

Unpublished manuscript. This study is a term paper prepared for a course on culture change taught by Edward H. Spicer, University of Arizona, turned in May 29, 1962. It is included here because it is the single example of my attempt to apply Spicer's theoretical approach, in his then newly published Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change (1961), to original data that I controlled. The core of my anthropological training was Kroeberian-not Chicago School Social Anthropology. Spicer's comment on the returned paper was "you have put together much information in an orderly fashion" as of course what a good Kroeberian would do, but he believed I could have done more with the analysis.

KLAMATH-MODOC CULTURE CHANGE

By B. K. Swartz, Jr. from [Selected Writings](#)

ABSTRACT

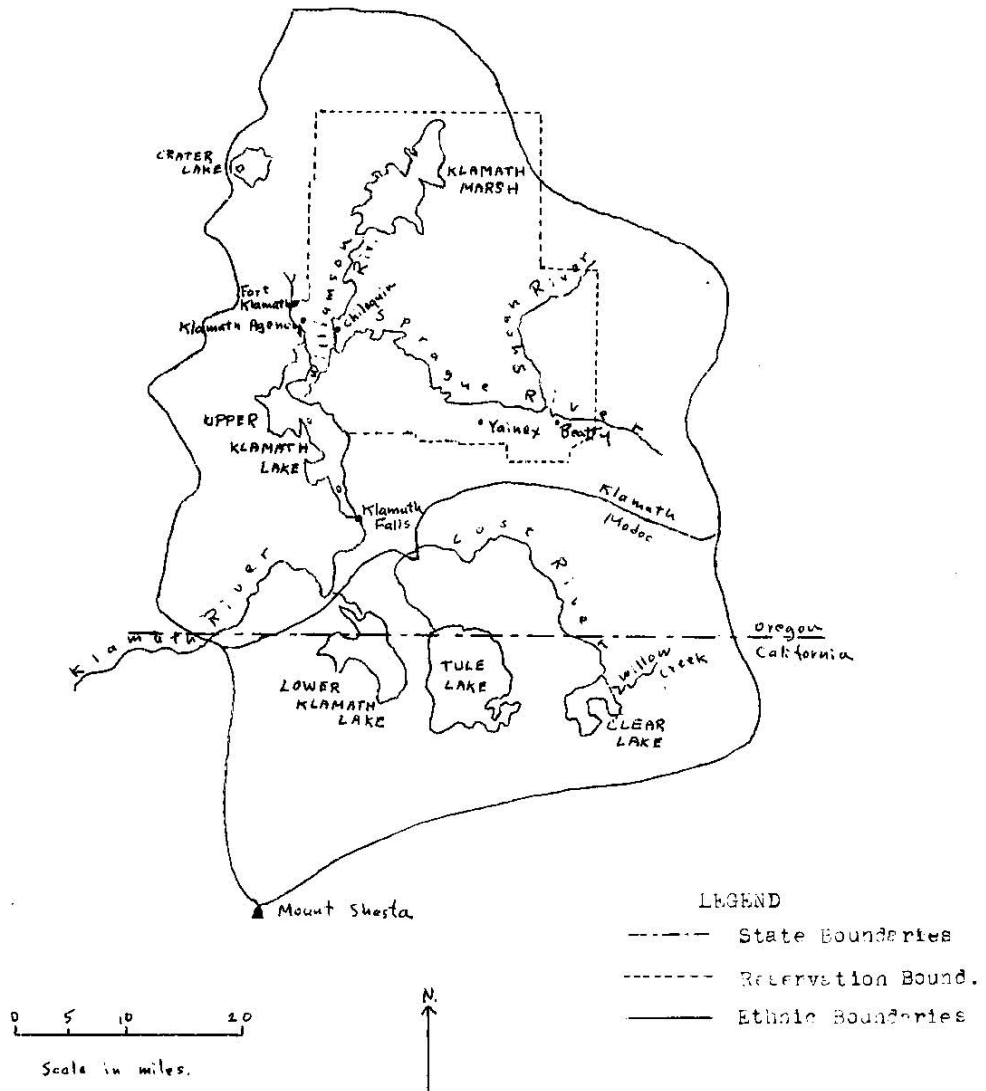
The purpose of this paper is to describe in brief outline the history of culture contact of the Klamath-Modoc Indians with Anglo-American society. An adapted version of the methodology formulated by Spicer (1961) will be employed to study and explain Klamath-Modoc culture change. Nash's (1937) theory of deprivation and Linton's classification of nativistic movements, as modified and applied to the Klamath-Modoc by Ames (1957), will be critically examined.

BACKGROUND

The Klamath-Modoc are a Lutuamian speaking group of Indians residing in the Klamath basin on the east slope of the Cascade Mountains. Linguistically they are affiliated with the Sahaptin speakers to the north and culturally they represent the southern extension of the Plateau area. Plateau sources are apparent in Klamath-Modoc material culture, especially food habits such as valuing fish and devaluing venison, and in certain aspects of social organization.

The Klamath-Modoc are an expression of a lacustrine environment. This environment has produced two distinctive responses--the use of *wocus*, a water lily, seeds for meal as their principle plant food resource and the use of the tule as a major manufacturing material.

Map showing Klamath-Modoc territory and the Klamath Indian Reservation.



HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION

Period I - ? to 1770? "ABORIGINAL"

Kroeber (1925, p. 334) suggests the 1770 date as the ending of the non-Plains, California-like [Plateau-like BKS] manifestation of the Klamath-Modoc lacustrine culture type. Little is known of this period due to obliteration of this lifeway by prehistoric Plains influences of the next period.

Period II -1770?-1835 PLAINS INFLUENCE

General.

In this period a large complex of Plains traits are introduced to the Klamath-Modoc. The three critical introductions were (1) organized warfare, (2) a sense of tribal (rather than local group or "tribelet") solidarity and (3) the horse. Ogden (Elliott 1910, p. 210) observed horses among the Klamath-Modoc in 1826. Other introduced Plains features are sweating by steam (not direct fire) in ethereal sweat huts (not permanent earth-covered sweat pit houses), seasonal and secular use of the semi-subterranean earth lodge (not year round and ceremonial use), buckskin clothing, head deformation, cradle board form, non-tubular pipes, eye shields (Kroeber 1925, p. 335) parfleche use (not manufacture), otter fur braid wrapping and the round shield (Spier 1930, pp.42, 196 and 213). The series of Plains traits accepted by the Klamath-Modoc at this time gave them a new non-Plateau cast.

Exploration.

First contacts with Anglo-Americans occurred in this period, not later than 1825. Ogden (Elliott 1910) reports that Finan MacDonald visited Klamath Marsh in that year.

Political.

It is also probable that the Klamath and Modoc divided into two discrete political entities during this period. Murray (1959, p. 8) suggests a date of ca. 1780 for this event.

Period III - 1835-1864 SLAVE TRADING

Settlement.

Trade relations with Hudson Bay Company traders were initiated in 1835. Upon the departure of the 1835 expedition a number of Klamath were taken to The Dalles, thus, perhaps, opening up for the first time direct contact of the Klamath-Modoc to the outside world (Stern 1956, p. 232). Contact with this group stimulated resultant trade by the Klamath to The Dalles region.

In 1846 an expedition party led by Lindsay and Jesse Applegate laid out an immigrant trail that was to serve as an alternate route for the Oregon Trail further north. The route traversed Modoc territory providing their first extensive contact with Anglo-Americans. Numerous wagon trains were raided along this trail, especially at a spot known as Bloody Point just east of Tule Lake (Murray 1959, pp. 15-20).

Military.

The first military conflict of Klamath-Modocs and Anglo-Americans was in 1846. John C. Fremont's expedition was attacked on Klamath Marsh. Four persons were killed in the raid. A retaliatory raid was made by a unit headed by Kit Carson at Rock Creek on Upper Klamath Lake (Fremont 1845, 1887).

Much literature records an event termed "the Bloody Point massacre" which was to have taken place in 1852. This event was a composite account of a series of attacks made by Modocs on wagon trains traveling on the Southern Route of the Oregon Trail from 1849 to 1852. Few attacks were made during 1847 and 1849 due to a smallpox epidemic (Murray 1959, p. 24).

Also in 1852 an event called "the Ben Wright affair" occurred. The Modocs were invited to a feast where treachery was planned for their extermination. Versions of the event are contradictory. At a later time it was claimed that strychnine was put into the food of the feast though Wright's men deny the charge and claim they were planning to shoot them. The Indians were chary and did not partake of the food, but they were suddenly assaulted. Only five of 46 Indians survived the attack (Murray 1959, pp, 25-27).

Economic.

The most important economic development of this period was the general acceptance of the horse into Klamath-Modoc culture. The added mobility provided allowed for the dispersal of people and ideas. Although it is generally accepted that the Klamath-Modoc political cleavage occurred in earlier times, certainly the horse economies that were established brought about the distinctive features of the Klamath and Modoc that were known ethnographically.

What may have occurred is a regional cultural proliferation due to contrasts of environment, e.g. Klamath-Cascade foothill pine vs. Basin-Range desert scrub. On this base a dichotomous set of horse economies developed. The Modoc established an economic system based on slave raiding of horseless California Indian groups, while the Klamath established an economic system based on slave trading, dependant on improved horse transport. Slaves were shipped to The Dalles for sale on the slave market. Many Klamath spent the winter at The Dalles and many learned Chinook Jargon. Kroeber (1925, p. 319) has discounted the importance of slave raiding, but Spier (1930, p. 39) questions this argument.

Socio-Political.

The selling of slaves at The Dalles developed an entrepreneur class of Klamath. Wealth became an important status factor and a chiefly class arose which was challenging the position of the shaman as the leader of the society at the time of Anglo-American contact.

Period IV - 1864-1871 RESERVATION

In 1863 Fort Klamath, a U. S. governmental military installation, was established in the Wood River Valley area (Zakoji 1953, p. 45). The establishment served as the military center for operations in this and the next two periods.

Attempts were made to negotiate a treaty with the Klamath starting in 1858. On February 14, 1864 Elisha Steele, acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs in northern California, consummated an unauthorized treaty with Captain Jack who he had selected as the leader of the Modoc "nation." Specifications of this treaty were very general, but it was recognized by the Tule Lake Modoc (Nash 1937, p. 385; Murray 1959, pp. 36-37). It was this misunderstanding which was one of the precipitates of the Modoc War.

On October 9, 1864 a treaty was signed at Council Grove, which established the Klamath Reservation. There were 732 Klamath, including 22 "Yahuskin" or Upper Sprague River Klamath and 339 Modocs. Wheeler-Voegelin (1955) has demonstrated that the Yahuskin who were present at the signing of this treaty were Klamath, not Snakes, as is erroneously maintained in most of the previous literature. Paviotso were located on the reservation after its establishment. There were 23 Klamath and 4 Modoc signers. One of the Modoc signers was Keintpoos known historically as Captain Jack. The Walpape Snakes, a Paviotso band under Panina, was included in the negotiations but did not appear for treaty signing (Stern 1956).

The Tule Lake Modocs respected Steels's Yreka treaty rather than the Council Grove treaty because it allowed them to reside in their former territory, the Tule Lake basin. In 1867 Schonchin's Lost River Modoc faction separated itself from Captain Jack's Tule Lake faction and relocated on the newly negotiated Klamath Reservation. Captain Jack's group remained in the Tule Lake basin until 1869. A. B. Meachem, Oregon Superintendent of Indian Administration, convinced Captain Jack to move on to the reservation. The condescending attitudes by the Klamath, who in general regard the Modoc as their country cousins, against the Tule Lake group exasperated them and they bolted the reservation on April 25, 1870 (Nash 1937, pp 389-91).

Upon establishment of the reservation the administrative policy of the U. S. government was to (1) provide food and clothing for Indians unable to exploit their former range, and (2) introduce democratic political institutions, (3) incorporate Indians into Anglo-American farming economy and (4) eradicate shamanism (Nash 1937, pp. 398-99).

Period 5 -1871-1878 REVIVALISM

Military.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs directed T. B. Odeneal, the newly appointed Indian Superintendent of Oregon, replacing A. B. Meachem, to take action to remove the Tule Lake Modoc Indians to the Klamath Reservation. On this directive he wrote a letter to Maj. John Green at Fort Klamath requesting military action be taken to remove the Modoc from Tule Lake and transporting them to the reservation. Upon this request

Green ordered Capt. James Jackson to take his troops to Capt. Jack's Lost River camp and round up the Modoc band, which was attempted November 29, 1872. The Modoc resisted and the war was on. This first encounter was called the Battle of Lost River (Murray 1959, pp. 76-78; Nash 1937, p. 393). In response to this attack a band of the Modoc under Hooker Jim massacred 14 settlers along the north shore of Tule Lake (Murray 1959, pp. 91-92).

The war was terminated June 1, 1873 when Captain Jack surrendered at Willow Creek. Captain Jack's force was comprised of 72 warriors at its maximum. They suffered a single casualty, an important tactician named Ellen's Man. The Modoc defeat was due to political factionalism and feuding on the part of the Modocs--not to military force on the part of the U. S. Army. The U. S. Army casualty list approached a hundred and would have been considerably more if the Modoc had decided to exterminate the remaining soldiers after the Thomas-Wright Battle. This was the only Indian War in which an American general was killed, Gen. E. R. S. Canby. Murray (1959, p. 309) estimates that the war cost to the U. S. government was about \$520,000.

The entire Tule Lake Modoc group, comprising 153 souls were transported to the Quapaw Agency in 1874, after termination of the war.

Economics.

An agricultural program was started in 1869 but was abandoned during the Modoc War. Between 1874 and 1877 grain crops were planted at the Lower End (the area around the east shore of Upper Klamath Lake). These attempts failed due to severe frost (Nash 1937, p. 402). Agricultural attempts were abandoned at the Upper End (Yainex sub-Agency, Upper Sprague River area) when on July 28, 1872 a severe frost destroyed all crops. After these failures stock raising was gradually initiated.

In 1874 300 head of cattle were furnished the Upper End Indians and stock raising was started. Beginnings were slow but this economic pursuit proved profitable in the next period. Cattle were introduced in the Lower End in 1875. Lumbering was initiated in the Lower End in 1876 (Nash 1937, p. 402).

Education.

A Manual Training Boarding School was opened at the Lower End in 1874, but was soon closed due to lack of funds and reopened in 1875. Attendance of male Indian children was mandatory (Nash 1937, p. 402).

Religion.

By 1871 reaction to Anglo-American governmental controls had set in, and this was manifest by a series of revivalist movements. These movements developed out of a Plateau-Great Basin basic substratum, a ceremonial form that Spier (1935) has termed the Prophet Dance. Spier (1935, p. 16) believes that the Prophet Dance extends south to the Paviotso, the innovators of the Ghost Dance. The numerous similarities between the Prophet Dance and the Ghost Dance, such as a belief in the return of the dead, strongly argue for this idea and easily explain the development of the Ghost Dance innovations of

the Paviotso. Certainly the northwest movement of the 1870 Ghost Dance found fertile ground, being superimposed upon a Prophet Dance base.

The 1870 Ghost Dance was introduced to both the Klamath and Modoc in 1871 when Frank Spencer, a Walker River Paviotso, visited the Upper End and performed the ceremony at Beatty. The main theme of the Ghost Dance was the return of the dead.

The Paviotso ritual form introduced by Spencer possessed no regalia of any form. There was no paraphernalia, costumes or instruments. A single line of dancers moved clockwise around a central fire. Songs expressive of Ghost Dance doctrine were sung. Upon accepting the Ghost Dance doctrine it was reinterpreted by the Klamath-Modoc in that Old Man Coyote was the moving force for returning the dead and that animals, formerly common in the region, would also return.

In 1872 Doctor George, a Modoc taking active part in the Beatty ceremonies, introduced the Ghost Dance to the TuleLake Modoc. He introduced three innovations, (1) dancers painted their faces with three horizontal stripes in red, white and black, (2) a rope of twisted tule was placed around the dancing area which could not be passed by anyone wishing to interfere with the ceremony, and (3) a pole was erected east of the central fire hearths.

Curly-haired Doctor, the Tule Lake Modoc shaman, performed the ceremonies during the Modoc War. He had a twisted rope of tule placed around the Stronghold in the belief that the Anglo-American soldiers would be unable to cross it and, therefore, the Modoc would be protected and assured of military victory. Though the Modoc won the encounter, American soldiers did cross the rope and this ceremony became discredited. Undescribed dancing activity occurred just prior to and after the Peace Commission massacre (Murray 1959, pp. 197-98).

The Earth-Lodge Cult was introduced to the Klamath-Modoc in 1874 by Henry Jackson and Pit River Charley after returning from Achomawi areas to the south. These two innovators were Achomawi slaves of the Klamath, but had high status due to wealth. The Earth-Lodge Cult can be distinguished from the Ghost Dance in that it stresses the end of the world rather than the return of the dead, although this was reinterpreted by the Klamath-Modoc into a more aggressive pattern, viz. only Anglo-Americans and unbelievers would be destroyed, destruction occurring by earthquake.

In regards to the performance, dancers were encouraged to faint and dream of the returning dead. Shamans served as mediums and visions were prevalent. Paraphernalia included the earthlodge dance house. The Dream Dance started later in 1874 and, like the Bole-Maru ceremony of northern California stressed the afterlife. The ceremony was performed in an earthlodge, but not a dance house. Participants painted themselves like the dead, sang songs, but did not form rows but danced individually (Nash 1937, pp. 412-35).

Period VI - 1878-1887 MISSIONIZATION

Economic.

Between 1878 and 1881 a total of 235 additional cattle were introduced increasing the total to over 2000 head and Indians were selling beef on the market. The winter of 1880, however, decimated the herds. The cow served as a prototypical image to the Klamath-Modoc of their domesticated horse, and this identification caused handling to be much more readily accepted than farming (Zakoji 1953, pp. 56-57).

Religion.

Christianity was not completely foreign to the Klamath. Expeditions to The Dalles had provided superficial inklings of Christian thought. However in 1877 a Methodist Church was constructed on the reservation and Rev. Nickerson, a Methodist missionary, started his missionizing with the baptism of Lelakes, the head Klamath chief. The response was immediate and many Indians joined the church at once.

There seems to have been little resistance evidenced by the Indians in regard to Christian belief. They appeared to have been anxious about reconciling native and Christian concepts. It seems as though the nativistic movements of the preceding period produced receptivity to religious innovation (Nash 1937, pp. 434-35; Zakoji 1953, p. 71).

Period VII - 1887-1908 POLITICAL TRANSFERENCE

Military.

Military control of the reservation was terminated with the abandonment of Fort Klamath in 1889.

Economic.

Though provisions for land allotment were established in the treaty of 1864 no move on this program was made without official Indian approval. Under the Land Severality legislation embodied in the Dawes Act, passed by Congress in 1888, a land allotment program was initiated upon the Klamath Reservation. The terms of this act were that one could receive 80 acres of farmland, or 160 acres of grazing or timberland. The program was terminated April 15, 1910.

Socio-Political.

During this period the complete transfer of judicial and executive power from the Indians to the reservation officials was accomplished. During the previous period judicial and executive functions were administered by Indians under an Anglo-Agent. The social units established were the police force and the Court of Indian Offenses. This court settled all Indian affairs at the beginning of this period--but by the end of the period it was a figurehead organization and the reservation agents managed all judicial and executive affairs. This development was accompanied by the growth of power politics and factionalism and an increasing discontent on the part of the Indians with agency officials.

The premonitions of factionalism, which in the next period come to plague Klamath-Modoc social organization, start formally in 1904 with the hiring of a private attorney by Jesse Kirk to legally represent his faction (Stern 1961-62, p. 178).

Period VIII - 1908-1929 FACTIONALISM

Military.

The surviving Modocs living on the Quapaw Reservation in Oklahoma are allowed to return to the Klamath Reservation in 1909, and a number do (Murray 1959, pp. 312-13).

Socio-Political.

On August 17, 1908 the Klamath-Modoc elected their first Tribal Council, consisting of twelve seats. It acts as a unit representing the tribe with agency officials. It is significant that the Tribal Council was established at about the same time the Indian Court of Offenses was dissolved. Since tribal affairs had been taken from the hands of the Indians this group had to be formed to let agency officials know of Indian grievances (Dutelle 1951, p. 47).

Religion.

Shaker religion was introduced to the Klamath gradually and in 1914 a church was established at Chiloquin, which subsequently proved to be a key element of shakerism in the California-Oregon sector (Barnett 1957, p. 74).

The Shaker religion, though nominally Christian, in actuality is a subtle blend of shamanistic performance, Catholic ritual and Protestant doctrine. The sect's beginnings were in 1882 when John Slocum, a Squaxin Indian of Skookum Bay near Olympia, Washington, at the end of Puget Sound, "died" and returned to life at which time he recounted a vision (Spier 1935, p. 49).

Period IX - 1929-1960 DIVISION

Socio-Political.

The numerous factions of the previous period are sorted into two divisions over a major economic issue. One division, led by Boyd Jackson, wishes to maintain the reservation and believes that sudden liquidation would cause excessive hardship and turmoil. The second division, led by Wade Crawford, wishes to liquidate the reservation and believes that the Klamath could manage their affairs in the modern world and that monetary compensation would provide good working capital for ambitious Klamath-Modocs (Dutelle 1951, p. 69).

The General Council was formalized in the 1930's by the stimulation of the Wheeler-Howard Reorganization Act. Though the Business Committee conducted legislation the political power blocks were vested in the General Council. In 1950 a constitution and further formalization of the General Council was accomplished (Dutelle 1951, pp. 75, 77).

Another important political unit, established in 1938, was the Loan Board. Political control of the Loan Board provided important threats based on of economic sanctions.

Also, at this time, the tribal delegate institution was formalized. An annual lobby represented by two delegates in Washington, DC with per diem allowance was crystallized (Dutelle 1951, p. 82).

Period XII -1960 - ? TERMINATION

In 1960 the Klamath Reservation was legally terminated and sold to the U.S. government, which established, with some adjacent land, the Winema National Forest. Indians could withdraw from the reservation and have their per capita assets converted to cash or remain in the area under tribal control. The effects of this change are yet to be seen.

ANALYSIS

Using, with some modifications, Spicer's (1961, p. 525; 1962) contact factors, information will be derived that will help elucidate a genetic contact community type at various time periods.

Basic Group Structure.

Period I. No data is available.

Period II. Indirect contact was established between the Plains and Plateau oriented Klamath-Modoc. Prior to this time the political organization of the Klamath-Modoc was at about the same level as that of the California groups, with the "tribelet" (so-called by Kroeber) being the largest political unit. Plains ideas about tribes apparently gave the Klamath-Modoc a sense of tribal solidarity and two tribal units were developed, the Klamath and the Modoc. This period was the only time when no Anglo-American contact was present. From this point on the contact situation is between the Klamath and Modocs and the Anglo-Americans.

Period III. A new social elite developed, the chieftainship, which vied with the shamans for political power. Wealth, prestige and warrior prowess were the determinants for chieftainship--not supernatural power.

Period IV. A legally defined territorial or resident unit was established and three politically separate units were placed therein--the Klamath, Modoc and Paviotso. Friction developed between them. A segment of one of these units violated legal sanctions and deserted the legally prescribed territorial unit--the Klamath Reservation.

Period V. This splinter unit was defeated in military combat and was transported to the Quapaw Agency in Oklahoma, where interaction with its parent unit ceased.

Period VIII. There was a socio-political collapse of reservation organization and numerous factions striving for political power developed.

Period IX. The factions reintegrated themselves into two politically contending units.

Period X. The territorial sanctions of the Klamath-Modoc were lifted. Only persons remaining on the rolls remained in the tribe, causing the Klamath-Modoc social unit to diminish in size.

Innovator Role.

Period II. The society providing innovations was not in face to face contact. It is probable that Plains war culture was respected and Plains culture elements would, therefore, be valued.

Period III. After unpleasant skirmishes with Anglo-Americans evidence suggests that Anglo-Americans were feared. Few cultural elements were accepted from Anglo-Americans at this time.

Periods IV-X. Anglo-American culture was respected. It was obvious by this time that they were going to dominate Klamath-Modoc society. Acculturation and assimilation begin to occur.

Culture Change Techniques.

Klamath-Modoc contact with the Plains was indirect and, therefore, change that was brought about was non-directed. French-Canadian fur trappers did not instigate a culture change program upon the Klamath-Modoc so that contact with them brought only non-direct change too. All the techniques used by Anglo-Americans were coercive in nature, and direct military, though ineptly applied, was used against the Tule Lake Modoc, bringing about the Modoc War.

Dominant Society's Interests.

1. Relocate and concentrate the Klamath-Modoc in an agriculturally non-productive area.
2. Make the Klamath-Modoc self-supporting, first by agriculture, then later by stockbreeding.
3. Incorporate the Klamath-Modoc into the democratic governmental forms of American society (especially off-reservation and post-reservation Klamath-Modoc).
4. Prevent the Klamath-Modoc from violating the Anglo-American moral value system by repressing such institutions as slaving, shamanism, etc.
5. Attempt Anglo-American exploitation of reservation timber and natural resources.

Klamath-Modoc culture change passed through stages that can be characterized by two of Spicer's (1961, p. 526) generic contact community types, (2) Fur Trade and (3) U. S. Reservation. The fur trade contact community involved a market linkage, non-coercive rules and structural stability. Period III closely resembles this contact type. There, however, was a double market, fur and slaves, the latter being the big economical consideration. Also two contact groups for outlet were involved, Anglo-American traders and Chinook speaking Indians.

The U. S. Reservation contact community type involved economic and political linkage, coercive roles and structural reorganization. Periods IX-X fit this category. Economic linkage was achieved by the establishment of general stores trading centers at Klamath Agency at the Lower End and at Yainex at the Upper End. Agriculture was attempted but failed. Stock raising was then attempted and this succeeded. Further economic ties were made by contacts for lumbering rights with Anglo-American private enterprise.

Political linkage was not really achieved until Period XII. Previous to this time reservation authority was superimposed upon Klamath-Modoc political structure. Indians administered themselves by the Court of Indian Offenses and police force. Linkage after 1908 was between agency officials who then had the vested power and the Indian Tribal Council where grievances were presented.

Anglo-American roles were coercive, though there was much acceptance on the part of the Indians, especially the Klamath. Anglo-American material goods and Christianity were readily accepted at the times when they were presented. Coercion had to be employed for territorial claim, social reorganization and the liquidation of shamanism. Military coercion had to be resorted to in the case of the Tule Lake Modoc for territorial claim.

ANALYSIS OF KLAMATH-MODOC CULTURE CHANGE

Theories

Nash attempts to demonstrate a hypothesis of deprivation using Klamath-Modoc nativistic movements as his source material. He states his hypothesis as follows:

"Nativistic cults arise among deprived groups. They follow a shift in the value pattern, due to suppression and domination, and are movements to restore the original value pattern, due to which they do by the construction of a fantasy situation. The nature of this fantasy, which is basic to the cult, is a function of (1) the original value pattern and (2) the successive changes to the value pattern under white domination" (Nash 1937, pp. 377-78).

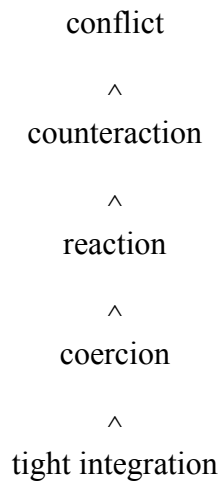
After describing and analyzing the material he rephrases his hypothesis as follows:

"Nativistic cults arise among deprived groups. Deprivation may occur within the framework of either acceptance or rejection of values and skills associated with white culture. Revivalism, however, is only one aspect of a total response to white culture. Revivalism is that portion of the response which expresses in ritual symbolism the basic attitudes of acceptance or rejection of white culture, feelings of lost

or damage, aggressive retaliation in response to deprivation suffered, and self-punishing assertions and practices in proportion to aggressive retaliation" (Nash 1937, p. 442).

Radcliffe-Brown (Spicer, personal communication) was unhappy with Nash's study in that he felt that Nash had not given enough attention to the contact situation structural form.

The writer feels that Nash's hypothesis is sort of a reified truism and that a more analytical approach would be more valuable. Nash's term *deprivation* is a mask obscuring several variables. The following might be a more fruitful approach:



Linton (1943) has formulated a typology for nativistic movements:

1. Revivalistic - Magical
2. Revivalistic - Rational
3. Perpetuative - Magical
4. Perpetuative - Rational

Revivalism differs from perpetuation in that an attempt to bring back an old lifeway is the goal, rather than to find means to maintain the existing status quo. "Magical" differs from "rational" in that supernatural means are resorted to, usually the creation of a fantasy situation, to accomplish these ends.

Ames (1957) has redefined this classification and applied this revised scheme to the Klamath-Modoc. Ames' classification is:

1. Aggressive - Revivalistic
2. Passive - Revivalistic
3. Aggressive - Reformativ
4. Passive - Reformativ

Ames classes the Klamath nativistic movement as passive-reformative and the (Tule Lake) Modoc as aggressive-revivalistic--a neat fit. This would coincide with Linton's perpetuative-rational for the Klamath and revivalistic-aggressive for the Tule Lake Modoc.

The distinction made by Ames does not seem relative to the Ghost Dance doctrine accepted by the Klamath, viz. the return of the dead, which is certainly revivalistic in character, but may apply to Klamath culture change resistance taken as a whole. The same criticism can also be leveled at Nash's deprivation conclusions. Spier (1927) comes much closer to the mark by noting his surprise at the acceptance of the Ghost Dance by the Klamath, a group that has always been relatively well off in its relation to Anglo-American contact as compared with most Indian groups, and the only cursory acceptance of the cult by the Modoc, a group definitely deprived by Nash's standards. Military revivalism as manifest in the Modoc War probably aborted this development among the Modoc.

CONCLUSIONS

Although religion died hard and only after a fluorescing of nativistic religious cults, all aspects of Klamath-Modoc culture, save one, seem to have made a successful adaptation to the Anglo-American scene. The one striking exception is what Fenton (1953, p. 171) terms *social structure*. Social structure should not be confused with social organization. What Fenton implies by social culture is the learned tradition of how a society groups itself--not the observable structure of the society and the resultant interrelationships.

Social anthropologists (especially those influence by Stern) investigating Klamath-Modoc material continually stress the factional nature of present Klamath-Modoc social organization (Stern 1950; 1961-62; Golden 1951, pp. 41-54, Dutelle 1951; Zakoji 1953; Fenton 1953; Spencer 1956; Livingstone 1959).

Fenton explains factionalism by observing that "in aboriginal times (Klamath-Modoc) society lacked internal consistency, and social control did not reach the margins of society, for factions, comprising relatives and hangers-on who adhered to a wealthy leader, were the normal state of affairs" (1953, p. 171).

Spencer (1956) believes that Klamath social control was maintained aboriginally by the incessant use of the moralistic harangue rather than by an imposed legal order. Livingstone (1959, pp. 168-78) states that the Klamath that have extracted themselves from their social milieu, i.e. those in Eugene-Springfield and Portland, rapidly assimilate into the surrounding population. Apparently the social structure link is broken upon relocation.

Zakoji (1953, p. 182) has a different explanation, using a structural approach. He believes that the Klamath-Modoc extended family social unit, which was intentionally broken up by agency officials using such programs as the boarding school for children

and off-community wage earning labor by men in the belief that the nuclear family ties would assert themselves, was the cause for social atomization and disorganization. The nuclear family failed to assert itself so that two different social units appeared, the solitary socialized person and the faction.

Dutelle (1951, pp. 93-94) explains Klamath factionalism on an economic basis. With the tribal wealth accumulated by lucrative contracts for intensive lumbering operations an administrative bureaucracy was established with numerous social segments. These units then become subverted into organs of political power over the tribe and formed factions that vied with one another.

Zakoji and Dutelle's explanations are well conceived but the writer feels that Fenton's concept of social culture best explains the Klamath-Modoc situation. One can always attribute the cause of one factor by relating it to another factor of different aspect. However factors seldom CAUSE other factors. They are usually all interrelated and all affecting in a mutual way one another [Spicer's notation at this point in the paper indicates that he questions this observation - BKS, 2002]. Fenton's approach avoids this pitfall of circular reasoning and explains phenomena on a historical-developmental basis.

Various culture change processes are manifest in Klamath-Modoc culture change. Period II suggests that incorporation was the major operative. In what is believed to be a short period of time the Klamath-Modoc Plateau lake dwellers incorporated a large number of Plains features into their culture. With the establishment of the reservation the process of reaction sets in, represented by Klamath nativistic movements and the Modoc War.

After this the situation becomes more complex. The writer thinks movements developed represented by ideas of both compartmentalization and of replacement. These two trends are embodied in the dispute of the Jackson and Crawford factions. The Crawford faction proved dominant and the policy of replacement has now been set into motion. The termination of the reservation should certainly accelerate this process.

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