come to help me!" Then the dancers laid their saplings in a pile. After a time they or others resumed the dance with new saplings, and the chief, after smoking, repeated his speech and the saplings were added to the pile. So it went every night as long as the body was kept. At night also young people would tie sprigs of fir about their heads, necks, waists, arms, and legs, and dance around the corpse. A relative of the dead person then removed the sprigs and piled them up, and others lifted the body to the level of their heads and laid it down again, while the mourning relations scarified their arms and legs.

When the chief decided that the proper time for burial had arrived, the corpse, bound up in a deerskin, was lifted to the back of the grave-digger, where it was held by a pack-rope that passed about its knees and shoulders. The grave was lined with the fir sprigs taken from the dancers, and the body was laid on its back with the head eastward. Beads and other gifts from relatives were first destroyed and then thrown into the grave, along with the bow and arrows, if the dead person were a man, or the baskets and other personal possessions, if a woman. After the grave was filled in, inverted baskets were placed on it with stakes driven through the bottom; or if a fence was built around it with the saplings used in the dance, the baskets were impaled on them. Neither clothing nor food for the use of the spirit was exposed.

When a woman, married outside of her native village, died, her family might insist that the body be brought home for burial. It was then placed on the back of a man hired for the work, or on the widower's back if he could not afford to hire anyone, and in the midst of a wailing crowd it was carried at night to the village of the bereaved family. On the way they were met by the mourners and assisted in carrying the body. The reason for doing this at night was to keep the corpse out of the hot sun.

Immediately after the burial, all bathed in the stream, in order to prevent troublesome dreams, and after their return to the village the house was cleared out and the rubbish burned. Near relations, as well as the grave-diggers and all who had actually touched the corpse, refrained from eating meat for five days, and joined in a sweat on each day, following the last sweat with a plunge in the stream. Parents,

widows, and widowers observed an additional form of purification. On the fourth day an old woman set boiling a quantity of *katsvihú,* a root obtained in Little Shasta valley, and on the following morning at sunrise each mourner drank a spoonful, or at the most two spoonfuls, from a mussel-shell, while a man stood beside them and, looking at the rising sun, thus addressed it: "Let them see you well. Let them swallow well. Let them feel well now."

In mourning for close relations, men and women cut the hair short, either burning it or preserving it, and smeared pitch and charcoal on the face; and women also smeared their heads with pitch and wore about the neck a deerskin thong with black beads of pitch on it. This continued until the pangs of sorrow were somewhat assuaged.

The property left by a dead man was divided among the wife and the grown children.

The immaterial part of man, which the Shasta identified with the heart, was believed by some to leave the body by way of the feet and to go instantaneously to the home of the dead in the east. Others held that it went slowly to the west, where it rose to the sky and journeyed eastward along the Milky Way.

The larger religious conceptions were extremely nebulous, though the Shasta were not lacking in the usual numerous taboos that predicted dire consequences from the most trivial actions. Their creation myth, which is so fragmentary that probably it was derived from outside sources, does not even name the creator.

The earth was small. He said: "There will be new people. I will make the earth larger. All the people now on it shall become changed." He called all the people together. Some he turned into deer, some into bears, some into rabbits, some into squirrels. All beasts and birds were made at that time. Some of those first people were evil. One man could not be killed, no arrow could pierce his body. He became Waiika [Mount Shasta]. Then the different tribes of human beings came into the world.

The myths deal principally with animal characters, chief of which is Coyote in the familiar rôle of trickster and transformer.

Shasta religious practices were in large part connected with the activities of the numerous shamans, who in many instances were women. Shamanistic power was derived by the medium of dreams from the *hirivô,* who were supernaturals dwelling in the mountains. Warned by

the frequent recurrence of the dreams that he was destined to become a shaman, the dreamer began to abstain from meat and to collect ten each of several kinds of skins. Then suddenly some day he would be heard uttering strange cries, and would be found lying in a trance with blood issuing from his mouth. In this condition he was supposed to receive from his *hirivô* a song, which on reviving he began to sing. Immediately a dance was arranged to take place on five successive nights, the principal features of which were the dancing and singing of the incipient shaman and his acquisition and exhibition of one or more "pains," which were supposed to be shot into his body by the*hirivô*. These "pains," which were the source, or at least the symbol, of the shaman's power, and the presence of which in the human body by the will of some malevolent magician was the cause of all sickness not explicable on natural grounds, manifested themselves to the eye as small, slender, double-pointed spindles of ice-like appearance.

In the following winter was held Kákapamma, a ceremony in which the novice became an actual shaman. An old shaman prepared five elder sticks five or six feet long, scraping off the bark and marking them with variously arranged rings of red paint; and a taller pine sapling with a tuft of needles at the tip. The latter was then thrust into the ground behind the house, and the elder stalks were planted in a small circle around it. On the pine were hung the skins and feathers collected by the novice. All these were an offering to the*hirivô* which had appeared to the novice in his dreams and demanded certain kinds of skins and feathers. The dancing occurred on five successive nights in a dwelling-house crowded with people, who sang without rattles or batons or drum, while the novice danced, accompanied by a young person of the same sex. They did not move from their places, but merely raised the feet, and the novice led the singing of his songs, some of which he had received from his *hirivô,* others from an older shaman. He announced that blood would come from his mouth a certain number of times, five or ten, and the people, ostensibly skeptical that such a thing could be, counted the flow. When they saw that the full number promised had been accomplished, they believed that he was really a shaman. On the first night of the ceremony the novice, without going from the house, called out to the *hirivô*: "I give you now this pine and these elder sticks! I give you now this deerskin, this fox-skin, and these eagle-feathers!" He might profess to receive an answer from

the supernatural on a neighboring hilltop, demanding certain other offerings. From a male novice these offerings were usually ten basketry trays, and from a woman ten tule mats, which were made in miniature and hung on the pine.

Epidemic sickness was believed to be the work of evil shamans in other places. If an unusual number of people in the village were ill, the leading men would discuss the situation, and decide that the medicine-men ought to dance and find out from which direction the sickness was coming, and then take measures to repel it. They would then go to the principal shaman and tell him their wish. So that night a dance was held in the largest house of the village, the people singing while the medicine-man danced with arms outstretched, turning this way and that, and shouting a warning to the sickness to keep away. After a long time he announced where the sickness was coming from, and at daylight the people ran out and shook their blankets in that direction, in order not only to rid their blankets of any sickness that might have lodged in them, but also to frighten the sickness that had not yet come.

The ceremony of healing occurred in the dwelling in winter, and under a brush shelter in summer. In treating a patient the medicine-man danced before him while the people sang. Then he scooped up the "pain" in his hands, and after "drowning" it in a vessel of water showed it to the people. This treatment lasted one, two, or three nights, according to the seriousness of the case. The fee was from ten to twenty yards of dentalia, that is, one hundred to two hundred dollars. If the patient died within six months the money was restored.

Grown men and women, but not boys, sought good luck by keeping vigil in the mountains at night. Desiring supernatural aid in hunting, in gambling, or in acquiring wealth, a man would go at night to some place in the mountains where there was a body of water regarded as sacred. Such water was called *qipákehempik*. He stood in the water for a time, and then arranged a bed of stones, on which he lay. Then he went into the water again. If it was a lake, he might swim across it. With a piece of obsidian he scratched his arms, legs, and breast, and rubbed a certain root into the wounds. He might then journey to the top of a neighboring peak, and after sitting there a while return to the bed of stones. Thus he passed the night. In the morning he might return home, or, deciding to remain another night, he spent the day in sleeping and sitting about idly. At nightfall he went to another place

and repeated his acts of the first night. Constantly he kept his mind fixed on the purpose for which he came, and occasionally he gave audible expression to his desire. In the morning when he was seen returning, a steam-bath was prepared for him. He went at once into the sweat-lodge before entering the house, and after a final bath in the river he went into the house. He ate very little for five days, and no meat at all. One who was successful in the vigil was visited by a spirit, which told him how to do what the suppliant desired; but the acquirement of songs from the spirit was not an important matter, as it was with the Indians of eastern Washington and Idaho, who acquired the aid of supernaturals in much the same manner as did the Shasta.

The ceremony called Kustehémpik-uqáámmatuk ("dance sudatory at") was held annually in the spring in each sweat-house. Entirely naked, except for a loin-cloth when women spectators were present, ten to fifteen men danced by flexing the knees and giving a slight jump which scarcely raised them from the floor but carried them a few inches to either side. From time to time they turned this way or that. The hands were clenched at the thighs, and they cried, "*Hu! hu! hu!*" in a moderately pitched and rather resonant voice, while glancing fiercely from side to side. A fire was kept burning, and perspiration rolled down their bodies in streams. At intervals they rested. At noon they swam, and after eating they started again and danced all afternoon. Near evening they bathed again and ate. Outside the sweat-house young men were gambling at the grass game, and young women played shinny.

The puberty ceremony for girls, the shaman's dance, the sweat-house dance, and the war-dance were the only public ceremonies of the Shasta, except a ceremonial modelled on a dance common to the Wintun, Maidu, and other northern California tribes, and colloquially designated as the "big-head dance," in allusion to the huge feather head-dresses worn by the performers. This Kíruk-huhíruk ("go sidewise back and forward") was held in the spring, and lasted one or two days. Men and women, with eagle-feathers upright in the hair and with faces painted red, stood shoulder to shoulder, holding hands, and by shuffling the feet moved sidewise across the dance-ground and then back the other way. In front of the line a woman danced alone with the same step. The dance was repeated many times during the day, and at noon a feast was spread on several long strips of mats.

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