

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For me there are several layers of “thanks with appreciation” about my learning and re-thinking the Ishi saga over time. A wide swath of territory in northern California was involved. Help I received in researching several subject areas must be addressed. There was the preliminary scholarship of Ishi’s life-story profiled shortly after Ishi’s contact years (1911-1916). This layer of gratitude I extend to Thomas T. Waterman (1918b) Alfred L. Kroeber (1925) and Saxton T. Pope Sr. (1920). Contributor in 1915 was linguist Edward Sapir who “captured his readiest language, the southernmost Yana language, christened the Yahi language.

There was afterwards a hiatus of almost fifty years when Ishi, the man, was *almost* forgotten, save for Pope’s 1925 *Hunting with the Bow and Arrow*. In 1949, some readers heard anew about Ishi from W. H. Hutchinson’s “Ishi – The Unconquered” published in *Natural History*, Vol. 58.

Theodora Kroeber made Ishi famous for a second time by writing, in 1961, *Ishi In Two Worlds* (University of California Press) and by publishing in the Book Section of the *Reader’s Digest* (December 1961) her condensed version of her book. I credit Theodora Kroeber for inspiring me about Ishi. That traditional California Indians could successfully “call in” to them the animals from the forest floor intrigued me. If they knew that much about the animal world, what more did they know about the Land?

Promoting the Ishi story were Robert Heizer and Albert Elsasser. I acknowledge both of them for collecting, reviewing, and publishing data about Ishi that I have used. Sons Karl Kroeber and Clifton Kroeber co-edited more Ishi papers in their 2003 book, *Ishi In Three Centuries* (University of Nebraska Press). Critics of Theodora Kroeber’s *Ishi In Two Worlds* book who surfaced during 1969 through 1971, and to whom I am indebted for their contributions were Homer Speegle, Melvin Speegle and author Eva Marie Apperson of *We Knew Ishi* (1971).

I thank friend Mike Weber of Sacramento, who encouraged me in 1990 to reprint my 1983 Ishi short story titled, *Ishi: America’s Last Stone Age Indian*. I vended this book at powwows in northern California. A parade of concerned souls, both Native people and White people, approached me about the facts they knew that flatly contradicted significant parts of Theodora Kroeber’s story. I pride myself that I took down their names and phone numbers, for I soon returned to interview most of these contacts.

My list of individuals to whom I am appreciative and indebted for completion of *Ishi’s Untold Story In His First World* expanded for me partly from a “debunking of Ishi campaign” incited largely by *Sacramento Bee* staff writer Stephen Magagnini. His article dated February 6, 1996 read “2 Scholars Challenge Ishi Story And Maidu Accounts Tell of Women Stolen By Yahi.” Magagnini had interviewed Steven Shackley (UC Berkeley) and Jerald Johnson (CSU Sacramento). Their hypotheses stirred the public. Momentum continued with Orin Starn’s (2004) sleuthing at the Bancroft Library. This culminated in Ishi’s brain repatriated on August 9-10, 2000, in northern California.

By 1997, I had received guidance from archaeologist Francis A. Riddell, historians Norman Wilson and Arlene Towne, and anthropologist Dorothy Hill who all helped me better understand Ishi’s six neighboring tribes. Other helping hands over time have included Mike Magliari (CSU Chico), and native voices Wallace Clark, Rose Waugh, Eric Josephson, Arlene Ward, Franklin Martin, Jody Conway and Chester Conway. On the Round Indian Reservation I kindly thank Fred “Coyote Man” Downey, Robert Azbill, and Alberta Azbill.

I humbly thank Claude and Louise Speegle of Medford, Oregon. They gave me copies of Homer Speegle “script” (christened the “Eight Pages” and “Thirteen Pages”), which he had handwritten in 1969. Claude Speegle, born in 1918 was Homer’s only child. Claude wrote me several explanatory letters, which included insightful newspaper accounts and family photographs. Other Speegle family members who welcomed my questions and provided me more anecdotal stories and corroborative photos were Ray Speegle of Chico, Glen Speegle’s daughter, Jackie Speegle, of Boise, Idaho, Alta Bernice (Speegle) Carter of Willows, California, and Melvin Speegle’s wife, Marguerite (Pitti) Speegle of Paradise, California. I warmly thank Anthropologist Dorothy (Morehead) Hill of Chico, for encouraging my preliminary field work of Ishi Maidu neighbors. Dorothy Hill secured in 1971, the most comprehensive tape-recording that has survived of Melvin Speegle.

Individuals who helped me revise Alfred Kroeber's earlier claim that "Ishi was the last Yahi" began in 1999 upon interviewing Robert and Joyce Martin of Sacramento. On April 6, 2008, I was first permitted to see the photos of their family relative, "Snow-flake" as an adult. Joyce Martin and her daughters Mabelle Martin and Maleah (Martin) Novak talked to me about their relative, Thomas James Cleghorn (1871-1959) on May 8, 2008 during the bus field trip of the 7th Annual Ishi Gathering and Seminar. When full-blooded Yahi Cleghorn died in 1959, he had outlived Ishi by forty-three years. (His photograph and profile may be viewed on page 276 of the Hi Good Cabin Site report online: www.ishifacts.com).

About the Bryan Beavers and Harry Edwards data, I thank Lyman "Pete" Moak, Bill Pinkston, Ron C. Cooke, Donald Jewell, his son Tony Jewell, John Duncan III, his son Brian Duncan, and lastly, Brian's Uncle Lars Anderson who surprisingly reconnected me to the key Duncan family members on June 6, 2009.

Thank you Darwin Lyon Isensee about your grandfather, Darwin Lyon Jr. Archaeologist Dennis Torresdal of Portland, Oregon, thank you for your insights about Ishi's hunting gear and technologies.

To better determine Indian adversary Harmon Augustus Good's pressures upon the Yahi, I was greatly aided by Dr. Eric Ritter who was my principal colleague in excavating the Hi Good Cabin site (CA-TEH-2105H). Ritter's sound science methodology improved mine. Property owners Mike Hamilton and Fred Hamilton I thank for supporting our excavation work on their ranch property. I interviewed them as well, and they became my friends.

Jack Haslem of Susanville, California, helped me comprehend early sheep camp operations about which Hi Good was engaged in the span of years of about 1865-1870. I appreciated and valued cinematographer Lee Lynch's infectious energy and creative imagination.

Paul Bowman helped me in investigating the likely origins of Hi Good's Indian boy named "Ned" and told me not to drop my new data about Shoshone "Mike" possibly meeting up with Ishi. Ron Jolliff of Igo, California, helped me locate Thomas J. Cleghorn ("Snow-flake") in Shasta County and where his Yahi mother, Letitia, likely died in about 1919. Help about battles fought and individuals involved included Dale Wangberg, John Rudderow, and Rod Miranda.

Ishi Wilderness Trips: Colleagues for whom I am most appreciative who comprised resourceful teams when hiking with me and exploring Ishi Country included my first team in 1971. Special thanks I give to Milt Clark, Aaron Clark, John Barris, and Jim Stewart.

Steve McClaskey, with the support of his parents, Don and Hazel McClaskey, led us to *Wa'laptina* on May 3, 1997. Bob Price helped me locate *Yā'mu' luk'u* on July 12, 1997. Dave Nopel, Roger Anderson, and Bob Price (again) helped me locate "The Rock To Which Legend Applies" on May 6, 1999. Dick Hilton, Paul Goldsmith, Craig Huston, with me and others, succeeded in locating and photographing *Kewa te' nna* (Kingsley Cave, 4-TEH-1) on May 13, 2006. Floyd Mellon, Steve Mellon, and others led me to the "rich village" of *Tuliyani* on Mill Creek on May 25, 2007. *Bāxā'ni* proper's attributes were determined during trips on November 15, 2008 and May 17, 2009. Lastly I thank Mike Lawson and Andy Mark for their great resourcefulness in helping me ford Mill Creek near Blunkall's Crossing, and then scaling the cliff face, which culminated in our rediscovering Ishi's *P'ihnu* Cave (Table Cave) on October 11, 2009. Kroeber had photographed *P'ihnu* Cave with Ishi back in May of 1914.

Others who helped provide Ishi anecdotes: Helen Waterman, Virginia (Pope) Evans, Philip Rose, Warren Rose, Jerry Stephens, Harold Kroeger, Samuel "Jim" Stewart, Ernie Tamagni, Romaine Brown, Frances Leininger, and Elwin Roney. I also thank Wesley Dempsey for editing my ethnobotanical data involving the Yahi, and visits and advice I gained from Valene L. Smith.

There have been so many new allies I have made since 2002, when I established the Ishi Seminar originally in Chester, Plumas County, CA. There is simply not room for *all* of your names. Thank you James and Donna Lenhoff, Dale Wangberg, Alberta Tracy, Lucy Sperlin, Bob Weise, Jim Graham, Grayson Sorrels, Peggie Adamson, as well as presenters Antonio Flores, Jeb Taylor, Joe Dabill, Orin Starn, Steve Allely, David Crosson and Doug Sackman.

I thank my Lady Janice Newton from the bottom of my heart. Several art pieces she drew for this book. Thank you Bob Burrill for the DVDs you have made of Ishi. There still can be a US Postal Stamp for Ishi, hopefully in 2016! Roger Anderson of Cambridge, Minnesota, I thank. Your encouragements, consistency as editor, levity at the right moments, are all forever remembered and humbly appreciated.

APPENDIX



Figure 1. Upper Mill Creek, Tehama County, California
Photo by author on October 10, 2009.

APPENDIX A

“ISHI’S 185 YAHI PLACE NAMES AND WHAT THEY MEAN”

Edited and Annotated by
Richard Burrill, 2011

A. L. Kroeber Papers
[Originals: BANC MSS C-B 925]
Microfilm number: BANCFILM 2049
Reel 161:400, 402, 403

Microfilm reprinted courtesy of the Bancroft Library
University of California, Berkeley,

APPENDIX A

“ISHI’S 185 YAHI PLACE NAMES AND WHAT THEY MEAN”

(Overview) - Ishi named 185 Yahi geographical places for Alfred L. Kroeber during 1913 to 1914. Kroeber's complete list of these names comprises three pages (See below). The place names are found on eleven sketch maps. Two of the eleven maps, Ishi-13 and Sketch J form Appendix F and G on pages 238-240). This author has compiled Kroeber's respective ethnographic field note pages for each of the 185 place names. The combined notes are, for the most part, as they were written. The bracketed data is author's annotations for clarity and/or additional information.

Kroeber also recorded the Yāhi names “phonetically.” Kroeber's “Pronunciation Guidance page” was also recovered from the A. L. Kroeber Papers (BANC film 2049, Reel 161) and is reproduced below on page 214).

On May 10, 1913, in the UC Museum of Anthropology in San Francisco, Ishi and Alfred Kroeber were musing together. Ishi asked for a piece of paper on which he drew a map and pronounced and mapped the first thirty-three place names. This Ishi sketch map is designated **Ishi-13** throughout this listing. **Ishi-13** triggered more questions in the minds of Kroeber and Waterman. The two professors set their sights on inveigling Ishi to lead them back to his homeland and to teach them about his Yāhi heritage, while "on location."

The Ishi led anthropological trip left the San Francisco Bay Area by SP train on May 13, 1914, They had only the **Ishi-13** map data when they departed. Upon returning on June 2-3, 1914, Ishi had provided 152 more Yāhi place names. About 95% of Ishi's place names were placed on these eleven maps listed below. They are:

Ishi-13	Sketch F	Legend
Sketch A	Sketch G	
Sketch B	Sketch H	O = houses
Sketch C	Sketch I	O = [concentric circles] rich village
Sketch D	Sketch J	// = head of salmon run
Sketch E		☐ sun flowers = <i>gāma</i>

All eleven sketch maps are in the book, *Ishi's Untold Story In His Second World*.

These are the finding aid subheadings and what they mean with SAMPLE below:

Number¹ Place Name² Page(s) / Sketch Map(s)³ Ethnomapping Descriptions⁴

- 1 -Assigned number # used for that particular Yāhi place name.
- 2 -Ishi's Yāhi language place name told to Professor Kroeber, and written phonetically.
- 3- Page number(s) of Kroeber's respective field note page(s) found, which describe that place name.
- 4 "Ethnomapping Descriptions" are the cultural and historical data shared by Ishi and recorded by Kroeber. Descriptions include what the place name represented (e.g., village? sweatlodge? salt lick etc.), sometimes a history story of what occurred there, and usually details of its geographical location (e.g., upstream from . . . on the N. side of etc.).

SAMPLE

Notice (below) that six different field note pages were compiled for *Bus kū'ina* #1. *Bus kū'ina* is found in only **Ishi-13** (map).

Number Place Name Page(s) / Sketch Map(s) Ethnomapping Descriptions

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <i>Bus kū'ina</i> 1, 2, 7, 22, 45, 363 / Ishi-13 (Literally “Fox”), the Yāhi name for Broke-off Peak; also called the "child of Lassen Peak," which is about 6 miles SW from the larger and higher Lassen Peak (<i>Wa ganu p'a</i>), but which Ishi called <i>Pu'lpūlli</i> #161, during the 1914 trip. In Yāhi storytelling, it appears that <i>Pu'lpūlli</i> and <i>Bus kū'ina</i> were the "houses" of Fox and his child. |
|---|--|

Name	On page - #	Name	Page
1 Gushuuna	7, 5	46 pikna	37
2 balix'a	7, 07, 5	47 ma'buwi	39
3 woxa'raui	7	48 xatecay'u	39
4 waskali'wi	7	49 t'ca'nasalawa	39
5 kuwi ma'xa	9	50 dawlan'atcu(watci)	39
6 Gasi'wi	9	51 wa'matiwi	39
7 pini'ni	9	52 bolaita	39
8 dju'ka ^(b) axwi	9	53 dutna	39
9 kwi kwi lulu	9	54 wat'manahuwi	39
10 t'ay'e'madu	9, 67	55 hat'pulewiteca	39
11 ya'muluku	9, 67	56 cilma cilmatmatu	39
12 waplalla	9, 67	57 na'tonna	39
13 min'mun'	9, 75, 67	58 wadi	39 ?
14 malla ma'xa	9, 52	59 badawi	39 ?
15 masya	16	60 daxhu'auwatecwatecu	43
16 trapalauwa	17, 67	61 mi'xai wahu'wi	43
17 gaxcaxa	19	62 mi'lena	43
18 duxp'otaxana	19	63 gac'eya	43
19 wox'nupomu t'axa	19	64 t'at'anteiwa	43
20 walala'udjama	21	65 ke'mdara	43
21 walwadantci	21, 67	66 xabate'ayauwa	43
22 han'awi madu	21, 65	67 wax'konpa	43
23 bax'ani	21, 65	68 daluch'auwa	43
24 wa'laptina	21	69 haci' i'rawi	43
25 'uxtan'wi	31, 51	70 wok'umi	43
26 kiwite, kewite	31, 52	71 kwiyawipta kewa	43
27 kims'kilyauwa	31 ?	72 t'cayau'i	43
28 bu'claudjawanu'mauna	33 ?	73 bat'au'ni	43
29 doha k'alt'auwa	?	74 t'axa	43
30 pit'x(a)nitche	35	75 t'alap'mauna	43
31 ku'neyu	35	76 wox'rowi	43
32 yuy'u'a k'aina	35	77 mit'izniki	43
33 xayu	35	78 wis'naiwi	45
34 pit'x(a)ma'na	35	79 kit'ic'wi	45
35 balaup'ayauwa	35	80 bax'pal'k'aina	45
36 pipt'auwa	35	81 dikun'aihi	45
37 mamun'puki	35	82 wok'ustca	45
38 bat'ama'na	37	83 wa'magu	45
39 kewa t'enna	37	84 'ansa	45
40 te'akim'annana	37	85 bax'te'p'pa	45
41 basiu'wi	37	86 t'conat'ca	45
42 bunte'rowi	37	87 ka'ema'na	45
43 t'elhu'wi	37		
44 palow'i	37		
45 t'ux'nenxa	37, 5		

88	mu ^h k'áwí	45	128	tcúli ^l í mádu dju ^m xá	65
89	dala ^w káma ^w	49	129	mú ^t et má ^m u wá ^d i	65
90	malcun mádu	49	130	p'ixá ⁿ i dju ^m xá	65
91	hú ^k 'u ^m i	49	131	hú ^t eculli	65
92	t'ú ⁿ k'áina	49	132	i ³ wó ³ lai k'áina #1	65
93	tcarup mandowaiyáuna	49	133	wamba	65
94	k'ó ³ yámi	49	134	kuiyá ⁿ mádu	67
95	xá ³ k'éna	49	135	batcá ^l wa hui ³ ai (dju ^m xá)	67
96	huiyá ³ pa	49	136	yá ³ dá ³ dápa (dju ^m xá)	67
97	yemintimáuna	49	137	dju ^h ihá ⁿ i (dju ^m xá)	67
98	tepi	49	138	i ³ wó ³ lai k'áina #2	67
99	wish'á ^h ui	51	139	dji ³ k'á ³ lva	67
100	kayuk'éna	51	140	pa ^m stá ⁿ i	67
101	cun ^h re, cun ^h ese	51, 52	141	lauwá ^l é ⁿ ádu	67
102	bah ^h le'mpá	51	142	tcú ^h diké ^w i	67
103	tcoplú ³ di	52, 5	143	p'í ³ ná ⁿ i	71
104	yá ³ wa	52, 5	144	xá ³ wá ³ a	67, 69
105	tá ³ ma	52, 5	145	é ³ l ³ á ⁿ i	67, 69
106	t'á ³ pá ³ maná	52	146	gaxsé ⁿ a	67
107	want ³ k'áina	52	147	gó ³ yum k'áuna	67, 69, 5
108	dó ³ búpa	52	148	nén ³ sewá ⁿ a-yáhi	67, 69
109	djulá ³ wá k'áina	52	149	nén ³ sá ³ há ⁿ a	69
110	pátus k'éna	52	150	muk'ándá ⁿ tcé ⁿ a	69
111	batcá ³ patcá ⁿ a	52	151	tríná ³ i má ³ dji	69
112	matwí	52, 65	152	suhá ³ n'á ³ i má ³ dji	69
113	pá ³ ya	52	153	wó ³ pá ⁿ a	69
114	matwí ³ pul ³ pulli	52	154	sim ³ k'áina	69
115	buhí ³ ya	52	155	dá ³ tcá ³ pa ³ u ³ mí yáhi	69
116	sá ³ ya,	67, 75, 5	156	dá ³ hau yá ³ pá ³ h ³ di	69
117	trá ³ k'áia	67, 75	157	gá ³ mé ³ si	71
118	k'á ³ u ³ wí	67, 75	158	bopá ³ yá ³ wí	65
119	bó ³ lohú ³ wí	67, 75	159	pá ³ su ³ i	69
120	wá ³ dá ³ wí	65	160	wá ³ tcá ³ ná ³ yá ³ wí	5
121	dji ³ dji ³ lva	65	161	pul ³ pulli	5
122	batc'á ³ ya dju ^m xá	65	162	xá ³ p ³ tí	5
123	mapú ³ ya	65	163	dji ³ k'á ³ u ³ l ³ wá ³ si	5
124	dji ³ wá ³ i mádu	65	164	má ³ má ³ pa	5
125	mít ³ i ³ yú ³ ná	65			
126	bat ³ mai wó ³ wí	65			
127	má ³ ní ³ pá ³ ya	65			

165	k'áwí-xa(h)	5
166	latitcá'manna	5
167	dyúltcá'manna	5
168	tak'pai	5
169	'ax'axapá	5
170	daskama	5
171	tó'wax'i	5
172	toló'tcuawéyu	5
173	te'wí'kaumansa	5
174	k'acmanna	5 (#87)
175	ótc'olok'ó	5
176	k'axdyauxa	5
177	k'á'tcháwi	5
178	p'uhíya	5
179	gahna	5
180	yasté'inna	5
181	dúliyani	5
182	palhwi = Cartina	5
	palsumun	
183	'á'lixá	5
184	baldjánaisi	5
	(baldjánaisi)	
185	puimok	5

161:
117
117

Yāhi Place Names
by ALK

Ms. Hs. 68a-81
95-115

Based on field work on
Deer & Mill Creeks with
John by S. Pope, T.W., & ALK
May 1914

Orthography

b, d, g, dj	=	intermediate
p, t, k, tc	=	aspirated
p', t', k', tc'	=	glottalized
s	=	between s and sh
x, h	=	rough h, almost x
c	=	aspirated h
ll, nn, etc	=	lengthened
i, e, o, u	=	long open vowels
ī, ē, ā, ū	=	"close"
ɪ, ɛ, ɔ, ʊ	=	short open "

Figure 2.

Alfred L. Kroeber Papers. BANC Film 2049, Reel 161.
Courtesy of the University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library.

Number Place Name Page(s) / Sketch Map(s) Ethnomapping Descriptions

- 1 *Bus kū'ina* 1, 2, 7, 22, 45, 363 / Ishi-13 "Fox" [The *Yāhi* name for Broke-off Peak; also called the "child of Lassen Peak" which towers about 6 miles SW of taller Lassen Peak, which during the 1914 anthropological trip Ishi called *Pu'lpúlli* #161].

[Yahi metaphors in storytelling: "*Bus kū'ina* and *Pu'lpúlli* ARE the "homes of Father Fox and his kit."]

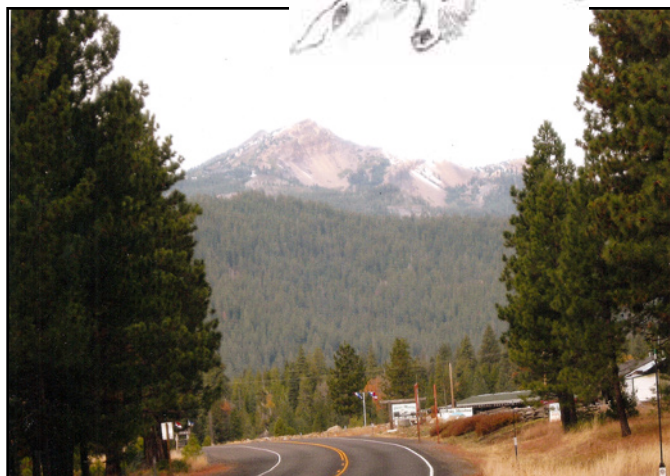


Figure 3.

Bus kū'ina #1
("Kit Fox who lives in Broke-off Peak)

Author's photo taken November 9, 2009, on Hwy 36 approaching Child's Meadow. Photo looks north. Drawing of "both" foxes by Janice Newton.

- 2 *Balè'xa* 2, 7, 31, 67 / Ishi-13, J Big valley village; "rich village" w/ sweathouse. (Malki a woman chief) Wintun. [Best descriptions for its location Kroeber recorded (page 7), as told him by Ishi in Vina on 5/14/14: "place to SW." On 6/2/14, Ishi said, "Is near Vina, between it and the Sacramento River." Lastly, Kroeber's (page 31) field note page described *Balè'xa* - was "near Vina -otherwise put on S. side of Deer Cr."
- 3 *Wo m ū'rawi* 2, 7 *Shāsti* Injun; houses there. A mt. to the north. [J. Curtin: = "Round Mountain near Ball Creek."]. [Likely meant Battle Creek here].
- 4 *Waskulū'wi* 2, 7, 33 Mt. Shasta. Kroeber (p. 33) wrote: "*Waskulū'wi* was given by Ishi to Sam Batwi in 1911 as name of Mt. Shasta."
- 5 *Hu'wi man'a* 2, 9, 26/B, C "Overhead rises a buttress of rock where . . . Red cliffs opposite our main camp. [Cliffs of Digger Pine Flat] Mesa - 1200 ft above creek.
- 6 *Bā si'wi* 2, 9/B, C gulch and hill slope S.W. from our camp [today's Rock Creek]
- 7 *Pirī'ni* [see also #143] 2, 9, 31/B, C, J [Sulphur Creek and its canyon to N + N-side of it. Kroeber's earliest spelling on 5/14/14 was with an "r" not an "n" so *Pirī'ni* i is probably the correct spelling. Most likely Kroeber misread his own "r" as an "n." (Yana has no "r") Ishi would have called Sulphur Creek as *Pirī'ni* [pronounced Pill-EE-knee], something that linguist Kroeber would have surely understood. For example, "rice" Ishi pronounced as "lice."].
- 8 *Djunk(')axwi* 2, 9, 65 [Marse Spiegel's cabin area on S. side of Deer Creek and according to Ishi's Sketch J was opposite *Wadalwi* #120, the mountain, hill, round, timbered, far up, 15-18 miles up Deer Creek and on N. side of creek].

<u>Number</u>	<u>Place Name</u>	<u>Page(s) / Sketch Map(s)</u>	<u>Ethnomapping Descriptions</u>
9	<i>Hūi hui lulu</i>	3, 9/B, C	Cliff upstream from Digger Pine Flat. Ishi's "turret-like" lookout tower on N. side of Deer Cr. Cañon, angles to NW. At head Dillon's Cove.
10	<i>Tc'ayè'madu</i>	3, 9/ B, C, J	Abandoned Spiegel homestead. E side of mouth of Sulphur Creek. Wintun deer hunt camp. Wali Injun there long ago. [Likely destroyed in about 1894 when "raids" by Mill Creek renegades began and the Speegles' ally "Red Wing" disappeared. This #10 not to be confused with "Spiegel's Cabin" #134 below.]
11	<i>Yā'mu' luk'u</i>	3, 9, 23, 31, 67/B, C, J	[Main base Camp for anthropological trip, 1914]. W. side mouth of Sulphur Cr. on Deer Creek. Wintun camped there for Deer Hunt. Involving <i>Yā'mu' luk'u</i> , later Kroeber (1925:345) wrote: "The Wintun and Yahi appear to have been on friendly terms, the former coming up Deer Creek at least as far as <i>Yā'mu' luk'u</i> , near the mouth of Sulphur Creek, well in the Yahi country, to camp and hunt." <i>Yā'mu' luk'u</i> = old ones (?) - or so called by adults(?) <i>Yā'hu' nuk'u</i> = young ones (?) - or so called by children (?)



Figure 4.

Yā'mu' luk'u #11
(This was the base camp during the anthropological trip with Ishi in 1914)

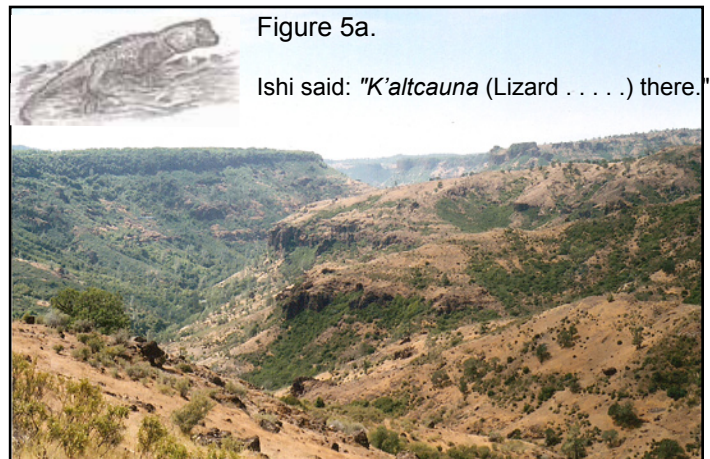


Figure 5b.

Malla ma'n'a #14
Ishi said: "k'altcauna (lizard,) there"

12	<i>Wā'pla'lla</i>	3, 4, 9, 31, 67/A, J	houses; red cliffs on N. side of Deer Cr. and NW of Ishi's Lower Camp Deer hunt place for Wintun. Somewhere below <i>Yā'mu' luk'u</i> . [Sketch J, shows it on Lower Deer Cr.].
13	<i>Munmun'i</i>	3, 9, 28, 67, 69, 75	S. Yana village with houses there on Singer Creek above Deer Creek Flat and on the S. side of Deer Creek. Its alignment relative to Deer Creek. was not far from the <i>Yā'mu' luk'u</i> base camp.
14	<i>Malla ma'n'a</i>	3, 9, 27, 31, 52/I	p. 3 <i>malla ma'n'a</i> - graham's Pinery - flat up Pine [Wildcat] creek. Indians from S. (Maidu) came there to hunt, not the Wintun. <i>k'altcauna</i> (lizard,) there.

Number Place Name Page(s) / Sketch Map(s) Ethnomapping Descriptions

- 15 *Másya* 3, 16¹ Cliff? is place near *Malla ma'n'a*. houses there, deer hunting camp. were *daidepayahi*.² (Maidu).
- Ishi never saw *daidepayahi* [Big Meadow "people"]
 He is from NE-*Pulpulli -tentcamna* land [north land?]
 His father³ was *tentcamna* - doctor
 Used to hunt *Molok'o* [?]⁴ with bow from hole in ground, with deer as bait.
 Coyote snared them went to river with noose.

1 Page 16 comes from A. L. Kroeber Papers BANC MSS C-B 925, Carton 17, G1177440621 Folder 17:36. This page 16 was also found by this researcher on microfilm BANC Film 2049 Reel 162 (34-47). The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

2 Kroeber 1925:345 wrote: "The *Daidepa-yahi* seem to have been a Maidu division in the Big Meadows [today's Lake Almanor] region, with a woman chief Yella." But upon taking a second look at Kroeber's sentence, we note that the woman chief's surname happens to also be the Yahi word for "sister." This fact took on greater significance about Ishi upon transcribing a 1971 tape recording of the respected Mountain Maidu author and educator Marie Potts, born at Yölím, where Hamilton Branch Creek passed the Big Spring area of today's Lake Almanor (The tape is preserved in the Francis A. Riddel Papers preserved in Sacramento in the California State Archives, Sacramento). Marie Potts recalled before Instructor Clifford Curtice's anthropology class at Sacramento City College" that:

We were surrounded by the Hat Creeks, Pit River, Paiutes, the Washoe, and Ishi. Ishi was our next door neighbors and one of Ishi's sisters was married into our tribe. This is something no one knows anything about. We kept this a secret.

Hence, one is left to wonder whether Kroeber may have been mistaken (in the above) when writing, "woman chief Yella." Was Ishi instead attempting to relate that his yella ("sister") had married a "chief" of the Mountain Maidus at Big Meadow (Lake Almanor today)? If in 1910, Ishi's sister was east in Big Meadow(s) and with the Mountain Maidu tribe, Ishi would have had motive to journey to their area for safe haven. About this possibility, however, Kroeber heard from Ishi and wrote: "Ishi never saw *daidepayahi* [Big Meadow "people"]."

3 It appears Kroeber elicited from Ishi information about his *kalsina* ("father") who apparently was a "doctor" from the north land. We also have Waterman's handwriting document, Appendix B, which states that the father was Northern Yana. Kroeber (1914:16) wrote: "His father" was from the *tentcamna* land [hard to read] or "north land." Continuing with this hypothesis, that "He is from NE- *Pu'lpúlli*," this puts Ishi's father from the north of Battle Creek area, Mt. Lassen, and adjacent the Atsugewi or *Chunoya*/ Hat Creeks tribe. (Note: *Pu'lpúlli* #161 was Ishi's name for Mt. Lassen during the 1914 trip). On page 16, Kroeber also wrote "north" is "*tentcamna*."

4 Ishi apparently began to tell Kroeber more Yahi lore. Predictably for lack of time, Kroeber wrote down this lore fragment as a prompt to ask Ishi more later about it over the campfire. But no more of this story is known. Unresolved is what kind of animal were the *molok'o*? Were they cougars, bears or wolves? *Malewula* is "wolf," wrote Curtin (1899:467.) This lore left off with: "Coyote snared them went to river with a noose."

- 16 *Tcapā'launa* 3, 4, 17, 26, 31, 67/ A, C, J An ancient *Yāhi* village, S. Yana, with 7 housepits visible on N. side Deer Cr. and about 1 m. downstream from *Yā'mu' luk'u* [base camp]. Also name of the hill behind. Near Bert Sauber's cabin.
- 17 *Ga'xca'xa* 4,19/A W. and on S. side of Deer Creek [Observed from *Wó'wunupo' mu te'na*]
- 18 *Dumpò'tcxana* 4, 19/A,C Hill or point on ridge [Observed from *Wó'wunupo' mu te'na*], located on N. side of Deer Creek

Number Place Name Page(s) / Sketch Map(s) Ethnomapping Descriptions

19 *Wó'wunupo' mu te'na*; 8, 19, 26/A, C, D Ishi's camp where discovered. [hunters and surveyors' discovery. Nov. 6, 1908].
Grizzly Bear's Hiding Place. [Its spiritual protection likely came from *Xā'tetna*, #21a].

20 *Walalaúdjamna* 5, 21, 26/C The very high bluff forming the west end of Digger Pine Flat (*Hu'wi man'a*, #5) Sheer bluff, "caves there" [Today's Moak's Cove probably].

21 *Walwadámteci* 5, 8, 21, 31, 67/C, D, J Crossing at Deer Cr. down hill from *Wó'wunupomu te'na*; also houses. [Favorite fishing station of Ishi's. Photos taken of Ishi on flat rock there.]

21a *Xā'tetna* 17, 26, 55 /C, D p. 17 - Below this [*Tcapā'launa*] on same side, along present trail which is an Indian trail originally, is a 15-20 ft vertical hole. This was blown out with his breath long ago [*ai'hipa*] by *xā'tetna*.(water-grizzly?), a bear doctor, who came out on the other side, which is the patch where Ishi's houses were, + which at first he called *tetna bīwi* [*bīwi*, "earth place" from Sapir and Swadesh 1960:52]. (BANC MSS C-B 925 Carton 17:36)
p. 26 - hole in ground of *Xā'tetna*. (BANC MSS C-B 925 Carton 17:36)
p. 55 - *Xā'tetna* are spirits - men + women. call ha'haha (-was Spiegel's laughing woman!) live underground + in rock, close entrance with stone door. don't like to be seen. eat nothing or little, wear necklaces + belts of coals instead of clothing. (Microfilm BANC FILM 2049, Reel 162)

22 *Han mā'wi mā'du* 5, 8, 21, 23, 30, 31, 65/C, J Ishi's "barrel-shaped watch tower." The "peak rock is tied with "ropes around" and where souls of the deer go. 1 1/4 m. upstream from Sulphur Cr. and between Deer and Pine [Wildcat] creeks. Soft -rock on crest of promontory separating Deer + Pine [Wildcat] creeks; he told story of deer, rope, beads, + doctor, apparently a myth, for when he took party up in top by a cleft, there was nothing there. Horizontal streaks of white harder rock girdling the rock seem to be the "ropes." [Kroeber wrote: "Rock climbed with M. Spiegel" (p. 8); [But failed to include names of Clyde Speegle and Melvin Speegles who also climbed rock with their father and Ishi].

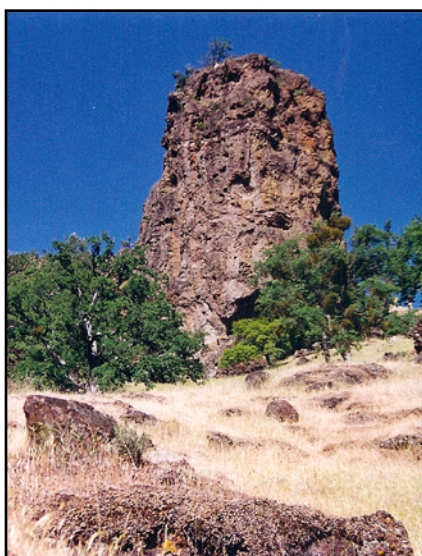


Figure 6a.

Han mā'wi mā'du #22
(Rock To Which Legend Applies)
Ishi's watch tower.



Figure 6b.
Drawing by
Janice Newton.

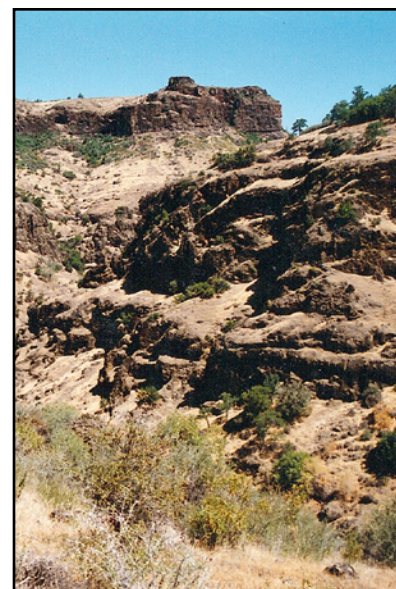


Figure 7.

Húi hui lulu #9
Ishi's "turret-like" watch tower

Number Place Name Page(s) / Sketch Map(s) Ethnomapping Descriptions

23 *Bāxā'ni* 5, 8, 21, 30, 31, 65/Ishi-13, C, J Ishi's Upper Camp was also called *Gahma* (#179) Ishi's storage cave
(see also *Gahma* #179) 1 1/2 m. upstream from mouth of Wildcat Cr.; area on both sides of Deer Creek.

From pages 5 and 31:

Bāxā'ni = at river (Spiegel's Storage Cave) from which "Spiegel + Co. cleaned out [on about Dec. 18, 1906, they took Ishi's *samani* (Cinnamon Bear Robe + more. (Published in Jan. 3, '07 *Chico Record*). *Bāxā'ni* = belonged to *Yistcinna* Indians; = where Ishi 2nd camp in pepperwoods. Cabin there. *Bāxā'ni* belonged to *yistci* = Their chief; painted or tattooed legs. N. side Deer Cr. also called *Bāxā'ni*. [See also place name below *Yestc'inna*, #180]. Page 5: "Strictly it is the name of the North side of Deer Creek in this vicinity."

Page 8:

23a *Bāxā'ni* cave

23b. house

23c proper

Note: Behind Ishi's left shoulder are what appear to be several "milled" wood boards or lumber. Hence, it can arguably be called the "cabin there."



Figure 8.

Bāxā'ni house #23b.

Description: "Ishi standing at main hut at his 1909 camp." T. T. Waterman stands (far left). This photo forms UCMA Cat. Number 15-5862, and was taken by Saxton T. Pope in 1914. Donated to the Dept. of Anthropology. Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of the University of California.

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|------------------|--|
| 24 | <i>Wa'laptina</i> | 5, 21/C | cave (with Apperson-Spiegel ladder), overlooking Sulphur Creek from its NE, full of [Ancestors' Cave] pine-nuts shells, + smoked roof. Pictures taken (UCMA Cat. #5777). |
| 25 | <i>'uxtanū'wi</i> | 11, 25, 31, 51 | butte or peak to N.W., near valley, ca 5 m. distant. Big sugar <i>hū'wi</i> pines upstream. Butte peak NW near valley ca. 15 m, Kroeber (1925:346) reads Tuscan Buttes, <i>uht'anuwi</i> . |
| 26 | <i>Kiwīte</i> (or <i>Kewīte</i>) | 11, 27, 31, 52/I | Also up Deer Creek. Iron Mountain [on N. side]. |
| 27 | <i>Himtskilyauna</i> | 11, 31 | place ? or brush? somewhere on Sulphur Creek where |
| 28 | <i>Bucdaúdjawanumauna</i> | 11 | ridge above <i>Tc'ayè'madu</i> , #10? |
| 29 | <i>dohak'altcaúna</i> | 11, 30, 71 | (<i>k'alteauna</i> lizard) near #28; houses. |

<u>Number</u>	<u>Place Name</u>	<u>Page(s) / Sketch Map(s)</u>	<u>Ethnomapping Descriptions</u>
30	<i>Pitcx(a)náitcka</i>	12, 35/E	Low flat just above and across from <i>P'ihnu</i> at bend [on N. side Mill Creek]. One <i>bātcúl</i> [?] (valley) oak there [No such oak was observed in 2009 by the author]. A <i>Yāhi</i> village site. "is dog's village" [Likely quoted by Ishi. See dog below #31]. This is Blunkall's cabin, a flat in a bend. A ford is here.
31	<i>Kù'nè yu</i>	12, 35/E	<i>Kù'nè yu</i> chief flat is adjacent <i>Pitcx(a)náitcka</i> + Blunkall's Cabin. dog's village [Reference to dog in Waterman 1918a:57, in March of 1870, the possé came to a "campoodie" with "several huts" in a "round meadow, hidden away in a clump of pepperwoods (laurel), located "on Mill Creek, about 25 miles from its mouth." Found there, " the only live animal, is a dog"]. Cave just above and upstream [<i>Kù'nè yu</i> is also the name of mineral spring just above and opp. <i>Pitcx(a)náitcka</i>].
32	<i>Yu'yu'ak²aina</i>	12, 35/E	sm. creek entering opp. last [which is #30]
33	<i>Xā'yu</i>	12, 35/E	Stuff + table mm [?] above <i>Pitcx(a)náitcka</i> [rounded terrace, Bay Tree Village] Dead Man's Cave where skeleton was found in the cave 30 years ago [ca. 1884]. Large, double [CA-TEH-290]. Right on river 100 yar. up str. from last min. spr. there.

Figure 9.

Xā'yu #33
(Bay Tree Village)
Photo by Mike Lawson.



"Pierced Near top"



Figure 10.

Ba'laupuyauna #35
"Rock Peak and
Pierced Near top".

Number Place Name Page(s) / Sketch Map(s) Ethnomapping Descriptions

- 34 *Paitcx (a)ma'n'a* 35/E Ridge 1 mile SE
- 35 *Ba'laupuyauna* 12, 35, 41/E "rock peak, Hole or "pierced near top." 1 1/2 m. back and upstream from #30.
- 36 *Piptcúnni* 12, 35/E "high rock bluff", ca. 1 m. upstream from *Pitcx(a)náitcka*. Also name of little gulch adjoining the bluff on downstream side.
- 37 *Ma'munpuki* 12, 35/E Dead Man's Gulch 1/4 m. upstream from *Pitcx(a)náitcka* between #30 and #33.
 [While apparently a "skeleton" was found in Dead Man Cave (see above #33), the skull of the same individual may have been found at the mouth of Dead Man's Gulch? This conjecture is based on the following Thomas Waterman handwritten remarks found commingled amongst the A. L. Kroeber Papers. Its source is Banc Mss, CB 925, Carton 17, Folder 17:31.
 Thomas Waterman: "Skull in photograph was found in mouth of Dead Man Ravine 10 mi E. of Lyons (1 m above Fred Edwards. Frank Bryant had it. H.S. Gans in Red Bluff had it photographed, skull went to Dunsmuir and _____? Mrs Roney got it from Bryant, + gave it to her aunt in Nevada."].
- 38 *Bātcamā'mauna* 13, 37, 41/E [Peak] on high side just upstream from Kingsley Creek Gulch wt between #36 + #51.
 [See UCMA Cat. #15-5795 in photo to left of Table Mountain's bluff].
- 39 *Kewa te'nna* 13, 37/E [Kingsley Cave, 4-TEH-1].Cave in Kingsley Gulch. Mineral Spring nearby.
 baskets found in other cave near this [This probably points to #40 below?]
- 40 *Teakinmannána* 13, 37/E rocks and "rock house" up Kingsley Gulch [See Fig. 11 and Appendix E on page 237, of the basket likely found here].

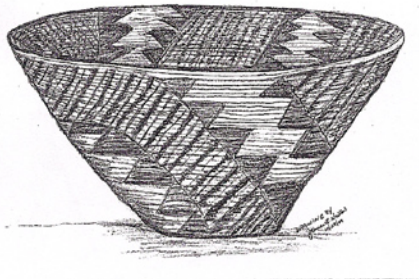


Figure 11.

Drawn by Janice Newton.

Cooking Basket.

Location: This basket was for years part of the Chester & Ruby Rose Museum Collection in Chico. In 2010, it was bequeathed by Steve Rose to the Museum of Northern California, Gridley, California.

Size: Diameters of the basket's mouth is 32.5 cm & base 16.6 cm.
 Height: about 15 cm (See photo of basket in Appendix E, on page 237).

History: "This basket was found in a cave in Mill Creek Canyon," as testified by Chester Rose of Chico. Whether this basket came from *Teakinmannána* remains undetermined (Chester Rose interview by Dorothy Hill of Butte College. Tape #0162 in Special Collections, Meriam Library, CSU Chico Campus.

Number Place Name Page(s) / Sketch Map(s) Ethnomapping Descriptions

- 41 *Basiū'wi* 13, 37 (= "oaks"?) also up Kingsley Gulch [Possibly today's Black Oak Thicket or Grove].
- 42 *Būnte wówi* 13, 37/E Spur + bluff opposite *Bātcamā'mauna*. On top are 2 upright crags, in which a sub cave was formerly inhabited. The gulch downstream from this spur has the from same name. [On ridge top above and along the S. bank of Mill Creek, opposite Kingsley Gulch. *Būnte wówi* is from where Sketch F was drawn with Ishi by A. L. Kroeber on 5/24/14.].

Note: # 43-45 were reported, "not seen":

- 43 *Tculhúwi* 13, 37 A small creek, 1 day's foot journey north (Antelope Creek?)
- 44 *Palówi* 13, 37 A large high timbered flat, another day ["flat" as in Buck Flat?].
- 45 *Tc'uxneñxa* 5,13, 20, 37, 45, 363 / Ishi-13 Stream, Sam's Creek. Evidently Battle Cr.; house there. // "head of salmon run." (reached on 3rd day of journey?), a place on a very large stream "like Oroville water" = Battle Creek, home of the *garī'si* speaking Yana (the Central Yana, sapir's "son them Yana." Creek from Mt. Lassen. The *garī'si* (N. + C. Yana) lived there (See Fig. A-4).
- 46 *P'ihnu* (Table Cave) 14, 37/E [Probably April of 1871 massacre site; unknown number killed] Center Ford 1/4 m below *P'ihnu* cave. Blunkall's = 1/4 m -above Boatgunwale Cr. mouth 4 miles above, is next ford upstream on Mill Creek. [See Appendix D about the gift basket likely taken by Norman Kingsley from *P'ihnu* Cave in April of 1871].



Figure 12.

Palówi #44
(Probable name of Buck Flat)



Figure 13.

P'ihnu (Table Cave) #46

Number Place Name Page(s) / Sketch Map(s) Ethnomapping Descriptions

47	<i>Ma'bu'wi</i>	15, 39/E, F	Gulch immediately upstream from <i>Bunte wówi</i> , and hill at its head. It is a west branch of Spring Branch Creek which runs down south side slope into Mill Cr.
48	<i>Xā'tca wā'yu</i>	15, 39/E, F	bluff and spur upstream from Spring Branch Creek, #50.
49	<i>Tcā'rasalaiwa</i>	15, 39/E, F	bluff and spur upstream from <i>Xā'tca wā'yu</i> , #48.
50	<i>Dawilauwátcu(watci)</i>	15, 39/E, F	Spring Branch Creek, at its mouth.
51	<i>Wā'matiwi</i>	15, 39/E, F	Table Mountain ["Long sweatlodge"] large bluff on upstream side on Upper Mill Creek.



Figure 14b.

"Long Sweatlodge"

Drawing by Janice Newton.

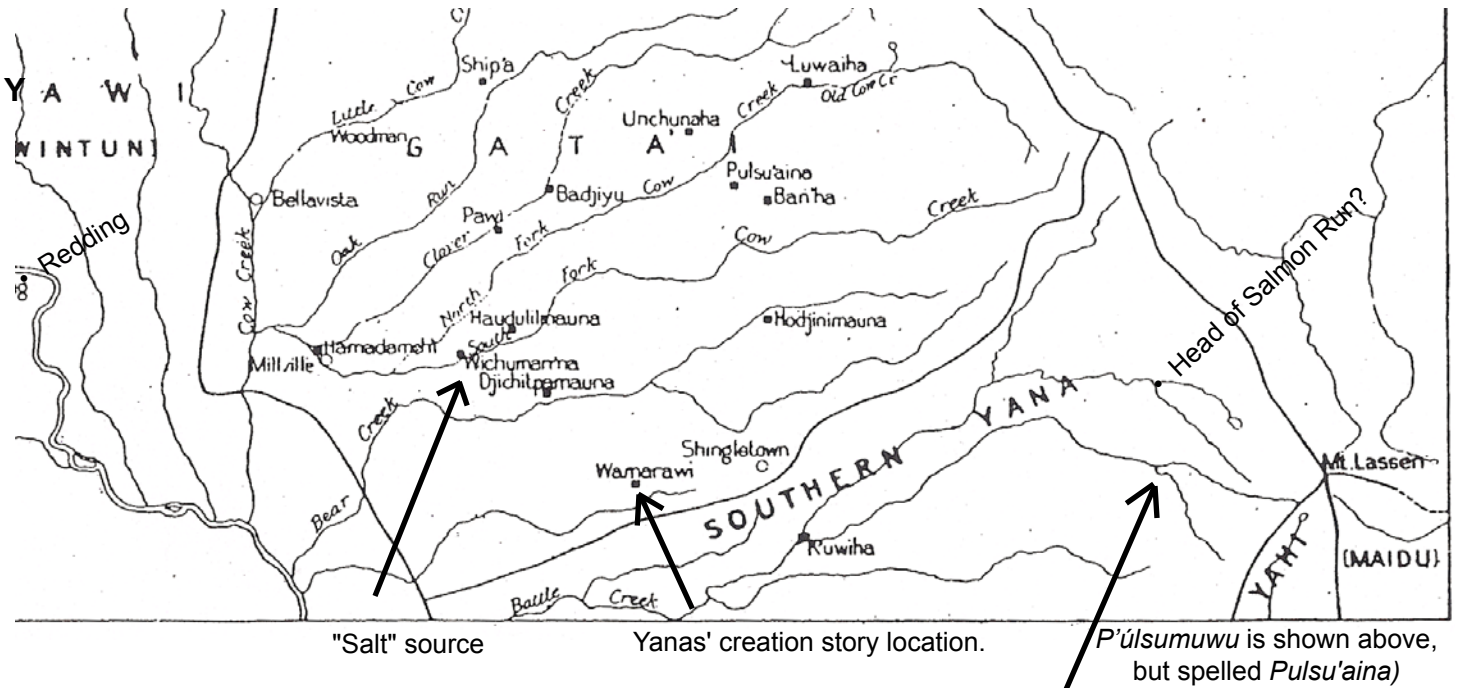
Figure 14a

Wā'matiwi #51
("Long Sweatlodge")
Table Mountain
Photo by Mike Lawson

52	<i>Bōla'cta</i>	15, 39/E, F	a little peak on upstream slope of Table Mountain; was a Yāhi village site.
53	<i>Du'tma</i>	15, 39, 41/E, F	an open spur between Avery Butte & Boat Gunwale Cr. Stone Cabin Hollow is between <i>Du'tma</i> + Avery Butte
54	<i>Wa'tmanahuwi</i>	15, 39/E, F	Avery Butte [adjacent pioneer settler Charles Avery place]
55	<i>Hatpulcu'ictca</i>	15, 39/E, F	creek downstream from Avery Butte
56	<i>Cilmatmatu (or Ci'lma)</i>	15, 39/F	on S. slope of Avery Butte
57	<i>Mā't'onna</i>	15, 20, 39, 45/F	a big mesa ridge breaking into Mill Cr. from the north. It is a number of miles upstream from <i>Bunte wówi</i> , #42. on 2 side; Lyonsville Mill is beyond it. NE from Cave Springs.
58	<i>Wa'di</i>	15, 39	= ?
59	<i>Badā'wi</i>	15, 39	a mineral spring --Where?
60	<i>Daxkunáuwatcuwatcu</i>	18, 43	on N.Fork of Little Mill Cr. [5/22/14 from observation point looking SW over Mill Cr + Little Mill Cr between the two Photos 15-5794 <i>et. al.</i>]
61	<i>Mīx'ái wa ku'wi</i>	18, 43	between L. Mill Cr + Dry Creek.
62	<i>Mi'lcna</i>	18, 21, 43, 45/G	a village site on the S. bank of Dry Cr. at Six Bit Crossing, and opposite <i>Tconátcxa</i> , #86, village on the N bank. The Puimok (a Wintun name of part of the Maidu) who once came to <i>Mi'lcna</i> and killed 2 men + 1 child..
63	<i>Gācē'ya</i>	18, 43	ridge between Mill Cr. + N. Fk. of Little Mill Cr.
64	<i>Tcet'a'ntciwa</i>	18, 43	spring on spur sloping N. to Mill Creek. Pa'swi Indians gathered food there (See #151).
65	<i>Ke'mdana</i>	18, 43	mineral spring at bluff on N. side of W. and of ridge betw. Mill Cr. + Little Mill Cr., near junction; also more itself of juncture.
66	<i>Xaka tcā'yauna</i>	18, 43	to south of last.
67	<i>Wax kónpa</i>	18, 43	downstr., on or near Mill Cr.
68	<i>Dalucháuna</i>	18, 43	a black bluff (in Mill Cr.?)

<u>Number</u>	<u>Place Name</u>	<u>Page(s) / Sketch Map(s)</u>	<u>Ethnomapping Descriptions</u>
69	<i>Haci 'i wāwi</i>	18, 43	near last; were houses there.
70	<i>Wo 'k 'umi</i>	18, 43	bluff
71	<i>Huiyawi 'pta kè 'wa</i>	18, 43	cave downhill from last. Is to magnetic W. from point of observation.
72	<i>Tcā 'yan 'i</i>	18, 43	flat near Mill Cr. downstream from last.
73	<i>Bātcū 'ni</i>	18, 43	a dry Creek (?) coming out of ridge between Mill Cr. + Little Mill Cr.
74	<i>Tétxa</i>	19, 24, 43/H	high part of ridge 5 m. in the distance [with Lassen's Emigrant Trail] wagon road there. betw. Dry + Little mill Creek, ca. 5 m. distant, to magnetic S.
75	<i>T 'a 'lapmauna</i>	19, 43	ca. 6 m. down Mill Cr., on N. side
76	<i>Woxcwówi</i>	19, 43, 49	at water and opposite Fred Edwards' cabin Cūya Indians were to E of S (magnetic).
77	<i>Mi 'tinniki</i>	19, 43	was in valley (village), little W of magnetic S. The <i>Pelmém-na</i> yāhi were there. "Tehe'ma" was another Wintun village. Sā'ya Indians waere to E (?) of magnetic S (?).
78	<i>Wisnáwi</i>	20, 45	pointed hill on ridge, 1 m. W. of Cave Spring. Cave Spring at head of Little Mill cr.
79	<i>Kiticu ' 'wi</i>	20, 45	a hillside seepage on road to Edwards after leaving "observation point." People lived there for a time. The Pasmayi Indians came from W. + killed a doctor there.
80	<i>Baxpal k 'áina</i>	21, 45/G	head of Dry Creek.
81	<i>Dikuna 'ihi (water)</i>	21, 45/G	is <i>ilandyamna</i> [across the stream?] from 'A'nsxa upstream (east) and on the south bank.
82	<i>Wo 'k 'ustca</i>	21, 45/G	a village not far upstream from 'A'nsxa (side of creek?)
83	<i>Wā 'meyu</i>	21, 45/G	mineral spring, deer lick, on S. bank of Dry Cr. at ford called "Grapevine Crossing."
84	<i>'A'nsxa</i>	21, 45/G	Water Hollow (creek), and the village (See cross "+" on Sketch G) where the party camped on 5/21/14. They made camp on the east bank and a little above the mouth of Water Hollow creek, which flows southwesterly into Dry Creek.
85	<i>Baxtce 'ppa</i>	21, 45/G	a gulch on Dry Creek, approx. midway point between Grapevine Crossing to the east and the Six Bit Crossing to the west. This point is about 1 m. below Water Hollow.
86	<i>Tconátca</i>	45/G	a village site on Dry Creek's N bank at Six Bit Crossing; and opposite <i>Mi 'lcna</i> village.
87	<i>Ka 'cma 'na = #174</i>	22, 45	O'Peal's (? name correct?). Camp in pines to NE of <i>K 'acmaxna</i> , #174, located on Ishi-13 map on the S. side of Upper Mill Creek.
88	<i>Muxk 'áwi</i>	21, 45/G	Pines (observed at some distance east of Water Hollow) and N. of Big Dry Creek.
89	<i>Dalaukawa</i>	24, 49/H	ridge, caves there, at the foot (of ridge line).
90	<i>Malcun madu</i>	24, 49/H	cliff across [on north bank of] Mill Creek
91	<i>H 'u 'k 'umi</i>	24, 49/H	Cliff [on the horizon or ridge line in the SW, and on the N. side above Mill Creek.]
92	<i>T 'unk 'a 'ina</i>	24, 49/H	Cliffs to right of cliff and crags named #93 [up above N. side of Mill Cr. to the W.]
93	<i>Tcarupmaudowaiyaunna</i>	24, 49/H	Crags and cliff up on ridge line on the NW side of Mill Cr.]
94	<i>K 'o 'y 'ami</i>	24, 49/H	between ridges of #91 and #93; small creek. [up on NW ridge line on N side of Mill Cr.]
95	<i>Xā 'kewa</i>	24, 49/H	a small cave, downhill from #94, near it. [up <i>inesdjamna</i> or West NW along ridge line on N side of Mill Cr.]
96	<i>Huiyáipa</i>	24, 49	pines there, ear #95 (position omitted from sketch [H] by oversight).
97	<i>Yemintimauna</i>	24, 49/H	caves there in bluff " <i>Kúlu kè 'wi</i> ."
98	<i>Tépi</i>	24, 49H	directly up hill (South) from <i>P 'ihnu</i> (#46 -point of observation, this would bring it to left of #89 if panorama were complete.
99	<i>Wisk 'alhu 'wi</i>	25, 51	cliff to East North East, pines on top, ca 4 miles distance.
100	<i>Kayul ke 'wa</i>	25, 51	mouth of Dillon's Cove, on N. side of Deer Creek.

Yana Territory, Northern Part



"Salt" source Yanas' creation story location. P'ulsumuwu is shown above, but spelled Pulsu'aina

Top Portion of Ishi-13 Sketch Map.

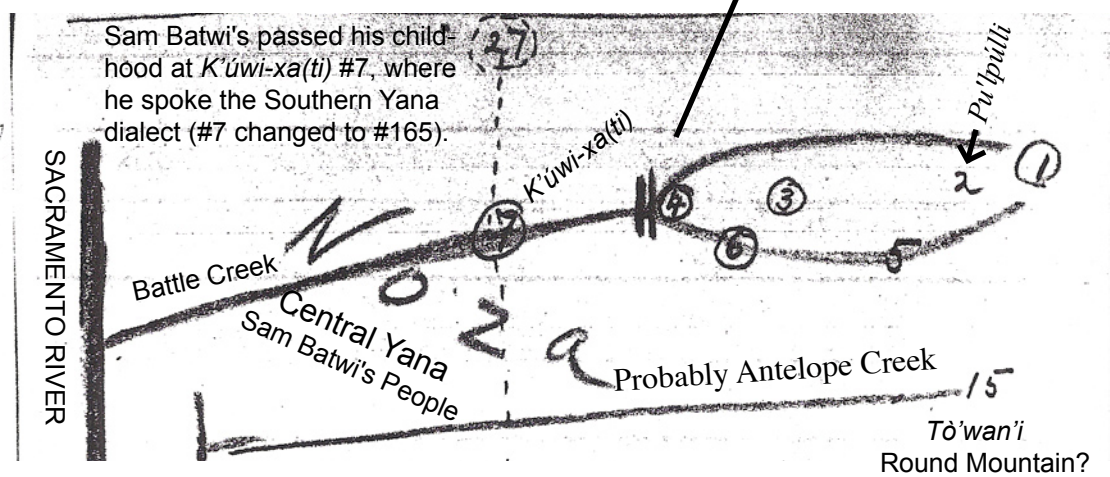


Figure 15.

Yana Territory, Northern Part. Two maps placed together for comparison purposes. (top) Kroeber's map 1925:338 and (below) top portion of Ishi-13 sketch map.

The two Yahi Place Names" (of Ishi's "185" total), which also appear on Kroeber's 1925 map are: *K'úwi-xa(ti)* #165 and *P'ulsumuwu* #182. Notice on Ishi-13 that Ishi drew the *Yāhi* foot trail passing through *K'úwi-xa(ti)* #7 (renumbered #165) en route to *P'ulsumuwu* #27 (renumbered #182), located farther north. Thanks to Kroeber's place names map (above) we can also see that *K'úwi-xa(ti)* was located where two forks of Battle Creek converge. Ishi also indicated that the // "head of salmon run" was farther upstream also at a point where two forks of drainages converge (See above arrow for possible location). One curious question from all of this: How far upstream do the salmon travel to spawn today?

Also shown on Kroeber's 1925 map are:

Wamārawi - Place west of today's Shingletown, which involved the Yana creation story of Lizard and Cottontail making the human beings (Sapir and Dixon 1910:76).

Wichuman'na - Yana's saline marsh "salt" procurement site, which the Yana traded to their neighbors (Kroeber 1925:339-340). Kroeber wrote here that apparently the Achomawis' (Pit River Indians') name for the Yana was *Ti'saichi*, "Salt people," because this important trade resource came from *Wichuman'na*.

Some data suggests Ishi's father, named *Yètati*, hailed from *Pu'Ipúlli* (See #2 above); about this see also #15.

Number Place Name Page(s) / Sketch Map(s) Ethnomapping Descriptions

- 101 *Cúntkna, cúnk'cna* 25, 27, 51, 52/I cliffs at head of SW arm of Dillon's Cove and adjoining or leading up to *Hui hui lu lu*. [Note: *Hui hui lu lu*, #9, is Ishi's lookout tower, which looks like a "turret"].
- 102 *Bahke'mpa* 25, 51 a hillside or ridge about NE from the Moke [Moak] Trail, "where we crossed it."
- 103 *Tcuplúidi* 5, 27, 36, 52/Ishi-13, I lies behind this mountain ("Carter Mt"). Also a tribe. Ishi described the *Tcuplúidi* as "hostile" Maidu Indians. The Feather River drainage comprised their ancestral lands, as also true of the *Ta'sma* (#105) and *Go'yum k'auna* (#147).
- 104 *Yúlwa* 5, 27, 52/Ishi-13, I a "small creek" there, on the S. side of Deer Creek with *c ū'lixa*, #183 and with a village there, which Ishi designated as being a "rich village." Listed as among the "hostile Maidu" who lived there. However, *Yúlwa* location is apparently much farther south and westerly from Deer Creek proper than where it was placed on Ishi's 1913 Sketch map. About *Yúlwa*, Kroeber (1925:345) speculated that this name was part of the Feather River drainage along with *Tasma* (#105) and *Baldjā'maisi* (#184).
- 105 *Ta'sma* 5, 27, 36, 52/Ishi-13, I on a *Pulpúlli* #161 stream, that is, a stream coming from Mt. Lassen, was a village there with hot spring. These *Tas'ma* or *Baldjā'maisi* Maidu camped there, Ishi said were "hostile" Maidu (Note: About *Pulpúlli*, it was "Ishi's name for Mt. Lassen on our trip). [See also in #104 (above) Kroeber's 1925:345 remark.].
- 106 *T'āpa'n man'a* 27, 52/I Ridge N. of Iron Mt. called "Jackass Slide"
- 107 *Wants k'a'nna* 27, 52/I water there, "Deep Hole" [Today a camp on maps named Deep Hole. It is located along the Yāhi foot trail, which ascends the N. slope from Deer Creek and connects with Moak's Trail.]
- 108 *Dabupa* 27, 52/I ca. 3 m. distant from "point of view" [of Panoramic view, Sketch I].
- 109 *Djulawa k'a'ina* 27, 52/I ridge [N. of Iron Mt.]
- 110 *Pútus kēwa* 27, 52/I further W. on *Dabupa*, #108.
- 111 *Patc'áu patcona* 27, 52/I Little Dry Creek (See arrow in Sketch I pointing to #111.).
- 112 *Matwī* 27, 30, 52, 65/I, J houses [Below Iron Mountain on N. bank of Deer Creek].
- 113 *Pa'sya* 27, 52/I "Devil's Den" area creek, which flows from south, behind Graham's Pinery. (See Sketch I).
- 114 *Matwī pulpulli* 27, 52/I Big mineral spring
- 115 *B'uhī' ya =178* 27, 52/I creek from the North, which runs behind "Jackass Slide" ridge, east side of Iron Mountain.
- 116 *Sā'ya* 5, 28, 36, 67, 75/Ishi'13 a Wintun village to the S. and SW of Vina's Deer Creek where *Kinnuitci* was a man chief there. [A. L. Kroeber (1925:345) summarized about *Sā'ya* with: At *Saya*, *Kinuichi* was chief. North of it, where Singer Creek and Bush [Bushy] Creek emerge from the hills, were *Munmun'i* and *Djaki-ha*; north of these, *K'aiuwi* at Stevens [Stephens] Hollow and *Bolohuwi* on Mountain Branch. These seem to have been Wintun rather than Yana, but their attribution varied."]
- [Note: Finding page 75 (below) in the Bancroft Library's A. L. Kroeber Papers remains unresolved. There is a page 75 for Sketch D.]
- 117 *Teak'ix'a* (also *Djakixa*) 28, 32, 67, 75 Wintun village on today's Brushy Creek to SE of Vina and Deer Creek at the base of the foothills and the valley; also close to *Xa'wan'a*, #144.
- 118 *K'aiuwi* 28, 67, 75 Another Wintun place name at Stephens Hollow of a Maidu encampment, located also on the south side of Deer Creek at the edge of the foothills, and evidently on the north side of Brushy Creek. *K'aiuwi* may be a Maidu place name rather than Wintun. Also, discernible on page 67 in Kroeber's field notes is that Kroeber drew a line connecting *K'aiuwi* to *Go'yum k'auna*, #147. (See above also Kroeber's 1925:345 description.).

Number Place Name Page(s) / Sketch Map(s) Ethnomapping Descriptions

119	<i>Bòlokū'wi</i>	28, 67, 75	Wintun village. Location next to <i>K'auwi</i> , but a mountain branch, likely S.E of Vina.
120	<i>Wadalwi</i>	30, 65/J	high upstream along N. side of Upper Deer Creek, some 15-18 miles and near <i>Djunk(')axwi</i> , #8; "Coyote's house"[Marse Spiegel's].
121	<i>Dji'xdji'lxá</i>	30, 65/J	houses on creek, along N. side of Upper Deer Creek.
122	<i>Batachéya djem'xa</i>	30, 65/J	houses on creek, along N. side of Upper Deer Creek.
123	<i>Mapúya</i>	30, 65/J	fishing place along N. side of Upper Deer Creek.
124	<i>Dji'wa'i mā'du</i>	30, 65/J	caves on N. side of Upper Deer Creek. (<i>mā'du</i> - grass; <i>maadu</i> /wild hay)
125	<i>Mits'ṛ' yū'xa</i>	30, 65/J	caves on N. side of Deer Creek. (<i>mits'ṛ</i> = coyote)
126	<i>Ba'tmai wówi</i>	30, 65/J	<i>ganna</i> ["mother"] and "sweathouse is here." [See <i>ganna</i> in Appendix B below].

[Note: *ba-* = "under"; *bat'ad'palgu* = "flat and tapering" found in Sapir and Swadesh 1960:228.]

The correct context here is deservedly significant to the Ishi story. Stated as a question to Ishi, Kroeber asked him for the importance, if any, for the next place name, *Ba'tmai wówi*. Notice the second word, *wówi*, which means "house" or "family home" in the Yáhi language. Hence, Kroeber's direct question to Ishi translates this way: "Whose house was at *Bat'mai*?"

Ishi's one word response, *ganna*, translates: "*Bat'mai* was my mother's house" (See Appendix B that *ganna* = mother) was part of *Bāxā'ni* proper (Ishi's Upper Camp). The above gives credence to other facts of the Ishi story, such as when Ishi's Lower Camp (#19) was discovered on November 6, 1908, it was to *Ba'tmai*, some four miles upstream where it is believed Ishi relocated his aged mother.

The fact that Kroeber (on page 65 of his field notes) wrote only the solitary Yáhi word, *ganna*, rather than in English, "mother" to explain this Yáhi place name #126, suggests that Kroeber may have decided to move with some hesitation about revealing Ishi's family history. Why? Because Kroeber had just been with Ishi inside his former family's hidden "*wo-wi*" cave. This was where Ishi said his "*ganna*" died. "Ishi grew despondent and quietly cried after which he said he was crying [also] for his sister" ("Ishi tells scientists he believes his sister is still among living" [1914, June 4] *Chico Record*). This account was found by this writer and first reprinted in Burrill 2001:194-195). We surmise it was upsetting for Kroeber and he did not care to delve into family hardships and suffering, let alone write about such. Kroeber simply wrote "*ganna*." Kroeber preferred to simply go forward with "more about pre-contact California Indian life-styles."

Photograph UCMA Cat. #15-21692 shows Professor Kroeber reclined on the floor inside *Ba'tmai wówi*. This one photo (#15-21692) of such was not "loaned for copying" by Mrs. Kroeber until July, 1965, which was considerably later than most of the other Ishi photos that had been donated to the UC Museum of Anthropology.

T. T. Waterman apparently learned from Ishi that Ishi's mother "died about three months later" (i.e., about Feb. 6, 1909) after their Lower Camp was discovered November 6, 1908. The source about Ishi's mother's passing is: "Ishi acts up on the Fourth for visitors" (1914, July 6) *Chico Daily Enterprise*. Waterman apparently responded in summary format to the unnamed Chico editor's questions who, in turn, wrote: "All trace was lost of the tribe until 1908, when a part of surveyors found an Indian village in the mountains in Northern California. All escaped but an old Indian squaw, who died about three months later, and Ishi, who fled to Oregon [Oroville], was captured and put in jail."

127	<i>Mā'ni'pāya</i>	30, 65/J	houses. On N. side of Deer Creek.
128	<i>Tcúlili mádu djúmxa</i>	30, 65/J	houses. On N. side of Deer Creek.
129	<i>Mútetma'mu wa'ai</i>	30, 65/J	at water but no houses. On the N. side Deer Creek [About #129 and #130, Kroeber (p. 30) wrote: "2 names at same place."]
130	<i>P'ināni djumxa</i>	30, 65/J	no houses [Shown on Sketch J on N. side of Deer Cr., but on p. 65 described on S. side.]
131	<i>Hútculli</i>	30, 65/J	"doctor's water, cave, near creek," on S. bank of Deer Creek and just above the mouth of Wildcat Creek. <i>Hútculli</i> is also near Spiegel's Ford (Deer Creek Crossing).
132	<i>I'wō'lai k'áina #1</i>	31, 65/J	Salmon's rock house in creek" [Ishi's Sketch J indicates that it was located upstream old Spiegel's homestead at mouth of Sulphur Creek. Therefore, this place is likely closer to Spiegel's Cabin (See Sketch B map).

Number Place Name Page(s) / Sketch Map(s) Ethnomapping Descriptions

- 133 *Wamba* 31, 65 [Likely on Deer Creek; nothing more is known for it does not appear on any sketch map.]
- 134 *Kuiya'u mā'du* 31, 67/B, J Marse Spiegel's Cabin called "Coyote's house" by Ishi (and written as such by Kroeber in his field notes pages 31 & 67) because Ishi had said Marse Speegle was "like a coyote" for having taken his *samani* (Cinnamon Bear Robe) and other items from the Yāhi's Storage Cave in late 1906. Kroeber's 1914 finalized Sketch B reads:
 "M. Spiegel's present cabin"
 [not to be confused with Spiegel "old" or "abandoned" homestead" #10. Arguably, it was destroyed during 1894 raid by the Mill Creeks. Located on S. side of Deer Creek but upstream about 0.8 m. from #10, Spiegel's abandoned homestead].
- 135 *Batca'lwahūwi (djúmxa)* 31, 67/J Sketch J map shows on S. side of Deer Cr. and farther downstream from *Yā'mu' luk'u*.
- 136 *Yāda'xdapa (djúmxa)* 31, 67/J houses there at likely? the lower part of the *Tcapā'launa* village (See #16 above)
- 137 *Djuiha'uhi (djúmxa)* 31, 67/J cave, salmon fishing place [Ishi's 1914 Sketch J map shows #137 downstream and below #16 *Tcapā'launa*.]
- 138 *I'wō' lai k'aina #2* 67 [Same name as #132 above].
- 139 *Dji'k'i'lxa* 31, 67/J cave, between the rocks and the trail, on N. bank of Lower Deer Creek [probably on today's Baker Field, which is at the mouth of Deer Creek Cañon, and where Shoshone Mike's band in 1910 traded with Mattie Speegle, camped on "Indian Island" and raided Andy Hobson's cabin, (Leininger and Burrill 2010:109-120).]
- 140 *Pamstsà'mi* 31, 67/J sweathouse at S. Yana village, on S. side, Yana [Shown on Ishi's Sketch J on Lower Deer Creek].

 [This again is likely "Indian Island," described by Bruff and the Willard Speegle family.]
- 141 *Lauwale'l mādu* 31, 67/J no houses. high rock, cave, beads put there involving Yana, on S. side Lower Deer Creek.
- 142 *Tc'uhdikūwi* 31, 67/J houses, S. Yana put there, on N. side of Lower Deer Creek [likely along Leininger Rd]
- 143 *P'īrāni* 71/B, C, & J Sulphur Creek. Original recording by Kroeber was for #7 above.
 [See also #7 *Pirī'ni*] [Note: On Sketch J, #143 is incorrectly placed, for #7 is Sulphur Creek on same map.]
- 144 *Xa'wan'a* 32, 67,69 Wintun place name at a stream (creek) in or at edge of valley, south of Deer Creek."
- 145 *E'lta'mi* 32, 67, 69 Wintun place when heard by Kroeber; village and a creek "to N. of Vina" in valley.
- 146 *Gaxséxa [Gahseha]* 32, 67 [hard to read?] Is in the Dry Creek area.
- 147 *Go'yum k'auna* 32, 36, 67, 69/Ishi-13 Maidu stream [Ishi described the Indians there as "hostile (Concow) Maidu Indians as well as having a "rich village" by this same name]. Powers (1877:283) wrote: "*Konkaw*" is from "*Ko'-yoang-kau*" [*Koyonkawi*], which is composed of *ko'yo*, "a plain," and *kau*, "the earth" or "a place." The Konkow Maidus were Ishi's Yana neighbors to the south. The pre-Oroville dam "basin" and Concow Valley basin in the Feather River drainages was their ancestral homeland.
 Note: *Koyonkawi* or *Konkow (Concow)* language had at least nine variations, such as Nemsu and Pulga dialects.
- 148 *Némawama-yahi* 32, 67, 69 = NimsheW Maidu stream, farther south than *Go'yum k'auna's* Feather River.
- 149 *Nemsawi'danna* 32, 69 = NimsheW Maidu stream farther south. *Orobilla xana* [water] = Feather River.
- 150 *Muk'audanteiwa* 32, 69 Wintun and "north of Deer Creek" [appears to be in Little and/or Big Dry Creek area.]
- 151 *Tciwa'i maldji* 32, 69 "to north of Vina" and Paswi Indians here (See below #159).
- 152 *Cuhun'i maldji* 32, 69 "to north of Vina and Deer Creek" [spelled *Suhun'i maldji*]. (*Suhun'i* = sycamore tree).
- 153 *Wópxuna* 32, 69 "a small stream" (in Valley?). Seems to be north of Deer Creek, in or near valley.
- 154 *Simk'a'ina* 32, 69 "all same cixa or sinái?"; also spelled *Simk'aina*. Seems to be north of Deer Creek, in or near valley.

<u>Number</u>	<u>Place Name</u>	<u>Page(s) / Sketch Map(s)</u>	<u>Ethnomapping Descriptions</u>
155	<i>Dātcapaumi yāhi</i>	32, 69	Seems to be north of Deer Creek, in or near valley [See below more, #159].
156	<i>Dahauyap ahdi</i>	2, 69	Seems to be north of Deer Creek, in or near valley [See below more, #159].
157	<i>Gā'mē'si</i>	30, 71/J	"Pope says Ishi tells him he lived here when young," (p. 30). "Pope says Ishi tells him he was raised here as a boy." (p. 71). Ishi's Sketch J shows the village of <i>Gā'mē'si</i> on the N. side of Deer Creek and along a drainage that runs down the slope along the east rampart of <i>Kiwīte</i> , #26 (Iron Mountain). This is in the vicinity of <i>B'uhī'ya</i> Creek (#115), which runs behind today's "Jackass Slide" ridge, also east of <i>Kiwīte</i> .
158	<i>Bo'pmayu'wi</i>	30, 35, 65/ J	houses - 2 places [and] by pin?? [pines? hard to read] On Ishi's Sketch J, about <i>Bo'pmayuwi</i> , Ishi described it as being "high" [far upstream?]. "hot springs." Described on Kroeber's page 30 field note page as "head of Deer Creek," [but is probably today's Child's Meadow proper, with hot springs, on N. side of today's Hwy 36, Mill Creek bridge crossing].
159	<i>Pasawi</i>	69	"Indians there" [Nothing found on page 69 for <i>Pasawi</i> .] But, A. L. Kroeber (1925:345) reviewed " <i>Pasawi</i> " of Big Dry Creek to the N. of Deer Creek with these details: "Other places in or near the valley, and presumably Wintun, were <i>Ha'wan'na</i> , south of Deer Creek; and to the north, <i>Éltámi</i> [#145] on Dry Creek; <i>Gahseha</i> [#146]; <i>Mukaudanchiwa</i> [#150]; <i>Shunhun'imaldji</i> [#152]; <i>Chiwa'imaldji</i> where the Indians of <i>Paswi</i> lived; <i>Dahauyap'ahdi</i> , on Dye Creek, north of Mill Creek; and <i>Dachapaumi-yahi</i> .
160	<i>Wa'tc'arāyuwi</i>	5, 35 /Ishi-13	houses [Evidently a village north of Mt. Lassen. To east of Battle Creek drainage].
161	<i>Pu'lpúlli</i>	5, 35/ Ishi-13	All same water; 2 places hot water (Ishi's name for Mt. Lassen on our trip). <i>piptcasi</i> -The water there. [To east of Sam Batwi's Central Yana/Battle Creek drainage.]
162	<i>Xāpti</i>	5, 35, /Ishi-13	houses long ago; <i>bi'tei</i> grows there. hunting there + at both places 2 for bear & deer [See below Fig. 2-A, Battle Creek Sam Batwi's Central Yana people.] [<i>bi'tei</i> grows? Closest name is <i>bileedam</i> Northern Yana word "species of root. See <i>dam(na)</i> - "Root with white blossom grows in swamps Y. recorded <i>dab'na</i> " Sapir and Swadesh 1960:52 and 69].
163	<i>Djixkulwalsi</i>	5/Ishi-13	[In Battle Creek, Central Yana, Sam Batwee's territory.] ☒ sun flower (<i>gāma</i>) grows there.
164	<i>Mahmápa</i>	5/Ishi-13	Same down creek, many people there long ago [on Battle Creek upstream from <i>Tc'uxneñxa</i> #45]. [In Battle Creek, Central Yana, Sam Batwee's territory.] ☒ sun flower (<i>gāma</i>) grows there.

Number Place Name Page(s) / Sketch Map(s) Ethnomapping Descriptions

165 *K'úwi-xa(ti)* 5, 35, /Ishi-13 Southern Yana [enclave, where Sam Batwi's passed his childhood here; See map of village, Fig. 15 on page 225; “A man who wanted to become a shaman (kúwi) went to swim, in certain pools. One such was near the village *Kú'wi-ha*, Medicine-man's-water, on Battle Creek; the village took its name from the lake or swamp where shamans gained power” (Sapir and Spier 1943:279).

166 *Hatiteā'mauna* 5, 35 /Ishi-13 “dead peoples' lake.” [thought by some to be Wilson Lake, off today's Hwy 36]. lake, *Matiyauna x ana* [?] [Curious in Sapir and Swadesh (1960:179, 189) are the Yāhi and Central Yana words: *marí' mi-yau(na)* + *xa(na)*. The former is a kinship or “people” related word, while the latter, *xa(na)*, means “water”].

Figure 16a & 16b.

Hatiteā'mauna
 (“dead peoples' lake”)



167 *Dju'lteamauna* 5 /Ishi-13 no houses; *gāma* grows there + at 5 + 6 [at #163 and #164].
 [☐ sun flowers = *gāma*; *Dju'lteamauna* located on N. bank of Upper Deer Creek.]

168 *Bak'pai* 5/Ishi-13 on N. side of Upper Mill Creek.

169 *'an'anāpa* 5/ Ishi-13 close together, no houses; located close to #168 and both on N. side of Upper Mill Creek].

170 *Daskema* 5, 35/ Ishi-13 by *hūar* (“pines here”) there; From Sapir and Swadesh 1960:176 is *Wu(na)* Y, *hu(na)* NC pine nuts; *huusi* N pine needles.] “Pines here” On N. side of Upper Mill Creek.

171 *Tò'wan'i* 5, 35/Ishi-13 “Mt” (mountain) [Conceivably Round Mountain, 4,126 feet in elevation, which is passed when traveling the Ponderosa Road down to today's Black Rock Camp ground. Round Mountain looms east of South Antelope Creek, which passes below Buck Flat where Col. Boles and J. Turner family encountered four “wild Indians” on about October 20, 1882. See more in anthropological trip's Day 4, about 5/16/14.]

172 *Tolòtcuanèyu* 5/ Ishi-13 many *wówi*. [Designated by Ishi as a “rich village”; located on N. side of Upper Mill Creek. There is none other than today's Black Rock Camp Ground].

Number Place Name Page(s) / Sketch Map(s) Ethnomapping Descriptions

173	<i>De'wihaumauna</i>	5, 35/Ishi-13	“high up” [Black Rock, the plug dome volcano on Upper Mill Creek, and on S. side of Upper Mill Creek].
174	<i>K'acmaxna</i> = #87	5/Ishi-13	On S. side of Upper Mill Creek.
175	<i>Òtc'olok'o</i>	5/Ishi-13	On S. side of Upper Mill Creek.
176	<i>K'andjauxa</i>	5/Ishi-13	On the N. side of Upper Deer Creek
177	<i>K'atchūwi</i>	5/Ishi-13	On the S. side of Upper Deer Creek Ishi also drew on his 1913 Sketch map that the // “head of salmon run” on Deer Creek was at <i>K'atchūwi</i> , invariably Deer Creek Falls on today's Hwy 32.

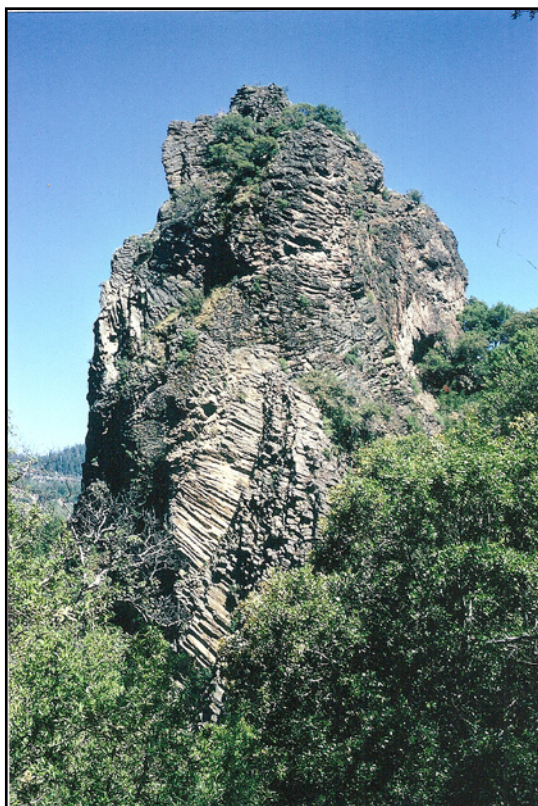


Figure 17.

De'wihaumauna #173

Black Rock in May 1974. Photo courtesy of Professor Wesley Dempsey of Chico, CA.



Figure 18.

K'atchūwi #177

Deer Creek Falls // “head of salmon run”
Photo by author on about 2008.

178	<i>P'uhī ya</i> =#115	5/Ishi-13	On the N. side of Upper Deer Creek
179	<i>Gahma</i> (<i>Bāxā'ni</i>) (See #23 above)	5/Ishi-13	Ishi's Upper Camp on Deer Creek was about 2 miles distant and upstream from Spiegel's Sulphur Creek homestead and about 4 miles distant from Ishi's Lower Camp (<i>Wó'wunupomu te'na</i>). <i>Gahma</i> and <i>Bāxā'ni</i> Proper names are interchangeable, extended to both sides of Upper Deer Creek.
180	<i>Yestc'inna</i>	5/Ishi-13	Kroeber (1925:345) speculated that this may be a former chief's name on Deer Creek. Ishi's 1913 Sketch map designated <i>Yestc'inna</i> as a “rich village” found on the N. side of Upper Deer Creek. When revisiting Ishi's Upper Camp (<i>Gahma</i> or <i>Bāxā'ni</i> Proper) in 1914, Kroeber recorded (on his page 31) from Ishi that “ <i>Bāxā'ni</i> belonged to <i>yistci</i> = Their chief of the <i>Yistcinna</i> Indians.”

Number Place Name Page(s) / Sketch Map(s) Ethnomapping Descriptions

181 *Tuliyani (or Dúliyani)* 5, 36 /Ishi-13 One of the “rich villages” on Upper Mill Creek at mouth of Boatgunwale). *Tuliyani* proper comprised terraces found on both sides of Upper Mill Creek. Ishi also drew on his 1913 Sketch map that the // “head of salmon run” (for Mill Creek) was at *Tuliyani*.
At the bottom of Ishi-13, Ishi reported "Memponna, name of a Wintun Chief; people came to Tulyani."

182 *Palúwi /P'úlsumuwu* 5, 36/Ishi-13 *P'úlsumuwu* (= Clover Creek) or *Palúwi* Sam's People
Kroeber (1914:36) wrote: *P'úlsumuwu* or *Palúwi* belongs to N. Yana. Acc. to J. Curtin *P'úlsumuwu* is Clover Cr. [Curtin 1899:531, *Pawi* = Clover Cr]. [On map by Sapir and Spier 1943:iv, *P'úlsumuwu* is NE of today's Millville on north side of today's Hwy 44. Close spelling is P'alū'wia near Inskip Hill. Upon traveling eastward from *P'úlsumuwu* about 12 miles, begins the Yanas' neighbors, the Atsugewi (Hat Creek) who Ishi called *Chunoya yahi*. About the name *Chunoya*, Alfred L. Kroeber (1925:345) wrote: "The Atsugewi of Hat Creek were called *Chunoya* and were friendly. Three chiefs were remembered: Pumegi, Badetopi, and Kanigi, besides a woman Wamaiki. They are said to have called the Yahi and perhaps all the Yana *Dip-mawi*."]



Figure 19.

Tuliyani (#181)

“Rich village” along Mill Creek.
Photo taken by author on May 25, 2007.



Figure 20a & 20b.

Palúwi #182

Clover Creek Falls at *Ba'ri'mauha*, NE of Millville, Millville Historical Society field trip on June 12, 2005. Photos courtesy of John A. Haner. “*Ba'ri'mauha*, Rushing-down-water at head of Clover Creek near a waterfall about two miles up from *P'awi*. There was said to be a sweat house there” (Sapir and Spier 1943:245).

Number Place Name Page(s) / Sketch Map(s) Ethnomapping Descriptions

- 183 *c ū'lixa* 5/Ishi-13 The only description is its location on S. side of Deer Creek with #104 *Yúlwa*.
- 184 *Baldjā'maisi* 5, 36/Ishi-13 Ishi equated this place name with *Tasma*; that both were "hostile Maidu." (See also above #104 Kroeber's remarks).
- 185 *Puimok* 5, 36/Ishi-13 Puimok Indians -friendly (This is a Wintun tribal distribution).

About the Puimok Indians, Alfred L. Kroeber (1925:345) wrote:

Most of the Maidu groups were less known to Ishi, hostility prevailing between them and the Yahi. The Puimok, whose speech Ishi called *Homoadidi* --the name Puimok is Wintun-- once killed two men and a child at *Milshna* [#62] [sic] at Six-Bit Ford on [Big] Dry Creek, between Deer and Mill Creeks. Evidently warfare between the two groups was on more even terms than the exaggerated American accounts indicate. The *Daidepa-yahi* seem to have been a Maidu division in the Big Meadows region, with a woman chief Yella.

[Most curious here is that "chief Yella's" apparent surname is also the Yahi word for "sister."].

end
axil

Wa moku - "Bear Claw Place" along Mill Creek. Theodora. Kroeber (1961:214-215) wrote:

Because they had stayed there for a while, they had given the spot a name, *Wamoku*, Bear's Claw Place, probably, and one of the claws was buried there in commemoration of the fight and the feast.

(This black bear was cinnamon-colored. Ishi crafted the second forepaw into a "medicine" necklace, which was stolen from Grizzly Bear's Hiding Place in 1908 and became "for a time" part of the James McCord Stilson Collection. It remains missing. It was apparently observed in Stilson's Chico home by an admirer who recalled seeing it, and later wrote about it, with publication of such in 1940 (See details, pages 43, 159 and 250-251). A necklace of bear claws = *buukhi'cau* (Sapir and Swadesh 1960:239).

Ishi made the hide into a fur cape blanket, which he called his *samani*.

Note: *Seemau(na)* -" blanket, deerskin" (Sapir and Swadesh 1960:217).

This *samani* Ike and Marse Speegle removed in December of 1906, from Ishi's storage cave at *Bāxā'ni* (inclusive of several other items). In 1914, Marse Speegle was persuaded by Ishi to return it, which he promptly did on June 2nd. It forms UCPHMA Cat. #1-19537.

Chuhnen-ha - Battle Creek (Kroeber 1925:345)

Halhala - Antelope Creek (Kroeber 1925:346), as opposed to *Tculhúwi* #43.

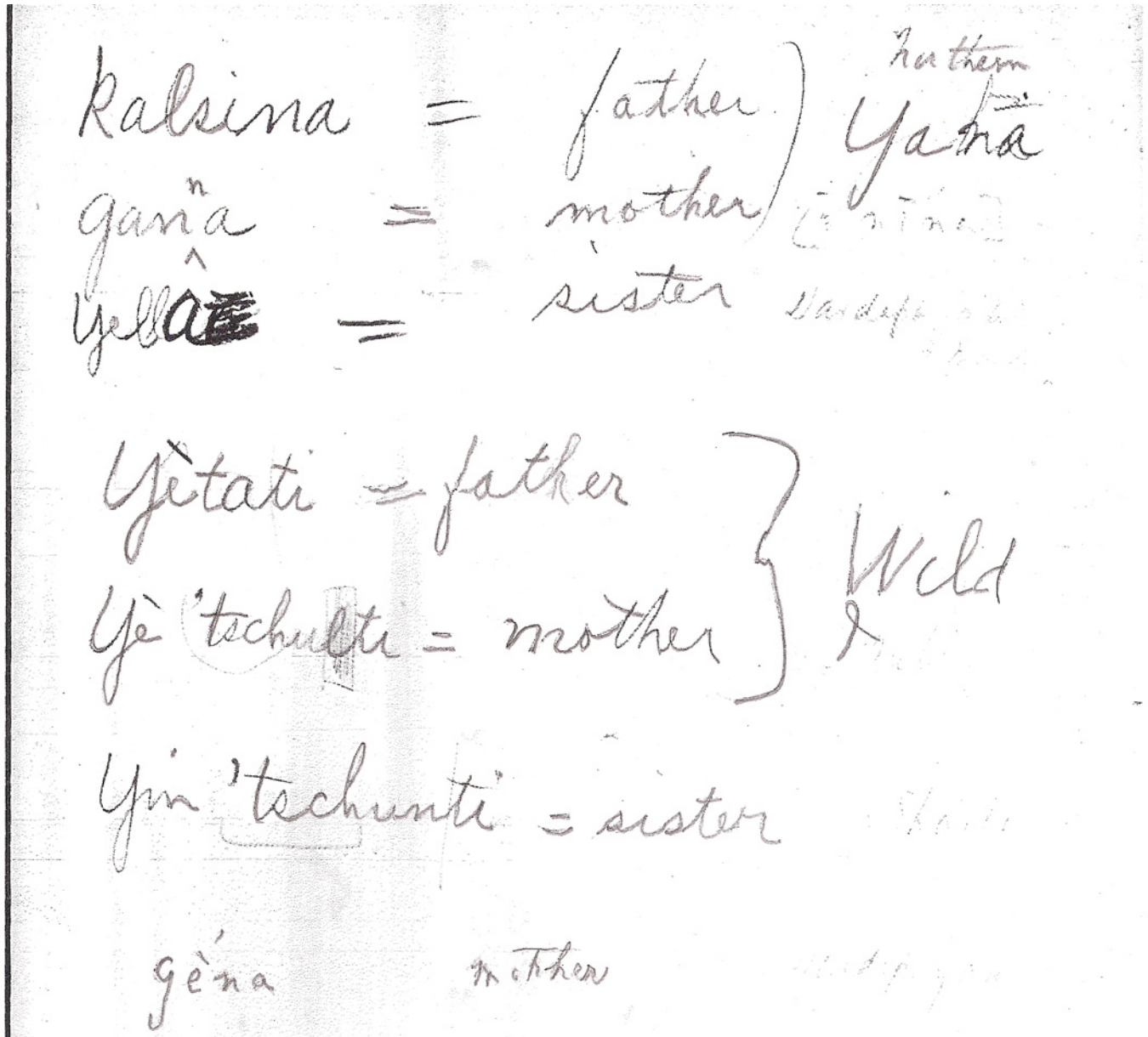
Uht'anuwi - Tuscan Buttes (Kroeber 1925:346)

Top! wi wi - Oroville (elicited from Ishi by T. T. Waterman in the jail and recorded on verso of his page 8 glosses).

APPENDIX B

Arguably Ishi's Father's, Mother's and Sister's Names

When Living "Wild" / Appears to be T. T. Waterman's handwriting



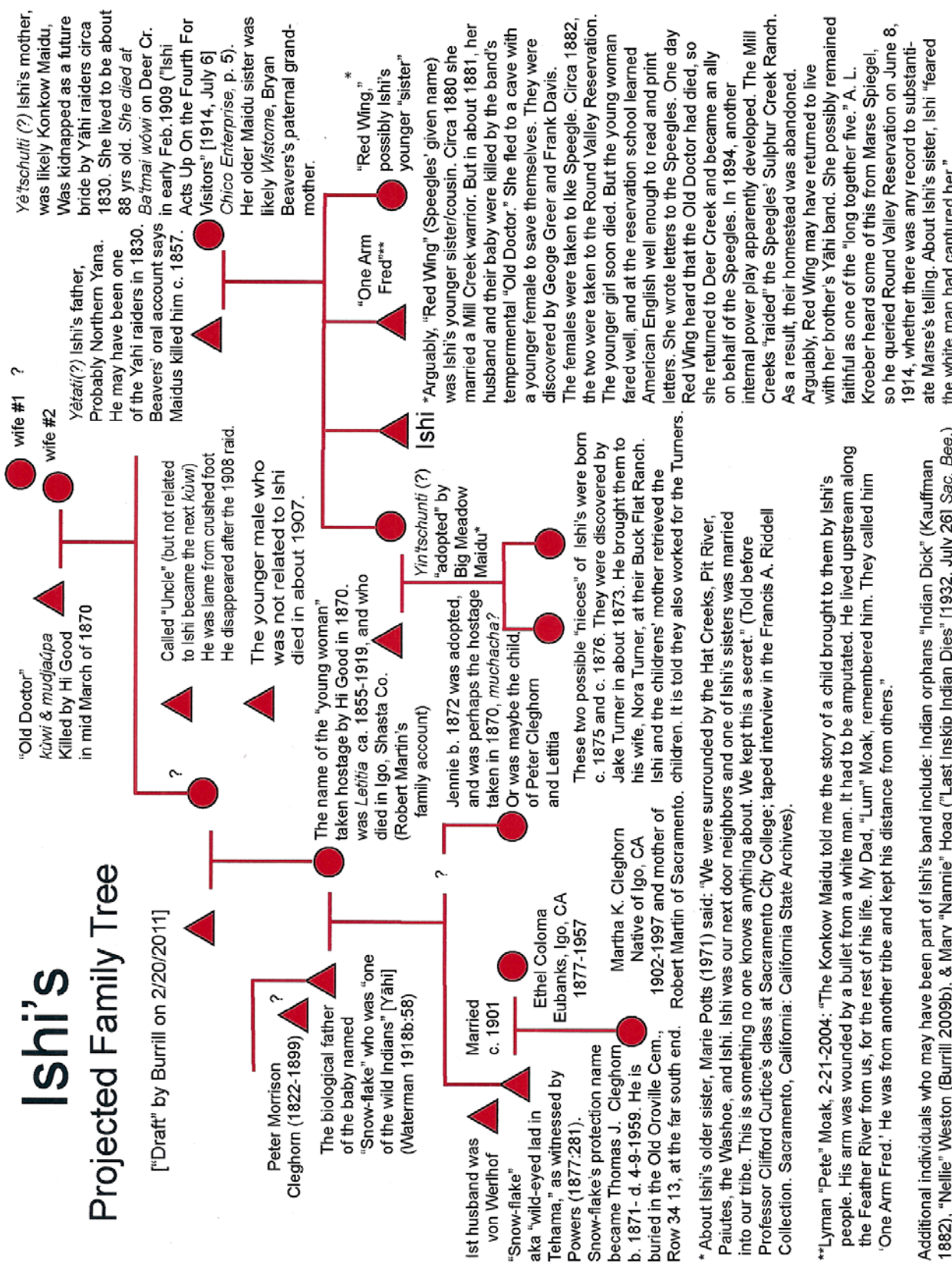
Of significance are also the respective geographical listings (Right side) for each of which two are discernible, namely, for *kalsina* = father, we have "Northern Yana"; for *yella* = sister, we have "Daidepa," which is "Big Meadows people" (See pages 65 and 217). For *ganna* = mother, her geographical location is not discernible. It looks to be five or six letters set inside brackets? It vaguely suggests [n ina] but maybe originally was [Baxā'ni] (See discussion of *Baxā'ni* on pages xiii, 13, 50, 52-53, 211, 219).

This page is from A. L. Kroeber Papers, BANC Film. 2049, Reel 161:367. The T. T. Waterman penciled writing (above) has been enhanced by the author for improved readability.

Courtesy of the University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library.

APPENDIX C

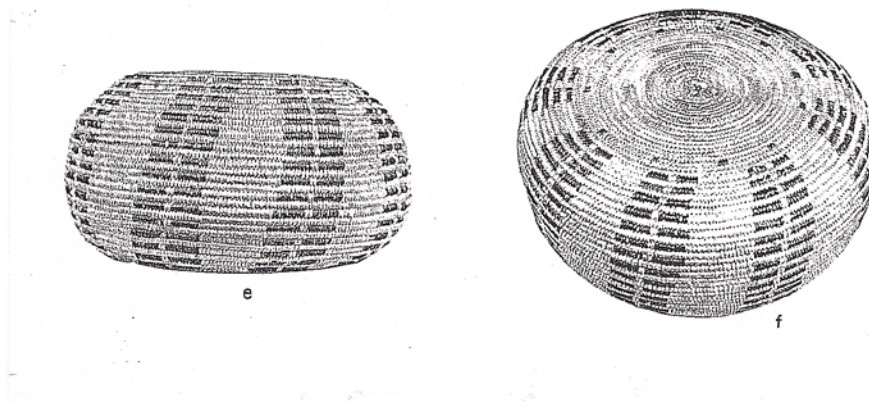
Hypothesized Yana and Maidu Family Tree For Ishi



APPENDIX D

Basket Taken Likely in 1871 From *P'ihnu* Cave (Table Cave), #46

UCMA Cat. No. #1-97859 – It is a coiled “gift basket” type; ovoid in cross section and round in outline. It was recovered in the traditional Yāhi homeland along Mill Creek, Tehama County, California and may have been traded from a neighboring tribe. Two buckskin loops are attached to the rim coil on diametrically opposite sides of the basket. These were probably attachments for a handle. The gift basket measures 21.5 cm in diameter and 10.5 in height. The mouth of the bowl measures 12.5 cm in diameter. The tightness of the basket is indicated by the fact that there are about 20 stitches per 2.5 cm or about eight coils per 2.5 cm. According to Martin Baumhoff (1957:55-56), this basket “is decorated with nine double vertical stripes, which are all dark red/brownish color, which begin at about the point where the basket starts to curve upward and extend to within 2 coils of the rim. The stripes cover a vertical distance of 36 coils. Each stripe thus runs from the bottom to the top of the basket and has a width of 3.5 cm.”



Figures A & B. UCMA Cat. No. #1-97859. It is a coiled, ovoid-shaped “gift basket.”

Provenience by Richard Burrill: UC Berkeley archaeologist Martin Baumhoff (1957:55) may have been mistaken with both (1) his conjecture that this basket “. . . seems to have been collected at Kingsley Cave. . . .” and (2) with his assumption that Kingsley Cave was the site of a “purported massacre” (Baumhoff 1955:41-42). Rather the data obtained in 1915 by Waterman [p. 21] from informant Frank D. Norvell and from Ishi (Apperson 1971:95) points to *P'ihnu* Cave was where the last and final “raid” (massacre) occurred using guns. Thus it follows that where Baumhoff (1957:55) reference, which said the basket was “. . . picked up by Norman Kingsley, during the last raid he led on the Modoc Indians [sic] and given to his wife as a trophy,” the place from where the basket was taken would not have been Kingsley Cave in 1871 but rather *P'ihnu* Cave).

Leo A. McCoy heard that Norman Kingsley was “slightly demented” who used his Smith and Wesson revolver instead of his Spencer Repeating Rifle to shoot the children, and apparently afterwards helped himself to this basket as his trophy or souvenir (Herbert South Gans Scrapbook [n. d.]. “Tales of Tehama.” Red Bluff: Tehama County Library, RC q979.427.)

About “Modoc Indians” (above) was a term used customarily for the “Mill Creeks.” The Lingenfelter Archives (1996) affirms that Norman Kingsley never married. It remains vague as to how the Kingsley clan sold the basket to the widow of Galen C. McCoy (1846-1911), whose full name and life-dates are: Isora Vickers McCoy (1856-1935).

In 1954, Miss Georgie Dell McCoy (daughter of her then deceased parents (Galen and Isora McCoy) donated the basket to UCMA at Berkeley. Also, about the McCoy clan of Red Bluff, Waterman’s McCoy family informant was Leo L. McCoy (1850-1936) with wife Emma (Bofinger) McCoy. They were “collectors of Indian relics of various kinds including Indian baskets” (Gans Scrapbook n. d.). Their two children were Alice McCoy and Leo Arian McCoy (1886-1970).

APPENDIX E

This Basket Was Possibly Taken “Long Ago” From “Cave of the Unknown” aka “Rock House Cave”

Probably *Teakinmannána* #40, located up Kingsley Gulch above Mill Creek.

The cooking basket's mouth measures 32.5 cm in diameter. Its base measures 16.6 cm in diameter. This basket is about 15 cm in height. The tightness of the basket is indicated by the fact that there are about 13 stitches per 2.5 cm or seven coils per 2.5 cm. It is decorated with “three” diagonally descending groups (patterns), each with five or six flanking triangles (flints or arrowheads?) on both sides of the descending patterns, which begin at about the point where that basket starts to curve upward and extend to within two coils of the rim. Its materials appear to be willow with the black decor of red bud dyed using oak bark or charcoal.

Photograph taken by Richard Burrill and courtesy of Steve Warren of Richvale, California. About DHAC -0162 taped recording, its catalog caption reads “examining baskets found in cave in Mill Creek canyon, and one from Yahi camp on Deer Creek, all in Chester Rose collection.” On November 2, 2002, this researcher located this same basket preserved in the Chester Rose and Ruby (Speegle) Rose private Museum in Chico, California by matching up photos taken of these same baskets in about 1971, by Samuel Jim Stewart of Chico, who provided copies of them in 2002 for this researcher (Dorothy Hill Anthropology Collection #0162 taped interview of Chester Rose and Lawrence Dawson, Meriam Library Special Collections, CSU, Chico).

Kroeber (1914) wrote on field note page 37 about Yahi place name *Kewa te'нна* #39: “Cave in Kingsley Gulch. Mineral Spring nearby” and, on the next line down, “baskets found in other cave near this.” The latter probably refers to *Teakinmannána* #40? Note: For future research: Is there another newspaper for the date, May 1, 1880, in Red Bluff's *Weekly People's Cause*, p. 2/3 titled “Kingsley Cave Items Found”? The only article this researcher found on page 2/3 is titled “The Wild Red Man Of the Mountains” and no Indian basket was described. Rather we read that Jim Girt “jumped up two Indians out of the brush near Kingsley Cave.” Another probably related source is that Waterman learned from his informant Darwin B. Lyon Jr., that: “Old basket came from cave above Deadman's cave, at Kingsley cove. Pitch wood still in cave” (T. T. Waterman's handwritten note on page 23 of Banc Mss, C-B 925 Carton 17, Folder 17-29).

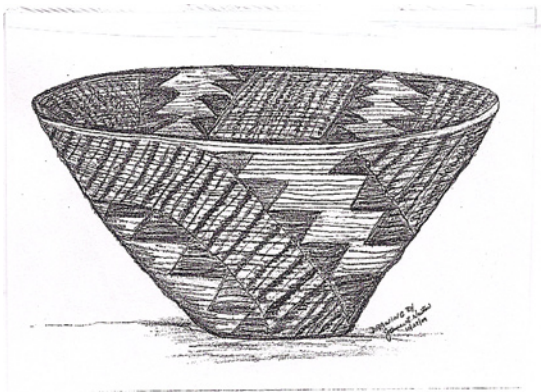


Figure A.

Drawing by
Janice Newton



Figure B.

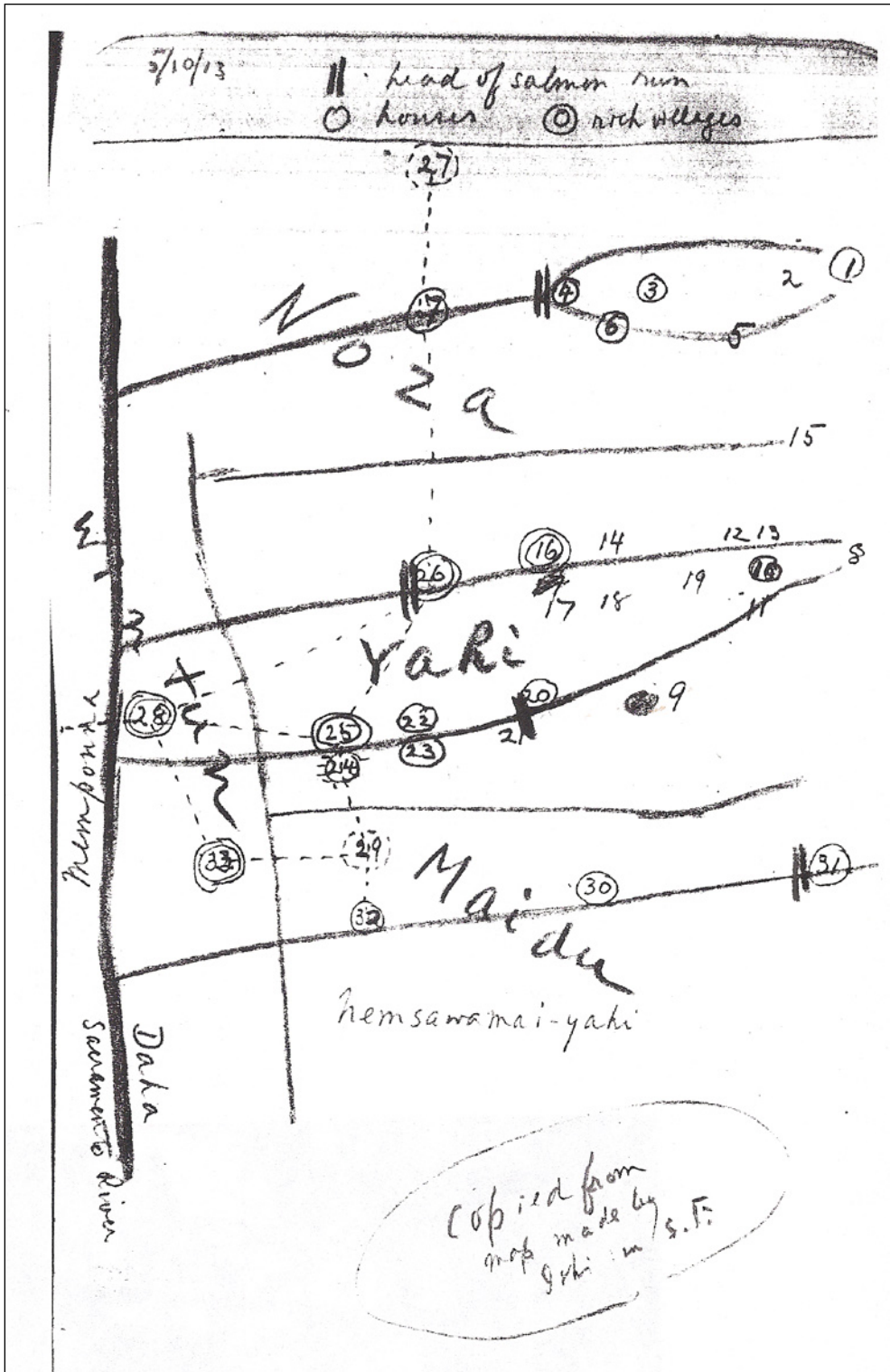
Photo by author, February 28, 2003 at Rose Family Museum, Chico, CA.

It is a “cooking basket” (aka “acorn flour receiving basket”). As interpreted by California basketry appraiser Mary Wahl of Chico, this basket has a tribal style of: Valley Maidu (possibly Mechoopda Maidu) or Nomlaki. Maidu trait is its bifurcation or splitting of the stitch; and only Valley Maidu used black dyed redbud. Itself a flared, coiled bowl, and ovoid in cross section and round in outline. Wahl remarked: “I feel this Maidu basket was traded to the Yahi/Yana.” This basket was part of the Chester and Ruby Rose Family Collection of Chico, California. In 2010, Steve Rose donated this artifact to the Museum of Northern California in Gridley, CA.

APPENDIX F

Ishi-13 Sketch Map

Ishi drew this first map on May 10, 1913.



Alfred L. Kroeber 1869-1972 Papers. BANC MS. C-B 925 Carton 17 Folder 17:36
Reprinted courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Ishi-13 Sketch Map Place Names

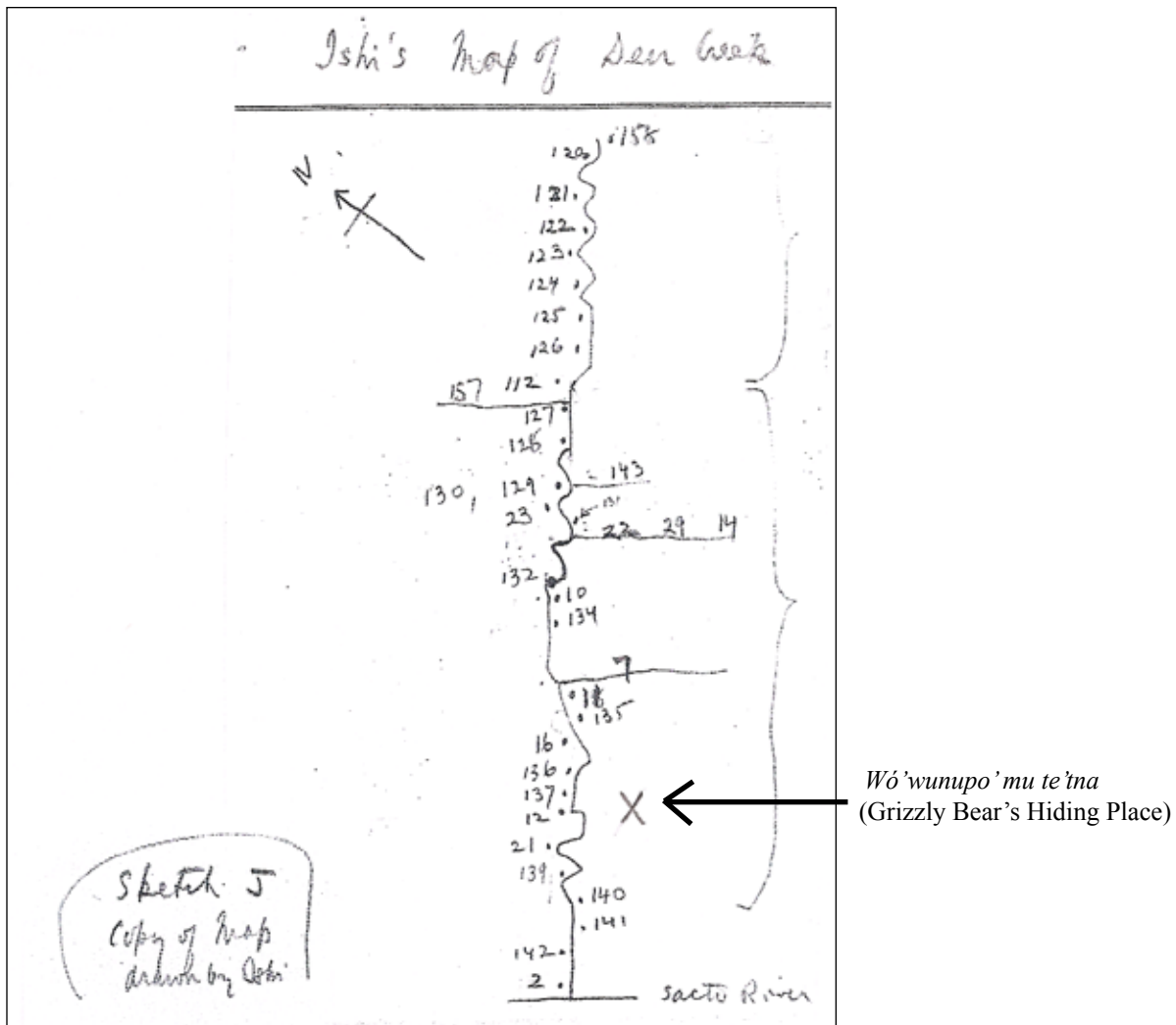
○ = houses

160	①	wa ² te ² arāyawi	
161	2	p ^u lpulli - hot spring	} Sam's people
162	③	xāpti	
45	④	te ² uxnənxa (head of salmon run)	
163	5	dyix kulwalsi (≠)	
164	⑥	maxmapa (≠)	
165	⑦	k ² awi-xati	≠ gāma group there
158	8	Bo ² ma-yuwi [- pipe]	} Ishi's people
166	9	katitcā-mauna (dead people's lake)	
1	⑩	bucguina (- "fox")	
167	11	djul ² ca-mauna (≠)	
168	12	bak ² pai	
169	13	'ax'anāpa	
170	14	daskema (y. pms)	
171	15	tō ² wax ² i (mt.)	
172	16	tolō ² teuawēyu (rich people here)	
173	17	de ² wihanmauna (high up)	
174	18	k ² acmanna { " " }	
175	19	ōt ² olok ² o { " " }	
176	⑳	k ² an dyauxa	
177	㉑	k ² ātchāwi (no salmon above here)	
178	㉒	p ^u khīya	
179	㉓	gahna	
184	24	yulwa and 'ā ² lixa 183	
180	㉔	yest ² inna	
181	㉕	tuliyani (no salmon above here)	
182	(27)	P ² alsumuwa (= Clover Creek) or Paluwi. Sam's People	
2	㉖	palixa (- malhi a woman chief) Wintun	
185	(29)	Puimok Indraus - friendly Mardu	
192	㉗	te ² upluidi	} hostile Mardu
102	㉘	tasma or baldjāmai: 184	
147	㉙	goyumk ² axna	
116	33	sāya (Kinnuitic chief; friendly) Wintun	
		Mompoma, name of a Wintun chief; people came to Tuliyani ㉚	

Professor Kroeber's "finalized" assigned numbers are in the column, far left. Reprinted courtesy of the University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library.

APPENDIX G

Ishi's Sketch J Map of Deer Creek with Yahi place names from Vina to Child's Meadow,
 Alfred Kroeber, Yahi Place Names, Reel 161, A. L. Kroeber Papers, BANC FILM 2049.
 Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.



- #158 *Bopma yuwi* (see top) - Summer camp with “hot springs” (Likely today’s Child’s Meadow along Hwy 36).
 - #157 *Gā'mē'si* - "Pope says Ishi tells him he was raised here as a boy" (Kroeber 1914:71).
 - #23 *Bāxā'ni* proper (aka *Gahma*) – Ishi’s Upper Camp with houses on both sides. Also where Ishi’s mother died in Feb. 1909.
 - #126 *Ba'tmai wówi* - *ganna* [“mother”] and "sweathouse is here."
 - #131 *Hútculli* – “doctor’s water cave near Deer Creek Crossing, Spiegel’s ford (Kroeber 1914:30).
 - #22 *Han mā'wi mā'du*– “Rock to which legend applies” where Ishi told of his the dead deer spirits who go down inside hole of rounded lookout tower with horizontal white streaks or “ropes” girdling rock.
 - #10 *Tc'ayè'madu* - Abandoned Spiegel homestead [Note: #10 and #134 (above) should have been switched based on Sketch B].
 - #134 *Kuiya'u mā'du* – Coyote’s house M. Spiegel homestead (Kroeber 1914:67).
 - #7 *Pirī'ni* - Sulphur Creek by Speegles’ Cow Camp.
 - #11 *Yā'mu' luk'u* - also the base camp during anthropological trip in 1914.
 - #16 *Tcapā'launa* –The village flat visited with abandoned house pits and place of one of the last massacres (Kroeber 1914:67).
- X *Wó'wunupo' mu te'na*; (Grizzly Bear’s Hiding Place). See “X” above on south side of Deer Creek.
- #139 *Dji'k'i'lxa* - cave, between the rocks and the trail, on N. bank of Lower Deer Creek
 - #140 *Pamstsà'mi* - sweathouse at S. Yana village, on S. side, Yana.
 - #2 *Balè'xa* - Wintun village and sweathouse, near Vina and *Daa-xa* (Sacramento River).

NOTES

SYNOPSIS

(PAGE ix)

ix Ishi [pronounced ISH-ee]: This is the pronunciation that Mrs. Theodora Kroeber heard her husband, Professor Alfred L. Kroeber, pronounce. Yet, Dr. Saxton Pope (1925:15) wrote, "Ishi is pronounced E-she."

MAPS

x Figure 7. Map –*Terra Incognita* - From the area of modern-day Portland, Oregon, an overland party headed by George Foster Emmons (1811-1884) was directed to proceed via an inland route to San Francisco Bay. This Emmons party traveled south along the Siskiyou Trail, including the Sacramento River, making the first official recorded visit by Americans to and scientific note of Mount Shasta, in northern California. The Emmons party rejoined the ships, which had sailed south, in San Francisco. Source: wikipedia

A.L. KROEBER

(PAGES xv-xviii)

xvi A. L. Kroeber's Western Union telegram. Sent August 30, 1911 to Butte County Sheriff is preserved in the A. L. Kroeber Correspondence, Records of the Department of Anthropology C-U 23 Box 10 University Archives, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

xvi Helen Hunt Jackson. This activist writer wrote newspaper articles and directly to government officials. In 1882, she published *A Century of Dishonor* about the adverse effects of government actions, and sent a copy to each member of the US Congress. She also gained the widest public in 1884 with her novel *Ramona*, dramatizing the ill treatment by the United States (US) government of California Indians in southern California.

Ramona was generally received more as a romance than political novel. In addition to remaining in print, it was adapted for a play and three films, released from 1925 to 1936.

xviii Biographies about A. L. Kroeber. They include: Theodora Kroeber's 1970 *Alfred Kroeber: A Personal Configuration*. Berkeley: University of California Press; Julian Steward 1961 *Alfred Louis Kroeber 1876-1960 American Anthropologist* Vol. 63 No. 5, part 1; Eric R. Wolf 1981 *Alfred L. Kroeber*. In Sydel Silverman, ed. *Totems and Teachers: Perspectives on the History of Anthropology*, pp 35-66. New York: Columbia University Press.

T. T. WATERMAN

(PAGES xix-xxi)

xix Best resource. My best resource about T. T. Waterman was his wonderful daughter, Miss Helen Mariah Waterman, living in Seattle, Washington. This writer maintained a steady correspondence with her for ten years (See Fig. 36).

SAXTON T. POPE
(PAGES xxii-xxiv)

xxii Lillienthal. In 1895, when 19 years old, Pope's new passion was flying machines. Otto Lillienthal's 2,000 glider flights enthralled Saxton Pope Sr., enough that he built his own prototype monoplane glider. His bold attempt to soar on January 26, 1895 made the local newspaper. His attempt took place at Camp Reynolds on Angel Island, located 2 miles NW from Alcatraz. He was three feet above the cliff when one guide chord snapped, which ended his maiden voyage. "Floated in the Air" *San Francisco's Daily Morning Call* (1895, January 27), page 1. Lillienthal died in 1896 in a glider attempt.

xxii Location. Where was the UC Medical School located that the Popes attended and graduated from with honors in 1899? Ans: The Affiliated Colleges faculty had no sooner moved into their new quarters on Parnassus Avenue in late 1898. [<http://history.library.ucsf.edu/1899.html>]. Apparently before 1898, the medical school was in the North Beach district for: "In 1864, he [Hugh Huger Toland b. 1806, d. 1880] decided to establish a medical school in San Francisco and purchased land for that purpose in North Beach, at Stockton and Francisco, opposite the San Francisco City and County Hospital. A handsome building was soon completed, and Toland Medical College was open for enrollment.)Retrieved online from the "history library, UCSF).

xxiv Admirers of Dr. Pope. A big admirer of Dr. Saxton T. Pope was Dr. Leo Eloesser who wrote, "The City and County Hospital of San Francisco," *American Journal of Surgery Vol. 118* (October, 1969).

SAXTON T. POPE JR.
(PAGE xxiv)

xxiv Taped oral history. Only weeks before Dr. Saxton T. Pope Jr., death, on December 9, 1972, he was interviewed on tape about his memories of Ishi and the 1914 anthropological trip by Marshall H. Kuhn, papers ms #84/115. Berkeley, California: Bancroft Library

ISHI
(PAGE xxv)

xxv Ishi photo. The Ishi "full face" image was enhanced by Roger Anderson from UCMA Cat. #15-5412 photo which was taken in 1911 by Alfred L. Kroeber in San Francisco.

PREFACE
(PAGES 1-6)

2 In 1997, this writer had the privilege to meet and interview, Virginia (Pope) "Ginny" Evans and her husband Keith Evans who hailed from Australia. They married in Bathhurst, Australia, July 18, 1929. Virginia (Pope) Evans (March 8, 1908 – December 29, 2009) died peacefully at her home in Carmel, California.

2 A second letter. Mrs. Virginia Pope Evans wrote:

Tues. April 22, 97

Dear Mr. Burrill

I enjoyed our talk

The other day, too I remember the story of my father's breaking some toe bones to straighten them and then making (cobbling) shoes with stalls inside for his toes so they would stay straight—
No wonder he admired Ishi's natural untortured feet.

I remember that Sunday dinner too, with Ishi studiously avoiding talking to my mother as he thought it indelicate, bad mannered to speak directly to her.

I also look forward to our visit in May or June and showing you the old snap shots.

Sincerely

Virginia Pope Evans

4-5 Ishi's likely birth year as likely about 1854 -- T. T. Waterman believed Ishi was born in about 1854, which bears out as most probable for this Ishi chronicler as well. Yet, even though Theodora Kroeber (1961:57) boasted how "Waterman's monograph "The Yana Indians" (1918), is the principal single coordinating source for the miscellaneous materials, and must remain so," Theodora Kroeber (1961:87) criticized Waterman's witness, William J. Seagraves, with: "He was mistaken. Ishi was a little boy in 1870."

PART ONE. GRIZZLY BEAR'S HIDING PLACE, THE SECRETIVE YEARS, AND CAPTURED

CHAPTER 1. DISCOVERED (PAGES 7-48)

9 For *Pitcx(a)náitcka* (#30) village, see Kroeber 1914 "Ishi's Yahi Place Names." Because Ishi was most descriptive of *Pitcx(a)náitcka* proper along Mill Creek, this writer contends that this may be Ishi's birth place. The "rich village" called *Tuliyani*, a kind of "suburb" about two miles upstream from *Pitcx(a)náitcka*, is another possible birth place for Ishi (See Fig. 10 map).

9 "A man named Seagraves . . . Waterman 1918:57; Kroeber 1914 "Ishi's 185 Yahi Place Names" 30, 31, 33, and 46.

9 "Ishi's heritage was . . . Hypothesis for Ishi's father see Ch. 2, page 62; for Ishi mother, see Ch. 2, pp. 63-64.

9 "In 1857 the situation . . . About *da'wana* ("crazy"), see *daawan?* in Sapir and Swadesh 1960:68, 221. Sapir 1910:87, lines 7-9: "So! Now weeping, now dancing in grief he Coyote putting dirt on his face a earth. He did like to him who is crazy." Ishi's pidgin English word for crazy was "carrazy" that Kroeber recorded as such first on September 10, 1913 in San Francisco.

9 "game was very plentiful," as related by W. J. "Chief" Compton (1936:3).

9 "Three Knolls battle on Mill Creek" This occurred in the early morning of August 14, 1865.

9 "reduced to not far from fifty," from Curtin (1899:519) who interviewed survivors of the 1864 General Massacre, which started in Shasta County and spread.

9 "older Indians in the foothills" who helped the boy "Ned" kill Hi Good comes from Robert Anderson (1909:83) implicated the "older Indians" in the foothills for helping kill the settler's hero, Hi Good.

9 "last massacre of the Yahi on Mill Creek in April 1871" was at *P'ihnu* Cave (Table Cave) according to Ishi (Apperson 1971:95) and was likely the cave Frank D. Norvall described involving Norman Kingsley.

9 That Ishi's band . . . had "skooted to Deer Creek" was related to me in July, 2010, by Barry Gravier. He told me that: "Merle also said to me Ishi told him he had moved to Deer Creek at that time."

Gravier added, "Merle Apperson told me that his dad, Jack Apperson, when a young man went into the Mill Creek area of Kingsley Cave and shot the Indians there." Note: *P'ihnu* Cave is in the area of Kingsley Cave Gulch, downstream about two miles.

9 "In 1908, four Yahi were left," was reported by T. Kroeber 1961:109 who presumably learned this from her husband, Alfred Kroeber.

10 About vintage flipped photograph (Fig. 40) - "The Last Refuge of the Yahi Tribe" & "Glimpse of Deer Creek in its Cañon" which forms UCMA Cat. Number 15-5877, and taken by Saxton Pope in 1914, was mistakenly flipped horizontally when published, making it difficult to recognize where precisely the photographer took his picture.

13 Isaac "Ike" Mead Speegle hailed from Gizzard Creek, Tennessee and traveled to California in 1853 with brothers Newton Speegle and Jasper Speegle (Leo and Jessie Speegle 1984). Isaac settled in the Chico area and on April 1, 1884, purchased 80 acres of Deer Creek property (The W ½ of SE ¼ of Section 7 in the Township 25N, R2E).

Lisa Speegle's preliminary review of her family's land history provided the author reads:

80 acres parcel #7 - 1883 CPRR; William Whiteline 1884; I. M. Speegle 1887; Nash 1911; Goodwin 1911; Holton 1915; Oro Electric 1916; P.G. & E. 1917; Apperson, 1922.

It appears likely from the above, but it is not confirmed, that William Whiteline in 1883, became the first private citizen to obtain the Deed (D) for Section 7 (which Lisa Speegle calls "parcel #7 of T25N, R2E) from the railroad. It remains doubtful that Whiteline improved on said property; that, as grantee that very next year he sold 80 acres to Isaac M. Speegle in 1884, which became the Speegles' Sulphur Creek Ranch, and this transaction was apparently "filed" in 1887.

It is also noted from Lisa Speegle's land history that in 1911 a man named "Goodwin" owned the 80 acres, not the Speegles any longer, which included the brief span (May 14-30, 1914) when Ishi returned with his interested party for the anthropological trip.

Note: The years for early official maps of Tehama County are: 1878, 1887, 1903, 1926. One map found by George Thompson of Special Collections, Meriam Library, CSU, Chico, shows Isaac Speegle owning two land parcels in Section 18 of TN25, R2E. On this same map Oct. 12, 1883 is date for all CPRR listings. Original filing of this map was June 26, 1873.

- The Speegle clan (See Speegle Family Chart below in Ch. 3 Notes) was led by Isaac "Ike" Mead Speegle (1839-1914) who had a cattle ranch on Campbell Creek, north of Chico, and summered at Sulphur Creek Camp in the mountains above and near Deer Creek. In 1884, he purchased the 80 acres in Section 7 at the Sulphur Creek confluence with Deer Creek. Isaac Speegle's first wife was Nigaria Bible (1849-1878). Their children were Ida May Speegle Apperson Black (1868-1945) and Isaac Marsena "Marse" Speegle (1870-1948). After the death of his first wife, Isaac married Elizabeth "Lizzie" (Sauber) Mountain who had a son Arthur Mountain and a daughter Grace Mountain. "Ike" Speegle and Elizabeth Mountain Speegle had two children, Ruby Priscilla (Speegle) Rose and Philip Mead Speegle.

Marse Speegle married Della Dotherow in June of 1895, and had seven sons, Homer, Leo, Baby Speegle, Clyde, Melvin, Joe, and Glen Speegle.

Ruby Priscilla Speegle married Chester Rose of Chico and had three sons, Laverne, Warren, and Philip Rose.

Philip Mead Speegle married Helen Yeager and had one son, Raymond Mead Speegle.

14-15 Yana Spiritualism. While there was so much attention over Ishi's Yahi name, which according to custom he must not divulge, it remains curious that neither Kroeber, Waterman, Pope, Sapir, nor Gifford elicited from Ishi what his Yahi/Yana name was for Creator i.e., The Big God or The Big Spirit was. While *Ko'doyapem* and *Wo-nomi* lived in the hearts of the neighboring Maidus (Powers 1877:292-304), the Yahi's equivalent name(s) of the "great voice of Nature" remain obscure. Were the popular forces of Marxism and Secularism influencing the questions that the men of science asked Ishi? While Yana myths and lore were set down by Curtin (1899), Gifford and Klimek (1936), and by Sapir [posthumously] with Spier (1943), they comprised only Northern Yana and Central Yana lore, not the Southern Yana/Yahi lore. About the southernmost Yana language family dialects, Lassen Volcanic Natural Park's Ranger and Author, Paul E. Schulz (1954 [1988]), in *Indians Of The Lassen Area*, did qualify that:

It is extremely unlikely that there would be very great differences in their legends and beliefs of creation. Obviously each tribe had its own unique details (1954:157-158 or 1988:146-147)

Ach'et le and the underlying belief of pantheism. The name, *Ach'et le*, passed across the lips of an orphaned boy named "Indian Dick," only after he emotionally recovered from the trauma of the Black Rock massacre which occurred in "February 1860," according to Chris Kauffman (1882). This youth who was rescued by Kauffman might have been Yahi, and told the Kauffman family that *Ach'et le* was his tribe's name for the "Big God." Speaking in reference to several sources (Power 1877, Forbes 1973, Bean 1975, Beck 1990; see also 2:4 Sacred Power with Bibliography in Burrill 1994:155-163), the Creator or causative agent(s) endowed into the Land its sentient and conscious Force called spiritual Power ("medicine").

In regards to Ishi, in 1914, having led Kroeber and Waterman to a “power spot” called *Xā'tetna* (#21a) along Upper Deer Creek, another Native belief, which is repeated across North America, is about special places or landmarks called “doctor rocks” or “power spots.” That *Xā'tetna* (#21a) apparently had a protective relationship to nearby Grizzly Bear’s Hiding Place, comes from Kroeber’s 1914 field notes and sketch maps preserved at the Bancroft Library. *Xā'tetna* (#21a) is part of Kroeber’s comprehensive list of 185 Yahi place names. This researcher has compiled Kroeber’s 1914 data (elicited from Ishi) and it is placed in this work as Appendix A titled “Ishi’s 185 Yahi Place Names.”

Ishi’s sunrise and sunset ritual: Melvin Speegle observed in 1914, as presented before anthropologist Dorothy Hill’s anthropology class in 1971. Transcribed from the preserved tape-recording by the author, “He [Ishi] was a very religious man. Every morning as the sun would come up, he would stand with his hand over his heart and look at that sun; and the same thing in the evening; stand in silence. He would just put his hand [here].”

15 Spiegel’s laughing woman recorded amongst the *Xā'tetna* lore -In the reprinted Kroeber (1914) notes of Ishi’s from page 55, third paragraph, which reads: “*Xā'tetna* are spirits - men + women, call hahaha* (was Spiegel’s laughing woman!).” Here we have a bit of Ishi’s humor exposed that was preserved by Kroeber. Arguably, a play on words of Ishi’s that was “ha’haha,” is Ishi’s acquired pidgin English for “someone laughing.”

During the anthropological trip of 1914, Kroeber and Waterman would discern about Ishi his long established resentment towards Marse Spiegel, which involved stealing vital items from a cave upstream that caused great hardships for Ishi and his band. Ridicule was a widely practiced California Indian strategy to make a point or to foment change. Gesturing with the evil-eye was another. Ishi’s cultural ploy of casting a spell on a rival was available. Or would venting for Ishi result in Ishi punching Marse Spiegel in the face?

25 Properly spelled Meryl Apperson, not Merle Apperson? It is observed on page 117 of Cheryl (Conard) Hasse 2005 book *Too Many Irons In The Fire* (Red Bluff, CA: Canyon Vista Ranch) that “Merle” Apperson signed his own name below his photo as “Meryl Apperson.” See far right in wide photo of the 1927 Grand Entry 9th Annual Chester Rodeo.

25-27 Deer head decoy mask and photos shown Ishi. On September 6, 1911, Thomas Waterman would show Ishi in San Francisco the deer head decoy artifact (Figures 74 & 75) taken from Ishi’s Lower Camp and his set of 1909 photos (Figures 52-55) he took of Grizzly Bear’s Hiding Place taken. Witnessing Ishi’s reaction was *The San Francisco Call’s* editor Mary Ashe Miller (1911), who wrote: “These he [Ishi] recognized at once . . .”).

29 Fourth arrow. According to family history, Ruby (Speegle) Rose would tell school groups visiting the private Rose family museum on Nord Avenue in Chico: “The fourth arrow [far right] is the one that Ishi shot at Uncle Jack.” It is the only one of the four shaft-painted arrows (six arrows in all) with two rows of diagonal dots (9 dots painted blue & 8 dots painted red). Arrow from Grizzly Bear’s Hiding Place, November 6, 1908.

Two piece compound shoot shaft arrow, possibly hazel, 32 ¾” overall with an 11 ¼” fore shaft. Three hawk feathers lashed with sinew. Shaft painted with red and blue design. No point on its fore shaft. Richard Burrill Photograph Collection.

29, 32 Another account of “an arrow zipped through the interrogator’s hat.” by W. J. “Chief” Compton 1936 July titled “The Story of Ishi, the Yana Indian” *Ye Sylvan Archer*, pp. 1-3:

“. . . the ranchers in and around Deer Creek decided to put in a big ditch for irrigation purposes, the water was to be taken out of the upper reaches of Deer Creek. In the course of time the surveyors were on the job running the line through the chaparral where the ditch was to go and it so happened one evening, at the close of the day’s work, that four or five of the crew started for their camp which was on the opposite side of Deer Creek.

When they arrived at the creek bank they discovered that the creek was unusually high, and, as they had approached it at a point that was strange to them, they were discussing the feasibility of the particular spot for a crossing. They were on horses and as they entered the water the splashing and clattering of their horses was drowned by the roaring of the high waters of the creek.

As they followed the riffle where the water was the shallowest, they were going on an angle and had just passed an elbow in the creek bank which had obscured their vision as to what was immediately beyond this projection. The riffle led them within a few feet of this shoulder. When they had advanced into the water so they could see what was behind the turn in the bank, they saw a naked Indian with a spear in his hand watching for salmon trout. He discovered them at the same instant and he ran at them, salmon spear poised for a throw.

The horsemen scattered, and scrambled across the creek anywhere. They rode into camp and told the others about seeing the wild Indian, but, as the days ran into weeks and no Indian was seen again the camp commenced to doubt the story of those who claimed to have seen a naked Indian fishing with a salmon spear.

About a year later after they found him fishing in the creek, they encountered him again in a most peculiar manner. Two men from this same surveying crew, one of whom was with the party when they found him the first time, were riding along on horses when the one who had been present at the first encounter suddenly exclaimed that they were in the vicinity of the spot where they discovered the wild Indian. His companion greeted this information with a laugh and said "You fellows must have had some kind of a pipe dream about that Indian as no one except you fellows has ever seen him. Where is he now?"

Just as he asked the question an arrow zipped through the interrogator's hat. There were no more questions regarding this whereabouts. They were both of the same mind instantly: that without doubt they had found out where he was—for the moment at least. Having decided this very quickly and positively, they departed from that vicinity, pronto, in a cloud of dust headed for camp.

When they told the story, the hunt was on to find the Bowman that had loosed the almost fatal shaft. The whole crew turned out for the hunt as they were all convinced that there were wild Indians around and uncomfortably close by. So they started to search all the big thick patches of chaparral, and they found the camp in the thickest of the growth. Just a brush wickiup, the corner posts of which were scarcely larger than a man's thumb. The roof was brush with bark laid on top. There was also a deep wide hole in the ground that they would fill with snow in the winter to furnish water for the camp.

- At the time of discovery by the ditch crew only a very old woman was at home and she was in bed sick. Where the Indians had gone they could not even guess as in their departure left no trail.

36, 38 Two rhetorical questions. Would we have ever known of Ishi if he had killed Jack Apperson with one of his arrows on November 6, 1908? Would we have ever known of Ishi had Jack Apperson not shown the "hide quiver and several painted arrows" to the unnamed editor of the *Chico Record* who, in turn, published on page 8 the discovery story of Ishi's Lower Camp? This story and several others went on the wire, which alerted Waterman and Kroeber that a band of aboriginally-living Indians existed in the northern California foothills: "Camp of wild Indian reported found in Deer Creek Canyon" (1908, November 10) *Chico Record*, p. 8.

45 Philip Rose described the arrow shot at Jack Apperson as the "polka dotted arrow" (one of six arrows added to the Ishi exhibit in Sacramento). Philip Rose told Richard Burrill that "Ruby would tell school groups, 'The fourth arrow is the one that Ishi shot at Uncle Jack.'"

However, in 2001, the assigned Dept. Parks and Recreation curator placed this caption as part of the revised Ishi exhibit: "This arrow was shot through Jack Apperson's hat while he was riding in a buggy near Cohasset. The other arrows were found near Deer Creek and Sulphur Creek. Gift Of the Chester & Ruby Rose Estate."

The Oral History of Arrow shot at Jack Apperson - Eva Marie Apperson (1971:50) and Theodora Kroeber (1961:112) both tell that an arrow whizzed close to "Apperson." Eva Marie's *We Knew Ishi* says it was "Dad" Apperson, Eva Marie's father-in-law. Mrs. Kroeber gives Merle's name as the one.

A different version comes from Vina Stockman Jerry Stephens Sr., who knew Merle Apperson personally. This researcher tape recorded Stephens on December 6, 1996. Stephens went on record that Merle Apperson told him, "No one shot an arrow at anybody [in 1908]!" Also, Merle had told Stephens that, "Dad Apperson wasn't even there [in 1908]!"

Eva Marie Apperson tells that Ishi shot the arrow shortly after their camp had been found. Part of the Rose oral family history passed down, is that their "arrow #4, is the very arrow that Ishi shot at Jack Apperson. Charles Herrick who was with Jack Apperson at the time is said to have retrieved the arrow. Upon retreating, the arrow was shown to the survey team, which convinced them to join in the search for the Indian encampment. Maybe Jack and Ida May Apperson kept the arrow for a time, and then in a responsible moment, gave the arrow to either Ruby Speegle Rose and her husband Chester Rose of Chico or to Harry and Grace Keefer. The six arrows that ultimately were bequeathed to Philip Rose (See Figures 85 and 86), it is said were the arrows Harry Keefer had collected in 1908 from Ishi's camp.

The six arrows that were taken from Grizzly Bear's Hiding Place by hunter/guide Harry Keefer on November 6, 1908, as well as the four arrows that Jack Apperson took maybe reasonably considered made by Ishi based on Dr. Saxton T. Pope's detailed description of Ishi's standard arrow marking design, which Ishi continued to apply on the new arrows Ishi made and used when living in San Francisco.

How To Identify Ishi's Standard Arrow Marking Design:

Dr. Pope assured Hackley (1911) that the patterns are those used by Ishi on his own arrows. Ishi's cresting pattern: The after portion, between the feathers, is ornamented with ringed and zigzag patterns in blue and dark red, one of the arrows having a different pattern from the others."

Ishi's standard design that he marked onto his arrow shafts usually consisted of alternating rings of red and blue a quarter of an inch wide, with a wide space between two groups of the stripes, sometimes occupied by red or blue dots, or snaky lines running lengthwise. This is based on: observed remarks published by Dr. Saxton T. Pope Sr., who knew Ishi; markings on eight arrows now in museums all taken out of Grizzly Bear's Hiding Place; in 1908; plus the alternating rings of red and blue also appear on the "Glen Speegle-Ishi" arrow that Ishi made in San Francisco circa 1913 or 1914.

That the serpentine design symbolized the power of rattlesnake is purely speculation. Ishi never said this was so. This writer contends that more possibly the "serpentine" design was emblematic of the lightning bolt. This concept may have influenced Ishi, having come from possibly Atsugewi and/or Achomawi sources.

Dr. Pope wrote, "These figures seemed to have no symbolic meaning to him. Apparently they were simply standard designs (Pope 1923, 113). "In making serpentine lines he used a little pattern of wood or deer-hide, cut with a zigzag edge, along which he passed his brush" (Pope 1923, 113).

- Dr. Saxton Pope wrote about Ishi's arrow-making, "When a group of five arrows had been brought to this stage of completion, he painted them. His favorite colors were green and red. At first he insisted that these were the only colors to use, since they had the effect of making the arrows fly straight. After we began to excel him in marksmanship he scraped all his arrows and painted them red and blue, perhaps to change his luck. The shafts obtained from his hut [1908] were of these latter colors, but at least the blue is American pigment, perhaps secured during nocturnal prowlings in vacant cabins" (Pope 1923: 112).

- Pope (1923:113) added about Ishi's arrows that: "The design employed in painting usually consisted of alternating rings of red and blue a quarter of an inch wide, with a wide space between two groups of the stripes, sometimes occupied by red or blue dots, or snaky lines running lengthwise. Only that space which was later to be spanned by the feathers was painted. The design was usually three rings near the nock, then ten rings at the smaller end of the feather."

- Pope (1923:111): "He [Ishi] always made arrows in groups of five."

- Pope (1923:113): "Like the best archers he put three feathers from the same wing on each arrow."

48 The six arrows. They were taken from Grizzly Bear's Hiding Place by hunter/guide Harry Keefer on November 6, 1908. They can reasonably be considered to have belonged to Ishi and/or his tribe. They were bequeathed to Ruby (Speegle) Rose, wife of Chester Rose, and then to their son, Philip Rose. In 1997, Philip Rose donated them to Chico's Bidwell Mansion, who, in turn, sent them to Sacramento for storage with California's DPR. On September 17, 2001, the six arrows, along with one set of fishing toggle heads (also donated by Philip in '97), were added to the California State Indian Museum's Ishi exhibit.

“Inventory Of All Known Artifacts Collected and Observed
By Visitors to Grizzly Bear’s Hiding Place Over Time”

Compiled By Richard Burrill, 2011



Figure N-1.

Chester Rose holding the flat tray sifter basket that Harry Keefer took from Ishi’s camp on November 6-7, 1908 (See Fig. 65)

This photo from the Dorothy Morehead Hill Collection forms file name: SC30377.JPG.
Courtesy of Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico.

Sources: The University of California's Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology (UCPHMA) with its website Online: < <http://pahma.berkeley.edu/delphi/>> ; California's State Indian Museum (SIM); T. T. Waterman's Cataloguing of the J. McCord Stilson Indian Collection in Chico, Sept. 13, 1914 (See below pages 1 & 2); T. Kroeber (1961); the former Chester and Ruby Rose Private Museum, Chico, California involving Harry Keefer's collection; E. Apperson (1971) memories of her family who knew Ishi; Robert E. Hackley (1908 & Sept. 5, 1911), Will D. Polk (1908), Martin C. Polk (1911), Mr. Fernani [likely Frank Faniani of Vina (1914), Alice Tulloch (2005), as well as consultations with Andy Mark, Jeb Taylor and Steve Allely over time. Museum of Northern California (Mus. N.Cal) is located in Gridley, California.

<u>#</u>	<u>Item</u>	<u>Cat. No.</u>	<u>Date/Collector</u>	<u>Preservation Site</u>	<u>Photo # In This Book</u>
1	hunting decoy	1-19564	1908/Apperson	UCPHMA	Fig. 75
2	quiver	1-19566	1908/Apperson	UCPHMA	Fig. 79
3	stem lashings (withes)	1-19531	1914/Kroeber & TTW	UCPHMA	
4	forked house frame	1-19533	1914/Kroeber & TTW	UCPHMA	
5	bundle plant fiber twisted	1-19570	1908/Apperson	UCPHMA	
6	sinew fiber	1-19571	1908/Apperson	UCPHMA	
7	ball sinew cordage	1-19572	1908/Apperson	UCPHMA	
8	bundle iris leaf fiber	1-19573	1908/Apperson	UCPHMA	
9	bag	1-19582	1908/Apperson	UCPHMA	
10	bag w/patch	1-19583	1908/Apperson	UCPHMA	
11	bag of ground coffee	1-19592	1908/Apperson	UCPHMA	
12	mortar, shallow	1-19584	1908/Apperson	UCPHMA	
13	mortar	1-19585	1908/Apperson	UCPHMA	
14	pestle	1-16593	1909/TTW	UCPHMA	Fig. 96
16	spoon	1-19538	1914/Kroeber & TTW	UCPHMA	
15	saw	1-19580	1908/Apperson	UCPHMA	
Remark: Saw length was 15.2" (38 cm)					
17	hair brush	?	1908/Charley Herrick?	missing	
18	vanity box (w/mirror?)	?	1908/Charley Herrick?	missing	
Remark: Apperson (1971:55) wrote: "pocket looking glass"					
19	bear claw necklace	?	1908 Charley Herrick?	missing	Fig. 72
Remark: This bear claw necklace was described in 1940 by an unnamed admirer of Stilson who apparently observed it at James McCord Stilson home in Chico on or before 1933. (See also more discussion about this item for page 159 (below) in the Ch. 7 Notes).					
20	red paint	Stilson 25 & 28 (309-4-295)	1908/Charley Herrick?	SIM	Fig. 208
21	blue paint	Stilson 27 & 29 (309-4-296)	1908/Charley Herrick?	SIM	Fig. 208

<u>#</u>	<u>Item</u>	<u>Cat. No.</u>	<u>Date/Collector</u>	<u>Preservation Site</u>	<u>Photo # In This Book</u>
22	fur robe	1-19565	1908/Apperson	UCPHMA	Fig. 67 & 68
23	fur robe	Stilson 34 (309-x-839)	1908/ Charley Herrick?	SIM	Fig. 69 & 207(?)
24	fur robe	1908/Harry Keefer	Private Collection, Richvale, CA		Fig. 70
25	moccasin	Stilson 32 (309-4-1771)	1908	SIM	Fig. 73
Remark: The UCPHMA Cat. Numbers for the moccasin photos are 15-5917 and 15-5918.					
26	snare or noose	Stilson 4 (309-2-4023 or 309-2-4026)	1908	SIM	Fig. 76
Remark: Three deer snares were described.					
27	flaker (double-pointed)	1908/Harry Keefer		Mus. N.Cal	Fig. 80
Remark: The two ends of this flaker tool found were of a long cut nail or steel rod and filed sharp. Traditional material used as flaker tools were bones or antler tines filed sharply.					
28	fishing spear	Stilson 40a (309-4-1797)	1908	SIM	
29	fishing toggle points	1908/Harry Keefer		Mus. N. Cal	Fig. 81
30	fishing toggle points	1908/Harry Keefer (Donated 2001 by Philip Rose)		SIM	
31	fishing toggle points	1-19574	1908/Apperson	UCPHMA	
32	fishing toggle points	1-19575	1908/Apperson	UCPHMA	
33	fishing toggle points	Stilson 36 (309-4-1796)	1908	SIM	
34	fishing toggle points	(309-4-1795? or 1797 mislabeled?)	1908	SIM	
35	broad knife blade set in wood (green glass)	Stilson 24 (309-4-294)	1908	SIM	Fig. 82
36	broad knife blade	Stilson 25	1908	Private Collection Wyoming	Fig. 84
37	broad knife sheath (grey squirrel hide)	1-19568	1908/Apperson	UCPHMA	Fig. 83
Three Baskets Identified of Probably Eight Baskets Taken					
38	basket (flat tray shifter)	1908/Harry Keefer		Mus. N. Cal	Fig. 65
39	basket (flat tray shifter)	Stilson 30	1908	Photo preserved but basket is misplaced	Fig. 66
40	basket (flat tray shifter)	1-16601	1909/TTW	Misplaced	UCPHMA
41	strip of rabbit and raccoon fur	1-19567	1908/Apperson	UCPHMA	
42	fur (rabbit) blanket fur most rubbed off	1-16602	1909/TTW	UCPHMA	Fig. 95
43	blanket found. string wound with fur strips	Stilson 31 (309-4-1794)	1908	SIM	
44	strip buck hide	1-19569	1908/Apperson	UCPHMA	
45	Tanned deer skin	Stilson 33	1908	SIM?	

#	Item	Cat. No.	Date/Collector	Preservation Site	Photo # In This Book
The dispositions for <u>only</u> ten arrows (of 21 identified) are known of arrows taken from Ishi's Camp, GBHP. The six below (#46-51) are on public exhibit at California's State Indian Museum, Sacramento, and the four below (#52-55) are on public exhibit in the Gallery of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley.					
46	arrow #1 paint red & blue rings w/ clear window pane glass point		1908/H Keefer		Fig. 86
47	arrow #2 paint red & blue rings w/ clear window pane glass point		1908/H Keefer		Fig. 86
48	arrow #3 paint red & blue rings w/ amber glass point		1908/ Harry Keefer		Fig. 86
49	arrow #4 paint red & blue rings and blue dashes/point missing		1908/ H. Keefer		Fig. 86
Remark: Arrow #4 = "This is the one Ishi shot at Uncle Jack."					
50	arrow #5 unfinished shaft		1908/ Harry Keefer		Fig. 86
51	arrow #6 unfinished		1908/ Harry Keefer		Fig. 86
52	arrow 1-19576	Painted red & blue rings w/ point missing	1908/ Apperson	UCPHMU	
53	arrow 1-19577	Painted red & blue rings w/ point missing	1908/ Apperson	UCPHMU	
54	arrow 1-19578	Painted red & blue rings w/ point missing	1908/ Apperson	UCPHMU	
55	arrow 1-19579	Painted red & blue rings w/ clear window pane glass point	1908/ Apperson	UCPHMU	
Remark: "There is blood on the arrow" (Waterman 1918b:136).					
Remarks about 1-19577, 1-19578 and 1-19577 (above) shafts made of witch hazel, the foreshaft of some heavier wood; fletched with buzzard feathers, bound on with deer sinew, and painted in rings on the shaftment with red and blue pigment (Pope 1923:394).					
56	arrow (feathered) no point	Stilson 8	1908		DPR? unknown
57	arrow (feathered) no point	Stilson 9	1908		DPR? unknown
58	arrow (feathered) no point	Stilson 10	1908		DPR? unknown
59	arrow (feathered) no point	Stilson 11	1908		DPR? unknown
60	arrow (feathered) no point	Stilson 12	1908		DPR? unknown
61	arrow (feathered) no point	Stilson 13	1908		DPR? unknown
62	arrow (feathered) no point	Stilson 14	1908		DPR? unknown
63	arrow (feathered) no point	Stilson 15	1908		DPR? unknown
64	arrow w/ foreshaft but without feathering	Stilson 18	1908		DPR? unknown
65	arrow w/ foreshaft but without feathering	Stilson 19	1908		DPR? unknown
66	arrow w/ foreshaft but without feathering	Stilson 20	1908		DPR? Unknown

Remark: About twenty-five arrows were collected: "A large bundle of arrows (30 inches long) including some in various stages of manufacture from simply smoothed sticks to completely finished and prettily decorated arrows." (Hackley 1911). Most all were two-piece arrows with their front [fore shafts] 9 inches [length] of a different wood from the rest, skillfully spliced and wrapped with sinew."

#	Item	Cat. No.	Date/Collector	Preservation Site	Photo # In This Book
67	bow –Found w/ 3 arrows (#64, #65 and #66 above)		Stilson 21 1908	DPR? unknown	

Remark: "From the Indian Camp on Deer Creek" –TTW 1914.

Remark: There were two bows at Ishi's Camp in 1908, explained Alice Tulloch (2005:24): one found in the camp and a second used to shoot at Jack Apperson.

About the bow (#67 above), it was last seen in 1908 at Speegle's Sulphur Creek Ranch by Surveyor Robert Hackley who wrote that the bow was "rather thin and flat, with sinew or gut glued firmly all over its back" (Hackley 1911).

68	arrow-head (finely serrated)		1908/Hackley		unknown
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Remarks: Hackley (1911) described "one most remarkably delicate arrowhead" which he kept, that:

It measures an inch and five-eighths in length and a half inch across its widest part. The edges are serrated, not by the accidental roughness of manufacture but by deliberately produced teeth made by the most careful attention to accuracy in chipping. By actual count there are ten of these teeth in a half inch. In outline the sides of the arrow head made a concave or inward curve from the base to the slender point. The notches, through which the sinews bindings the head to the shaft are to be passed, extend from the edge inward about an 1/8th e an inch and have a width of opening at the outside of about the 32nd part of an inch. By reason of its fineness and delicacy it might be conjectured that it was made for ceremonial purposes rather than for the rough use of hunting.

The handful or more of arrowheads found included were made of different materials included discarded bottle glass and of clear window pane glass. The trade routes for obtaining quality obsidian had been cut off.

If there was traditional fire kit discovered and taken, it was not reported.

69	Chipping debitage at Ishi's camp (observed only)				
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Remarks: T. T. Waterman (1918b:62) described observing (in 1909 or 1910?) at Ishi's camp minute glass chips, enough for "a bushel or more" of it. See Waterman's description of such on page 80 (Chapter 2) of this book. The UCPH-MA Cat. Numbers 1-19461 and 1-19874 are about the various pieces of flint and obsidian (one big block) collected for Ishi's use at the museum in San Francisco during 1912-1915.

Remarks: Two bags of chipping debitage were observed in Berkeley in about 1989 by Dennis Torresdal, who was visiting from Portland, Oregon. Inside the bag of chips (UCMA #1-19874), Torresdal discovered the PPIE medallion watch fob (with "JR" inscribed on its backside) in the bag of chips left behind by Ishi. The PPIE medallion was probably his, as he did visit that exhibit and, according to Torresdal "was photographed there by Rodman Wanamaker." Should this photo appear, please notify this author). Torresdal also discovered one light brown (amber) glass bead, and one abalone button, also probably Ishi's. In the second bag of chips (accession number?), Torresdal e-mailed the author on 11/11/10 that: "I looked around a little bit in the other bag and pulled out two projectile points that had broken off stems."

Prehistoric Artifacts Observed At Ishi's Camp

"All the food"-Indian Foods

- Indians foods observed and taken include: acorns, oats, buckeye, manzanita berries, and dried salmon in Indian baskets grounded were found and taken from the camp. Alice Tulloch (2005:24) estimated that about eight baskets would have been typical at an Indian encampment like Ishi's camp (2 sifting tray baskets, 2 mush boilers, 4 or more storage baskets).

Baskets and cooking utensils:

- 3 baskets (identified), while an unspecified number of Indian baskets were collected. When surveyor Hackley later saw one of these baskets he describe one as "a basket work tray of the flat type so commonly made by Indians"
- stirring sticks or paddles minimum of necessary inventory (not recorded). Note: One metal spoon was found by Kroeber and TTW in 1914 inside the house at Ishi's camp that had collapsed.
- 2 portable Indian stone mortars, 1-19584 and 1-19585, and a third mortar was shown this author by Ernie Tamagni of Gridley, California, who obtained it from Merle Apperson. Merle had carried it out (no photo was taken on it).

Historic (American settler / pioneer) items Observed In Ishi's Camp

#	<u>Item</u>	<u>Cat. No.</u>	<u>Date/Collector</u>	<u>Preservation Site</u>	<u>Photo # In This Book</u>	
70	iron kettle	Observed in 1908 but not collected.				
71	canteen	"Apperson gave her a drink out of a canteen which was lying there, having been filled at the creek below (Waterman 1918b:61-62).				
72	razor blade	"A monogrammed blade razor was found, and razor sharp" (Apperson 1971:54).				
73	bucksaw blade	"A bucksaw blade had been made into smaller hand tools" (Apperson 1971:54).				
74	Small mirror	- "a pocket looking glass" (Apperson 1971:55). About this small mirror, Dr. Saxton Pope in San Francisco would later make the curious observation about Ishi that: "His beard was sparse but he plucked it systematically by catching individual hairs between the blade of a dull jackknife and his thumb. In his native state he used a sort of tweezers made of a split piece of wood. He did this work without the use of a mirror" (Pope 1920:183). Based on this find, Dr. Pope may have been mistaken.				
75	pocket knives	". . . a few gadgets like mirror, pocket knives etc." (Apperson 1971:55)				
76	Armament pieces	(e.g., pieces of the Winchester Repeating Rifles).				
<p>Remarks: Or have we here pieces of a Henry Repeating Rifle, which was the rifle model for what became the Winchester. It was determined, in fact, that Hi Good's last gun type he was using in March of 1870, before he was "killed by Indians on May 4, 1870, was a Henry (Waterman 1918b:58).</p> <p>Parts of guns but no guns themselves. One additional remark about guns by Apperson (1971:54) was that:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">No axes, guns or hammers were uncovered, they were noise makers, and canyons have ears as well as walls. When guns were found in homes all cartridges were carried away, and often the guns too.</p>						
77	Taxidermy exhibits	including birds, small animals, "a couple of male quails and a little red fox exquisitely mounted (Apperson 1971:55), as well as a 4-point buck (See Fig. 50 in book of UCPHMA Cat. #15-21689 of Merle Apperson and grandfather Ike Speegle with taxidermy trophy of such (same with only Merle Apperson #15- 21690 and #15-21691).				
78	One of ten steel game traps	encountered by Charles Herrick on exhibit as Coleman Museum (Paul Bowman).				

Miscellaneous

- Pieces of American furniture, coffee mill, old knives and forks, US mail bag, commercial ropes, pillow case embroidered by Grace Keefer, gunny sacks, two canvases, old clothes, and brush.
- "Many sheepskins in Indian camp" apparently reported by Martin Polk (Waterman 1918a:31).
- Settlers' property taken - The men recognized more familiar objects that had been stolen in recent years from the ranchers' cabins. An almost full sack of flour was found, set inside one of the lodges. And, there were several ground barley sacks suspended up in the trees --invariably filled with food to be kept away from hungry animals.

John Milton "Jack" Apperson - Eva Marie Apperson (1971:55) wrote this about her father-in-law's Indian relics taken:

The Apperson collection consisted of a cape; some beautiful arrows including the one that dislodged dad's hat; some magnificent arrow heads; an exceptionally fine tanned buck hide and a buckskin quiver for carrying arrows; a couple of [taxidermically prepared] male quail and a little red fox exquisitely mounted, and a few gadgets like mirror, pocket knives etc. that would be readily recognized, and were, by their previous owners.

About the fur cape-blankets, "three were carried off" wrote Eva Marie Apperson (1971:55).

Harry Keefer - Chester Rose of Chico told reporter Kathy Dixon (1977) that: "It is certain that he [Ishi] was a member of the camp. Dixon reported In the Chester Rose and Ruby (Speegle) Rose private museum collection on Nord Avenue in Chico, is a woven basket, fishing tongs, arrows, and a robe that may have belonged to Ishi." Chester Rose's wife's sister's husband was Harry Keefer, who took these items from Ishi's camp in 1908. (Kathy Dixon 1977, July 25 "The Legend of Ishi Remains Alive" *Chico (Calif.) Enterprise-Record*, Page 4B).

James McCord Stilson - In the attachment with the June 6, 2000 letter by Pauline Greenbeaux with Museum Services Section, CA State Dept. of Parks and Recreation to Larry Myers, Executive Sec. Native American Heritage Commission the letter states: "In 1933, McCord-Stilson lent his collection of Native American artifacts to the SIM and his collection of early California pieces to Sutter's Fort. In 1935, the heiress Mrs. Harry Clark of Hamilton City sold both collections to the State for \$1,400.

The Nine Artifacts Collected By Thomas Waterman in 1909
From The Deer Creek Indians' Last Camp

Cat. Number	Item
1-16593	pestle (Fig. 96) river cobble; not apparently shaped; 23 cm (9.2 inches).
1-16594	wooden cylinder; possibly knife handle
1-16595	wooden cylinder; unfinished tool handle
1-16596	deer antler; end cut with a saw; perhaps in process of being made into a tool.
1-16597	fish net fragment
1-16598	bark fiber strips, in bundle; probably used for twisting into rope
1-16599	deer skin; 90 x 50 cm. Indian tanned; hair on
1-16601	Basket; flat; openwork. 6-rod foundation; weft & warp are willow. For fish, wet foods. This is the basket that Waterman observed, which had "with white meal clinging to it."
1-16602	Fur blanket (Fig. 95) 97.6 x 60 cm. Fur mostly rubbed off. Mold damage on loan, 1971 (hole). Warp: strips of rabbit fur Weft: double twine (nettle fiber?)

1910

T. T. Waterman wrote: "Today we went to the Indian camp which the surveyors found. The Indians have been there a number of times since. In fact, the last visit seems to have been in the last few days. We got photographs of the region, and of the cabins. In addition, some shredded maple bark for rope, some white man's netting, and a bad pestle." (T. T. Waterman's October 29, 1910 letter to A. L. Kroeber, Records of the Dept. of Anthropology, C-U 23 Carton 20).

1911

Harry Hume's April 12, 1911 discoveries, which were inventoried only, at Grizzly Bear's Hiding.

Hume reported that the several burlap gunny sack bags he found hanging up high in the trees consisted of:

. . . tanned deer skins with hair on, a piece of fur-bearing skin, a pair of worn out moccasins, a bar of old time brown [Savon] laundry soap,* nails, screws, and miscellaneous articles, evidently used by the Indians in their crafts. . . . Hume concluded with: "After examining the articles in the cache, we carefully put them back into the sacks and hung them in the trees just as we had found them." (Harry Hume 1962" Personal notes about "Grizzly Bear's Hiding Place." *Diggin's Vol. 6*, No. 1 pp. 10-12).

Circa 1993

Tin can "time marker" embossed patent date, May 17, 1887. Observed (not collected) by Archaeologist Debra Tibbetts at Grizzly Bear's Hiding Place. This discovery may be seen in Jed Riffe's film, "Bear's Hiding Place," released in 1997.

Catalogue of the J. McCord Stilson Collection.

T.T. Waterman. Sept 13, 1914.

now at State Capitol (1932)

Note:

1-15, 18-21, 24-34, 36, 40a

Specimens 1-34 are recent material from the Deer Creek Indians, obtained from M.C. Polk, J. Apperson, C. Herrick, and Mr. Fernani. in the camp below Spiegles.

- > 1 Small rope of twisted bark . See 4
- > 2 String of similar bark
- > 3 " " " "
- > 4 Large size tapered rope, with running noose at end, said to have been used for a deer snare in connection with 2. The smaller rope was criss-crossed across the noose to keep the quarry from getting clear through.
- > 5 Similar specimen to 4
- > 6 " " "
- > 7 " " "
- > 8 Feathered arrow, not fitted with point
- > 9 Similar specimen
- 10 " "
- 11 " "
- 12 " "
- 13 " "
- 14 " "
- 15 " "
- 16 Arrow with stone point. Made for Charles Avery by Captain John at the head of Deer Creek.
- 17 Similar specimen
- 18 Arrow, with foreshaft, but without feathering. From the Indian camp on Deer Creek
- 19 Similar specimen
- 20 " "

Figure N-2.

Provided courtesy of the California State Indian Museum (SIM).

- 21 Bow, belonging with 18-20
- 22 Fragment of wood with sockets for drilling fire
- 23 Obsidian point, found in cave on Deer Creek
- 24 Knife chipped from bottle glass, set in wooden handle
- 25 Blade of similar knife
- 26 Lump of red pigment for painting arrow shafts. The substance which carries the color is thought by Stiles to be salmon-head glue
- 27 Similar lump of blue pigment. The coloring material suggests commercial blueing
- 28 Fragment detached from 26
- 29 " " " 27
- 30 Tray of coiled basketry, remains of acorn meal.
- 31 Part of a blanket woven of string wound with stripes of fur, the whole much worn
- 32 A moccasin of deer skin (too small for Ishi)
- 33 Small section of tanned deerskin
- 34 Blanket or cape-like garment made of wildcat and fox skins sewn together with
- 35 Toggles of wood, wound with string, pitched, for salmon spear. Found by Mr Stiles in a lot of driftwood on Mill Creek, near the Carter place in 1904. An old blind Indian was engaged in fishing further up the creek at this time.
- 36 Toggles similar to 35, from Indian camp below Speegles.
- 37 Large knife of black obsidian, found in cave near Jackson mine on upper Deer Creek.
- 38 Arrow straightener, cylindrical shape, with groove, dug up on the Hume place near Conasset. transverse
- 39 Small mortar of reddish lava, from same source
- 40a A two-pronged salmon spear, with short shaft

Figure N-3

CHAPTER 2. THE SECRETIVE YEARS (PAGES 49-82)

50 Spiritual essence Trickster, Old Coyote Doctor --Richard Simpson in Clipper Gap, California (Hwy 80) had a wondrous Indian neighbor of Maidu-Nisenan heritage. She was a traditional medicine woman, named Lizzie Enos. After being a student of hers, Richard Simpson wrote *Ooti: A Maidu Legacy*. It includes this philosophical essence of Old Coyote Doctor:

Good is the wisdom of life which I have now awakened from the earth. Evil is nothing more than the ignorance of this life. In life, there ever dwells both Good and Evil. Always, in the world, these two elements will oppose one another.

Good must resist the pull of the invisible Evil, should ever become all-powerful, then soon again there would be nothing, as it was the first few days of its creation. Life would quickly vanish.

Coyote looks like Evil should, knows what Evil is doing and always does it first; tries to awaken Good to that which is Evil. In no other way will Good, which never sees true Evil ever know where Evil is or how Evil works.

Coyote likes the games he plays, ever loud and full of humor, ever full of tricks and cunning. And Good, seeing Evil in Coyote's antics, must flee in mortal fear of his games.

No matter what Coyote does or says, always do the opposite . . . only then can life continue. Only then will this tree we sit beneath forever stand, giving nourishment to the greatest life yet to come.

51-54 Date when Ishi's mother died "three months later." The author's source is: "Ishi Acts Up On the Fourth For Visitors" (1914, July 6) *Chico Enterprise* wherein Thomas Waterman was interviewed and then quoted verbatim by the newspaper editor that:

Professor T. T. Waterman of the department of anthropology . . . has had the most to do with developing Ishi and has investigated his history, and, through it, the history of Ishi's tribe, in great detail.

Ishi, according to Professor Waterman, is now doing janitor work at the anthropological museum so as to receive his support regularly from the university and remain until he can be trained to take care of himself and until the scientists have exhausted the stock of information he can give them.

Ishi was the last of the Yana Indians, who were murdered by the white in 1864. All trace was lost of the tribe until 1908, when a part of surveyors found an Indian village in the mountains in Northern California. All escaped but an old Indian squaw, who died about three months later, and Ishi, who fled to Oregon [sic], was captured and put in jail. News flashed over the country that a wild Indians had been captured.

Professor Waterman succeeded in getting the Indian released and brought to San Francisco.

53 Cremation versus burial. Kroeber (1925:341) wrote:

"The two northern divisions buried the dead . . . The Yahi cremated."

53 Cabin observed A "cabin" was apparently discovered by two surveyors on about September 1, 1911, who told two hunters from Chico named Fred Worrall and Al Henry. The news account which included the "cabin" was:

"Deer Creek Camp Lately Inhabited" (1911, September 2) *Oroville Daily Register*. It reads, in part:

"That the home of the mysterious Indian . . . had been discovered. . . . A crude cabin built of brush was located in a place almost impossible of discovery The walls were adorned with skins, and fragments of food were said to have been scattered about the floor. Crude implements of warfare, the kind used by Indians over a century ago, were there in plenty." [The news story that same day that did not mention "cabin" per se was: "Chico men hear of possible camp of Red Man" (1911, September 2) *Chico Record*, p. 3). See more of the news accounts reprinted on page 154 of Ch. 7].

55 John C. Morris was born January 16, 1856, in Fairchild, Iowa. He came to California in 1881, settling in Butte County. Shortly after his arrival here he was employed as foreman on the General Bidwell Rancho, a position he held for 10 years. After leaving General Bidwell's employ he entered the cattle business in Butte and Tehama counties. He engaged in this business for 19 years. He was the legatee of the late Hattie Moak.

Survivors are three brothers: J. M. Morris, Stockton; George Morris, Los Angeles, and Philip Morris, Ohio; and a sister, Mrs. George Dana of Deer Lodge, Montana ("John C. Morris Taken by Death" [1934, September 27]. *The Chico Enterprise*).

56 Improvising, adapting, and coping. About Ishi: "His life had demanded the capacity to improvise, adapt, and en-

dure at every step along the way” Starn (2004:246). Note: “Survival In A Changing Environment” was the theme at the 9th Annual Ishi Gathering and Seminar in 2010.

57 Ira Jacknis (2003:239) reported that “The total listening time for all fifty-one recordings [of Ishi’s Wood Duck story] was: “. . . two and one quarter hours or 134 minutes, 55 seconds.” Jacknis (2003:254) affirmed that “an observer must be moved by the telling conclusion of the death and resurrection of Wood Duck, perhaps not too far removed from Ishi’s own experience.” Hence, Ishi’s “Story of Wood Duck” appears to have been his own symbolic autobiography, an allegory of his life.

60 About James L. Keefer and the Red Man’s Underground --John Rodney Gleeson wrote: “I have reason to believe that the Mill and Deer Creeks were clandestinely helped by J. L. Keefer, a rich farmer and sawmill owner of North Butte county, but of this I have no confirmation. Keefer was a quaint Pennsylvania Dutchman, and a most estimable man. On his death, some years ago, I think these poor ostracized wild men lost a noble and generous friend.” Source: John Rodney Gleeson ““Lost Indians’ Easily Traced” (1911, March 26) *Stockton Daily Record*. Reprinted from R. Heizer and T. Kroeber 1979:78. (See more by D. “Doctor” F. Crowder about the Indian’s hand that was amputated by the helpful Keefers. The foothill Indians had fled to the Keefer’s rancheria after a grim battle transpired on Deer Creek in 1857).

62 Ishi’s father may have been “Northern Yana,” as is recorded on page 212, the Appendix B document.

62 *Chenoya* T. R. Garth (1978:243) wrote in his “synonymy” for Atsugewi (Hat Creek Indians) the three Yana names, “*Chenoya*, *Chenoyana*, and *Chunoiyana*” (citing Hodge 1907-1910, i:114). What became of Garth’s ethnographic papers about the Atsugewi –including Shavehead?

63 Harry Edwards/Bryan Beavers (See Family Chart below). Ron. C. Cooke (2/27/11 letter to author with map) has found a 1954 Indian Patent [filed after his 1943 death) for Harry Edwards of 20 acres, the N1/2 of the NE 1/4 of the NW 1/4 of Section 12 of T22N, R5E, which “sounds good for the Happy Hollow chronology.”

63 Frank Julian Martin (Koncow Maidu/Mountain Maidu). His son Seth Martin lives in Oroville, as well as a grandson, Gavin Antone of Oroville. From Chag Lowry’s (2007:72-73) interview:

I was born in 1911 here in Butte County in Enterprise (now underneath Lake Oroville). My mother comes from the Davis clan. My grandmother was Mary Atkins. Frank Martin was my father; he was Koncow Maidu. Nancy Martin was my grandmother on the Martin side.

I went to Stewart in the seventh grade. I came back to Enterprise and graduated from eight grade, and then I went to Sherman. I graduated from Sherman in 1932. They had their own cadets there. They were kind of respected by the Army.

When Chag Lowry asked Mr. Martin whether he could understand the Koncow Maidu language, Martin responded:

Yes, I can understand the language from around here. I can understand Mountain Maidu from near Genesee (by Greenville). My mother and my aunt would get together and they would speak.

My father was killed [in 1913] because of gold in this area.

My mother married a man with the last name of Jackson and we moved over there. So I can understand some of the language from up there. I have a book on the language and some of the people are teaching it here.

It also is noted in the Butte County Clerk Recorder Vital Records for Franklin Julian Martin, that he was: Born: Jan. 26, 1911. Died: Nov. 24, 2007. Father’s Name: Frank Martin. Mother’s Name: Ina Davis.

On August 27, 2005, Franklin Martin, said when presenting before the 4th Annual Ishi Gathering and Seminar that:

I’m 94. Born in 1911. [About Ishi] “He was one of the ancient Red People. . . . My brother was ten years older than I am.”

When asked: “What is your brother’s name?” Martin answered: “Herb Young.” [And about Ishi] “My brother said he had a different dialect. . . . My grandmother at Greenville, “North Garden People.”

About Herb Young, Francis Riddell learned that Young “was a Genesee Valley Maidu who was born around the turn of the Twentieth Century” (Francis A. Riddell 1968 “Ethnogeography of Two Maidu Groups,” *Masterkey Vol. 42*(3).

63 Harry Edwards was quite a tramper and well known by Lum Moak. It was Lum’s son, Lyman “Pete” Moak of Concow Valley, who shared with the author this story about his dad involving Harry Edwards (See. Fig. N-4).

64 Author's story: "Keep On It!" about how I secured John Whitfield Duncan III's 1998 *How to Catch a Sleeping Fish - Historical and Traditional Stories by Bryan Beavers, Maidu Storyteller*. Seattle, Washington: Unpublished Manuscript:

I credit personal persistence and what I can only call "miraculous serendipity" that Duncan III's information about Ishi was finally obtained in time for insertion in this book. I remember the day when I shared with one of my mentors, Archaeologist Francis A. Riddell, my frustration in trying to locate Duncan III's manuscript. Fritz quipped back, with determination in his voice, "Keep on it!"

In June of 1998, I had already bought an air plane ticket to fly to Albuquerque, New Mexico, to obtain some important data that John Duncan III had compiled about Ishi and was willing to share. Duncan had told me that my trip by plane would definitely be worth it. He phoned me back to say he was going to have some surgery done after all. I learned a few weeks later that he had died from his cancer.

Time passed but I did learn that Duncan's literary agent had submitted his manuscript to the University of New Mexico Press. In 2005, I grew curious again and made more phone calls. I learned from their editor David Holtby that, "No, we never published Duncan's work." I also learned that he thought the manuscript had been returned to the Duncan family but he did not know for certain. My phone calls and letters to Mr. Duncan's widow were never answered.

Eventually I learned from Butte County Historical Society President Dale Wangberg that the University Library on the University of New Mexico campus had John Duncan III papers' on CDs (Rocky Mountain Online Archives: <<http://rmoa.edu/contact.php>>).

From letters in April, 2009, I learned that the Duncan CDs were only available to family. I had petitioned Michael Kelly, Associate Dean, University Archives, University of New Mexico. The CD titled "Bryan Beavers, Narrator/Singer CD 2-19" had promise I thought about Ishi. I also was told that no unpublished manuscript was in their Duncan collection. They had only their list of data of Duncan's work placed onto CDs. Whether some of anthropologist Donald Jewell's tapes and documents were commingled with Duncan's material remains unresolved. I secured support from son Tony Jewell in Wyoming and Lyman "Pete" Moak (son of "Lum" Moak) in Concow Valley, California, who assisted on my behalf to obtain Duncan CDs for research purposes. UNM's Rocky Mountain Online Archives finally agreed to send to Lyman "Pete" Moak three CDs: #1, 12 and 13, but Brian Duncan's mother's petition was refused.

On June 6, 2009, I was trying to locate author Kat Anderson of *Tending the Wild*, 2005 (University of California Press) and *Before The Wilderness: Environmental Management by Native Californians*, 1993 (Ballena Press) to make an appointment with her on the UC Davis campus. Upon searching the UC Davis website, no one knew Kat Anderson's office number, nor how to locate her. I saw on the UC Davis website a staff person's name, Lars Anderson, with phone number. I described to him that a "Kate Anderson who had published about the California Indians was somewhere on your UCD campus, but I did not know where."

Lars responded by saying something to the effect that he had a family member who had studied the Maidu Indians. "Oh really," I returned. "Who is that person?"

Lars answered. "John Duncan."

"John Duncan III who researched the Maidu Indians, you say? Might you be family?"

Lars Anderson: "Yes, my sister Rosalind was John Duncan III's first wife."

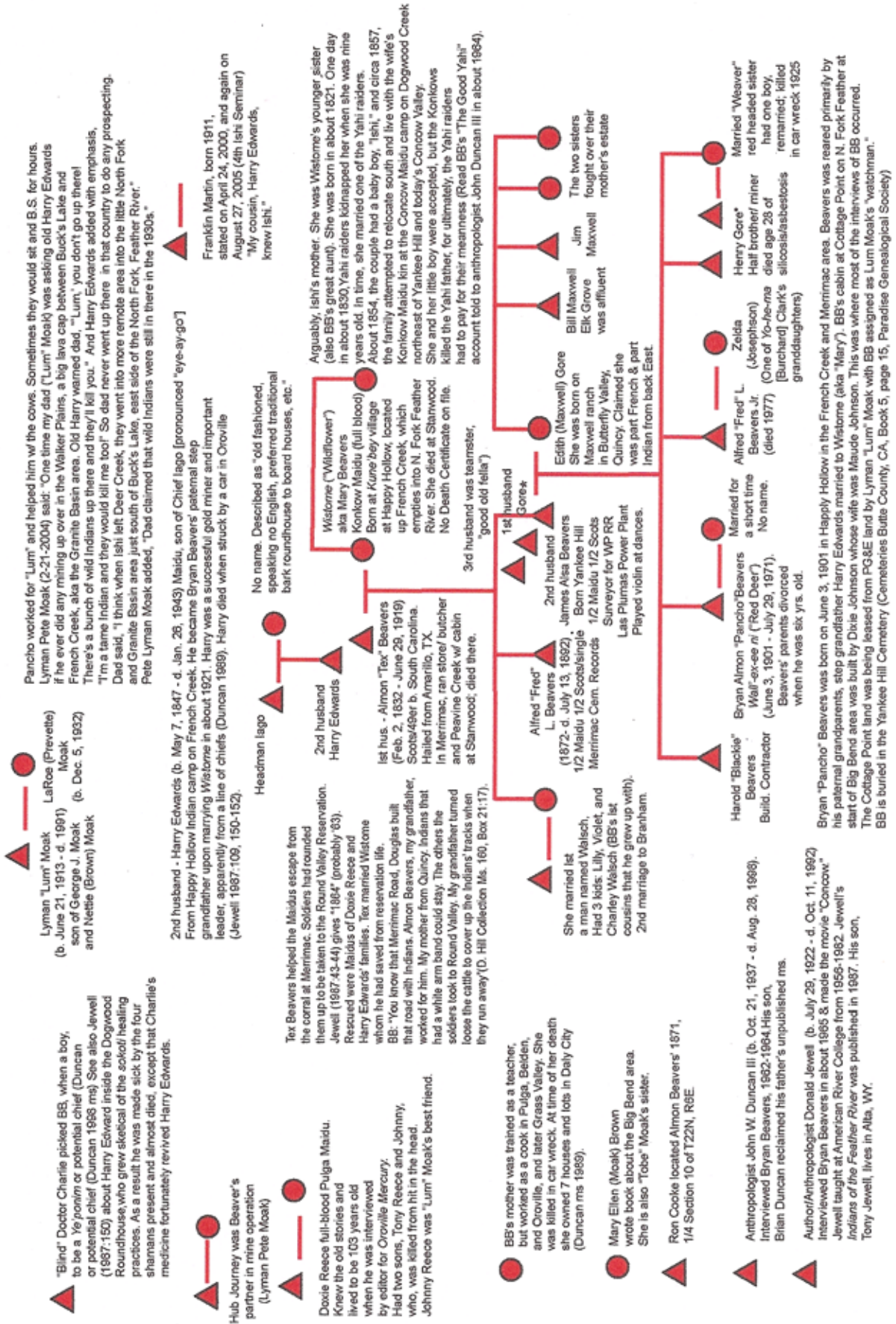
Bingo!

I told Lars that it would really be something if he would tell his sister that I've been trying to locate "family members" who might be able to locate John Duncan III's long lost manuscript, which I had since learned was declined in 2005 by the University of New Mexico Press. Lars Anderson e-mailed his sister and described to her how:

. . . through odd circumstance he had spoken with Richard Burrill who was very keen to see John's manuscript "out" or at least accessible" and that "He just doesn't know where, who, might have it (hard copy) other than John's widow. Richard has been in contact w/some of the same people John (you?) knew - Pete Moak family? Don Jewell? Anyway, you can figure this out I'm sure and update Richard. I'm ccing Richard so you (or Brian) can get in touch with Richard.

One complete copy of John Duncan's manuscript arrived by Federal Express from John's son, Brian Duncan of Seattle, Washington, on February 1, 2011. And that is my story titled "Keep On It!" about how I caught a sleeping fish!

65 Chief Yella (?). Upon conducting a preliminary search, no one by the name of Chief Yella has been found. An appeal is made to any Mountain Maidu families who might know anything about a "Chief Yella," especially during the span of years, 1885-1910. One Mountain Maidu family who would have been her contemporary was *Hukespem* (ca. 1845 – ca.



Harry Edwards/Bryan 'Pancho' Beavers' Extended Family

Figure N-4.

1910), whose American name was "Big Meadow Bill." The Leonard and Stanley Lowry clan, with family authors Judith Lowry and Chag Lowry may be interested in researcher this some more. Chag Lowry of Eureka, California, interviewed several California Indian warriors to complete his monumental work titled *The Original Patriots: Northern California Indian Veterans of World War Two*, 2007.

Regarding the Susanville Indian Rancheria (SIR) preliminary search online indicates that SIR first obtained its new land base in 1923 at Herlong, as a 30-acre parcel to house American Indians from four tribal groups (NE Maidu, Northern Paiute, Pit River, and Washoe) under the Landless and Homeless Act under the US Congress that respectively provided funds to purchase lands.

In 1934, the tribe elected to charter under authority of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) and on March 3, 1969, the initial Rancheria Constitution & Bylaws were approved by the U.S. Secretary of the Interior. In the City of Susanville vicinity on June 6, 1975 a quit claim of .53 acres of the old Indian cemetery by Clifton Cramer and Betty Cramer went to the Bureau of Indian Affairs to hold into trust for the Susanville Rancheria. Then, in 1978, 120 acres was added to the Rancheria under the special legislation of Public Law 95-459 Sponsored by the honorable Congressman Bizz Johnson.

65 Marie (Meadows) Potts *Chen-kut-pam* ("Little Sharp Eyes"). Her oral histories are an extension of the experience of her Mountain Maidu people. Such information in oral history is usually very accurate over time (The Henry Potts, Meadows, and Big Meadow Bill's genealogical charts are preserved in the Appendix of Burrill (2003:108-110) *Stolen By The Mill Creek Indians*); As a Native representative of Ishi's neighbors to the east, Marie Potts distinguished Mill Creek renegades as being separate (different) from Ishi's Yahi tribe, which the Mountain Maidu referred to as the *K'ombo* (Read p. 451 Robert Heizer's annotation on page of Stephen Powers 1877 [1976] reprinted *Tribes of California*, that: "The *Kombo* are the Yahi."

The following by Potts (1971) was transcribed by the author from the October 27, 1971, tape-recording secured by Sacramento City College Instructor Clifford G. Curtice. (See more of "Who Were the Mill Creek Indians" in Burrill 2003).

Marie Potts, in all interviews, never once implied that the "mean Mill Creeks" were Ishi's people. What she said and how she referred to her Indian neighbors is important primary source data. It was Marie Potts' grandmother, Mariah Bill, who was kidnapped about 1864, and escaped on August 14, 1865 from the "Mill Creeks" (not the Yahi or *K'ombo*) some time around 1865. It was Marie's Potts' grandfather, Big Meadow Bill, who attempted to rescue Mariah and succeeded in getting revenge for his tribe by returning from a foray with one Mill Creek Indian scalp (Read Newspaper Account 12 on page 44 in Burrill 2003).

Marie Potts was tape-recorded on October 27, 1971, by Sacramento City College instructor Clifford G. Curtice, and his students:

Clifford Curtice: Was there ever any murders? When somebody got mad at somebody else?

Marie Potts: Yes, we had murders in between tribes. Not within the tribe, but outside the tribe. [When those other] tribes came into our area. There was one tribe we called the Mill Creek Indians, and they were a bunch of renegades, really. And they used to come into Big Meadows, which is Lake Almanor now. They would come up there, and they would kill and murder; kill anybody, children and babies, and adults, anybody. And our Indian people didn't fight back. We were very peaceful people. One day they captured my grandmother who was a young woman.

CC: What I'm thinking of in terms of the Mill Creeks, those were Ishi's people. They were Yahi. Weren't they Yahi people?

MP: I don't know who they are. We called them renegades. In our Indian word, we called them renegades.

CC: But they didn't speak Maidu?

MP: No.

CC: What did renegade mean then?

MP: Oh, a bunch of people who had run off to some place else. They might have been Apaches or they might have been, you know, from some of these other tribes. But they didn't speak the California language at all. Nobody knew their language. My grandmother learned a few words by being there with them, you know.

Addendum: "Marie Mason graduated from the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, part of the class of 1915." (Presentation heard on Oct. 16, 2010, by Professor Terri Castaneda (Anthro. Dept., CSU Sacramento) at the 25th Annual California Indian Conference held on the UC Irvine campus.

68 Bertha (Nye) Norton. She was born on August 15, 1899 in Wheatland, California. Her mother was a Colusa Wintun and her father, George Nye (See Fig. 103), was a Mountain Maidu who had ended up at the Mechoopda tribe in Chico, California.

In 1981, she was honored by official State Legislative Proclamation as the California Indian Museum's Fourth Annual Honored Elder, for life-long contributions of helping to strengthen one's Indian culture. She passed away on October 25, 2000, "State's Oldest Indian" at the age of 101. Her Great-great-grandfather was *Pamio*. G

80 Chipping debitage collected from Grizzly Bear's Hiding Place, see Ch. 1 Notes. About chipped debitage observed in the greater Deer Creek vicinity, Samuel "Jim" Stewart Jr. did not observe any at GBHP. However, Stewart said, "I did find a place like that on Sulphur Creek (taped interview of Stewart by author 10/25/2009 tape #2).

82 Indians still living in the same cañons after Ishi. Four accounts:

- "The Last of the Mill Creek Tribe" (1911, April 6) *Plumas National Bulletin*, p. 1/4 [States that "A small band of wild Indians . . . still exist in the mountain fastness of Mill and Deer Creek Canyons in Tehama County"].
- "I think they are still in there between Deer Creek and Mill Creek" in letter dated March 22, 1912, to A. L. Kroeber from Joe Papey [Reprinted in this book on page 81].
- "Ishi's tribesmen still live in Mill Creek" (1914, April 22) *Oroville Daily Register*.
- "New camp of Ishi's companions is found? (1915, September 30) *Chico Record*, page 5.

CHAPTER 3. CLYDE SPEEGLE (PAGES 83-88)

88 This remembrance was recalled by Alta Carter who was in the audience at the Tehama County Museum on March 23, 2003 during a presentation by the author about the Hi Good Cabin site (See Speegle Family Tree, Fig. N-5 on page 243 below).

88 The US Forest Service formed on February 1, 1905 largely from its former Bureau of Forestry.

President Theodore Roosevelt proclaimed Lassen Peak Forest Reserve in 1905. On July 1, 1908 he changed the name to Lassen National Forest and added to it parts of the Plumas, Diamond Mountain and Shasta Forests.

CHAPTER 4. ABOUT A POISONING (PAGES 89-110)

89 Melvin Speegle's other talk in 1969 (and perhaps his earliest public presentation) was before the Paradise Soroptimist Club. That it occurred also sometime in "1969" is referenced by writer Kathy Dixon "The Legend of Ishi Remains Alive" (1977, July 25) *Chico's Enterprise Record* who wrote: "In 1969, Speegle spoke before the Paradise Soroptimist Club and revealed many anecdotes about the trip."

The "1969" newspaper account is titled "Paradise Soroptimists Hear Anecdotes Concerning Ishi Famous 'Wild' Indian." Its full citation remains unresolved (Copy of newspaper account in Burrill Collection).

90 Missing film can and *The Orion* article [Chico State campus newspaper] by Hetherington. It may be that the Meriam Library SC has John R. Hetherington (1927-2007) documents and/or film cans. He may have written and published a story in *The Orion*. Professor Valene L. Smith on May 6, 2010 told the author: "Hetherington felt he had enough for a newspaper article. He wrote one I am sure." Smith added, "Back then [1969], I was under the impression that we were being video-taped. Maybe we can find some of these hopefully misplaced film recordings. Ira LaTour had made a video of Janet Turner that has disappeared, too. I went out to the Chester Rose Museum and made a video tape of his collection. I noted it extensively." This film is also misplaced." A preliminary search has not found the purported story by Hetherington. Note: In 1969 the Chico campus newspaper was called *The Wildcat*, and changed to its present name, *The Orion* in about 1970.

90-91 Ray Speegle. Regarding the Rose family members, everyone, including Ray Speegle, credited Ruby Priscilla Speegle Rose (1890-1967), as knowing the most about the Ishi story. She was Marse Speegle's half sister. In 1914, Ruby married Chester Rose (1892-1982). They had three boys: Laverne, Warren, and Philip Rose. These were some of the people whom Theodora Kroeber Quinn never interviewed.

96 Speegles frustrated, even hurt. On page 7 of Homer Speegle's "The Eight Pages," Homer Speegle begrudgingly lashed at Waterman as a researcher. To provide the context here, Homer had read the third paragraph of Mrs. Theodora Kroeber's Notes on page 229 of *Ishi In Two Worlds*, which reads:

Waterman undertook to present the oral source material as he got it, warm and alive from the honest memory of living informants, keeping it in their own words, when the account was not too prolix or rambling. No one was more aware of the inconsistencies, inaccuracies, and gaping holes in the materials. His task was to record the sources before all the living fragments of recollections were gone. Either he or someone else could, later and at leisure, sift the material for its meanings and non-meanings.

In rebuttal to "p. 239 Waterman undertook to present . . . material . . . he got . . . from living informants." as one very "honest" and "warm and alive informant," Homer handwrote:

I will prove beyond a doubt he avoided talking to anyone who knew the Indians in so doing he could make it sound his way. I mean Ishi's people (VIII:7)

96 Code of "Frontier Reciprocity" led by the Speegles. A most curious code of "frontier reciprocity" was practiced by the local Indians regarding certain Tehama County ranchers. Based on family oral histories, the Speegles knew the whereabouts of the two Indian camps: Lower Camp and Upper Camp. But the understanding by Ike and Marse was that: You never wander over there. Indian camps were off limits.

The Speegle parents somehow knew that their boys could stay down on Deer Creek and would never be harmed. Was it because some kind of an understanding, a simple verbal exchange with the Deer Creeks, years ago, had taken place? Opportunities for the Indians to steal their boys had been plenty. Every summer at least one Speegle boy had been left down on their Deer Creek property with chores but the Indians were never a threat.

About fishing at certain spots on Deer Creek, Ike and Marse both knew to always first listen for signals before taking the children "over there" to fish (See Ruby Speegle's story below).

They always left the door unlocked. The Deer Creeks, in turn, permitted the Speegles to keep their Sulphur Creek Place. The understanding was that in times of hardship, they could expect that their cabin would be "cleaned" but never "raided." Raiding was what the Indians did to "Lige" Graham, nine miles upstream, who did not obey their code.

[Not until about 1904* was the Speegle's Place raided for the first time (VIII:2; XIII:10).

* More likely "1911" based on Homer also writing "1902" (XIII:8) and "This went on about ten years" (XIII:10).

Homer Speegle distinguished the two kinds of visits that one could experience from the Indians. One was having your cabin "cleaned." The other, being "raided." Cleaned meant that the Indians had quietly entered your cabin and taken out the things, food mainly, that they needed for subsistence. The Deer Creeks never disturbed anything when they "cleaned." No dishes were ever broken. No mud tracks were left on any floor boards. The bullets were always taken and thrown away. Scopes on rifles were not allowed either. They were knocked off every time (See Fig. 138 on page 98 as proof of this). "Cleaning" meant never taking "all the food" either. The Indians understood that the Speegles needed to have enough food in the cabin, so that they had enough strength to make it back to Red Bluff or Vina for more supplies.

"Raiding" a cabin, on the other hand, meant killing some of the animals, destroying property maybe, razing the cabin to the ground maybe. It could mean killing people for revenge, too, Homer Speegle wrote (VIII:2):

In about 1904, they escaped with ten hogs weighing 200 lbs each, one ton barley, several bags stock salt, 50 lbs each, all the food, clothing and ammunition for a five man crew for two weeks. We saw the smoke signal on Digger Pine Bluff, all were hard riding cowboys. I was not slow, riding time about 15 min. To escape with, two and 1/2 ton in this time, those five must have been powerful people. This was the time Uncle Tom and my father [Marse Speegle] would catch them for sure.

This relationship of frontier reciprocity need not to be romanticized here. As the late Vina rancher Jerry Stephens said more than once in conversations, "Deer Creek is tough. It's real tough." Stephens explained that if any person is in there and hurting, it's acceptable and understood that that person can push open that line cabin door and take out and eat whatever provisions he needs to stay alive.

This is nothing new in the West. It is referred to as a kind of Free Masonry. Free Masonry is a term used to describe the Masonic "Free Masons." A male international fraternal for mutual help and fellowship. The exception about the Deer Creek Cañon area involved a small number of Tehama County stockmen whose conviction was, that "Indians are people

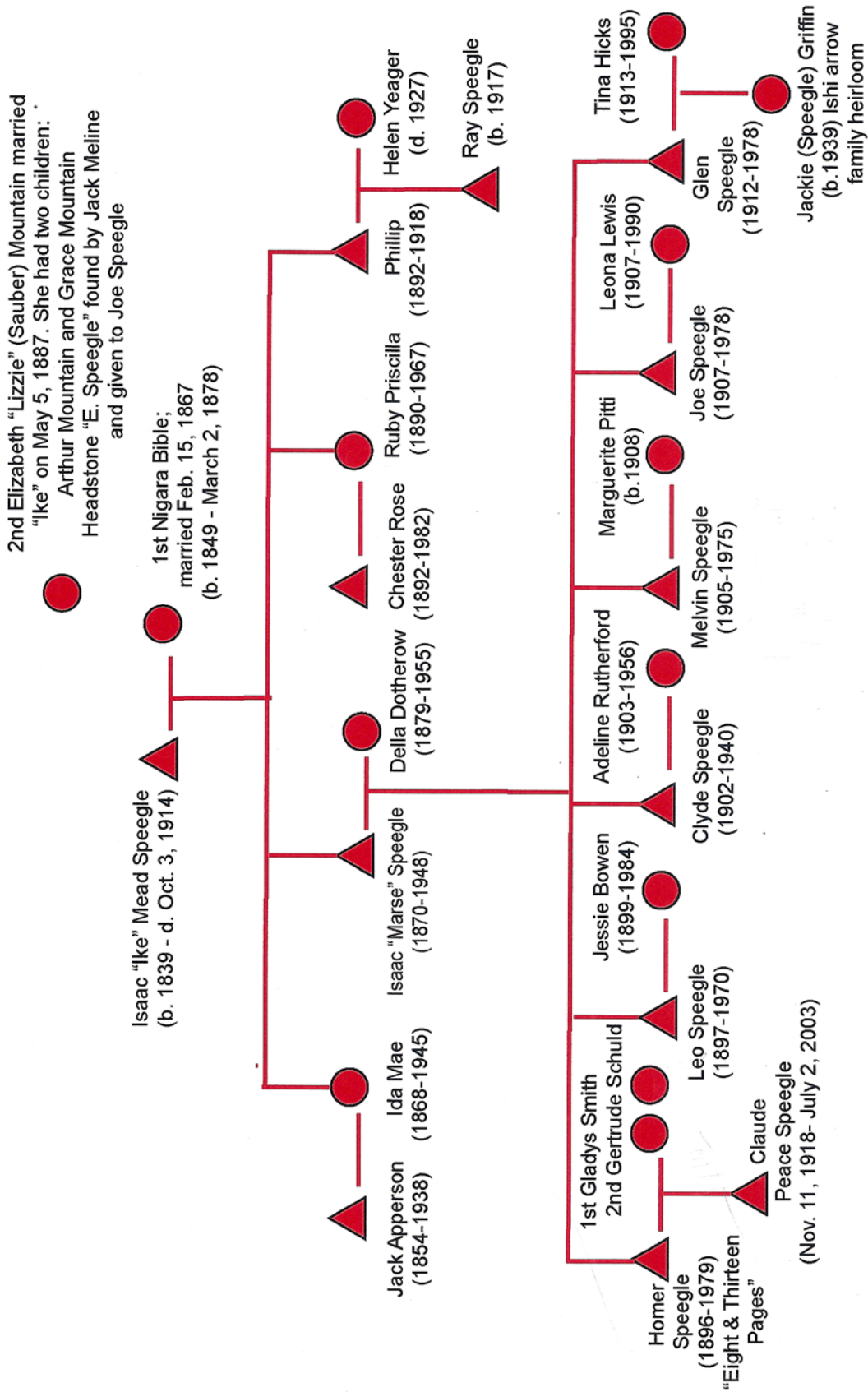


Figure N-5

The Speegle Family of Vina, Tehama County, California

too." Normally, mutual help in the West excluded the Indians. In most places, the Indians were viewed as "savages" and were "the enemy." As soon as possible, they were to pay back that "loan." The Deer Creeks made paybacks to their "friends" in various ways. Leaving berries or a gift basket happened whenever they could. The Speegles' experience was that the Indians always left some food in the cabin.

Surveyor Richard Gernon, who spent many years working in and about the Mill Creek Country wrote in a letter to Professor Waterman, November 3, 1914, that:

It is a remarkable thing, that the white men who hunted the Mill Creek Indians, between the years 1854 and 1865, have always had their camps robbed in after years. And those who never hunted those Indians never had anything stolen from them by the Indians (T. Kroeber 1961:50).

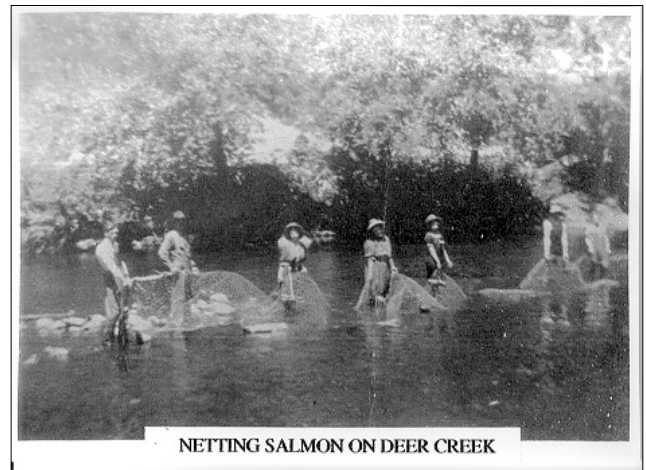
Leo Speegle: During the years my family had cattle in the Deer Creek-Sulphur Creek area [1884-1922] each fall of the year we would catch enough salmon to dry and smoke for the winter. . . . Before fishing dad [Marse Speegle] would always stop at the water's edge and listen—and this is some times what we would hear, — a sound like five or six rattle snakes rattling like mad. Dad would say that we had better not blast any fish [with giant powder] as that is the wild Indians rattling like snakes to scare us away because they hadn't yet caught all the fish they wanted. We would try another day when all was quiet (Jessie Speegle and Leo Speegle, 1984:8 of handwritten section).

Ray Speegle of Chico heard his Aunt Ruby (Speegle) Rose, tell this story:



Figure N-6. Ray Speegle was born in 1917 to parents Philip Speegle and Helen Yeager. Ray and wife Lucille produced Philip, Robert, and Terrence Speegle. Ray was a respected gunsmith. Photo by Richard Burrill taken in January 2000.

Figure N-7. "Netting Salmon on Deer Creek" From family photo album, probably Speegle family members. Reprinted courtesy of Ray Speegle.



When the salmon were running up Deer Creek, the Yahi signal to our Speegle household that they were going salmon fishing was hooting like an owl, "Hooo! Hooo!" My grandparents ("Ike" and Lizzie), hearing this cry, kept all of us kids away from the creek that day. They had no direct contact with the Indians at all. They left the Indians alone. They didn't want to interfere. If the Yahi wanted to go fishing, we stayed entirely away (Richard Burrill 1996 taped interview).

98 Kroeber and Waterman— It cannot be denied that both Thomas Waterman and Alfred Kroeber learned things about Ishi from the Speegles. The Speegle name appears two times on page 110 of *Ishi In Two Worlds*, referencing, "Speegle's Place" and "Speegle's homestead." Both Kroeber and Waterman met and interacted with Marse Speegle (and his boys Clyde and Melvin) in May 1914, during the Deer Creek leg of the camping trip. Marse Speegle led the party out of Deer Creek on May 30, 1914. Marse became persuaded (largely out of guilt) when confronted by Ishi, and made good his promise by returning Ishi's *samani* ("cinnamon bear robe") to him on June 2nd.

Alfred Kroeber referenced M. Speegle in his 1914 field notes (See Appendix A, place names #8 "Marse Spiegel's cabin area," #10 "abandoned Spiegel homestead," #22 "Rock climbed with M. Spiegel," #23 "Spiegel + Co. cleaned out + more," #24 "Apperson-Spiegel ladder," #132 "Spiegel's Cabin" (See Sketch Map B), #134 Spiegel's Cabin is named "Coyote's Cabin" [probably Kroeber heard Ishi's name for it].

Provided (see Fig. N-8) is Professor A. L. Kroeber's follow-up June 8, 1914 letter to the Superintendent, Round Valley Indian Reservation. No response from the Superintendent has yet been found. A response letter may be at the Bancroft Library, in the A. L. Kroeber Correspondence, Records of the Department of Anthropology, C-U 23. The contents of this

Kroeber letter shows Kroeber stepping outside the box from his "ethnographic present" (i.e., pre-contact Indians parameter) to which he rigidly proscribed in his monographs involving cultures.

The A. L. Kroeber letter (Fig. N-8 below) was found and a copy provided the author in 1998, by Cosumnes Community College History Professor Jason Newman (Ph. D., UC Davis), when researching at the National Archives and Records Administration collection, San Bruno, California.

It *has* mattered how much the Speegles knew about Ishi, for more of Ishi's trials and tribulations when one of the "long together five" at Grizzly Bear's Hiding Place have been salvaged and are better understood. This new information brings Ishi's resilience, coping skills, and his plight as a California Indian survivor to a much higher level.

And keeping with Ishi skills, in San Francisco and Berkeley, Ishi demonstrated before the non-Indian families in San Francisco, his traditional tribal skills, which provided a rare window. Ishi was demonstrating ancient arts, an extension of what "pre-contact" traditional arts were like, although there were improvisations that Ishi undertook, such as scavenging for copper wire used to help bind together the parts of his two pronged fishing harpoon, and (metal) cut nails he used, which were filed to sharp points (likely using a metal file, which may have become lost), as his material for his fishing toggle head points. Ishi also chipped clear window pane glass into his arrow-points used for hunting in place of obsidian whose access became most scarce. His "Ishi stick" (double-pointed flaker) was also made from a metal rod or longer cut nails.

Ishi was a master stone and glass flint-knapper. He was a skilled fire-maker. He knew so many things about nature. He could call in the animals to him when hunting. He was highly skilled with his California flat bow; able to hit about anything that moves at a distance of about twenty yards.

99 Widow Elizabeth "Lizzie" (Sauber) Mountain. She married widower "Ike" Speegle on May 5, 1887. Photo courtesy Ray Speegle.

100 "Whisky" On the fourth line down Homer used the British spelling.

100 *Whisky-tee crazy aunatee die man*. In Theodora Kroeber's *Ishi In Two Worlds* (1961:164) we read: "Whisky was clear, but no good. *Whisky-tee crazy aunatee die man*, whisky is crazy fire; causes death. Ishi knew this, he had seen its effects on others early in his civilized life." Either Theodora Kroeber's husband, A. L. Kroeber, told her this or she retrieved it from Dr. Saxton T. Pope's published memories of being with Ishi.

103-105 Rose Waugh shared that her 82 year old cousin, Sonny Josephson (son of Cyrel Josephson and Dorothy Hedge) would be good to also interview. Sonny's oral family history is that Ishi was first witnessed in John Adams Clark's barn, located about two miles farther up Hwy 70 to the Yankee Hill vicinity, and go west 1/2 mile on Concow Valley / Pinkston Canyon Road exit (Rose Waugh letter to author post-marked Jan. 18, 2011).

Konkow Valley Band of Maidu. Patsy D. Seek is their Tribal Chairwoman. Many family descendants of John Adams Clark and of Katie (Clark) Josephson's extended family members provide their tribal histories Online:

<<http://www.maidu.com/index.html>>

109 Source that Ishi was attempting to treat his companion's gunshot wound. George C. Mansfield (1924) wrote:

The day following his capture, the Indian was again taken to the slaughterhouse. There by signs he told of a long trip through the mountains. Apparently three Indians had started, two bucks and a mahala. One buck had been shot, evidently being mistaken for a deer by some hunter. His burial was described with vivid signs and loud wailing. The mahala had then died, leaving the one Indian alone.

George C. Mansfield 1924 "Ishi" [two page document] *The Feather River in '49 and the Fifties*. Red Bluff, California: Tehama County Free Library by KRAFT on July 5, 1963. pp. 18, 36 [Typed on California State Library stationery].

CHAPTER 5. CAPTURED (PAGES 111-118)

112-113 Charles Ward Slaughterhouse photographs (Figures 153, 154, and 173) are exclusive photos taken by butcher William Kroeger in 1911, and were provided this researcher courtesy of his son, Harold Kroeger and wife Ruth Kroeger of Oroville. The *verso* of the photo (Figure 153) original reads in pencil, "Ward's Slaughter House Yard on Quincy Rd." This was the "close pen" or "round pen."

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY

AFFILIATED COLLECTOR, SAN FRANCISCO.

June 8, 1914.

Superintendent,
Round Valley Reservation,
Covelo, California.

Dear Sir:

While on a recent trip with Ishi, the last surviving member of the Southern Yana tribe of Tehama county, I was told by a number of parties a story of substantially the same effect, and which seems to be correct at least in essentials. This is that in 1883, or not many years before or after, two men in a cabin in the hill country of Deer creek or Mill creek, east of Red Bluff, captured, or were visited by, two Indian women of the same tribe as Ishi; these two women being apparently part of the same little band which from 1865 until 1911 lived concealed in the more remote parts of this district. These two men brought the two Indian women to Red Bluff, and from there they were taken to Round Valley, where the older of them died. In regard to the younger woman who, according to some accounts, was not much more than a girl at that time, the story varies; one version having it that she too died, while the other reports her to have run away from the Reservation, presumably to return to her old haunts and relatives.

I am wondering whether your office has any record substantiating this story, or in the absence of any official record sufficiently detailed, whether there is anyone in the Valley remembering the occasion. If true, it must have caused some interest and comment at the time, since the women must have been almost if not quite uncivilized, and moreover, their language must have been entirely different from that of any of the tribes settled on the Reservation.

We are trying, on behalf of the University, to run down the history of this remarkable and elusive little tribe, and I should be very grateful for any information which you could furnish me, or put me in the way of securing.

Very truly yours,

A. L. Kroeber

Curator.

Figure N-8.

This A. L. Kroeber letter was found (and a copy provided the author) in 1998, by graduate student Jason Newman, when researching at the National Archives and Records Administration collection, San Bruno, California.

113 Floyd W. Hefner obituary is: "Death of Cousins Recalls Saga of Ishi" (1968, December 14) *Oroville Mercury Register*.

114 "*chico, chico*" comes from Kessler 1973c. On Kessler 1973b, he described that "Ishi whispered "SSSSShho, which you could say sounded like maybe "*chico, chico*." See also page 138 of Ch. 7 involving Mrs. Della Belling. William Conway who was also present with Mrs. Della Belding at the Oroville jail on August 29th, reported he distinctly heard the Indian prisoner say "chico" to Mrs. Belding (Heizer 1979:94).

"Chico" in Spanish means "little boy," while "chica" means "little girl." Intriguing is the fact that Ad Kessler thought he heard Ishi repeating, "chico, chico" when he first got up close to the intruder. After the nervous horses and the four dogs alerted fourteen year old Floyd W. Hefner and he saw the human form in the shadows, the boy exclaimed "Ad, there's a man up here!" So it remains conceivable that Ishi was announcing in resignation something to the effect that "Ah, the chico found me!" This is speculative but it is also true that Ishi's Yahi language had acquired some Spanish language words over time.

Page 117 "Panama" and "Kid Webber." Ishi's first non-Indian name were nicknames that Under-Sheriff christened for the two law men who arrested the "Indian without a name." In 1911, Californians were already preparing to host the 1915 Panama Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco. Constable Toland was apparently on the committee for Butte County's PPIE exhibit. "Kid Webber" stood for Sheriff John Brooks Webber. "Kid" in 1911 likely came from the "Yellow Kid" comic character and drawn by R. F. Outcault (est. 1895). This was a precursor to the newspaper "funnies."

118 The unveiling ceremony of the new California Historical Landmark No. 809, took place on a rainy day on January 29, 1966. Floyd Walter Hefner was one of guests attending. Floyd was one of three listed in the official program for "Unveiling of the Plaque," along with "A. F. Kessler and Jeffery A. McInturf." Young McInturf (in Fig. 164), was ten years old had queried his father, Haskel A. "Hack" McInturf, "How come there isn't a monument for Ishi, while there is a marker up the road for Black Bart, who was the stagecoach robber?" With his family's encouragement, young Jefferey's question got the ball rolling. Landmark No. 809, can be visited today on the Old Oro-Quincy Road, 2 ½ miles from downtown Oroville.

118 Butte County Jail (constructed in 1904) and County Court House (far right, second building) used to occupy Courthouse Square. The jail entrance faced Robinson Street. Both the Jail and the Court House were demolished in October 1975, after the 6.1 earthquake on August 1, 1975.

Ishi's jail cell door is on display today in Oroville at the Butte County Historical Society Museum, located at 1749 Spencer Avenue, south of the railroad tracks and across the field from the Depot Restaurant. Mr. ElRoy Nathan explained in his personal letter to Richard Burrill, dated February 10, 2000 that:

During my term as President of the Butte County Historical Society (1974 & 1975), I learned that the old Butte County jail was about to be demolished. I asked Mr. Kessler because of his experiences with Ishi to please show me the cell occupied by Ishi while the building was still intact, but unoccupied and being prepared to be demolished.

We entered the jail building up a short flight of steps leading to the former Sheriff's office, then up one flight to the second floor almost directly over the Sheriff's office.

CHAPTER 6. THE INDIAN'S WANDERINGS (PAGES 119-126)

125 Dr. Leland C. Burrill. The author's wonderful and supportive father passed away on October 20, 2007. I asked him one day, "What is science?" He response came back fast: "Replication, replication, and more replication."

CHAPTER 7. SPECIAL VISITORS (PAGES 127-162)

128-129 Gramps family. Charles Buren Gramps' life dates were 1888-1972. He was one of eight children born to parents Henry Christopher Gramps (1867-1943) and Molly Florence Cayenne (1869-1958). It was Charles Gramps' sister Ada Irene Gramps (1910-1968) who married Edward Horatio Pinkston (1892-1965). Charles Buren Gramps married Nina Alice Mullins. The Gramps clan is a big one today in greater Butte County.

Gramps' first language was the Pulga dialect of the Konkow Maidu subgroup. The original Pulga speakers lived on the North Fork of the Feather River at Pulga. It was told by Bryan Beavers that the Yahi raiders came to "this fishin ground up here this side of Pulga, see. They come down and they caught her" (Duncan 1998:153).

128 Anna [Morrison] Reed. Her possible connection with Ishi remains suspect. Only one newspaper article stated such. It was "Local Woman Aids Educator in Studying Captured Aborigine" (1911, September 11) *Oroville Mercury*. This appeared one week after Ishi had been brought to San Francisco when Reed was in Petaluma (north of San Francisco) employed as a writer for *The Northern Crown Magazine*, published in Petaluma and Ukiah. More of Reed's possible Ishi related data may be gleaned from one or more other articles that she wrote ca. 1911-1918. The Grace Hudson Museum may have some of Reed's back issues written in Ukiah. This may be of interest to a future researcher.

While the *Oroville Mercury* article stated, "At the request of Professor Waterman she will continue to talk with the man and will arrange her talk in book form and it will be printed," the book remains unknown.

Anna Medora Morrison Reed (born December 21, 1849 - died May 23, 1921) was the daughter of Guy Morrison and Mary Elmira Preston whose homestead was on North Table Mountain. Anna wrote that local "Indian Charlie" was adopted and raised as a white man by Morrison family. Anna was introduced to California Indian languages by Indian Charlie. But presumably, Indian Charlie spoke one of the Konkow Maidu dialects. It remains only Anna who described the "Wyami" language at former Beatson's Hollow village on North Table Mountain as also being the Deer Creek Indians' language. It may be that Beatson's Hollow, was a mixed Maidu-Hawaiian enclave. This former Wyamis village may have been an early "hot bed" for culture change. Indian Charlie raised a family of which only a son and several grandchildren now survive. As late as 1963, a grandson of Indian Charlie, Leland Scott, was living on Table Mountain north of Oregon City.

Bibliography: Anna Morrison Read 1917 "A Pioneer Mother Who Built Her Own Monument" *The Northern Crown*, Vol. 7 (No.1). Ukiah, California. This was reprinted in 1975 in the *Diggin's Vol. 19* (No. 4), Oroville, California: Butte County Historical Society, pp. 3-7. One grandson named John E. Keller published her diaries and other writings 1978 *Anna Morrison Reed, 1849-1921*. Lafayette, California. Nothing in this work mentioned Ishi.

A file had been started by this researcher titled "Anna Morrison Reed."

134-135 William Conway family - On February 4, 2004. This researcher secured an interview with Bill Conway's grandson, Jody Conway, of the Bidwell Mechoopda tribe. Jody Conway was born in 1939, so he never knew his grandfather who died in 1932 ("Death Takes Well Known Medicine Man [1932, April 4] *Chico Daily Enterprise*, p. 1/1).

Richard Burrill: What are your reactions to what I read you about Ishi and your grandfather?

Jody Conway: Well, about Ishi understanding my grandfather making a sign, that's probably true. Only one Indian to another would know what signs were at that time.

RB: Why don't you go ahead and give me, as a family member, a biography about Bill Conway, your grandfather?

JC: According to our history, Bill Conway, was left by his father, John Conway, with a Wintu Indian medicine woman in Redding. Her name is not remembered. That was how he learned her business and became a medicine man, herbalist. As he grew up, he moved to Chico to the [Bidwell] Rancheria and helped the people here. He was a spokesperson for the tribe. He was a great leader. The people looked on him for everything because he was a medicine man.

He went out and picked ancient herbs, which have been here since ancient times. I used to go pick herbs with my father. I never talk about what we really did. These are things you just don't talk about. Like a lot of the recipes, I'll never say because they didn't believe in doing this. It was a family thing. I never talk about that. We used to go out and pick our own medicines wild. . . .

The local doctors were jealous of my grandfather. There were cars sometimes parked two cars deep waiting to see him. He was a very popular man. In his last year he made over \$250,000 and that was a lot of money in the late 1920s. He was fined \$100 and again \$200 by the state board of medical examiners and got arrested several times on charges of violating the medical practices act.

RB: What about Bill Conway's earlier days?

JC: In his early days, Bill Conway was a laborer in the stock division of the Bidwell Ranch. He also worked as a stagecoach driver for John Bidwell.

RB: I have here in "Wild Indians Still Roam In Butte County (1908, November 12) *Oroville Daily Register* that your grandfather spoke with knowledge about an old Deer Creek Indian chief named "Krogdo." I'm wondering about "Krogdo."

JC: No. That name is unknown to me.

RB: About languages, do you retain some of the Mechoopda language yourself?

JC: I knew a few Indian words. I don't talk about them today. I had the chance to learn the language from Emma Cooper but I told her I didn't want to learn it because if I got older people would come to me and want to know this and that and I didn't want to deal with that. So I had a chance to learn to speak it. But I didn't do it. Emma Cooper died in about 1962. We have her language taped which other tribal members study today.

RB: Okay. About the early days and the Bidwells?

JC: As for what my tribe thinks of Annie Bidwell, right now she is not very well liked because "they" were cheated out of an inheritance. Some of the "kids" here were Annie Bidwell kids. Before Annie [Kennedy] got here he had kids, some of the Wilsons. They aren't Wilsons, they are Bidwell's kids. She knew he had kids. She never could have kids. She took care of the kids, showed them how to sew. They worked here on the Ranch.

Annie did leave the Mechoopda with some property, where the campus is today. Mrs. Bidwell had our roundhouse torn down* because of the Christianity thing.

According to Ellis and Magliari (2004:282) about the village roundhouse and Annie Bidwell involved in its demise we read:

Nevertheless, she did not get her way until after the death of John Bidwell in 1900 and chief Holi Lafonso in 1906. Mechoopda tradition dictated that the roundhouse be demolished after the chief's death and that a new structure be built. It was a sign of Annie's ultimate success, therefore, when only the first half of this custom was observed. When the roundhouse was finally razed in February 1907, nothing rose in its stead. A new era in Bidwell-Mechoopda relations had begun." [Also] Annie believed "this use of the sweathouse was a heathen form of worship" and she "always did try to get [the Mechoopda] to do away with the sweathouse after she build the church.

Today there are about 400 Mechoopda tribal members. They received federal recognition in 1992.

137 Another "Donner Party doll" may be viewed at Oroville's Pioneer Memorial Museum. Betty (Danforth) Boyle Davis points to the "second of a kind" Donner Party doll (1846), which is not as well known as the Patty Reed doll. Keeping first with the Patty Reed doll named "Dolly," Patty's real name was Martha Reed. Martha Jane Reed Lewis willed her doll to Sutter's Fort in Sacramento in 1923. Stands only 3 3/4" high. "Dolly" survived the Donner Party tragedy in part because of her size. When Patty's other toys were abandoned in the Salt Desert, "Dolly" was concealed inside Patty's dress and so came to California (info. on backside of post card).

Figure N-9.

Jody Conway holds son Jody Lee Conway circa 1939 in front of the massive Hooker Oak tree in Bidwell Park, Chico, California. The Hooker Oak aka the "Bidwell Oak" was over 300 years old when it was felled by a storm in 1977. Photo reprinted courtesy of Jody Lee Conway.



Meet the "Hunter Doll." Oroville's Pioneer Memorial Museum (OPMM) located at 1067 Montgomery Street in downtown Oroville is now owned by the City of Oroville, and has three Donner Party relics in their collection. They are: (1) one doll (2) one oxen yoke donated by Harry Hume, OPMM #271, and (3) one historian McGlasham book (copy) with four survivors' autographs presented by Mrs. Robert Smith, OPMM #828 & #994.

For purpose of discussion, this second doll shall be referred to as the "Hunter Doll." She is an orphan [Size: Stands about 8" tall.], for her original owner is unknown. While its OPMM's accession number remains misplaced, the doll's discoverer is known, and who bequeathed it to his son who gave it to second private party, who, in turn, bequeathed it to the OPMM in "1984." More research is needed and is welcomed. For a little bit more information about the "Hunter Doll," contact the author.

142-145 How many Yana dialects were there? – Arguably, Southern Yana and the "Yahi" division were likely one and the same; that there were always three, not four, dialects of the Yana family of languages. Why? It is a fact that Professor Edward Sapir's Yana language study was still a "work in progress" when he suddenly died in 1939. In the summer of 1915, Sapir successfully "captured" Ishi's "southern most Yana dialect." Upon completion in 1915, Sapir announced four dialects, namely: Northern Yana, Central Yana, Southern Yana, and Yahi. Twenty-one years after Sapir's death, linguist Morris Swadesh in 1960, was encouraged to pick up Sapir's unfinished project. In 1960, Swadesh coauthored with Sapir's name, *The Yana Dictionary*. Swadesh had sorted through all of Sapir's Yana phonetics of Ishi's. Swadesh wrote the "Introduction" for the new dictionary as well. From Sapir and Swadesh (1960:14) one reads, "Only thirteen words and one phrase of Southern Yana can be cited."

The first time "Yahi" appeared in print was on September 6, 1911 ("Lone Survivor of Southern Yahi's Strange Man" [1911, September 6] *San Francisco Chronicle*, page 1/1 (See Fig. 11). The day before, Sam Batwee, the Central Yana interpreter recruited from Redding to help open communications with Ishi, heard Ishi use the noun, "Yahi" [*Yaaxi*] for the name of his tribe, "his people." The first published source of "Yahi" was this:

"In return for his first lessons in civilization, giving his own language, the customs of his people —extinct, but for himself— the legends of his tribe and its religious beliefs and history. Ishi, lone survivor of the Southern Yahi Indians, is a guest at the Anthropological department of the Affiliated Colleges, tutor of and being tutored by Professor A. L. Kroeber and T. T. Waterman.

"At first it was supposed that the tribe to which Ishi belonged was Southern Yana. From him, however, the name was learned to be Yahi."

144 *Ici*, as abbreviation of "man." During Waterman's 1911 sessions with the Indian in Oroville, Waterman labeled his original (first) research notebooks and file folder tabs "*Ici*," an abbreviation of the noun "*i citi*" ("man"). This apparently set the tone that the Indian's assigned name would be retained "similar" but spelled "Ishi." For example, Folder 35.4 reads:

Ici

Fate Of Dead

Yana Notebook 4

TTW

These files are preserved in the Bancroft Library. UC Berkeley.

"Man" in the language of the Indians who live in north-central California, inclusive of Oroville and Chico, was learned by Stephen Powers to be "*maidu*" [pronounced my-doo]. Stephen Powers (1877) first used "Maidu" as his descriptive label for these Indians, and, over time, it became their general tribal name.

152 Sheriff Robert Anderson. That "In 1890, he was elected to the first of two terms as Butte County Sheriff (1890- 1894)" comes from Ellis and Magliari (2004:264).

158 Likely source of Indian artifacts brought to the jail by Martin C. Polk. It is now hypothesized that Martin C. Polk obtained the Indian artifacts taken in 1908 from the Indians camp on Deer Creek may have come from Charles Herrick. Herrick is the more likely source because "Herrick was dropping a survey line for MC Polk's personal water claim" (Waterman 1918a:30).

Also, it has been determined from an e-mail on 1-20-2011 from Martin Collins Polk Sr.'s granddaughter, Shirley (Polk) Cox of San Diego, California, that Martin C. Polk Sr. (1872-1956) never had a brother named Will D. Polk. Her grandfather's siblings were: one brother named Thomas Henry Polk (1877-1955), and two sisters, Etta and Julia.

From the Lingenfelter (1996) Archives, Will D. Polk was likely William Downs Polk, who was born in Missouri in 1845, was married and living on Singer Creek, and was listed as lumberman in 1896. Will D. Polk apparently comes from a separate line of "Polk"

However, Martin C. Polk Sr., apparently knew of Will D. Polk because Professor T. T. Waterman (1918a) interview Index Card notes on pages of Martin C. Polk on pages 30-31 [2nd of three entries] of T. T. Waterman index cards reads:

1908 (?)

MC Polk

Season? One year before Indians were "found" WD Polk & K. Crowder (Lucas & Crowder Meat Market), went down Deer creek ½ mile below Speegles'. Everything was taken by the time they returned, including barley, excepting a little rice & canned stuff. Indians never took canned goods. The "Stetson" was dropped during this raid.

159 In Search of Ishi's Bear Claw Necklace, a chronology. Documents obtained by this researcher indicate that before Stilson death in 1933, Stilson lent his collection of Native American artifacts to the State Indian Museum AND his collection of early California pieces to Sutter's Fort, with the stipulation that Mrs. Harry Clark of Hamilton City, became the heir of Stilson's estate. The two Stilson Collections were to remain "on loan" until his demise, which occurred in early November of 1933 (Grenbeaux to Larry Myers on 6/6/2000). Now the heir could negotiate terms of sale with the State of California. On August 24, 1935, a State of California, Department of Finance, memorandum by Frank Killam to Arlin Stockburger about the pending sale of the Stilson Indian Collection stated that: "If it is purchased, there is a considerable duplicate [sic] materials which we can trade for other specimens which we do not have at the present time." Finally, in 1935, Mrs. Clark received \$1,400 from the State of California for both of Stilson's collections. Note: Mr. Stilson's Native American collection alone comprised 2,157 artifacts.

Based on this chronology, we now ponder hypothetical explanations for where the necklace may have gone:

(1) Based on the anonymous Stilson admirer's descriptions (above) published in 1940, it is surmised that this writer must have observed the strand "made from bear claws" prior to 1933 in Stilson's home at the corner of Seventh and Salem Streets in Chico, California. This was also before Stilson's two big collections were loaned respectively to the California State Indian Museum and Sutter's Fort. So this narrows down the span of years when Ishi's bear claw necklace disappeared to sometime after 1933.

(2) The bear claw necklace may have been traded by staff for other specimens needed. Perhaps to the American Museum of Natural History in New York City or to the Smithsonian?

(3) We note that the "paints" remained transparent in 1911, 1914, and again in Chico in about 1933 (prior to Stilson's death) when likely observed by the anonymous admirer in Stilson home at Seventh and Salem Streets in Chico. This was not the case regarding the bear claw necklace, vanity box, and hair brush (of soap root?). The latter three appear to have been obtained by Stilson post 1914 or after Waterman's cataloguing work.

(4) It remains odd that on September 13, 1914, when Waterman was in Chico and wrote his "Cataloguing of the J. McCord Stilson Collection" items #52 and #53 have no descriptions. Was there a reason for this? Were they items that Stilson told Waterman not to identify at that time? Was the bear claw necklace supposed to be #52 or #53? (See Waterman's "Cataloguing of the J. McCord Stilson Collection" (pages 1 & 2) above in the Chapter 1 Notes).

(5) Three items that were identified by the anonymous Stilson admirer but were never assigned Stilson item numbers were: the bear claw necklace being south, the hair brush, and the vanity box. Maybe after Stilson's death, one or more of these items were transferred (relocated) to the early California relics that went to Sutter's Fort? Or maybe they were purloined, heaven forbid!

The disposition of the Bear Claw Necklace remains unresolved at this writing. Ileana Maestas, Curator I in her letter dated April 26, 2010 to this researcher states "regarding the bear claw necklace ---After an extensive search, Parks has no record of any bear claw necklace or bear claw items that are affiliated with the McCord-Stilson donation." Ann Fry, Curator II, at the California Parks and Recreation's State Museum Resource Center upon looking through the data base stated in her e-mail, dated 12/22/10 "I did not find objects that you described."

CHAPTER 8. THE FEUD (PAGES -163-170)

165 "He evinced a patronizing attitude, which developed *pari passu*. . . Latin *pari* means "equal" and *passus* means "step." At an equal pace, side by side.

167 "Ishi would painstakingly pluck out his own facial hairs, one at a time." In Grizzly Bear's Hiding place, a small looking glass or pocket mirror was found (Apperson 1971:55). Conceivably it was the one Ishi used to pluck out his facial hairs.

167 "Batwee . . . paused sometimes." Waterman (1918:65) wrote, "There was a good deal of divergence between their dialects, besides, which made communication somewhat laborious."

167 "Ishi was also speaking to Batwee in Central Yana." Linguist specialist Victor Golla (CSU Humboldt), also verified this. Golla (2003:211) wrote, "Ishi was able to understand Batwee's Central Yana, and Batwee was quick to become Ishi's mouthpiece." After Canadian linguist Edward Sapir studied Ishi's spoken languages in 1915, Sapir declared that Ishi spoke a dialect other than Southern Yana. Sapir named this dialect "Yahi." The name Yahi means "people" as opposed to "Indian people of another tribe." In the Yana language family, Sapir concluded there were four dialects: Northern Yana, Central Yana, Southern Yana, and Yahi. Yana belongs to the Hokan stock.

167 "Waterman, early on, surmised that his second tongue was Southern Yana." The term, "Southern Yana," was changed to "Southern Yahi" on September 5, 1911, and first published as such on September 6, 1911, in *The San Francisco Chronicle* (This news story with two photos of "Ishi" with his new name appears on page xiv, Figure 11).

167 "Turner and his wife . . . went to the newspaper, to announce this fact." Jacob P. Turner (1844-1920) and wife Nora Harbin Turner's story published about Ishi having worked for them on their former Buck's Flat property, Tehama County is: "Santa Rosans Ishi's Friends." (1911, November 13). *Oroville Daily Register* (The Turner couples's "frontier reciprocity" is described in Part II to come).

From "Pioneer Sketches I. The Old Lassen Trail" (1883 July-December) *Overland Monthly Vol. 2 Series 7* pp. 76-77, reads, in part, that:

The once numerous tribe is now almost extinct . . . About a year ago [1882], on several different occasions, two or three of these Indians at a time came to the home of Mr. Turner, on a tributary branch of the Antelope. Two young squaws first came, who seemed to explain by signs that they had left the Indians because one had killed a babe of the eldest girl lest its cries should discover them to the whites. Many kindly disposed persons sent these girls clothing and provisions. Others afterwards came in. They showed their camp in a rough, unfrequented part of the cañon, and it seemed they desired peaceable intercourse with the whites. Some reckless fellows who lived in these hills, learning all this, armed themselves and attempted to surprise them in their home. Failing in this, they set fire to their really comfortable quarters, and these, with their utensils, bedding, and winter store of wild oats, acorn, etc., were all consumed. Seeing no Indians, the bravoës fired a fusillade at surrounding rocks and bushes, and retired, says one, "all covered with glory."

The two squaws at Mr. Turner's, on attempting to rejoin their people shortly afterwards, were tracked by some of the same men [reckless white bravoës] to a cave and captured; after being held captive some time they were taken to Red Bluff. The authorities there provided them with a prison cell over one night, and in the morning tuned them loose to "shift" for themselves. The younger, a mere girl, died a few months after. The other, we believe, is now on a government reservation. A few months since, a ragged, dirty, half-clad, very old man and woman, scarred and crippled and bent with age, their heads covered with sunburnt clay and their faces smeared with tar, along with two other younger men of somewhat similar appearance, came to Buck's Flat, and after uneasily staying a few hours, stole away. These are the last of the Mill Creeks. They had with them no weapons, and they understood no English. They gave a small sum of money to the proprietor of the place, and although apparently regarding the whites with suspicion, seemed friendly in all their intentions.

Another page found by this researcher with T. T. Waterman's handwriting commingled in the Alfred L. Kroeber's papers reads: "Four Indians came to Turners." Mrs. Turner wrote from Santa Rosa" (A. L. Kroeber papers. BANC FILM 2049, Reels 161:456).

167 "says that he has been shot at . . ." We may recall in Ch. 4 (Fig. 152) that Twoboë and Frank Day witnessed Ishi conducting a healing ceremony for a companion who "suffered from a gunshot wound."

167 "He had a wife but she is dead now and he is all that is left." This matches part of "The Indian's Wanderings" in Ch. 6.

167 “This man is one of my tribe, the North Yana.” Batwee was impressed by Ishi’s Yana dialect skills. Ishi’s readiest language was Yahí, or Southern Yana, with Central Yana apparently his second strongest.

168 “He . . . has a kind of mixture, between my language and Mexican.” *Saltu* or *Saldu*, the Yahí word for “white people” (which Waterman spelled phonetically as call-tu), perhaps derived from *soldado*, the Spanish for soldier (Sapir and Swadesh 1960:149). Ishi’s pidgin “English,” in fact, included three Spanish words, *camisa*, *vaca*, and *papel*. Mahala may stem from Spanish *mujer* for “woman.” (Golla 2003:213, 222).

168 “He [wants me] to put rings in my ears and a small stick in my nose and become an Indian.” The “rings” are deerskin thongs, and the “stick” in his nose refers to wearing a nasal retainer placed in the perforated nasal septum (See more on page 121 of Ch. 6).

168 “. . . why Ishi was better at making white friends.” Starting in the mid 1850s, Ishi’s Yahí territory began to experience a steady influx of Indian fugitives from neighboring tribes who intruded or encroached on Ishi’s traditional homeland. The biggest factor why so many were in their home territory was the failed attempts to establish viable Indian Reservations at Nome Lackee at Paskenta near Red Bluff and at Nome Cult at Covelo, Round Valley. The Native people at these reservation sites were brutalized. Indian family members were maimed, killed and kidnapped, which led to retaliations against the white man.

These displaced Indians were labeled by Whites as the dangerous “Mill Creeks.” Ishi’s small Yahí band were judged guilty by association. A general massacre event occurred in 1864, which eliminated most of the Yana Indians (Curtin 1899 & Burrill 2003). Most of the displaced Indians in Ishi’s homeland put pressure and demands on the Yahí. They wanted protection and to be shown the best hiding places. These “Mill Creeks” leaned on the Yahí in many ways that left Ishi and his band uneasy. This history helps explain why Ishi “did better making white friends over native friends.”

CHAPTER 9. DEPARTURE FROM OROVILLE FOR SAN FRANCISCO (PAGES 171-182)

176 Steam engine locomotive history. 1938 was the zenith year for steam engines. Western Pacific, for example, paraded four 2-8-8-2’s from Baldwin and seven 4-6-6-4’s from American Locomotive Company (Alco). The last lot of steamers left the roster in 1949, 1950, and 1951. They were basically gone by June 1952. The close of 1953 saw only nine steam engines left on the Western Pacific roster: three 2-8-0’s, one Mike, three 0-6-0’s and two Northerns. Two other engines remained on WP property, No. 26 which has been donated to Travel Town in Griffith Park in Los Angeles and was still being worked on, and 4-6-0 No. 94, retained for historical purposes (Dunscomb and Stindt 1980:15).

1939 diesel made its first appearance with the arrival of three 600 HP switchers and in May of 1940 GMC’s big demonstrator growler, all four units and 193 feet of it (Dunscomb and Stindt 1980:15).

Fuels —WP used both coal and oil. Coal was used extensively, though not exclusively. Before 1928 many of the engines were changed back and forth between coal and oil as one became cheaper than the other. Coal was not used west of Winnemucca and in later years all engines on WP were oil burners except a few of the Baldwin 2-8-0’s, a few 4-6-0’s plus a few others (Dunscomb and Stindt 1980:15).

176 Steam engine (or steam locomotive No. 5). She was a 2-8-0 Consolidation Freight. It was built by Baldwin in Philadelphia in 1906, with: Builder Number 29240; Road Class 1; Symbol C-43. Its Driver was 57” in diameter while its Cylinders were 22” x 30.” Total engine weight was 207,000 pounds; tender capacity was 800 gallons of water, 350 gallons of oil or 16 tons of coal. Overall length (measured from coupler face to coupler face) was 68.4 feet long.

Engine No. 5’s last used date was November 1949. Its Disposition Date was December ’49, when sold for scrap to Luria Brothers, San Francisco. Actual scrapping was by California Metals Company, Pittsburg, CA. [Dunscomb and Stindt (1980:15-16, 306)].

178 WP’s Locomotives. WP routinely used the 2-8-0 Consolidation through the mountainous Feather River Canyon segment, rather than a 4-6-0 ten wheeler, because the 2-8-0 had smaller diameter driving wheels which provided more power. Thus, a locomotive 2-8-0, Number 5, would have “conceivably” come into Oroville from the east, picked the threesome up in Oroville, taken them the one mile west [to the roundhouse] and then a 4-6-0 ten wheeler would have switched or replaced locomotive Number 5 for the rest of the trip west across the relatively flatter Sacramento Valley all the way to Oakland’s Mole.

Number Five? We have the coincidence that Ishi's tribe's ritualistic number was "5" (Kroeber 1925:441 and Heizer 1978:383) and Waterman (1918:66) observed that approaching from the east was steam locomotive "Number Five." Not to doubt Waterman's keen eyes of observation, I queried WP historian, Guy L. Dunscomb, for further confirmation. Dunscomb's September 8, 1999 letter received stated, "As of 1911 the Western Pacific had locomotives numbered from 1-65 and 71 to 106. Any of these engines could have hauled a train from Oroville to Oakland but it would be impossible to say which one at any particular time."

Dunscomb's December 1, 1999 letter read, "I do not agree with Mr. [Charles D. "Chuck"] Wood's statement that in all probability Engine No. 5 brought the train into Oroville and that a 4-6-0 replaced it going out of Oroville but I can agree that it was conceivable."

181 Other Indians lurking outside Oroville? Eighteen days later, however, the *Chico Record*, September 16, 1911, reported that, "According to the Oroville Mercury Adolph Kessler and Will Kruger [Kroeger] have been trying to capture the man . . . who wore no shoes." [Another Deer Creek Indian appears near Oroville. (1911, September 16). *Chico Record*, p. 4.] Published also the next day was the *Chico Record*, September 17, 1911, article titled, "Say Ishi's Squaw Has Been Seen at Oroville;" that "Thomas Neal, stage driver . . . positively declares that he saw the savage woman on two occasions." Nothing more came of either of these reports.



Figure N-10.

Homer Speegle and Ad Kessler in September 1969, standing in front of Kessler's home at 1800 Veatch Street, Oroville, California. Reprinted courtesy of Claude and Louise Speegle of Medford Oregon.

PART TWO. YAHI/YANA CULTURE, ISHI'S BIRTH, AND BLENDED HERITAGE

CHAPTER 10. ISHI'S BIRTH, FATHER, AND YAHI NEIGHBORS (PAGES 183-202)

185 - Population - Ishi's Yahi population was always small. ". . . 300 to 400 Yahi souls lived along mostly Mill Creek (Kroeber 1925:339). Kroeber (1925:341) also wrote about the Yahi that "this little group . . . can hardly have numbered much more than 200 or 300."

185 - Achumawi is now the more common spelling for Achomawi. Kroeber's spelling was "Achomawi."

187:

1 The strongest reason I hold to for Ishi being born in 1854 remains that Seagraves (1915) told TTW that Ishi was about sixteen years old during the Five Bows ceremony, which took place in 1870.

2 *Tuliyani* as Ishi's birth place is less likely because Ishi did not revisit *Tuliyani* in 1914. But was this only for lack of time? *Tuliyani* is only about one mile downstream from Joseph Papey's place whom Eva Marie Apperson (1971:94) listed Ishi revisited, "Joe Pape," among others in 1914. Kroeber did not say in any of his 1914 field notes that they visited Papey's, but Kroeber had written two letters to Papey in 1912 (See pages 80-81 of Ch. 2). It may simply come down to the fact that Kroeber was preoccupied with other observations. One simply cannot be expected to record *everything*.

3 No formal excavation of #30 / #33 has yet been undertaken.

4 The Appendix B names *Yètati*, *Yè 'tschulti* and *Yin 'tschunti* the author found on microfilm on July 1, 2010, commingled in the A. L. Kroeber Papers, BANC Film. 2049, Reel 161:367, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley campus. "Wild" appears to be none other than Ishi's family. That also in the same listing we have the *kalsina* = father being "Northern Yana" and *yella* = sister being associated with "*Daidepa*," which is "Big Meadows people." About *Daidepa*, read discussions on page 65 (w/ Marie Potts) and footnote #2 about *Másya* (#15) in Appendix A, page 217). For *ganna* = mother, her geographical location is not discernible. It looks to be five letters set inside a pair of brackets? It vaguely suggests [*i n ma*], and maybe originally was [*Bāxā'ni*] proper, which included *Ba'tmai wówi* (#126) where Ishi's mother lived and died.

5 Page 16 comes from A. L. Kroeber Papers BANC MSS C-B 925, Carton 17, G1177440621 Folder 17:36. This page 16 was also found by this researcher on microfilm BANC Film 2049 Reel 162 (34-47). The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

6 Kroeber (1914:36) wrote about 161 Pu'lpúlli "Ishi's name for Mt. Lassen on our trip."

7 For more about Ishi's father's probable origins, read discussion in Ch. 2, page 62.

8 *Go'yum k'auna* appears to probably be *Koyonkawoi* depicting the Konkow (Concow) Maidu. See #32 on **Ishi-13** map. Kroeber's reassigned number for #32 became #147 (See Appendix A, pages 212, 228). The dialect of this Maiduan subgroup spoken by the Indians from *Kune'bey* village was likely the Pulga dialect. This was likely the dialect that Bryan Beavers learned growing up at Happy Hollow with his grandparents Harry Edwards and *Wistome* who mostly raised Bryan. *Wistome's* younger sister, Bryan's great aunt, was abducted by Yahi raiders in about 1830 and appears to have been Ishi's mother.

189 - When Ishi's brain was rediscovered, not lost, in about 1999 by Duke University's Professor Orin Starn (2004) in a Smithsonian Institution's warehouse in Sutland, Maryland, and repatriation was agreed to, it was the Redding Rancheria whom Thomas Killion of the Smithsonian's staff approached because they had the closest "cultural affiliation" of anyone for Ishi's southernmost Yahi/Yana heritage. The Redding Rancheria comprises tribe members with Yana, Wintu, and Pit-River heritage.

190 - Regarding Figure 235 map, Ishi's original 1913 sketch map that he drew with 33 Yahi place names forms Appendix F on pages 238-239. The second sketch map that Ishi drew in May, 1914, was Sketch J, which forms Appendix G on page 240.

192 - Photos of Lizard and Cottontail Rabbit. My photo of lizard I took on June 27, 2010 inside "storm cave" on the north side Upper Mill Creek above Bay Tree Village, while the photo of the Mountain Cottontail Rabbit was taken by Justin Wilde on August 12, 2008 in Hanford, Washington. Public Domain.

Mountain Cottontail Rabbit (*Sylvilagus nuttallii*), is one of 7 species of rabbit in CA. Range: E. slopes of Sierra Nevada and Cascades . . . Med. to lg. size w/ long hind legs and a large tail, dark on top and light below. The top of the body is covered in grayish brown fur, and the underbelly is white. Its hind legs are covered with reddish brown hairs. The ears are rather short and rounded. They have black tips and long hairs on their inner surfaces. Whiskers usually white.

194 - This Yahi Seasons Calendar approximates what I believe were the cyclical activities of Ishi's southerly Yana people in pre-contact times. If there is a Yana seasons calendar map elsewhere, I have never seen it. From late June through to the end of October, those able to trek journeyed northeasterly to their summer camp at the higher elevation country closer to Lassen Peak. The Yana's summer camp was likely where Hole-In-The-Ground Campground may be enjoyed today, located behind the Mill Creek Resort. Child's Meadow with its hot springs, and parts of today's Lassen Volcanic National Park were seasonally occupied and enjoyed by the Yana.

CHAPTER 11. THE GOOD YAHI (PAGES 195-202)

197 - Readily apparent in Beavers' lead up "Paiute and Yana" story, is the long-standing grudge that the Konkow Maidu had towards their northern neighbors, the Yahi/Yana, Ishi's people. Any group of people made out of "stone," as opposed to mud, must be heartless and mean people. Notice that Beavers specifically stated "Ishi's people," as opposed to perhaps some of the Mill Creek "renegade" Indians. So it appears that it *was* among Ishi's band of Yana wherein Beavers' Great Aunt was later made the wife of the Yahi raider named *Yètati*.

200 - Beavers' title of the second story, "The Good Yahi," apparently was the title that Beavers encouraged John Duncan to use, but this only surmised. Did T. Kroeber's popular 1961 book, *Ishi In Two Worlds*, influence Beavers and/or Duncan, together, to use the proper name, "Yahi" as opposed to "Yana"?

Also, Ishi's birth year of 1854, fits Beavers' reported time span that: the girl was born about 1821, was 9 yrs. old when kidnapped circa 1830, returned to her people when she was "about thirty-seven or thirty-five years old," circa 1857. The father was likely assassinated that same year, 1857, when Ishi was about three years old. We know as well that Ishi's mother (*Yè 'tschulti*) had fond memories about the "candy man" whom she met at Yankee Hill circa 1858. When Kibbe's Rangers came through for the big round-up in Concow Valley, *Yè 'tschulti* had the resources and the wit enough to "skoot to Deer Creek."

202 - About Figure 251, I discovered this photo in the Special Collections, Dorothy Hill Collection at the Meriam Library. The man with glasses looking up at Bryan Beavers was unidentified. Could he be John W. Duncan III? I queried Brian.

Brian Duncan in Seattle, Washington sent e-mail 3/5/2011: "Hi Mom Richard Burrill sent the attached photo (2MB), and wondered if the person on the left is John Duncan. I said it could well be, but I couldn't be sure, since I only knew what he looked like really several years later, and my memories are most colored by his look when much older. I suppose it could be some other anthropologist between 1965 and 1970, when Bryan Beavers died, or it could in fact be my Dad in early, or mid 1960s, I expect. Do you recognize him? Clothes, glasses? Hair, facial expression? Could it be Bob Rathbun or any other contemporaries you recall from that time? Richard is working on another book on Ishi, and would like to be able to cite a contemporaneous photo of my Dad.

E-mail 3/5/2011 received by author:

Richard,

"My Mom says, yes, that is John W. Duncan III in the photo you sent. Maybe more toward 1965, than 1962, based on amount of gray in BB's beard, but that is only very speculative" --Brian

202 - About Figures 252 and 253: Edward W. Gifford's (1926:276-277) science of human measurements reads:

512. Sampson Grant. M 70. St 1600 HSh 1305 HMF 590 Str 1660 HS 850
WSh 380 LF 460 LH 188 BH 167 LFH 184 LFN 135 BF 148 LN 59
BN 40 LE 68 BE 36----RI 103.8 CI 88.8 FI 91.2 NI 67.8 EI
52.9 ----U24 E 31 Sq 30R (wrist broken) 35L (See pl. 16)

406. Ishi. M 50+ LH 193 BH 163 LFN 131 BF 152 LN 54 BN 42---
CI 84.6 FI 86.2 NI 77.8 ---- Sq 40R 38L (January 9, 1912)----- /SQ 49R
45 L (March 13, 1913) (See present series, XIII, numerous plates.) [Provides Sam Batwi's stats too].

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