Territorial and Social Relationships of the Inland Southern Athabascans: A New Perspective

Paper Presented to the Society for California Archaeology
March 24, 1991
Sacramento, California

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This paper was first presented in 1991. I have placed a copy on the web to make it more easily accessible to researchers and the general public. I have made some minor editing changes. The paper can be found at my web site:

www.solararch.org

Any additional comments or references are placed in text boxes or in brackets. Any errors in this paper as a result of editing or additional comments are my responsibility and not those of my coauthor.

An abbreviated version of this paper was published in 1993: Territorial and Social Relationships of the Inland Southern Athabascans: Some new Perspectives. In: *There Grows a Green Tree: Papers in Honor of David A. Fredrickson*. Center for Archaeological Research, Publication 11, Davis.

T. Keter,
2015
Three Rivers, CA.

Use of the term Sinkyone

After living in Garberville for 35 years and meeting and consulting with many local Native Americans, as well as Wailaki living on the Round Valley Indian Reservation, I found without exception that the Southern Athabascans native to southwestern Humboldt County consider themselves Wailaki and not Sinkyone.

I have not edited the following section but refer the reader to my 2009 paper (cited below) for a discussion of the term Sinkyone. In that paper, I provide the names of a number of consultants and additional ethnographic data to support my conclusions. The 2009 paper also provides additional documentation on the problems with using the term Sinkyone as it applies to the inland Southern Athabascans.

Use of the term Wailaki Lassik

During my research over the last 35 or so years and in my interaction with numerous Wailaki from southern Humboldt, northern Mendocino, and southwestern Trinity Counties as well as with Wailaki consultants living in Hulls Valley and Round Valley who had links to what has been delineated by ethnographers as "Lassik Territory"(see Baumhoff 1958), not one individual I have talked to considered themselves to be Lassik but instead referred to themselves as Wailaki. This included descendants of Lucy Young (who despite being called Lassik by Merriam, Essene and Kroeber insisted that she was Wailaki) and descendants of Mary Major who were two of the principal informants for Essene and Merriam.

I have chosen in recent papers and articles to use the term "Wailaki Lassik" in order to clarify that like the Pitch Wailaki (see Goddard's field work on the North Fork) the Wailaki Lassik were a direct offshoot and therefore closely related not only through language and familial ties with the other Wailaki "triblets" (I prefer the term "communities" see Keter 1991) but also shared cultural practices as well.

The people living in this region prior to the historic era, referred to themselves collectively with some derivative of the term *ken'-es-ti* (personal communication: Fred Coyote Downey). As noted below, Merriam (1923:276) claims that the Southern Athabascans used the term "nongatl" to indicate "the name of their nation--covering all the tribes between Round Valley and Iaqua."

It is clear given the common language and shared cultural beliefs of the Native Americans residing in southern Humboldt, northern Mendocino, and southwestern Trinity Counties during the ethnographic period, that at some higher level than Kroeber's small triblets the Southern Athapascans (ethnographers have named Sinkyone, Eel River Wailaki, Pitch Wailaki, Lassik, and Nongatl) shared a common cultural and linguistic identity.

2009 All Those Things that You're Liable to Read in the Ethnographic Literature They Ain't Necessarily So. Paper presented to the Society for Archaeology, Modesto, CA.
PDF at: www.SolarArch.org

Introduction

The North Fork of the Eel River basin located in southwestern Trinity County is the focus of an ongoing research project involving study of the area's prehistory, ethnography, history, and environment. The purpose of this portion of the study is to review the ethnogeographic data available on the Indian peoples living in this area prior to 1864 and to evaluate its usefulness and reliability for interpreting the late period archaeological record of the region. Because the North Fork Eel River basin was only part of the territory of the inland Southern Athabascans, the surrounding region is also discussed in this portion of the study. This is necessary in order to place the aboriginal people who inhabited the North Fork within a regional context and perspective. Anthropologists have classified the inland Southern Athabascans as the Nongatl, Lassik, Wailaki, Pitch Wailaki, and North Fork Wailaki. The southern Athabascan groups to the west might therefore be referred to as the "coastal Southern Athabascans"; these groups included the Bear River, Mattole, and Sinkyone.

Beginning in the 1960's and 1970's a number of archaeologists challenged the traditional paradigm within which archaeology was being practiced. This new paradigm was dubbed the "new archaeology" by its advocates. They proposed a more rigorous methodology for those who study prehistory. The authors of this paper contend that the cultural data collected by the early twentieth century ethnographers on the southern Athabascans also needs to be viewed from a new and more critical perspective. This "new ethnography" gives more weight to the Indian informant statements and interview data rather than to the interpretations of this data by the ethnographers. Viewing this informant data from a new more critical perspective has implications for the prehistoric record. It also has implications for the types of research questions which can be addressed and even what kinds of information archaeologists might learn from the late period prehistoric record.

The purpose of this paper is to review the informant data (including field notes) recorded by ethnographers who worked in the area. We also tried to locate any other bits and pieces from the historic record relevant to the native peoples of the region. Our goal is to provide a new perspective on the social and political relationships of the inland southern Athabascans. Native informant data and its implications for the archaeological record must be reconsidered if we are to adequately interpret the prehistory of this region.

The Collection and Interpretation of Native Informant Data

Noted anthropologist Marvin Harris (1968: 568-604) has discussed the concepts of emic and etic in his book [*The Rise of Anthropological Theory*]. Harris (1968: 571) wrote that

emic statements are: "significant, real, accurate, or in some other fashion regarded as appropriate by the actors themselves." Harris (1968:574) also noted that: "In ethnography, an emic approach to purposes, goals, motivations, attitudes, etc., is premised on the assumption that between the actor and the observer, it is the actor who is better able to know his inner state." Etic statements are based upon "distinctions judged appropriate by the community of scientific observers" (Harris 1968:575). Harris indicated that the two concepts are not mutually exclusive and that they are open to a wider range of interpretation. The definitions as presented above, however, are adequate for how these terms are applied in this paper.

The authors of this paper believe that some of the conclusions made by ethnographers from the cultural data supplied by native informants from this region in the first half of the twentieth century were sometimes based on a misinterpretation of informant data. That is, some of the "distinctions judged appropriate" (the etic) by ethnographers were in fact not based on a firm foundation of data that could support their conclusions. Often times the words and information supplied by informants were made to fit into cultural models (e.g. the Culture Area concept, Culture Element Distributions, diffusion, etc.) already devised for the region. For example, Alfred Kroeber noted in his preface to one Culture Element Distribution (CED) that the: "Tinglit, Kwakiutl, Chinook, Pomo, Miwok never were actual cultural entities, but only convenient conceptualizations...of the facts of culture" (In Smith 1990:62). Also, Kroeber sometimes discarded certain answers given by informants responding to CED elements that: "appeared to be 'unique' to certain tribal groups by assigning them to informant error" (Smith 1990:62). As Eric Smith [in his Humboldt State MA Thesis] noted:

> Kroeber maintained that the correlation coefficient to each tribal community had an 'expectable order,' i.e. that their order fit in with his assumptions about historical diffusion. Each Pomo community...had to resemble more closely its adjacent neighbors than more distant communities; if not, Kroeber cleansed the data to meet this theory of historical diffusion.

Higher levels of the interpretation of ethnographic data can be useful in understanding native culture. These interpretations must, however, be based on the data as presented and understood by the native informants. If not, it can lead to the problems discussed in this paper related to the social and political organization of the inland southern Athabascans. These problems have implications for the interpretation of the archaeological record which is discussed in the concluding portion of this paper.

Early Twentieth Century Ethnography among the Inland Southern Athabascans

The process of collecting ethnographic data during this period (sometimes termed salvage ethnography) was little more than interviewing any Indian that could be found who had some knowledge of their cultural history. Ethnographers asked a list of predetermined questions on the names of villages, group boundaries, word lists, or in the case of the Culture Element Distributions, going down a check list to see if a particular "cultural element" existed. The ethnographers did not bother to determine the role of the individual they interviewed within the native society, and given their position within that society what types of information they would have about their culture. Anthropologists of this era did not view the native cultures as dynamic or flexible. Cultural variation based on individual preferences and beliefs was thought irrelevant and was not recognized. Essential aspects of culture were ignored and sometimes in fact were considered "informant error." For example, as will be discussed in this paper, some Wailaki informants were classified as "Lassik" despite their own statements to the contrary.

Kroeber whose seminal work *The Handbook of the Indians of California* was published in 1925 loomed larger than life over the ethnographers who followed. He was a major influence on how both the collection of ethnographic data in northwestern California was pursued (for example assigning graduate students to specific areas or tribal groups to collect Culture Element Distributions), and how the data was interpreted and presented to both the anthropological community and the general public. The authors of this paper contend that Kroeber (and others) in collecting data at this time were influenced by such paradigms as Boasian historical particularism, diffusionism, and the concept of culture areas. This affected not only how informant data was gathered but how the data was interpreted. Kroeber believed that ethnographies in California needed to be collected within the following paradigm:

* Culture history could be separated both from the influence of individuals and the influence of time.

* The role of individuals in a society as the bearers of cultural change could be ignored. This resulted in his viewing conflicting cultural information by informants as somehow varying from the "pure culture" of an ethnic group.

* The "carriers" of culture were less interesting than what they could relate that was relevant to a reconstruction of precontact aboriginal culture (this is not to denigrate his relationships at the personal level with individuals such as Robert Spott or Ishi).

For the reasons outlined above, throughout the critical period of the first half of the twentieth century, the surviving native peoples were queried intensively about certain aspects of their pre-contact cultures. However, questions concerning interpersonal relations, their position within the society, or how individuals perceived themselves within the cultural context of their world were not solicited. Kroeber and others also displayed little interest trying to understand or document how historic events were shaping and influencing the surviving native peoples from an anthropological perspective; i.e.; cultural change.

Collecting Ethnography: an historical overview

The cultural information available on the southern Athabascans who inhabited this region of northwestern California is sparse and often contradictory. Martin Baumhoff (1958:157) discussed the problem concerning the lack of ethnographic data on the Athabascans; noting that: "...the Athabascans have been and still remain one of the least known aboriginal groups in the state." He asserted that the reason for this is not due to lack of Athabascan informants, many of whom survived into the 1920's, but rather our lack of knowledge is "an accident in the history of ethnology." In effect, the California Athabascans, especially the southern Athabascans, fell through the cracks of early twentieth century ethnographic study. For this reason, the total literature on inland southern Athabascans amounts to little more than what can be termed a brief and incomplete chapter.

Kroeber only spent a brief time in the region in 1902. He spent the majority of his time in northwest California in northern Humboldt County studying the Yurok. In his *Handbook* (Kroeber 1925:142-154), Kroeber summarized the ethnographic data collected on the southern Athabascans. The summary included the names of each group, their territorial boundaries, and other cultural data. In 1938 he returned to the north coast and traveled to Round Valley with Frank Essene and interviewed Lucy Young. This data included only a short list of "names of groups of people" (Smith 1990:75).

Pliny Goddard spent much of his time working with the Hupa. He also worked some with the southern Athabascans, principally the Wailaki. Goddard was, however, basically a linguist. He published a large body of work concerning texts and linguistic analysis much of it on the Hupa. In 1906, Goddard also published an article entitled Lassik Myths. This article, however, may not have covered the same group defined by Kroeber as Lassik [his informants my very well have been Nongatl; see Keter 2009.]. Goddard's work with the inland southern Athabascans consisted mainly of word lists, village descriptions, and the recording of some myths.

C. Hart Merriam visited the southern Humboldt/Trinity County region several times. He was mainly interested in village locations and other ethnogeographic data like place names and word lists. From his field journals it is apparent that Merriam did not spend a great deal of time in the North Fork/Zenia region. He did, however, manage to interview a number of knowledgeable Indians who lived in the area. As Robert Heizer (1976:i) editor of *Ethnographic and Ethnosynonymic Data From Northern California*, a compendium of some of Merriam's field data for this region noted that: "Merriam clearly had a special aptitude for finding last survivors of tribes in some out of the way place...and by becoming friendly with them secured many data which would otherwise have not been made a matter of record."

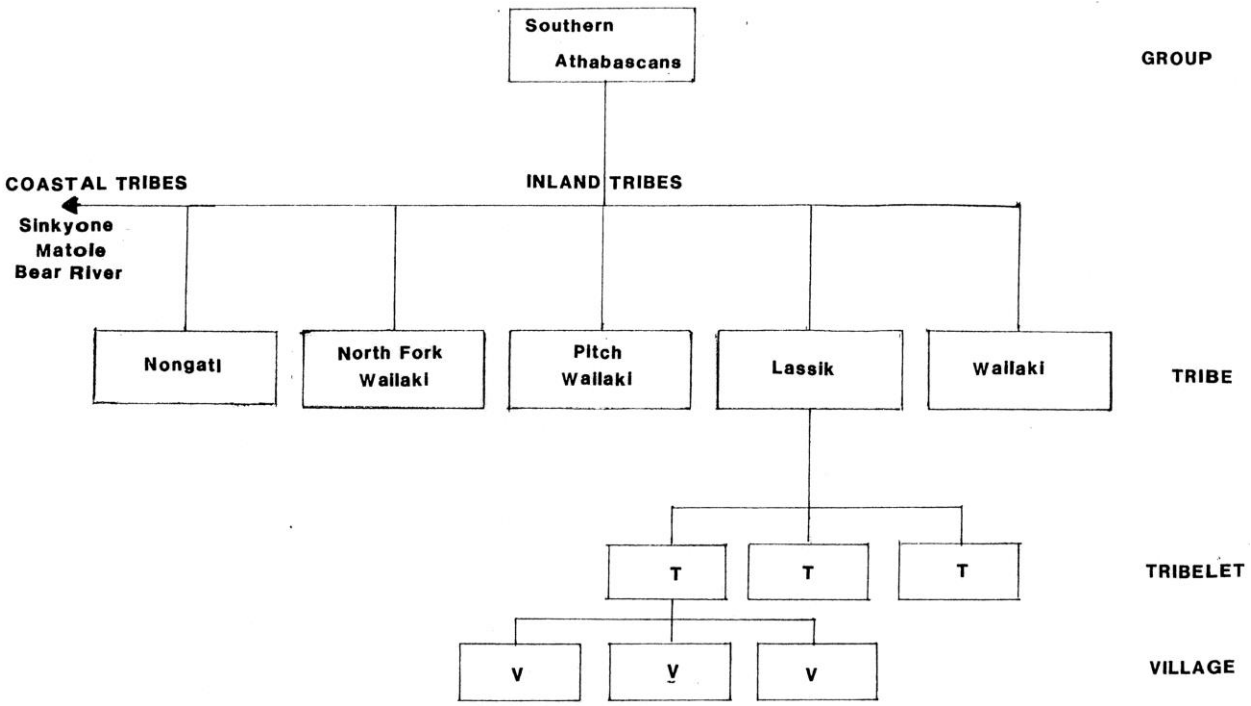
Like many of those who worked in this region one of his principal informants was Lucy Young. Merriam in fact, may have been the first anthropologist to interview her. On June 29 and 30, 1922 (some field notes also indicate July 1) he visited the Zenia area and interviewed her and another local Indian man Jack French (also known as Yellowjacket). Smith (1990:70) notes that Merriam spent very little time with Young and that besides some vocabularies (these word lists are located in the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.), the remainder of his work "was crammed onto six scraps of paper." Merriam also interviewed a number of other individuals in the area including Fred Major and his wife Mary Major. Despite Merriam's large amount of primary field data, he published very little on this region (see, for example, Merriam 1923). Merriam's lack of published data has probably contributed to the primacy of Kroeber's original work.

Additional ethnographic data can be found in the Cultural Element Distributions by Frank Essene (1942). He spent a considerable amount of time in Round Valley interviewing a number of native informants. His work included approximately four days of interviews with Lucy Young. Besides the element lists, which are rather mechanical, Essene recorded a number of significant notes including myths, a short biography of Lucy Young, and other cultural data. This information can be found in the appendix of the Round Valley Cultural Elements Distributions.

Amelia Susman (1976) also interviewed Lucy Young and others at Round Valley. Some of this data is relevant to the Wailaki region to the north. Edith Murphey, a range botanist for the U. S. Indian Service, who became a longtime friend of Lucy Young's, also collected information important to the North Fork region. There are also a few other general publications on the region. For the most part, however, all of these ethnographers and historians worked with the same few native informants.

Social and Political Organization

The principal problem with the Kroeber/Baumhoff model for political organization of the inland southern Athabascans (Baumhoff 1958) is how they are divided into "tribes." The inference of this type of classification is to relegate each "tribe" to sovereign political status. It appears that Goddard, Essene, and Merriam (to a lesser extent) placed the ethnographic data they collected for the inland southern Athabascans within a tribal nomenclature first developed by Kroeber. This was done despite the fact that, at the time it was formulated, Kroeber had little hard data or familiarity with the region. Figure 1 illustrates the political organization of the southern Athabascans as outlined in the anthropological literature. This concept of tribes, each neatly classified with territorial boundaries, can be misleading when trying to interpret the archaeological record of the late period for the region.



Traditional Nomenclature
[Based on Kroeber, Merriam, Goddard, et al]

Figure 1

Baumhoff (1958:159) defined the term tribe as it applies to the southern Athabascans as: "...a group of two or more tribelets--or occasionally one single group--with a single speech dialect, different than that of their neighbors." The tribe was also culturally uniform, but not necessarily distinct from its neighbors in this respect. The similarity between people of

a single tribe evidently gave them a feeling of community but had no further effect on their social or political organization.

Although this definition is close to the mark, it redefines the term "tribe" which can lead to confusion or misunderstanding. What is needed is a term more relevant to the realities of the social and political relationships among the peoples of the region. We suggest that the southern Athabascans were associated in groupings of communities. It is quite likely, that over time, the boundaries and even the communities belonging to a particular "group" fluctuated based on social dynamics (intermarriage, personal conflicts, etc.), and a changing distribution or availability of subsistence resources.

The Southern Athabascans included a number of connected communities each of which maintained political autonomy. Family/kinship was the social subdivision. Each community possessed a headman who had some limited authority. These communities were connected by trade relationships, ceremonial ties, and a vast network of extended families. For example, the concept of a Lassik tribe defending a particular territory and maintaining a static political infrastructure over an extended period of time is unlikely. Where one lived and to whom one was related had more to do with ties between communities than with any larger political or social entity.

Villages and Communities

Among the southern Athabascans, it appears that each village consisted of one to several extended families. Merriam wrote in his field notes: "in winter families of each band were scattered along the river in small rancherias each consisting of four to seven families, mostly blood relations, living together in two or three houses. Usually there were seven to eight people to each house." A grouping of smaller villages (usually in close proximity) or one large village (for example the village at Soldier Basin) formed an autonomous political subgroup. Kroeber termed this subgroup a tribelet. Merriam refers to them as bands. A group of tribelets formed what Kroeber defined as a tribe.

As noted earlier, we propose that villages were part of a community which felt a connection with a particular place. Many villages are named for a nearby geological or environmental feature. For example, Lucy Young came from *Sittenbiden* [Alderpoint] which means blue rock slide. It appears that the community was the single most important political entity among the Southern Athabascans. Among the bonds which helped maintain a sense of community among and between social groups were:

* Kinship and exogamous marriage including in many cases at least temporary matrilocal residence.

* The need to coordinate subsistence activities among communities.

* Sharing and distribution of resources.

* Proximity and spatial relationships of the various villages and communities.

* The need for differing environments to secure a wide range of seasonal resources.

* Religious and social activities.

What emerges from the informant data, along with more recent interviews with descendants of the people from this area, is a common world view among communities based on a cooperative existence and the sharing of the finite resources available in the region. This cooperative existence was based on the people's relationship to the land, to their resource base, and to each other through extended families and across, what have been termed, tribal groups. Communities gathered together for celebrations, shared common traditions, and established formal bonds through marriage and kinship relations. This coming together of various communities brought people into contact from many different areas containing a wide diversity of resources.

Marriages and Extended Community Relationships

Marriage agreements enhanced social interaction and community-to-community attachments. Marriages were usually arranged by the fathers who would propose such a union out of friendship. An exchange of gifts between the two families would then occur (Curtis 1924:29-30). In describing the marriage customs, Loeb (1932:94) explained that a couple would live with the wife's people until the first birth, and then they alternated with the husband's family until the second or third birth. At that time the couple would build their own home. If this was indeed the common practice, then it is clear that attachments and affinity relationships would be established between new wife's and husband's respective in-laws and extended families. This is what made family the social subdivision of these groups (Curtis 1924:28).

The interactions and close relationships between communities correlated most directly with family. In other words, close relationships maintained by communities were based on

kinship ties (one Wailaki informant in Susman 1976:12-13 explained that ordinarily they "think a whole lot of relatives"). The same held true for the larger groupings of communities. For example, the community called the "blue ground people" on the west side of Chemise Creek, visited with the "*Kekawaka* people" because of their relations over there (Goddard field notes). The *Kekawaka* went to the *Itkodunbunya* village when acorns were in short supply because they had relatives by marriage there (Goddard 1923:101). Marriage with relatives was strictly prohibited and marriage outside of one's village was preferred. Marriage was prohibited among blood relations on both sides of the family. This prohibition on marriage with even distant relatives often made it necessary to marry into neighboring groups. Such marriages provided a mechanism for socialization and communication among communities. Strong ties were felt with all relatives and, it appears, with close in-law relations. Members of a family were very close and were obligated to support any relative in feuds (Susman 1976:6). Relatives of the opposite sex were circumspect toward one another. Susman (1976:12-13) noted that:

> A man might marry two or more sisters, the second during or after, the lifetime of the first, providing he was a good husband and his relatives-in-laws approved of him. Relatives-in-laws out of one's own generation were regarded as blood relatives and one behaved accordingly Sometimes a man would live with his wife's parents, or visit them frequently, and a woman often found her mother-in-law 'like another mother'....

As Loeb (1932:69) noted, intermarriage and trade went together. To go one step further, coordination and cooperation in obtaining food and participating in celebrations was further realized by this extended family network. The village of *Seltcikyo'k'at'* (red rock large on) during the summer joined with the village of *Setatcaikaiya* that was located some six or seven miles downriver (Goddard 1923:101) to coordinate resource subsistence activities. Sometimes, during a hunt, fifteen to twenty men of different neighboring camps would drive deer into snares (Loeb 1932:88).

The village or community held in common their immediate surrounding area as a hunting and gathering territory for its members. However, as noted earlier, relatives from other villages were welcome to hunt and gather there when they were in need. The literature and informant interviews suggest that it was routine for related villages to camp together during the summer months (sometimes for extended periods of time) gathering plant materials and hunting. For example, on Horse Creek Canyon (a tributary of Hull's Creek) there was a waterfall where fish were harvested each season by three distant villages (Goddard 1923:224).

Before a "Big Time" or celebration a large group of men would go out hunting to provide for a good meat supply (Susman 1976:4). Each year an Acorn Feast would take place; neighboring villages and distant relatives would be invited to the sponsoring village. After the feast the remaining acorns would be divided among those who attended (Loeb 1923:88). This sharing served to distribute an abundant crop from one village to those communities which may not have had an abundance of acorns that year. A dance was held each year in Hettenshaw Valley to celebrate the maturing camas crop [see Keter 1987]. Communities from the Eel River to the west and Wintu groups from the east traveled there to participate in the celebration and the collection of camas bulbs.

Several locations for these kinds of gatherings have been documented by ethnographers. Essene (1942:84) also noted that there were periodic get-togethers at locations where some [seasonally available] abundant food resource occurred. In addition to Hettenshaw Valley, a camas celebration was also held at Kettenpom Valley (within the North Fork basin). Another feast was held on the upper Mad River where salmon (or possibly steelhead) provided the bulk of the food for the celebration. Another celebration was held in the early fall on South Fork Mountain when the hazelnuts were ready for harvest. The main village of Lucy Young who described these celebrations to Essene was located miles away along the Eel River at Alderpoint.

At a village located along Hull's Creek there was a *yi-tco* (dance house). It was large: thirty foot in diameter with an eighteen feet high center post. One of Goddard's (1924:221) Wailaki informants remembered attending a dance there as a young boy. When the dance was about to start, a messenger was sent out two day's distance in all directions to invite people to attend the dance. In *Wailaki Texts* (Goddard 1923a:126-129) there is a story related to this dance house which begins: "Dance house is built they say, far south. They are about to complete the circuit, they say. He is about to invite us they say." Another large *Yi-tco* was located at Blocksburg and served to host communities as far away as Kekawaka and Mina (Goddard field notes). In later years, this dance house hosted the Feather Dance (Bighead Dance). Captain Jim, who came from a village on the main Eel River (*Seyadankaiya*) at Island Mountain, had brought the dance to Blocksburg from Point Arena.

For the inland southern Athabascans the need to have knowledge of the location, scheduling, and potential availability of resources across a seasonally changing environment created a deep bond between the people and the land With no serious outside threats of territorial usurpation, higher levels of political organization beyond that of family and community were simply not needed. For this reason, the idea of "tribe" as a social institution was not relevant. Marriages were made to enhance personal wealth, insure access to resources, and to promote bonds between communities. It appears that, as

alliances changed over time, new alliances were based primarily on the realignment of social relations and changing environmental conditions which might affect procurement of resources.

Linguistic Relationships

A review of Pliny Goddard's linguistic studies of the Athabascans was published by Alfred Kroeber in 1967. He concluded that the Sinkyone, Lassik, Nongatl, and Wailaki dialects were closely related (Kroeber 1967:272). According to Goddard (1906a:345), the main differences in the dialects of these groups were related to the nouns employed with few differences in verbs or the roots of words.

Merriam (1923:276) noted that the word "Nongatl" was used by the southern Athabascans to refer to their language:

> In the course of my field work among the southern Athapascan tribes of California I have made particular inquiries about this word [Nongatl], and in several cases have had it given me without inquiry on my part. It proves to be a general or blanket name used by themselves for all the Southern Athapascan tribes, from Iaqua and Yeager Creek on the north to the northern border of Round Valley on the south, thus including the Athapascan Wilakke. Obviously therefore, instead of being restricted to a particular tribe or division, it is a supertribal name. The Southern Athapascans say it is the name of their nation --covering all the tribes between Round Valley and Iaqua.

Bilingualism was common among the Indians in this region. Field notes of Goddard and others all have numerous references by their informants of being able to speak to or understand their neighbor's language. Marriage customs tended to encourage the need for bilingualism as men sought a bride outside their local community. Knowing the language of the peoples who shared the resources within a region was not only important but essential to develop trade relations and establish "rules" for how resources held in common were to be exploited.

It was not unusual for inhabitants of villages near group boundaries (e.g. near the Yuki or Wintu) or with marriages to individuals from other groups (Yuki, Wintu) to speak more than one language (Goddard 1924:219, 1923:98). Communication was the key to maintaining good relationships among neighboring groups. Susman (1976:4) writes of the

attitude of helpfulness of these people, of their generosity in hunting and fishing together, and of a successful man often giving his catch to his companions to divide between them. This generosity was considered an important virtue. Relatives, friends, and neighbors all shared in this generosity.

The ability to understand several dialects of speech made it far easier to be successful in resource procurement. Since the seasonal round often involved a journey across the territory of several communities who were often seeking the same resources, a method was needed to synchronize the collection of these resources. Communication and bilingualism were essential in establishing and maintaining a system that could satisfactorily settle any disputes. If effective communication did not take place, it might lead to violence, death, or war.

Who Were the "Lassik"

It is not clear when the term Lassik was first used by anthropologists. The term had been used by local historians (see Bledsoe 1885) to refer to members of Chief Lassik's band who inhabited the Blocksburg region prior to the contact period. Chief Lassik was an effective leader who organized some of the strongest resistance to white encroachment in the region. He was recognized and feared by early white settlers in the area, and he was captured by the military. He escaped but was finally murdered, along with all the other men in his village, near Blocksburg in 1863 (Keter 1990:12). [PDF at Solararch.org] Problems with the Kroeber/Baumhoff classification of a Lassik group become evident when one reads Merriam's (1923:276-277) brief article "*Application of the term Nung-kahhl*." The portion of the article quoted below clearly conflicts with the currently accepted nomenclature.

> Thirty-six years after the publication of the term [Nung-kahhl] by Powers it was revived, under the spelling Nongatl, by Dr. Pliny Goddard, who applied it specifically to an Athapaskan tribe of the lower Van Duzen River region, particularly from the neighborhood of Bridgeville northerly to South and Middle Yeager Creeks. Goddard understood his informant to give it as the name of a northern division of the tribe commonly called "Lassik."

As can been seen above, Goddard originally considered the group Kroeber classified as Nongatl to be a division of the Lassik. This is also evident in his 1906 publication "Lassik Myths" which appears from the geographic description (placing the group within the Van Duzen drainage) to be referring to Kroeber's Nongatl. Goddard (1906:133), who noted that

the Lassik appeared to be: "on more friendly terms with their non-Athapascan Wintun neighbors than they were with the Wailaki," again appears to be referring to the group classified as Nongatl by Kroeber. Other sources also seem to indicate some enmity existed between the greater Wailaki group (this includes the *Sittenbiden*) and the groups to the north of Blocksburg (Merriam field notes, Essene 1942).

Kroeber (1925) in the Handbook first defined the boundaries of a Lassik tribe. After researching the literature and available field notes, no documentation could be located to indicate how Kroeber arrived at his conclusions of a Lassik group with a defined territory. Merriam (field notes, Baumhoff 1958:181), like Goddard, seems to place the Lassik in Kroeber's Nongatl territory. This seems to be based on his informants including Lucy Young and George Burt. Thus, under Kroeber's nomenclature, Chief Lassik was not Lassik but Nongatl!

It appears, therefore, that the "Lassik tribe" as defined in the current anthropological literature is a construction of Kroeber's and did not really exist. Rather, it appears Kroeber's ethnographic Lassik were most likely the northern communities of what might be termed the greater Wailaki group. To paraphrase Kroeber, it may have been a "convenient conceptualization of culture." Once this classification was made, however, ethnographers then placed anyone whom they interviewed from this region into the "Lassik tribe." For example, Kroeber in his introduction to Essene's (1942) *Culture Element Distributions: XXI Round Valley* writes: "there are indeed old people on the reservation who are listed as Wailaki in agency records and who call themselves Wailaki. Those of them who still had worth-while knowledge to dispense proved however to be Lassik."

One of Essene's informants (field notes), Nancy Dobey, indicated that the Lassik were actually Wailaki. Her assertion is likely not because of her "lack of knowledge". Rather, intermarriage, social interaction, and commonality of language produced few differences between the corresponding communities with which she was familiar. For these reasons all these communities were considered to be within the greater Wailaki group.
It is also interesting to note that when Kroeber's student, Essene (field notes), interviewed Lucy Young he noted "Lucy Young, Wailaki, age 90." However, sometime between Round Valley and Berkeley she became Lassik when his Culture Element Distribution was published. Also, when Kroeber interviewed Lucy Young on July 13, 1938, he noted, "though listed by the Government as a Wailaki, she is actually what ethnologists call Lassik." Kroeber (1925:144) wrote that the name the Lassik called themselves is not known. In fact, it appears that Merriam is the only ethnographer who recorded from Lucy Young the actual name of the community to which she belonged. She was born in the Alderpoint area and the people from this community were known as blue (*Sit-ten*) rock (*Bid-en*) people (*keah*)

(Merriam's field notes have "blue" crossed out and replaced with "white" in his handwriting on a word list given by Lucy Young on file at the Library of Congress). As Smith (1990:78) notes, "even if the anthropologists did not listen, she called herself 'Inyan' or 'Wailaki'."

Agency records clearly indicate that both of Essene's "Lassik" informants Lucy Young, and Mary Major (born at Soldier Basin) were Wailaki. Nowhere in any field notes or other historical records (including Edith Murphey's notebooks) does Lucy Young ever refer to herself as Lassik (see also Smith 1990:77). She indicated that her father was a Wailaki from Alderpoint and that her mother was a Wailaki from Soldier Basin (Application #3618 for enrollment, Office of Indian Affairs).

It appears that the *Sittenbiden* communities along the Eel River were closely aligned through marriage and affinity relations with communities directly to the east. This included a winter village along the North Fork of the Eel River at Soldier Basin (*Tha-tah-che*) and several villages along the Mad River in the vicinity of the old town of Ruth (now under the Ruth Reservoir). This alliance of communities through extended family ties is what Kroeber classified as the Lassik tribe.

Pitch Wailaki Social and Political Organization

The Pitch Wailaki referred to themselves as the *Che-teg-ge-kah* or Pitch Indians (Baumhoff 1958:176). They were also referred to as the Sand Eaters (*Si-yahng*) and the Eel River Wailaki referred to them as *Che-teg-gah-ahng*. They occuppied the North Fork basin from the vicinity of Asbill Creek north to Salt Creek (see Map 3). The relationship between the Pitch Wailaki who inhabited the North Fork basin, the Wailaki who occupied the main Eel River, and the North Fork Wailaki who inhabited the lower part of the North Fork of the Eel is not entirely clear. Goddard concluded, that while closely related culturally and linguistically, there was some concept of separateness between the Eel River Wailaki and Pitch Wailaki. Goddard (1924:225), however, at another point wrote that the Pitch Wailaki differed from the Eel River Wailaki "only in their adaptation to a habitat a little more arid and nearer the headwaters of streams where fish were less abundant." What is clear from the ethnographic data is that, along with the *Sittenbiden* from the Alderpoint area (and the related communities at Soldier Basin and on the upper Mad River), the North Fork Wailaki, the Wailaki on the main Eel River, and the Pitch Wailaki were part of what can be called the greater Wailaki group.

There were apparently four distinct divisions of Pitch Wailaki territory. Baumhoff (1958:179) discusses the names of these territories and the village names based on Goddard's notes. It appears that these communities fished together and also coordinated resource procurement; again, these divisions should not be perceived as political in nature. These territories (as outlined by Goddard), and limited in extent, were not from a resource procurement standpoint sufficient to exploit subsistence resources throughout the year (see Keter 1988, 1989) and it is likely that coordination and cooperation between these communities was ongoing.

The Pitch Wailaki were recognized as a significant group in the North Fork area. They hosted a dance at one of the three remembered *yi-tco* (dance houses) in the region. At that time all the "tribes" gathered in celebration (this included relatives from the *Sittenbiden* and Wailaki). The two stories recorded by anthropologists about this *yi-tco* were from informants living on the Eel River: Captain Jim, from the Island Mountain area and Lucy Young from Alderpoint. Goodboy Jack, who was from the village where this dance house was located, also related this information to Goddard (1924:221). He remembered that in his early youth a messenger was sent out to invite people from a distance of two days in every direction from the village and that Indians from both the main Eel River and the North Fork were at the dance.

Territorial Boundaries

Baumhoff (1958), utilizing published materials and the field notes primarily of Kroeber, Merriam, and Goddard, refined the boundaries of the southern Athabascans. He continued to use the tribal nomenclature (Figure 1) first defined by Kroeber. The boundary descriptions for the southern Athabascans outlined by Baumhoff (1958) are those that are now generally accepted by the anthropological community (Elsasser 1978:191).
There are, however, a number of problems with the boundaries (see Map 1) of the inland southern Athabascans as defined by Baumhoff (1958). First, they were "best guess" compromises made after evaluating the various and conflicting boundaries as outlined by Kroeber, Merriam, and Goddard. It is also worth noting that Baumhoff did not do additional field work or visit the area and based his entire formulation of boundaries upon the earlier works and field notes of the ethnographers. There are also some internal inconsistencies in his location of boundaries. For example, Baumhoff (1958:165,175) notes in one portion of his article that Hettenshaw Valley is in "Lassik" territory, while in a following section defining the Nongatl/Lassik boundary, he places the same valley within Nongatl territory.

Another reason that these boundaries are open to question, stems from the vast difference in world views and cultures between anthropologists and the Indian people. To the ethnographers, defining boundaries was a product of western logic. They were definite locations well defined and agreed upon. However, as George Foster (1944:157) noted, "in the minds of the Indians exact boundaries were never known." The boundary definitions resulting from the small amount of ethnographic field work conducted in this region have probably been given more credibility than they deserve. What can be said of the boundaries as outlined by Baumhoff is that they were reasonable guesses based on the ethnographic data available.

The boundaries as outlined in this paper (Maps 2 and 3) should be considered core areas. These core areas are the areas that informants indicated were used most intensively for subsistence activities and settlement by their communities. Also indicated are areas visited by the informants for various reasons including resource procurement, socialization, religious purposes, and possibly trade.

Wintu Presence in the North Fork Region

Some evidence, including ethnographic data and interviews, indicates that large portions of the territory attributed to the inland Southern Athabascans were also claimed (or at least utilized) by the Wintu. The Wintu were Penutian speakers inhabiting the region to the east of South Fork Mountain and into the Sacramento Valley. Another possibility is that the boundary between the Wintu and the inland Southern Athabascan groups may have been in a state of flux at the time of historic contact in this region. Kroeber (1925:144) noted that there was intercourse between the Wintu and the group he defined as Lassik and that, at times, the Lassik have been erroneously classified as Wintu (see for example Bledsoe 1885 and Kroeber 1925:144). The word Wailaki itself is a Wintu word meaning "north language" (Kroeber 1925:151).

It is not clear from the historic literature how the term Wailaki came into general use during the early historic period (1854-1865) by settlers moving into the area (see Keter 1990). Goddard (1923:95) indicated that the term was brought into general use for the ethnographic literature of the region by Stephen Powers in his Contributions to American Ethnology publication in 1877. Interviews with longtime residents of the North Fork region (TK1) also indicated that during the ethnographic period some Wintu were thought to use this region. Intermarriage was also common between the Wailaki and Wintu. Chief Lassik was half Wintu and this, in fact, appears to have been his Wintu name, apparently his Athapascan name was *T'asu's.* The name Lassik seems to have been the name given to him

by the settlers moving into the region during what has been termed the Conflict and Settlement Period of 1854-1864 (Keter 1990).

Several other individuals from this area interviewed by ethnographers were also part Wintu. (This included Lucy Young who was one-fourth Hay Fork Wintu, Sam Young's mother who was half Wailaki and half Wintu, Mary Major who was half Wailaki and half Wintu, and Bill Dobbin's mother who was half Wailaki and half Wintu.) Also, at the hazelnut ceremony held on South Fork Mountain, the Wintu were the only outside group invited.

Kroeber (1925:144) noted some Wintu cultural influence on the southern Athabascans in the region. In addition, several place names well within southern Athabascan territory were actually Wintu words. For example, Hettenshaw Valley and Kettenpom Valley are anglicized from the Wintu words used by the southern Athabascans in this region. Powers (1877:117) indicated that *hetten-chow* denotes camas valley, *ket'-en* refers to a species of camas, and *hetten-pum* means camas earth. Merriam (1955) disagreed somewhat with the interpretations made by Powers. Merriam (field notes of an interview with Lucy Young) indicated that Kettenshaw and Kettenpom were sometimes written with the first letter "H" and that the word was pronounced *'ket'-ten*' by the Athapascans he interviewed. This was the root word for *ket'-ten chow*, meaning camas dance with the word *k'et'ten pom* meaning camas place or valley. Merriam's Wailaki informants indicated to him that they believed the name originally came from the Wintu groups (*Norrelmuk*) living in the Hayfork Valley region. Merriam (1955:12) concluded that this may be evidence of a former southward extension of the Hayfork Wintun into the Eel River region or more likely that they were permitted by the Wailaki to visit the region to gather camas and/or to attend social gatherings and ceremonies.

It is clear that the Hayfork and perhaps the Cottonwood Wintu visited portions of southern Athabascan territory and that close relations were maintained between these groups including intermarriage, trade, and social gatherings. It is also possible that the Wintu had at an earlier time occupied the area and were displaced by the Athapascans, or were in the process of expanding into the area at the time of historic contact. Wintu presence in this area should not be ignored when formulating research questions concerning prehistory of the region. It is possible that one may be able to identify the presence and intensity of Wintu occupation in the region through the archaeological record.

Boundaries of the Pitch Wailaki

There are a number of problems with the boundaries (Map 1) as presented by Baumhoff for the Pitch Wailaki. Based on extensive environmental studies of the North Fork basin, it

is apparent that the boundaries, as outlined by Baumhoff, are not realistic from a seasonal round/resource procurement perspective. The reason for this is that there is almost no high altitude summer habitat type for the Pitch Wailaki to exploit (see Keter 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989). Since deer summer above 4,000' and plants mature later at this altitude, lack of high altitude territory would have severely limited the ability of the Pitch Wailaki to exploit needed food resources during part of the year. It appears, therefore, that Pitch Wailaki territory extended further to the east. There are a number of reasons outlined below which lead to this conclusion.

Regarding the eastern boundary of the Pitch Wailaki, Baumhoff seems to have relied primarily on Goddard's information. Goddard traveled up the North Fork of the Eel River recording village locations in August, 1922 with an informant, Goodboy Jack, who had been born in the region east of Hull's Creek near Horse Canyon. Goodboy Jack pointed out a number of village sites on the North Fork from the mouth of Hulls Creek north along the river for about two miles but he was not entirely familiar with the area beyond this. For example, he indicated that there were a number of winter villages along Red Mountain Creek. Limited archaeological reconnaissance in the area (by one of the authors) indicated that this is unlikely. Red Mountain Creek (except in the Red Mountain Fields area which is above 3,000') is an extremely deep-cut drainage with few flat places to establish a village or even construct a house pit.

[In the summer of 1996 I visited the first six sites located to the north of Hull's Creek listed by Goddard in his 1924 article. All of the housepits were still visible on the sites; as a result of being on private property (limiting public access) most sites still retained fair to excellent integrity. Qualified archaeologists can contact me for more information on these sites.]

Also, Goddard (1924:218) only infers the North Fork/Middle Eel divide as the eastern boundary on his map (which is incomplete and somewhat inaccurate). In addition, the distance from the North Fork of the Eel River to the Middle Fork divide is only about six-to-seven miles (less than a day's travel), and it is the logical location for exploitation of high altitude food resources during the summer months.

Another reason to question this eastern boundary can be found in the evidence from the ethnographic literature on the Yuki and more recent interviews with residents of Round Valley with knowledge of this region. In his study of the Yuki, Foster indicated that the *Suksaltatamno m* (Nicely Shaped Pine Tree People) inhabited the upper reaches of the Middle Fork of the Eel River north of its confluence with the Black Butte River. Foster (1944:160) indicated that at the time of his study all members of the Yuki subgroup "have

long been dead" and that, during ethnographic times, it was probable this region had only been sparsely populated. John Holson (1980:16) noted that this group was "considered 'mountain people' who never mixed much with other Yuki." Foster (1944:160) indicated that the *Suksaltatamno m* had much contact with the Pitch Wailaki who were sometimes confused with the Yuki when informants discussed activities in this area. Foster does not state why he felt the informants were "confused." It may very well have been that both the Yuki and Wailaki utilized this area and that Foster failed to recognize it. Nowhere does he state where his information comes from on the Yuki territorial claims for the Middle Eel nor why he believes that his informants are wrong. Also, intermarriage between the Pitch Wailaki and Yuki was common and this may have led to confusion on boundaries between communities when Foster was interviewing Yuki informants.

Foster noted that the steelhead fishing was excellent on the Middle Fork of the Eel, and John Holson (1980:26) noted that some consultants from the Round Valley Indian Reservation indicated that the upper reaches of the North Fork of the Middle Eel River were utilized by the Pitch Wailaki. One of Holson's consultants stated that the Pitch Wailaki had a permanent fishing camp (*Ko-Sen-Ten*) on Fish Creek near or at its confluence with the Middle Fork (see also Merriam 1976:81 and Barrett and Kroeber 1962:176). Another Holson consultant indicated the Yuki/Pitch Wailaki boundary was in this general area. Holson (1980:26) concluded, "there is significant evidence to indicate that Yuki fishing holes along this stretch of the Middle Fork of the Eel River were shared on an equal basis with the Wailaki."

Essene (1942:56) noted that his informants (including Lucy Young) had indicated that the upper reaches of the Middle Fork of the Eel (and headwaters of the South Fork of the Trinity River-now part of the Yolla Bolly Wilderness area) were a kind of "no man's land." It was "held nominally by the Pitch or Salt Wailaki," and the region was also claimed in part by the Yuki and Cottonwood Wintu. The Lassik also hunted and got salt in the area.
As noted earlier, the Yuki and Wailaki intermarried extensively. Goddard (1924:219) identified two separate mixed Wailaki/Yuki villages. One village identified itself closely with the Wailaki and the other with the Yuki. In both instances, the villages were located along the edges of Wailaki/Yuki territory. One of these villages was on Jesus Creek (Casoose Creek). At this village both Wailaki and Yuki were spoken. The Yuki and Wailaki also had trade relations and, probably because of intermarriage and kinship, supported each other in disputes or wars (Tassin 1884:7).

Based on the evidence presented above, it is probable that portions of the upper Middle Eel drainage were utilized regularly by the Pitch Wailaki. Their territory (at least the area utilized if not formally claimed) extended to the east several more miles (perhaps to the

Sacramento/Middle Eel River Divide) than that indicated by Baumhoff. The northern portion of the Middle Eel basin, which is now located in the Middle Eel/Yolla Bolly Wilderness Area, is much closer to the Pitch Wailaki villages along the North Fork than the *Suksaltatamno m* Yuki villages located near the confluence of the Middle Eel and the Black Butte Rivers.

The southern boundary, as outlined by Baumhoff, also presents a problem as related to defining reasonably accurate boundaries for the Pitch Wailaki. Baumhoff (1958:176) delineated the southern boundary as extending east from a point near Summit Valley along the head waters of Hulls Creek (Bluenose Ridge) to the North Fork/Middle Eel divide. Again, there is some dispute over placement of this boundary. Goddard's map (1924:218) is not, in general, very accurate from a cartographic standpoint and does not fully define the Hulls Creek basin. Foster (1944:Map 1) defines the Yuki/Pitch Wailaki border as being several miles south of Hull's Creek (and well to the north of the boundary as defined by Baumhoff) on a line extending east from approximately Bear Creek. Although Baumhoff dismisses Foster's boundary, this difference in boundary placement poses a problem since the Yuki clearly claimed this area and the discrepancy involves over twenty-five square miles of territory. This becomes important when trying to estimate population, settlement patterns, and to determine potential resource availability. The area between Bear Creek and Bluenose Ridge may have been a region utilized by both groups. Since the Yuki and Pitch Wailaki maintained close relations [and sometimes intermarried] this may explain why members of both groups in ethnographic interviews claimed this area.

Hull's Creek, Summit Valley, and Hull's Valley were areas that were claimed and utilized by the Pitch Wailaki. Goddard (1924:215) stated the Pitch Wailaki had been "placed" in Hull's Valley which is located on the northern portion of the Round Valley Indian Reservation. When interviews were conducted with today's descendants of the people from this area in 1985 by one of the authors (Heffner-McClellan), they claimed that Hull's Valley and Summit Valley had always been Wailaki. As the lineage of these individuals was developed, it revealed that they were related to the Wailaki from the main Eel River and Soldier Basin as well. Some claimed that half of Hull's valley was Yuki and half Wailaki. Perhaps this may have been the second mixed community (referred to earlier) of Yuki/Wailaki that Goddard recorded.

Merriam's southern boundary for the Pitch Wailaki extended along Bluenose Ridge but continued further east than Baumhoff's into the Middle Eel drainage to the vicinity of Buck Rock, just to the south of Hammerhorn Peak (Baumhoff 1958:176). As noted earlier, one of Holson's informants told him that the Yuki/Pitch Wailaki boundary was in the general vicinity of Fish Camp. Fish Camp is just to the north of a line extending from Bluenose Ridge

to Buck Rock which Merriam indicated was where the eastern and southern boundaries met.

[Trails lead east from Pitch Wailaki villages on the North Fork to Fish Camp and also to the high Yolla Bolly mountains via Red Mountain Fields and Jones Ridge; see Keter 2016: *Historic Trails of the North Fork Eel River Watershed* (in press).]

Boundaries of the *Sittenbiden*

Kroeber (1939:27) noted that, unlike many groups within the region including the Wailaki, the boundaries for the group that he defined as Lassik did not seem "natural." That is, the boundaries did not seem to be based on logical geologic features such as a drainage divide or a narrow passage in a river canyon. This, in fact, illustrates the problems with defining a "Lassik territory."

It appears that when Lucy Young gave boundary information to Merriam, Essene, and others, she was outlining the area utilized for procurement of resources for the people of her community: the *Sittenbiden*. It is likely that along its periphery it overlapped with adjacent groups to some extent. Lucy Young also indicated that a number of camping and resource procurement locations utilized by the *Sittenbiden* were located far beyond the boundaries assigned by the ethnographers (see Map 2). For example, she noted that her people stayed at a camp near Hoxie Crossing (T25N, R11W, Section 25) on the Middle Fork of the Eel River. She said that her grandfather was very old at the time and that he was carried there in a large burden basket (Murphey notebooks). This location is far south of Baumhoff' s Lassik boundary in Foster's Yuki territory and Merriam's Pitch Wailaki territory.

There is also some evidence that the *Sittenbiden* traveled as far east as North Yolla Bolly Mountain to trade with the Cottonwood Creek Wintu (Baumhoff 1958:229). Lucy Young also told Edith Murphey that North Yolla Bolly Mountain was considered to be a "medicine mountain" by the *Sittenbiden*. She indicated some individuals would travel to a small dark lake (there are four lakes in this area, North Yolla Bolly, Black Rock Lakes and two small unnamed lakes [more accurately ponds] just to the northwest of Black Rock Mountain-- This latter location is closest to *Sittenbiden* territory). The waters of the lake were never still except when some would-be medicine man or woman entered them after a three-day fast. At the time the man or woman entered the water, if "those above" approve of the individual, the waters will calm. If the waters continue to move the person must consider themselves to be rejected.

Although the exact year is not clear, in the mid-1930s, Edith Murphey, Lucy Young, and her husband Sam Young took a three week trip by horseback from Round Valley north to where Lucy Young and her people had once lived. On their way they got lost several times because the old trails she had once traveled were covered with brush [see Keter 1987: pdf on solararch.org web site]. Their first camp was at the confluence of Hull's Creek and the North Fork of the Eel River (this is well within what can be termed the "core area" of the Pitch Wailaki). Lucy Young told Murphey that her people used to gather there and that they would have a "regular field day" with all kinds of sports and competitions including foot races and shooting matches. The shooting was done with bows and arrows and both women and men participated. Pointing to a large rock near the camp Lucy told Murphey that only two could send arrows over the rock: herself and her cousin North Star (Murphey Travelogue Notebook #3).

They traveled on to the Mad River country and visited the crest of South Fork Mountain and the Lookout at Horse Ridge. There Lucy Young had promised to show Murphey (a botanist) a meadow carpeted with Shasta lilies which she relocated without any trouble. On their return trip they passed through the headwaters region of the Middle Fork of the Eel River which at that time was the Middle Eel Primitive Area of the Mendocino National Forest. Again, Young pointed out to Murphy locations where her people used to camp (Murphy binder #3).

The difficulty of accurately defining the boundaries in this region based on informant interviews is highlighted by Essene (1942:84) who noted "the territory the Lassik claim as their own is in part also claimed by the Wailaki, Nongatl, Hayfork Wintu, Cottonwood Wintu, and the *Nai'aitci*.." Merriam (field notes, Baumhoff 1958:175) noted that the *Sittenbiden* name for Hettenshaw Valley is *ken-tes'-tung* and that it is in *Sittenbiden* territory. Baumhoff (1958:Map 1), however, has placed Hettenshaw Valley within Kroeber's Nongatl territory.

Map 2 presents the area utilized by the *Sittenbiden* as outlined by Lucy Young to Merriam. It is not clear from his field notes if these were boundaries outlined by Young, or rather areas which were part of the *Sittenbiden's* annual seasonal round. Since the community Lucy Young came from was located along the Eel River at Alderpoint, it is likely the territorial boundaries of the other communities defined as Lassik by Kroeber (which lie further to the east at Soldier Basin and along the upper Mad River) would vary somewhat from those of the *Sittenbiden* based on the kinship, commmunity relations, and resource needs. In addition, it is likely that boundaries of the *Sittenbiden* as defined by Young might fluctuate over time based on changing resource availability and group social and political dynamics.

Boundaries: the Emic versus the Etic

It is clear from the ethnographic field notes and other historical data that the southern Athabascans presented much more complex, ambiguous, and sometimes conflicting descriptions of the boundaries of their territory than the boundary lines confidently drawn on the maps by ethnographers. No doubt certain portions of their homelands were well defined. For example, ownership extended to the immediate area surrounding a village. This might change, however, if another related village was in need of resources controlled by a particular village. In that case cooperation and sharing of resources would occur. Ownership was therefore sometimes claimed and territory defended by a particular extended family or community over what might be termed core territory. It appears, however, that much of the high country to the east (currently within the Yolla Bolly Middle Eel Wilderness Area) was not claimed by one group to the exclusion of others. In other instances, territory was claimed by two or more groups, further complicating the maps of ethnographers.

It is clear that the aboriginal peoples possessed knowledge of the geography and the location of potentially exploitable subsistence resources extending well beyond the territorial boundaries as defined by the early twentieth century ethnographers. Boundaries were dynamic and varied over time based on the relations between individuals and communities and the needs of the community including such factors as those listed below.

1. Resource availability--When traditional or dependable nearby locations for securing subsistence resources were not available due to crop failure, drought, fire, etc., other more distant locations were visited.

2. Procurement of exotic resources--Securing resources not available within one's own core territory through permission and/or cooperation of the group controlling the resource. For example: the Wintu collecting camas in Hettenshaw Valley or the salt journey deep into territory claimed and defended by another group (as told by Lucy Young to Essene 1940 and Murphey in the 1930's).

3. Inter-community social dynamics--Changing alliances based on marriage and social relationships between individuals, villages, and communities.

4. Neutral territory--Some habitation sites may have been located within "neutral" territory. For example: between the Wintu and Sittenbiden on South Fork Mountain or in the Yolla Bolly area. Territory claimed by another group may have been visited yearly for purposes of trade or socialization (for example: visits by the *Sittenbiden* to the Pitch Wailaki at Hull's Creek).

5. Multiple territorial claims--Some areas (for example, the southern boundary between the Pitch Wailaki and the Yuki) may have been claimed by more than one group. Using avoidance through scheduling or cooperation in how subsistence resources were exploited, these areas might have been considered beyond the borders of their traditional core territory.

6. Hinterland areas--Some locations (for example. some portions the Yolla Bolly region) may have been utilized without anyone claiming territorial possession due to the remote location from villages or because the resources found there could usually be gathered at more convenient locations.

7. Special use areas--Religious quests (for example, the use of North Yolla Mountain by the *Sittenbiden*) resulting in travel beyond what can be considered traditional territorial boundaries.

8. Trade--Specific locations may have been visited for purposes of conducting trade with adjacent groups.

It is clear from the ethnographic field notes and other data reviewed for this study that the Pitch Wailaki and the "Lassik" were far different social groups than those presented by ethnographers. The Lassik, in fact, probably never existed as a distinct social and political group. Members of local villages and communities also traveled far beyond the boundaries established by the ethnographers for purposes of resource procurement, trade, and socialization. The Indian view of their world, of their territory and of their community relationships was logical and consistent--even if the ethnographers could not quite get them right.

The key to understanding "boundaries" is in the socialization and affinal ties between the groups who inhabited this region, their concept of family, the extended nature of their kinship affiliations and its impact on all aspects of their culture. None of these communities in the North Fork region or the general area were self-sufficient. They relied on trade and community cooperation in obtaining subsistence resources that were both needed and desired. The only way such a vast area could be utilized successfully was through the effective communication and cooperation developed through extended kinship ties.

The Late Period Archaeological Record

The conclusions reached by the authors of this paper on the political and social organization of the inland southern Athabascans have implications for future archaeological research in the area. At this time, however, some generalizations can be made concerning how socio-political organization of the inland southern Athabascans might influence interpretation of the late period prehistoric record.

It is unlikely that sites can be assigned to a particular "tribe" as they are defined in the current ethnographic literature. For example, a site excavated in the Blocksburg region is unlikely to be a "Nongatl" site or a site excavated near Alderpoint a "Lassik" site with distinct artifact assemblages based on cultural affinities. Rather, it is hypothesized, because relationships between communities were dynamic and fluctuated over time, artifact assemblages recovered throughout the region will tend to be homogeneous with differences based on site function rather than ethnographic affiliation. Differences in the remains of material culture will also vary between site types based on environmental variables. For example, resource procurement sites such as high altitude hunting camps will be similar throughout the region but the tool assemblages will vary from those sites which have other functions such as riverine village sites or locations where plant resources were collected.

A more in-depth analysis on this subject must await the next part of the study which concerns itself with subsistence activities in the North Fork region.

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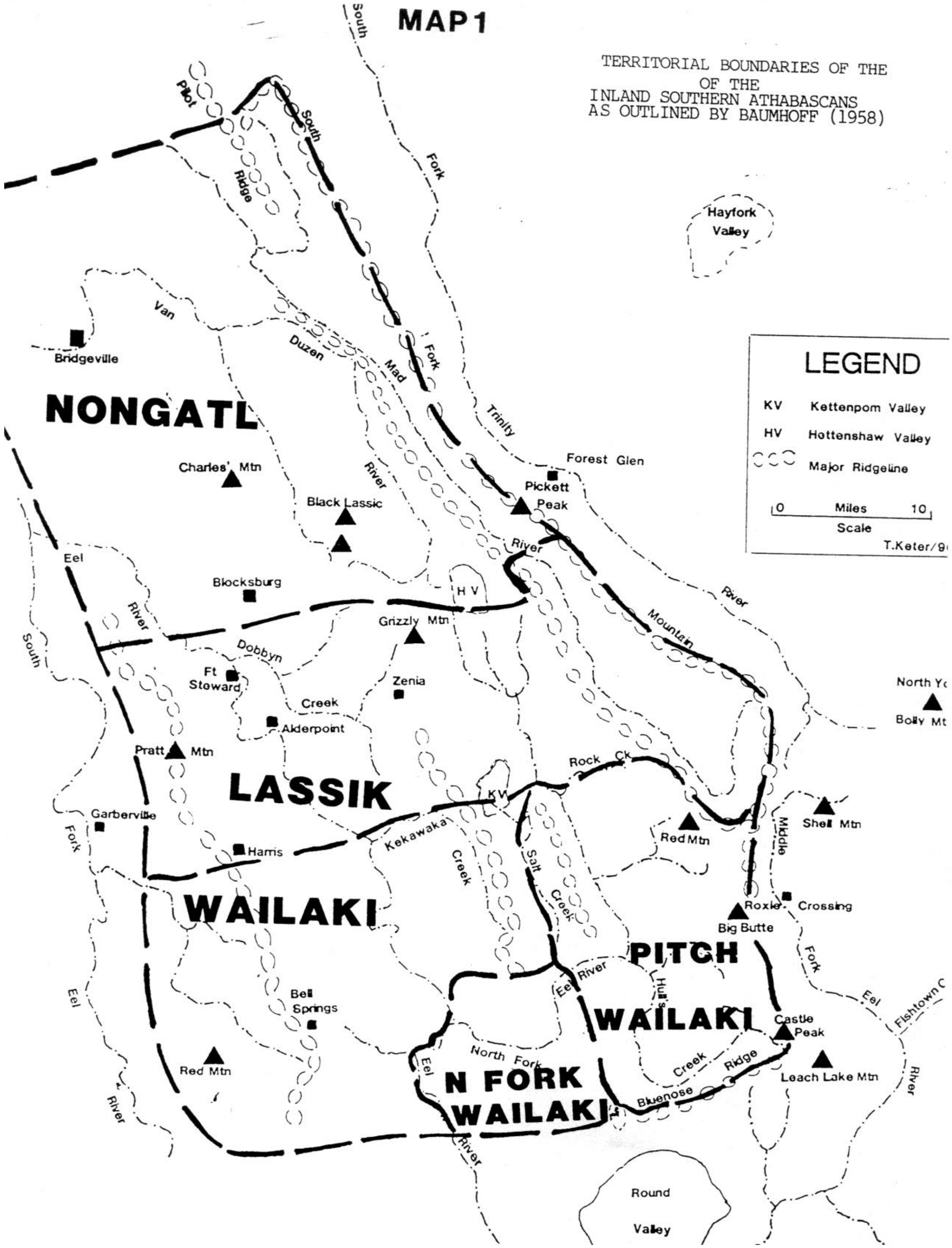
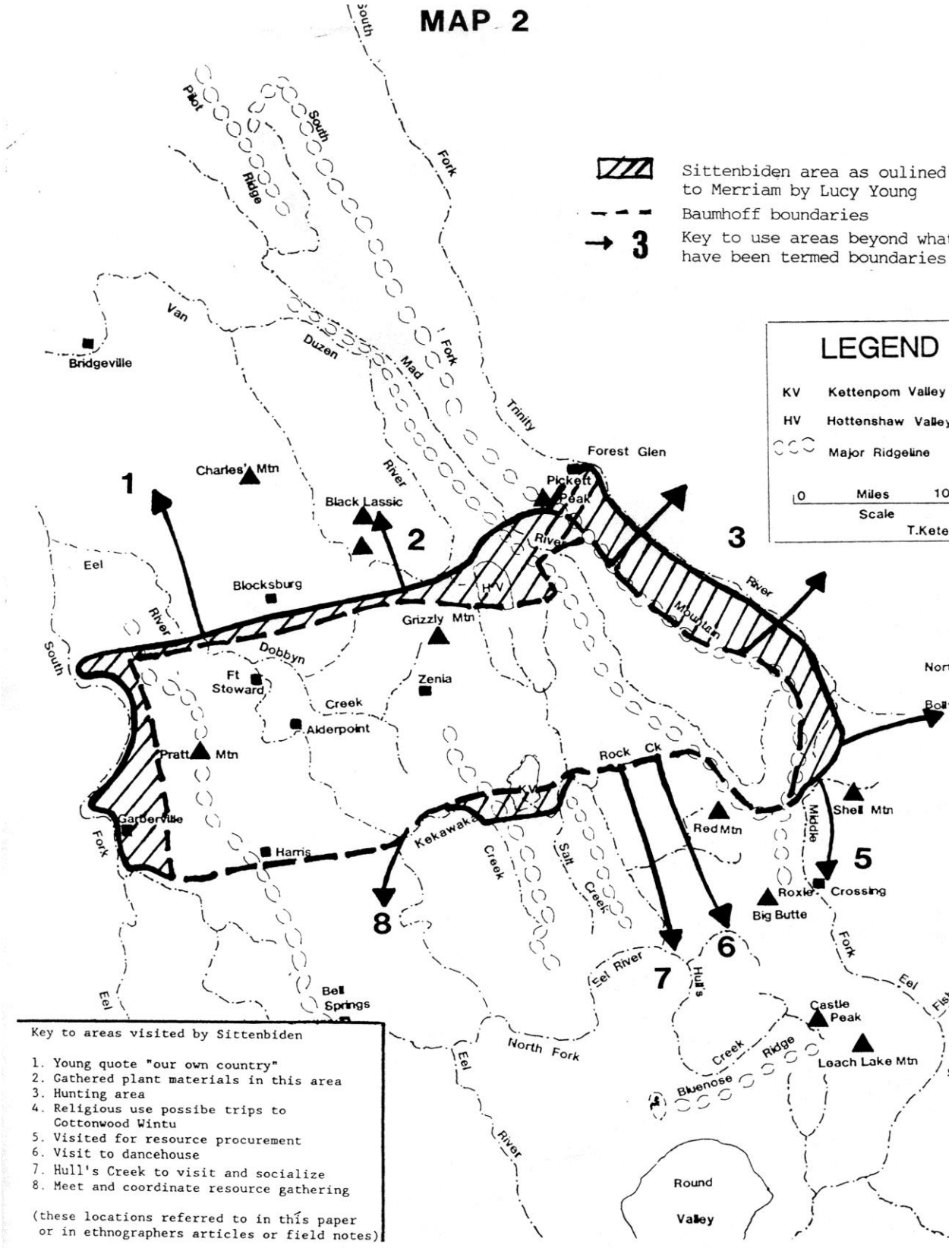
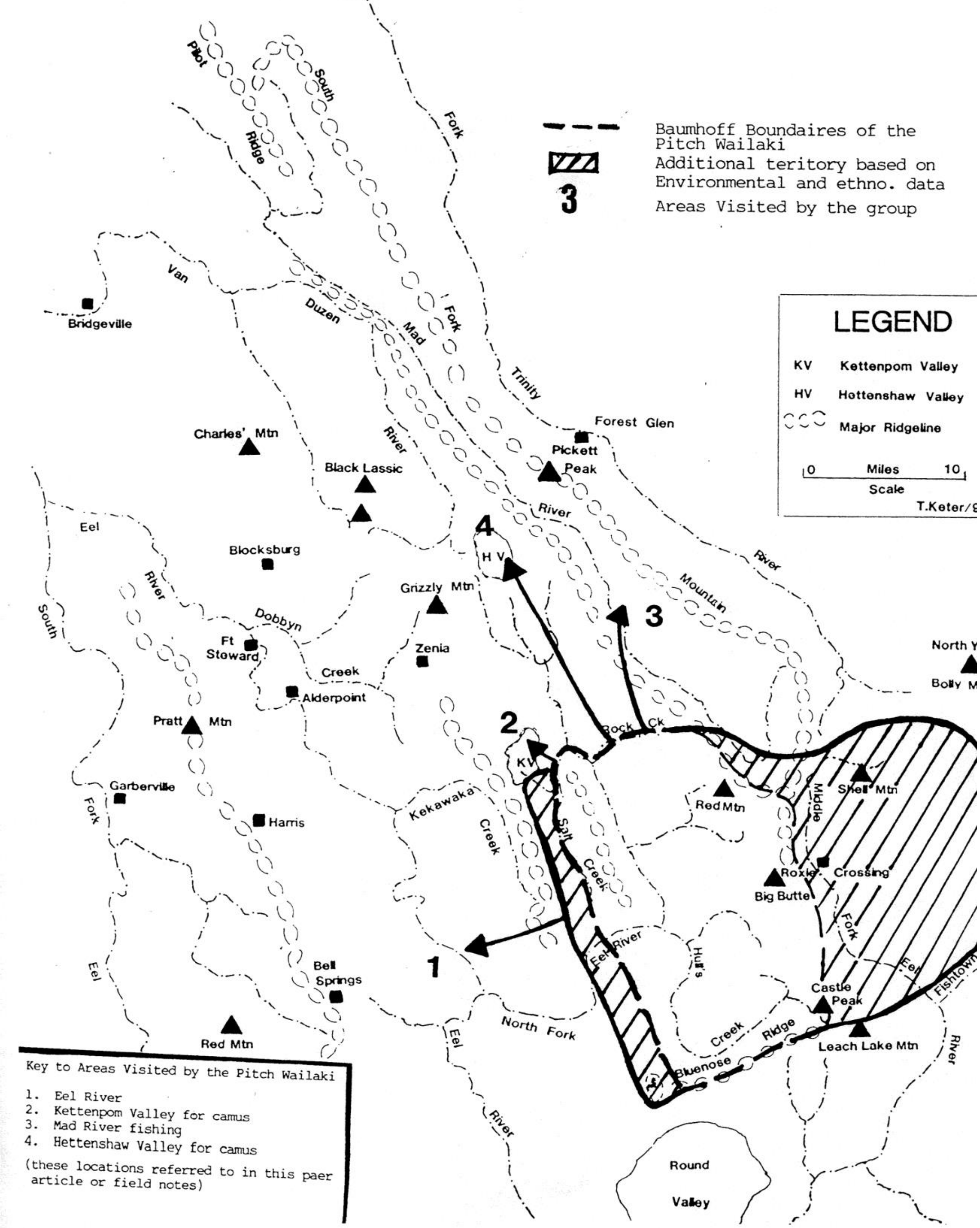

MAP 1
TERRITORIAL BOUNDARIES OF THE
OF THE
INLAND SOUTHERN ATHABASCANS
AS OUTLINED BY BAUMHOFF (1958)
LEGEND
KV Kettenpom Valley
HV Hottenshaw Valley
Major Ridgeline
0 Miles 10
Scale
T.Keter/9
NONGATL
LASSIK
WAILAKI
PITCH WAILAKI
N FORK WAILAKI
Bridgeville
Van Duzen
Mad River
South Fork Trinity River
Pilot Ridge
Hayfork Valley
Forest Glen
Pickett Peak
Charles' Mtn
Black Lassic
Blocksburg
HV
Grizzly Mtn
Dobbyn Creek
Ft Steward
Zenia
Alderpoint
Pratt Mtn
Garberville
Harris
Kekawaka Creek
KV
Rock Ck
Salt Creek
Red Mtn
Mountain
North Yolla Bolly Mt
Shell Mtn
Middle Fork
Roxie Crossing
Big Butte
Hull's Creek
Eel River
Castle Peak
Leach Lake Mtn
Bluenose Ridge
North Fork Eel
Bell Springs
Red Mtn
South Fork Eel River
Fishtown
Round Valley


MAP 2
Sittenbiden area as oulined to Merriam by Lucy Young
Baumhoff boundaries
3
Key to use areas beyond what have been termed boundaries
LEGEND
KV Kettenpom Valley
HV Hettenshaw Valley
Major Ridgeline
0 Miles 10
Scale
T.Kete
Bridgeville
Charles Mtn
Black Lassic
Forest Glen
Pickett Peak
Blocksburg
Grizzly Mtn
Zenia
Ft Steward
Dobbyn
Creek
Alderpoint
Pratt Mtn
Garberville
Harris
Kekawaka
Rock Ck
Red Mtn
Shell Mtn
Roxie
Crossing
Big Butte
Bell Springs
Castle Peak
Leach Lake Mtn
Bluenose
Round Valley
Key to areas visited by Sittenbiden
1. Young quote "our own country"
2. Gathered plant materials in this area
3. Hunting area
4. Religious use possibe trips to Cottonwood Wintu
5. Visited for resource procurement
6. Visit to dancehouse
7. Hull's Creek to visit and socialize
8. Meet and coordinate resource gathering
(these locations referred to in this paper or in ethnographers articles or field notes)

MAP 3



Baumhoff Boundaires of the Pitch Wailaki
Additional teritory based on Environmental and ethno. data
3
Areas Visited by the group
LEGEND
KV Kettenpom Valley
HV Hottenshaw Valley
Major Ridgeline
0 Miles 10
Scale
T.Keter/
Key to Areas Visited by the Pitch Wailaki
1. Eel River
2. Kettenpom Valley for camus
3. Mad River fishing
4. Hettenshaw Valley for camus
(these locations referred to in this paer article or field notes)
South Fork Trinity River
Pilot Ridge
South Fork Mountain
Van Duzen River
Mad River
Bridgeville
Forest Glen
Charles' Mtn
Black Lassic
Pickett Peak
Blocksburg
Grizzly Mtn
Zenia
Dobbyn Creek
Ft Steward
Alderpoint
Pratt Mtn
Garberville
Harris
Bell Springs
Red Mtn
Kekawaka Creek
Salt Creek
Rock Ck
Red Mtn
Shell Mtn
Middle Fork
Roxie Crossing
Big Butte
Eel River
Hull's Creek
Castle Peak
Leach Lake Mtn
Bluenose Ridge
Fishtown
North Fork Eel River
South Fork Eel River
Round Valley
North Y
Bolly M