

ACCULTURATION MODEL FOR THE MOUNTAIN MAIDU

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This paper examines the Mountain Maidu reactions to Euro-American settlement during the 19th century, along with the archaeological traces of cultural change. Theories on Native American acculturation will be consulted, after which the material remains of the Maidu adaptive choices will be expounded.

Acculturation studies have viewed the process of cultural change in terms of adaptation. Specific theories put forth by John Berry view acculturation as embroiled in conflict, such that initial contact led to cultural conflict and forced the minority group to adapt (1980). Different minority cultures can pick a variety ways to adapt, leading to different historical outcomes. Berry defined three common reactions: adjustment, aggression and withdrawal. During adjustment the minority group made changes in order to minimize conflict. The use of aggression happened when the minority group reacted by aggressively resisting the dominate culture. Withdrawal was used to minimize conflict, this was achieved by the minority culture leaving the area of the conflict. These three common reactions can be viewed as driving forces for cultural change.

Historical information indicates that the Mountain Maidu used two of Berry's reactions. The initial use of withdrawal followed by adjustment during the 19th century (Moore 2002:7-13). Three archaeological sites (CA-PLU-607, 716H, 977) located in Mountain Maidu territory also suggest the use of both withdrawal and adjustment (Moore 2002).

CA-PLU-716H was a Maidu site that was abandoned after 1850 then used again after 1870. This abandonment of the site parallels the influx of Euro-Americans into the American Valley (Kowta and Kraft 1998:103-6). This reaction indicates the use of withdrawal from the Euro-Americans settlements.

Withdrawal and adjustment were both apparent at CA-PLU-977. Sites that predate the arrival of the Euro-Americans into Humbug valley appear to have been abandoned. The new settlement locations for the Maidu were located away from the early Euro-American settlement in the valley. CA-PLU-977

commanded a view of the entire valley and had a stream that separated the Maidu encampment from the new Euro-American settlements. That location appeared to match oral histories (Ogle 1998) from the valley that told of the Maidu moving away from the settlers out of fear. The Maidu during this period (estimated to have happened during the 1860s) not only withdrew from contact with the settlers, but they also appeared to have adjusted their culture. Those cultural adjustments were seen by the wide array of Euro-American artifacts that appeared at CA-PLU-977 (Moore 2002:80-109). These artifacts were used to change their outward appearance to match that of pioneer society.

By 1870 the Maidu had abandoned withdrawal as a means of coping with the Euro-Americans, and made drastic adjustments to their traditional material culture. Another notable reaction was that the Maidu moved either back to their original historic locations or to different locations closer to Euro-American settlements. At CA-PLU-716/H, the Maidu moved back to a site used prior to the settlers' intrusion into the American Valley. CA-BUT-607 indicated the Maidu worked in locations that were not used prehistorically, such as a high elevation stage stop. The main drive for the relocation of the sites was the Maidu incorporation into Euro-American culture as cheap wage labor. This was also viewed as the driving force behind the abandonment of their traditions, these changes were made so they could fit into the new Euro-American culture.

Some trends were observed in artifact assemblages from 19th century Mountain Maidu sites (Tables 1 and 2). A more detailed look at these artifact assemblages can be found in Moore 2002. Two sites in Tables 1 and 2 (CA-MNO-2122 and GLE-10) were added even though they are from outside of Maidu

<i>Period</i>	<i>1A</i>	<i>1B</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Site</i>	<i>BUT-723</i>	<i>PLU-977</i>	<i>But-607</i>	<i>PLU-716/H</i>	<i>GLE-10</i>	<i>MNO-2122</i>
<i>Artifact Class</i>	<i>1849-early 1860s</i>	<i>1860s</i>	<i>1860-1880</i>	<i>1870-1910</i>	<i>1861-1924</i>	<i>1880-1920</i>
Hammerstones	-	-	-	-	-	2
Abraders	-	-	-	-	-	3
Manos	-	1	-	-	2	16
Metates	-	-	-	-	-	2
Pestles	-	2	-	2	6	1
BRM Stations	5	-	1	-	-	-
DSN	2 CCS, 1 Quartz, 1 Glass	-	1 Obsidian, 1 CCS	-	2 Obsidian, 1 CCS	3 Obsidian
Gunther	-	-	-	-	10 Obsidian, 1 CCS	-
Glass Tools	1 EMP, 1 Biface	2 EMPs	1 EMP, 1 Biface	-	-	-
Obsidian Debitage	11 %	17 %	1 %	52 %	Present	100 %
CCS Debitage	16 %	49 %	43 %	-	Present	-
Basalt Debitage	66 %	16 %	47 %	48 %	Present	-
Glass Debitage	6 %	13 %	9 %	-	Unknown	-
Other Debitage	1 %	5 %	-	-	Unknown	-
Pine Nut Beads	-	-	-	2	-	-
Shell Beads	-	-	-	-	+19,000	-
Charmstones	-	-	-	-	19	-

Table 1: Distribution of prehistoric artifacts.

territory (information in tables from Arkush 1995; Kowta and Kraft 1998; Moore 2001, 2002; Treganza and Heickson 1969). Since few historic Maidu sites have yet been excavated these sites were used to help suggest typical artifacts that might have been incorporated by the Maidu.

With the exception of CA-PLU-716, all the glass beads recovered in Mountain Maidu Territory fall into the "California Trade" type. They matched Ritter's (1991) bead Types 3 and Type 3A. The beads from CA-PLU-716 were not described with enough detail to be typed. Two beads that were noted from this site were the two pine nut beads. The predominance of Type 3 beads in the Mountain Maidu territory starkly contrasted to the predominance of Ritters Type 1

beads in most areas of California (1991:18). The tendency of Type 3 and Type 3A beads indicated either limited access to other bead types or a preference for these types.

The groundstone at the sites included manos, metates, pestles, and BRM stations. With the exception of the BRM stations, the historic period showed the use of material types that were not used prehistorically. The incorporated material was usually a soft slate, shale, or greenstone. The manos at the historic sites were typically unshaped and had one highly polished surface, although a few contained more than one grinding surface. The pestles were also typically unshaped with battering at both ends. Grinding on at least one surface also appeared typical.

Table 2: Distribution of historic artifacts.

Artifact Class	Period	1A	1B	2	2	2	2
	Site	BUT-723	PLU-977	But-607	PLU-716/H	GLE-10	MNO-2122
Date		1849-early 1860s	1860s	1860-1880	1870-1910	1861-1924	1880-1920
Glass Beads		1	6	3	13	Present	2,801
Medicine Bottles		-	1	-	-	1	2
Bottle Fragments		-	106	-	Present	-	191
Window Glass		-	-	-	Present	-	90
Ceramic Dish Fragments		-	34	-	Present	-	-
Drinking Cup/Glasses		-	-	-	-	5	3
Pots/Pans		-	1	-	-	-	1
Cutlery		-	-	-	-	20	3
Tin Bowls		-	5	-	-	1	-
Buttons		-	2	-	1	+418	31
Nails		-	4	-	220	56	129
Shoe Parts		-	-	-	Present	12	50
Bullet Shells		-	-	-	Present	2	10
Guns		-	1	-	-	2	-
Bullet Molds		-	-	-	-	2	-
Percussion Caps		-	-	-	-	11	2
Purse Parts		-	1	-	-	2	4
Metal Tools		-	1	-	-	3	1
Doll Fragments		-	-	-	-	1	6
Cloth Fragments		-	-	-	-	Present	96
Toys		-	-	-	-	14	2
Screws		-	-	-	-	6	1

Table 2 (continued): Distribution of historic artifacts.

Artifact Class	Period	1A	1B	2	2	2	2
	Site	BUT-723	PLU-977	But-607	PLU-716/H	GLE-10	MNO-2122
Date		1849-early 1860s	1860s	1860-1880	1870-1910	1861-1924	1880-1920
Pocket Watch Parts		-	-	-	-	2	3
Finger Rings		-	-	-	-	6	5
Cuff Links		-	-	-	-	2	1
Pocket Knife		-	-	-	-	5	2
Musical Instruments		-	1 Harmonica	-	-	2 Harmonicas, 1 Violin, 1 Ophicleide	-
Harness Parts		-	-	-	-	5	3
Horse Shoes		-	-	-	-	-	2
Opium Tin Fragments		-	13	-	-	-	-
Carved Lead		-	-	1	-	-	-
Needle		-	-	-	-	-	1
Safety Pins		-	-	-	-	-	4
Thimbles		-	-	-	-	3	-
Scissors		-	-	-	-	2	-
Match Case		-	-	-	-	1	-
Clay Pipe		-	-	-	-	1	-
Combs		-	-	-	-	2	-
Snuff Box		-	-	-	-	1	-
Locket		-	-	-	-	1	-
Belt Buckle		-	-	-	-	5	-
Coins		-	-	-	-	91	-
Telescope		-	-	-	-	1	-
Clocks		-	-	-	-	1	-
Brick		-	-	-	Present	-	-

Metates appeared to be lightly polished and had a single grinding surface.

Desert Side-notched projectile points dominated the historic assemblages. Three of the sites that contained points had only Desert Side-notched types, while one site had both Desert Side-notched and Gunther-style points. The two sites within Maidu territory both suggested they favored the Desert Side-notched point type during the historic period. They covered a wide range of material, which included CCS, glass, obsidian, and quartz.

The raw material composition of lithic debitage indicated a shift between the pre-contact and post-contact assemblages. Post-contact assemblages incorporated bottle glass. Three bottle glass colors were found in the lithic assemblage: black, aqua, and olive green. Olive-green glass was the primary glass color flaked in Maidu territory; this was also noted in the Yana territory within the Deer, Mill, and Antelope Creek drainages (Mike Dugas, personal communication 2001). The preference for olive-colored glass may be due to the fact that it was the prolific bottle color used during the nineteenth century. Another change in the lithic raw material was that obsidian became only a small percentage of the lithic debitage: 17 percent at CA-PLU-977, 11 percent at CA-BUT-723, 9 percent at CA-PLU-1296, and 1 percent at CA-BUT-607. This compared to an average obsidian percentage of 48 percent in precontact sites (Moore 2002: 36). Along with this shift away from obsidian was the increased use of CCS. The CCS at post contact sites was 49 percent at CA-PLU-977, 16 percent at CA-BUT-723, 68 percent at CA-PLU-1296 and 43 percent at CA-BUT-607. This compared to an average of 13 percent in precontact sites (Moore 2002: 36).

The one Maidu site from the 1850's shows little incorporation of Euro-American goods. It contained

one glass trade bead and bottle glass that was used to produce lithic tools. By the 1860s more Euro-American goods had been incorporated into the artifact assemblage. CA-PLU-977 shows the incorporation of medicine bottles, ceramic dishes, pots and pans, metal bowls, guns, nails, clothing items such as buttons, a purse and a harmonica. The two Mountain Maidu sites that date between 1870 and 1900 both have mixed Maidu and Euro-American assemblages. It is believed that the assemblages of CA-GLE-10 and MNO-2122 are similar assemblages to what a Mountain Maidu site of the same period would contain. Overall there is an increasing amount of Euro-American goods coupled with a decline of most traditional artifacts during the last half of the 19th century.

The period between 1850 and 1900 can be divided into two periods based on acculturation adoptions and artifact assemblages. The Maidu reaction can be divided into two periods (Table 3). The first period was dominated by the reaction of withdrawal by the Maidu, and the second by adjustments made to their culture.

The first period represented the Maidu withdrawal from areas that were populated by Euro-Americans. This period can be divided into two subgroups. Subgroup A was driven by the withdrawal reaction that moved the Maidu away from White settlements between 1850 and 1860. During this period, limited trade with the settlers saw the incorporation of glass beads and the use of bottle glass for lithic tools, although there was continued use of imported obsidians. Toward the end of the 1850s the Maidu started to incorporate the reaction of adjustment, which is the start of subgroup B. Subgroup B lasted from around 1860 to 1870. Within this period the reaction of adjustment caused a few Maidu to work as laborers, while they expanded their use of Euro-American goods. The expansion was likely related to working for the settlers. The settlers expected the

Table 3: Phases of Maidu acculturation.

Time Period	Subgroup	Driving Forces	Major Influences	Diagnostic Markers
Period 1: 1849-1870	A) 1850s	Withdrawal	Intrusion of Euroamericans	Glass trade beads, use of glass for lithic tools
	B) 1860s	Withdrawal and adjustment	Deterioration of trade networks, depletion of traditional resources	Tin cans, steel tools, musical instruments, use of local lithic material, such as CCS and glass, use of slate and shale for groundstone
Period 2: 1870-1890	n/a	Adjustments	Dependence on wage labor	Historic assemblage with presence of groundstone, house pits, and beads

Maidu that worked for them to dress, use metal tools, and act as “civilized” workers. This caused an increase in the amount of Euro-American goods that they used. During this time, Maidu habitation sites were still located away from Euro-American settlements due to continued distrust of Euro-Americans. Although the sites were distant from the settlers, they incorporated the use of Euro-American clothing, tools, and musical instruments, while they kept the traditional house structure, basketry, and plant processing material. In the assemblages of Subgroup B, imported obsidian was rare and obsidian became largely replaced by CCS and bottle glass. Goundstone from this Subgroup also tended to be made of diverse material that included slate and shale. This first period appeared to have ended around 1870 leading to the start of the second period.

The second period lasted from 1870 to 1900. In this period, adjustment was the main driving force for the Mountain Maidu. They moved back to locations closer to Euro-American settlements where they worked, little remained of traditional Maidu material culture during the second period. The continued use of groundstone and the roundhouse were the only traits that appeared to separate Maidu sites of this period from Euro-American sites. During this second period, between 1870 and 1900, the Maidu continued to use more Euro-American goods and customs. Therefore, a site at the beginning of this period, in 1870, will contain a less diverse range of Euro-American artifacts than a site dating around 1900.

Future research into Maidu adaptations during the historic period has much to explore. Future studies will need to focus on the spatial relationships between historic Maidu sites and Euro-American settlements. The phasing out of the production of lithic tools also requires future research, since CA-PLU-716/H may indicate that stone tools were produced well into the twentieth century. The examination and excavation of more historic Maidu sites will be needed to confirm this proposed adaptation model.

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