

**HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL
INVESTIGATIONS OF THE HI GOOD CABIN SITE,
CA-TEH-2105H**



TEHAMA COUNTY, CALIFORNIA

By Richard Burrill

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Prepared by
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1. Archaeology 2. Tehama County 3. Ishi 4. Harmon A. Good

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DEDICATION

This report is dedicated to Norman Leininger of Vina, Tehama County, California, who succumbed on September 2, 2005.

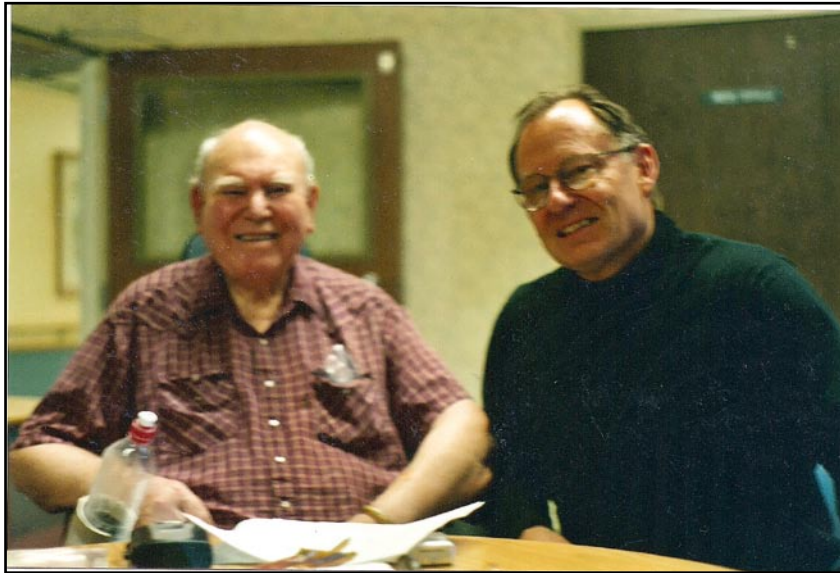


Figure 1.
Norman Leininger during December 20, 2003, interview session
with the author. Photo by Chris Leininger.



Figure 2.
Vicinity of Hi Good Cabin site with early sheep camp.
Photograph taken by author on May 13, 2004.

ABSTRACT

The Hi Good Cabin site (CA-TEH-2105H) is located on a flat on the north side of a seasonal wash called Acorn Hollow approximately four miles northeast of Highway 99E and the community of Vina, Tehama County. Features on the flat include the remains of two early dwellings and one contemporary feed shed with windmill and corral complex.

The site underwent preliminary excavation during 2003-2004, and resumed in 2007-2008. A modest amount of data was recovered. Nevertheless, the work presented an opportunity to make historical and anthropological inquiries into the life-ways of early ranching and farming in Tehama County. Site-related research centered on five themes: technological development, social-economic organization, California trails history, multi-ethnic cultural issues, and environmental issues.

The Problem. Pioneer Harmon Augustus Good was living at his sheep camp operation in Acorn Hollow, with his ranch headquarters about 1 1/2 miles south, along the Deer Creek drainage. The sheep camp's operations were purportedly under Good's control from late 1866 until his murder in May, 1870. Does CA-TEH-2105H represent a part of Good's sheep operation with early cabin? Also, according to data collected in 1915 by University of California, Berkeley's anthropology professor Thomas T. Waterman, the site may be the locus of sightings of Ishi when he was about sixteen years old. Ishi was a native famed as among the last of the Yahi. The Ishi sightings occurred before and during the failed surrender negotiations called "The Five Bows."

Research goals included new understandings of early sheep operators, their land use, and the reliability of Ishi saga events. Special effort has been made to show the relevancy of recovered data to the needs of the present day.

Consider these early published references that help identify the location of Hi Good's sheep camp with rough cabin where Good was living at the time, during 1866-1870:

- In 1870, Simeon Moak (1923:32) wrote: "Good lived in Acorn Hollow at this time and had a fine ranch and garden on Deer Creek about one mile and a half south."

- Waterman (1918:58) wrote about the Five Bows presentation in 1870, "These are about five feet long, and so strong that Segraves cannot unbend them. "The whole party are taken down to Good's cabin; but he is away in Tehama."

- Daniel Delaney (1872) wrote: "They killed several and took two prisoners, two mahalas. These females were held as hostages at Good's camp for weeks, guarded by the Captain's Indian boy, whom he had raised, and who, for years, acted as his herder, and boy of all business."

- Dan Delaney (1872) wrote about Hi Good that he was ". . . odd in his selection of a home, locating it where nature assumed her simplest character, amid hill and plain, free from culture, unvarnished and unimproved, existing in native simplicity and grandeur."

- Simeon Moak (1923:32) wrote: "All went well until the spring of 1870. On the 27th of April Good . . . left on a prospecting trip When they started, Good told the Indian that he did not need to herd the sheep . . . and for him to stay about the camp and do the cooking."

- The "Yahi Territory" map in Theodora Kroeber's *Ishi In Two Worlds* (1961:44) shows Hi Good's place north of Deer Creek. She (1961:85) described "Hiram Good's place in Acorn Hollow."

- Thomas T. Waterman's research index card [p. 25] preserved at the Bancroft Library reads, in part, "Good was murdered by Indian boy 1/2 mile from cabin, dragged with lasso feet first and buried under some rocks."

- Journalist, teacher and public school principal Herbert H. Sauber (b. July 20, 1870 - d. Jan. 25, 1940), proclaimed that "Hi Good "was the Boone of the Sierra" (Sauber 1897). And "I found out nothing of his early history, when he came, or why he erected his rude cabin in that particular spot." (Underscore mine). Sauber (1897) also added, "Living alone on Dry Creek* within two miles of the black gorge which discharged the sullen waters of Mill Creek* into the broad Valley, he towered like a lone, but trusty sentinel."

* "Dry Creek" used here, invariably refers here to Acorn Hollow's seasonal wash. Also in the above, Sauber confused "Mill Creek" for Deer Creek.

CHAPTER ONE
POINT OF DEPARTURE



Figure 3.

"Establishing the Baseline to Magnetic North"
Photo by author on 9/27/2003.

CHAPTER ONE

PROJECT HISTORY AND PERSONNEL

This work is a site report of a test excavation with modest data recovery, undertaken at CA-TEH-2105H in the Acorn Hollow region, Tehama County, approximately 1 1/2 miles north of the Deer Creek drainage that empties into the Sacramento River. Provided is the analysis of the data collected therein, mostly during eight Saturdays, in the fall 2003 and winter 2004. The principal reason why this excavation took place was to test more about the resolute Indian fighter, Harmon "Hi" Augustus Good (1836-1870) and Hi Good's involvement in the demise of Ishi's culture, the southerly band of Yana Indians—the Yahi—which in pre-contact times were never over 300 individuals in number (Kroeber 1925:341; Burrill 2001:7).

Such an investigation would also afford a closer look at the life-ways and culture history of early stages of farming and ranching in eastern Tehama County, involving twenty test questions (themes) set amongst five predetermined research subheadings: (1) Yahi/Yana history versus Indian Adversary Hi Good, (2) Social-economic Organization (3) California Trails Histories, and (4) Technologies Development and (5) Environmental Issues. These are addressed in this report's Chapter 2 "Historical Background" and summarized in Chapter 9 "Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations."

The study area, CA-TEH-2105H, has a dramatic and unique history worthy of study about Ishi and Indian/settler relations. As with many other stories of the west, truth gets distorted. The facts versus fiction deserve to be defined. The study area with Hi Good's camp with cabin is believed to have involved the Ishi story. Can we glean more insights about the resolute Indian adversary Hi Good and what impact he had on the demise of Ishi's Yahi/Yana tribe? What new insights and lessons relevant to the present can a thorough scientific excavation produce?

According to UC Berkeley Professor Thomas Waterman, who wrote the original Ishi story in 1918, the Yahi's Five Bows "formality of surrendering their bows" occurred one night in the spring of 1870 at William Seagraves' cabin (in Twentymile Hollow). The Indians' formal truce was their attempt to win the release of their three females who Hi Good had captured two weeks earlier. According to Waterman's (1918:58) informant named William Seagraves, he knew that the Indian females hostages were down at Hi Good's camp. So in the night, Seagraves escorted "The whole party . . . down to Good's cabin" (See archival data, Ch. 3 "Earliest Published Accounts").

At Good's camp, Hi Good's lone shepherd boy, Indian Ned, was assigned to guard the three prisoners. Negotiations would last for over two months, long enough for the females to have befriended Indian Ned. But their release never happened. Indian Ned was "coming of age" as a man, when one day he discovered that the three females had disappeared. Waterman (1918:58) wrote about Hi Good: "He handed over the three to a man named Carter, living about a mile from Acorn Hollow." Indian Ned and likely the older Indians of the tribe, may have judged the disappearance of the three as a violation. Was this not the motive for killing Hi Good? According to Hi Good's cohort, Robert Anderson, who wrote *Fighting the Mill Creek Indians* (1909:84), Hi Good was ". . . returning near Acorn Hollow, a brush-sided ravine that puts out from the hills less than a mile north of Deer Creek." About Indian Ned, Anderson(1909:83) added: "I have never had a doubt that he was influenced by the older Indians to turn traitor against the man [Hi Good] who had given him a home." So, influence by the older Indians, Ned likely used Hi Good's Henry and killed Good outright (see obituaries, pages 243-244). Three days later, Good's body was found, and Indian Ned confessed that he was involved in killing Hi Good. The youth was tied to a limb of an oak, the "hanging tree" (see Figures 110 & 111). In retaliation, Sandy Young shot Indian Ned. Moak (1923:33) wrote: "They cut him loose [from the oak], and he died." Moak (1923:33) added, "His bones lay there for two years . . . Two young students from Colusa came and took the skeleton away" (See Figures 153 & 154).

About October 1, 2001 - This is about the time when Frances Leininger (born in 1925) gave the author two red bricks from the legendary Hi Good cabin flat. But where exactly was the flat? To answer this, Frances introduced the author to Vina property owners Mike Hamilton and Fred Hamilton on whose property the cabin once stood.

December 8, 2001, First visit. The project's history advanced significantly on one sunny winter's day, December 8, 2001, when property owner Mike Hamilton first drove this researcher east of Highway 99E, out through Acorn Hollow, and to see first hand the purported Hi Good Cabin site of legend, oral history, and in early published documents (see Ch. 3).

Upon walking out on the flat, more of the brick scatter, all that was left of an early cabin structure with chimney, were readily discernible. The author conducted a taped interview of Mike Hamilton and his family's recollections. Mike had learned about Hi Good when a young man working for Frances Leininger's late husband, Clarence Leininger (1919-1981). Mike cleaned ditches for him. Clarence Leininger told Mike lots of stories about this region where he had been reared. Clarence talked of Hi Good and Robert Anderson and the Moak brothers. Mike was told how the road that crosses the Hi Good flat was "the lower end of the Moak Trail."

Mike Hamilton shared that he collected gun cartridges, and with an old friend, who had long since passed away. His friend had a metal detector. Mike said, "One day we were working along the base of this oak tree here, and I found a case, now in my collection." [Later I was shown his collection which included two .56 .46 caliber bottle-necked cartridges, brass head case fragments, and one broken slug, ammunition for the Spencer Repeating Rifle. Their collection numbers referenced in this report are: MH #1, MH #4 and MH #5 (See Figures 281, 284 and 285 on pages 403-406).].

Also introduced to this author that day was that the Lassen Emigrants' Trail had several spurs, with one that passed along his home drive way. Mike explained, "Where I live here at the house, that was the Deer Creek crossing of the Peter Lassen. There's an historical landmark there" (This was subsequently confirmed by this author as Trails West marker #L-61. It reads: "En route to Benton City, October 4, 1849" [and] ". . . high prices at Deer Creek." (See Figures 58 and 115 of this report).

January 10, 2003 - One year later, the permissions to undertake a minimal archaeological investigation were secured on January 10, 2003, from all three property owners of the Hi Good Cabin location in Section 21: Fred Hamilton Jr., Mike Hamilton and Susan Hamilton Junge.

January 26, 2002 - Copies of three rare photographs were provided by Vina historian Frances Leininger for the author's research and books about Ishi (See Figures 108, 109 & 110 on pages 178-179).

April 10, 2003 - A preliminary second survey of the Hi Good site was undertaken. This time the author was joined by Dr. Eric Ritter, Joe Molter (ethnobotanist specialist with BLM), Mike Hamilton, and Pat Haver (friend and laborer for Mike Hamilton). Some initial collecting was undertaken. Collected were: (1) one gaff for salmon fishing that had been modified to form barbs (see Fig. 315 on page 434) (2) one head of a shovel (320-414), which was recovered from the adjacent Acorn Hollow's seasonal wash, and (3) one curved metal piece (320-622) that looked like it fastened the bail to the side of a bucket.

Mike Hamilton also shared that there had been two structures in the flat, not one. Mike Hamilton: "There was a line cabin down there on the lower side [of the wash] that was moved to here, dad said, and they moved it to here, in about 1928." [Mike Hamilton's father was Fred W. Hamilton Sr., who died in 1994.]

Could our scientific excavation determine when the cabin was constructed? From where the bricks were manufactured and transported? How long the Hi Good Cabin was used before it was completely gone? These questions for testing ultimately became part of this author's Research Project Design.

May 15, 2003 - I showed Roger Anderson from Minnesota and Bob Price the Hi Good site. Found with a metal detector was one primer bullet (.32 Winchester center fire) cartridge. On that visitation, Mike Hamilton loaned to this researcher his eight armament pieces that he had collected earlier at the Hi Good Cabin flat area. Close up photos were taken of them all by Bob Price (See photos in Ch. 5, II. Historic Artifacts C. Personal Group).

September 27, 2003 - Marked the first day of field work with students at the Hi Good site. We drove east from Vina, off Hwy 99E, in ten vehicles. Mike Hamilton joined us. Dr. Ritter stated before the group, "As far as I know, this site has never been officially documented as an archaeological site." Susan Oilar with the Mendocino National Forest Ranger District took on the task to secure the site's trinomial. [CA-TEH-2105H]. The site report, when complete, is submitted to the California Historical Resources Information System.

The datum point was placed. Metal detectors were used to determine the perimeters and most promising spots for excavating the area based on metal objects observed. Pin flags were placed, keeping with a color coding system, where ferrous objects were located. Each blue pin flag, for example, denoted "Brick."

October 4, 2003 - Feather River College students assisted this researcher in excavating Feature 1 "depression," filled with debris 0-48" (See below, Ch. 6, Feature 1). Students took dimensions and mapped the corral, manger w/ windmill complex (subsequently designated Feature 8.). That afternoon, Mike Hamilton and Pat Haver took this author by vehicle one mile northeast of the study area up the Moak's Trail into Section 15, and was shown the pile of foundation stones of a nondescript, early residence simply called "Sheep Camp" by the Vina locals.

November 8, 2003 - More metal detecting survey work was undertaken without collecting; all four quadrants were surveyed with additional pin flagging of locations where historic metal objects were identified. The workers excavated and collected from Feature 1 (depression) finishing the day at a depth of 60-72."

January 19, 2004 - The Project Research Design document was initially provided by this researcher with the themes (questions) for testing (see list on pages 22 and 23).

February 7, 14, 21 and 28, 2004 - Four Saturdays of excavating and collecting took place. The fieldwork was conducted by an enthusiastic, cooperative, and responsive team of 32 students from Feather River College and Shasta College.

On February 14, Darrell Mullins announced that the Tehama County Museum's accession number for the Hi Good Cabin site collection would be "320." It was explained that the first artifact specimen number would be numbered 320-001. The next, 320-002 et cetera.

Excavated were 5 1/2 units, each 5' x 5', resulting in the collecting of approximately 624 catalogued artifact specimens inclusive of non-artifactual faunal remains.

* * * * *

September 11, 2004 through July 2006 - The Tehama County Museum opened to the public an exhibit of a sampling of the Hi Good cabin artifacts. The exhibit was titled, "Bricks, Buttons & Bullets: Archaeology of an Early Sheep Camp." It has since been taken down. Photos of the exhibit have been preserved on CD by the Tehama County Museum. The Tehama County Museum is the repository of the complete assemblage, field notes, forms, photographs, and other records of the project. Contact: Head Curator Darrell Mullins of Tehama County Museum Foundation, 275 C Street Tehama, CA 96090. Information: (530) 384-2595.

February 17, 24, March 3, 10, 17 and 24, 2007 - Six more Saturdays of excavating at the Hi Good Cabin site were led by Dr. Eric Ritter.

Four new units were excavated: 1S3E, 2S6W (with Feature 9 assigned, another Ashy Deposit identified), 5N9E and 6N1E.

April 5, 12 and 26, 2008 - Three more Saturday field classes were held at the Hi Good Cabin site.

4 1/2 additional units were excavated: 4N9E, 2S5W, N1/2 of 3N9E and 8S28E (thereabouts), the latter of which was designated Feature 10 (concentrated trash deposit, inclusive of large metal containers).

PERSONNEL DURING 2003-2004

My sincere appreciation for their field work at the Hi Good Cabin site goes to: Feather River College's Anthro 106 archaeology students: Susan Ferguson, Georgia Miles, Janice Newton, Roberta Palmer, Woody Palmer, Michael Peters and Pat Roughan; and to Dr. Eric W. Ritter's Shasta College archaeology students: Joyce Abbott, Sherry Melton, Martin Spannaus, Steve Puderbaugh, Greg Lybarger, Wayne Jobe, Carol Powers, Fran Munro, John Brooks, Dick Laughlin, Patrice Laughlin, Brie Hinke, Kjersti Cochran, Marty Culver, Daniel Culver, Jay Thompson, Linda Rose, Tricia Wisner, Kendra Madsen, and Dr. Vicki Philbin.

Walk-ons who also assisted were: Lyman "Pete" Moak, Wyatt Moak, Jerry Waybright, Steven Schoonover, John Rudderow and Dale Wangberg.

Special thanks goes to: Ms. Joyce Abbott who did most of the methodical and tedious cataloging; Richard Silverman who helped identify segments of the old Moak's Trail trail head that traverses the site; and Susan Oilar who was given the task of writing the archaeological "site record" to secure the site's trinomial. Susan accomplished this! Our site number became CA-TEH-2105H. Thanks also to Mr. Ed Clewett for providing his excellent cartographer / surveying skills; and curatorial help from Darrell Mullins and Anita Clampet with the Tehama County Museum. Board Member Jim Stephens, of the Tehama County Museum, visited and gave everyone his encouragements. Without all these actions, the completion and quality of this monograph would not be what it has become.

Consultation and specimen identifications expertise, is appreciated from: Cliff Moffitt (retired U.S. Military locksmith in Susanville). Dr. Frank Bayham provided preliminary faunal analysis, undertaken June 4, 2006 inside the Physical Anthropology Archaeozoology lab on the CSU Chico campus. Firearms identifications by Jim Wages (gunsmithing expert at Lassen Community College, Susanville) and R. H. Chamberlain of Flournoy, CA were stupendous. My appreciation to "Cee Ann" Ranberg-Coombs of the Tehama County Assessor's Office who answered several questions and found the 1859 map of the Lassen Township 25N, R1W. Special thanks goes to Vina historian, Frances V. Leininger for all her support, photos, and local history, and to the several others who provided their significant oral histories as well (see Ch. 2 VII Oral Histories). They were: Mike Hamilton, Fred Hamilton, Joe Aggi, Norman Leininger, Ed Hamilton Little, John Aulabaugh, Dr. Louis Charles Olker Jr., Fred Wikoff, and Jeff Lerch (see Ch. 6 Feature 8).

Help with photographs came from four other individuals: Dr. Eric W. Ritter (the aerial BLM map photographs and b & w photos of features); Susan Ferguson, Bob Price, and Roger Anderson. Janice Newton drew several of the catalog artifact illustrations and provided several penciled rubbings of embossed bottle designs and maker's marks.

Local newspaper coverage came early from C. Jerome Crow. "Shasta course to research, excavate parts of Hiram Good." (2004, January 20) *Red Bluff Daily News.*, p. 7A; Steve Schoonover. (2004, March 7). "Hunting For Hi Good." *Chico's Enterprise Record*, p. A1, with same story reprinted with other additional photographs on (2004, March 8). See also "Archaeology class probes Vina Site" (2004, May) *Red Bluff Daily News.*, p. 1A.

Lastly, it was a high point in this researcher's involvement to arrive at the Tehama County Museum's Jubilee back on September 11, 2004, and to first witness the nicely prepared exhibit titled, "Bricks, Buttons & Bullets: Archaeology of an Early Sheep Camp." Special appreciation for its preparation goes to Darrell Mullins, Jim Stevenson, Pam Britting, Annette Chavez, and their consultation assistance from Adrienne Scott with the Anthropology Museum, California State University, Chico.

REPORT ORGANIZATION

Chapter 1 provides (below) instructions for retrieving a particular specimen from the site's Catalog (copied onto the CD that is placed in the envelope in the inside back cover of this report). The outline by which the artifacts are classified (listed) may be read on pages 11-13 titled, "Historic Artifacts Analysis Categories."

Chapter 2 contains three maps of this site, CA-TEH-2105H and the Background History.

Chapter 3 contains the earliest archival (published) accounts about Hi Good.

Chapter 4 reviews the methods used for conducting historical research, those methods applied when observing and collecting in the field, and those method applied in the laboratory.

Chapter 5 provides interpretations for the artifacts found (Note: The total count of specimen numbers assigned from collecting during 2003 and 2004, came to 627).

Chapters 6 contains the eight site features' interpretations.

Chapter 7 includes the artifact dating determinations.

Chapter 8 addresses the data that affirmed Hi Good's sheep camp with cabin findings.

Chapter 9 summarizes all of the data in reference to the original Project Research Design's twenty test questions. This researcher's recommendations for future research close out the report.

Returning to the site's features (Ch. 6), this researcher along with principal colleague Dr. Eric Ritter, on April 10, 2003, concurred that initially four features merited investigating. Feature 1 was a possible well site, which generically for this report is described as the "depression." The depression, when first observed, was filled with ranching refuse. In the beginning, this researcher was confident that its stratigraphy would reveal a chronology of events. Do we have an early hand dug well or root cellar or privy?

The visible brick scatter on the flat surface, when compared with the one-of-a-kind historic 1920 photograph of the purported Hi Good Cabin, suggested that this was the early cabin structure's collapsed chimney (Feature 2). Could we tell where the brick came from? Is there data that can tell us when the structure collapsed?

A second "brick phenomenon," a curiosity really, called the brick alignment that was observed exposed in the middle of the access road that traversed the flat was assigned Feature 3.

The ranch road that traverses the site was designated Feature 4. What was the history of this road? Could its use be determined by artifacts found in and along its course? While the 1985 quad-angle map for "Acorn Hollow" gave the road the status of a "4WD" road, owner Mike Hamilton asserted that his ranch road was the lower end of the "Moak Trail." Could the history behind its place name be determined?

Feature 5 was a collapsed structure observed on a subsequent visit to the site; several mill lumber boards that lay underneath the blue oak.

Two ashy deposits were observed in the course of excavating units 4N10E (Feature 6) and 6N2E E1/2 (Feature 7).

Lastly, this author assigned Feature 8 for the entire corral, feed shed, with windmill complex. One artifact, 320-412, a welded aluminum canteen of mysterious origin was collected in Feature 8.

Categories Outline —With 627 specimens assigned during 2003 and 2004, a "Categories Outline" instrument (see below) called the "Historic Artifacts Analysis Categories" was what this researcher followed to best group the artifacts by types, functions, and activities. The Categories Outline's five divisions are:

- A Kitchen Group
- B Personal Group
- C Architectural/Structural Group
- D Industrial Group).
- E Other

One Catalog —The Catalog (for the diagnostic prehistoric and historic artifacts) follows the “outline” (see below). The firearms/armaments are listed on pages 401-402 and repeated in the Catalog.

How to find a particular artifact —The “map” for finding any artifact from the Catalog is the outline (below) titled, “Historic Artifacts Analysis Categories.” For instance, to see whether there are any established button styles that were used by U.S. soldiers, read through the outline down to B. Personal Group. Then to 4. Clothing and Accoutrements. Then to b. Buttons & snaps. The respective page number is given in the Catalog.

Sample Entry

<u>Specimen Number</u>	<u>Horizontal Provenience</u>	<u>Depth</u>	<u>Description</u>
320-157 ¹	4N10 ²	0-6” ³	Button (metal) ⁴ w/ Sander’s shank Width 1/2”

Comments: This shank is called the two-piece Sander’s type. Its style dates to circa 1830-present (Atkison 2002:4.8). This is also the shank style exclusively used by the U.S. military (Adkison 2002:5.1).

Defining sections:

- 1 - The number #157, is the catalog number assigned to this particular artifact. Its preceding number, 320, is the museum’s accession number used for all of the Hi Good Cabin site collection (CA-TEH-2105H) available for study (by appointment) at the Tehama County Museum, Tehama, CA.
- 2 - 4N10E IS the 5’ x 5’ unit (square) from which this metal button artifact was excavated and collected. In this case, the button was found in the 5’ x 5’ square, 4 north and 10 east of the datum (20 feet north and 50 feet east from the datum.)
- 3 - 0-6” IS how deep (in inches) from the ground surface that the artifact was observed and collected, i. e., This button surface at which the button was found was no deeper than six inches b. s. (bottom surface).
- 4 - Provided is a brief description of what the artifact is interpreted to be (at this time), inclusive of what it appears to be made of, its type perhaps, its measurements, and sometimes with a qualification (indefinite, undiagnostic, undistinguished, unidentified). From Comments the fact that this button with shank was exclusively used by the U.S. military was provided. The source for this fact, Adkison 2002, is listed in this report’s Bibliography.

HISTORIC ARTIFACTS ANALYSIS CATEGORIES

<u>Subject/Type</u>	<u>Page Number(s)</u> (see Catalog)
A. KITCHEN GROUP	
1. Food Containers	
a. Tin cans	
b. Glass food containers (i.e. fruit jars, lids/ condiment bottles/mustard jars/etc.)	
c. Other	
2. Kitchenware	
a. Pots/pans/kettles	
b. Kitchen equipment (i.e. ladles/sifters/cleavers etc.).	
c. Iron cooking stove parts and Accessories	
d. Other	
3. Tableware	
a. Knives/forks/spoons	
b. Ceramic dishes/plates/bowls	
c. Ceramic drinking cups/bowls	
d. Ceramic serving plates/bowls	
e. Tin plates/cups/bowls	
f. Enamelware	
g. Drinking glasses (non-alcohol related)	
h. Glass pitchers/serving vessels	
i. Other	
4. Food Remains	
a. Faunal Remains	
b. Other	
B. PERSONAL GROUP	
1. Indulgences: Liquor and Drugs	
a. Whiskey/Whisky/hard liquor bottles	
b. Ale/beer cans or bottles	
c. Wine & champagne bottles	
d. Ceramic containers	
e. Liquor drinking glasses (shot glasses or wine glasses)	
f. Drugs	
g. Other	
2. Indulgences: Tobacco	
a. Tobacco tins/containers	
b. Smoking pipes	
c. Chewing tobacco/snuff & other containers	
d. Other	

-continued- PERSONAL GROUP

3. Health and Cosmetic
 - a. Medicine/Apothecary bottles
 - b. Soda/Mineral water bottles
 - c. Grooming (includes combs, shaving, hair tonic bottles)
 - d. Perfume bottles/vials
 - e. Mirrors
 - f. Other (Animal husbandry e.g. Vaccination bottles)

4. Clothing and Accoutrements
 - a. Ornamentation/jewelry
 - b. Buttons & snaps
 - c. Buckles (shirt snaps/suspenders)
 - d. Shoes/Boots
 - e. Other Clothing Parts (Eyelets/Grommets/Material)
 - f. Sewing
 - g. Other

5. Personal
 - a. Toys/Games
 - b. Medals/Souvenirs
 - c. Luggage/Trunks/Cases
 - d. Writing/ink containers
 - e. Money
 - f. Other (Includes watches/eye glasses/etc.)

6. Firearms (Armaments)
 - a. Guns/gun parts
 - b. Shells/Bullets
 - c. Lead shot
 - d. Black powder containers
 - e. Other

C. ARCHITECTURAL/STRUCTURAL GROUP

1. Construction Hardware
 - a. Hand wrought nails
 - b. Square/Cut nails
 - c. Round/Wire (modern) nails
 - d. Spikes/large Nails (6" and up)
 - e. Wood screws (machine screws)
 - f. Nuts/Bolts/Washers
 - g. Tacks/Staples
 - h. Wire (barbed, baling wire etc.)
 - i. Other

2. Construction Materials
 - a. Wood
 - b. Sheet tin/corrugated tin
 - c. Brick & Mortar
 - d. Canvas/eyelets
 - e. Window glass
 - f. Hinges/latches/doorknobs
 - g. Other

3. Furniture/Housewares
 - a. Lamps
 - b. Tables/Chairs, etc.
 - c. Appliances (Brooms/Fireplace Equip./Clocks/etc.
 - d. Other

D. INDUSTRIAL GROUP

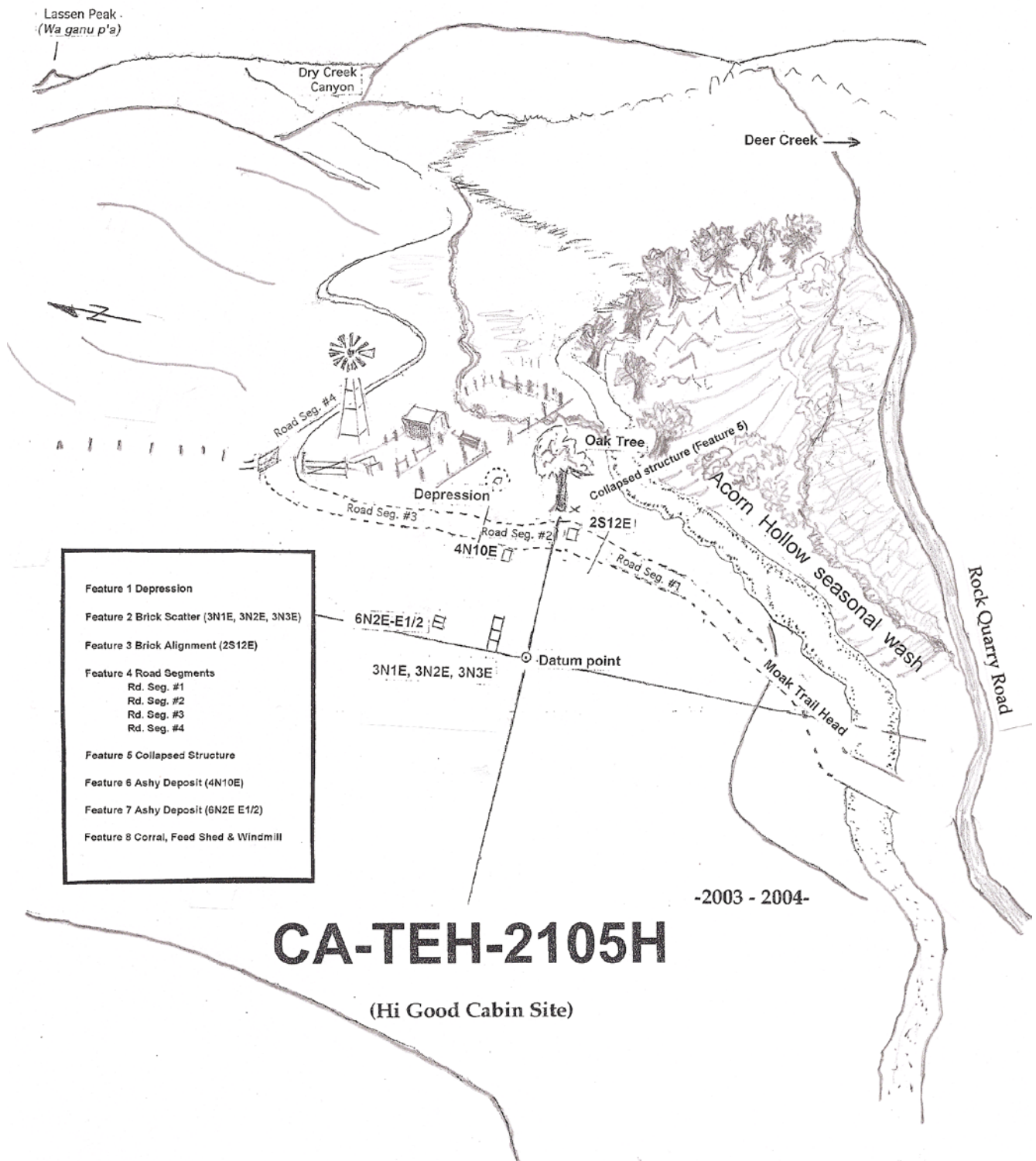
1. Blacksmithing
 - a. Horse tack (harness buckles etc.)
 - b. Wagon/Buggy parts
 - c. Blacksmith tools (anvils etc.)
2. Tools and Machinery (Mining Related)
 - a. Tools (picks/shovels/mining pans/slucice parts/etc.)
 - b. Scales and Weights/assay equipment
 - c. Machinery (reduction equipment etc.)
 - d. Other
3. Tools and Machinery (Other)
 - a. Tools (hammers/saws/files/etc.)
 - b. Machinery
 - c. Other
4. General Industry
 - a. Chemical/poison containers
 - b. Paint/varnish containers
 - c. Other

E. OTHER

1. Metal
 - a. Tin
 - b. Iron
 - c. Lead
 - d. Other
2. Wood & Charcoal)
3. Glass
 - a. Bottle
 - b. Other
4. Ceramic
5. Rubber
6. Plastics/Bakelite/etc.
7. Other

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH DESIGN
and
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND



CA-TEH-2105H

(Hi Good Cabin Site)

Figure 4.

RESEARCH DESIGN and HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

CA-TEH-2105H is located on relatively flat fertile land on the outskirts of the unincorporated area called Vina, eastern Tehama County, at an elevation of 366 feet above sea level in northern California's Sacramento Valley. It is 114 miles north of Sacramento, eighteen miles north of Butte County's City of Chico, and nine miles south of Los Molinos and the "old" town of Tehama (which sits on the west bank of the Sacramento River.) The site is in the southwest corner of Section 21, of Township 25 North, Range 1 West of the Mount Diablo Meridian.

From today's well traveled Hwy 99E, that runs north-south through Vina and crosses the bridge of the Deer Creek drainage, the archaeological site herein described is four miles due east of this bridge. Upon driving easterly from Hwy 99E to the site, the original natural setting is an oak parkland transition zone, becoming oak woodlands, today privately owned by cattle ranchers and walnut and fruit tree growers. Mixed among the blue oaks and scrub oaks, are cottonwoods and large sycamores, which compete against lava cap protrusions that jut up in places between occasional springs and scattered patches of river bottom soil (See Geology below). There is riparian growth along the seasonal wash of Acorn Hollow, with a few visible willows along the creek edges. A journey up Deer Creek Canyon brings one into a chaparral belt.



Figure 5.
CA-TEH-2105H site flat looking easterly with corral, feed shed, and windmill complex.
Photograph by Susan Ferguson, October 4, 2003.

Plants - The grasses of the Valley and foothills with star thistle, medusa head, bull thistle and others, are introduced plants of the historic era, with the larger oak trees present during the life of the cabin location.

Geology - Upon entering the graveled road and heading eastward through the natural ravine called Acorn Hollow, one rides over lava cap. This is lahar, volcanogenic lava mud flow of the Tuscan Formation, Late Pliocene 2-3 million years before the present. Originally, a wet concrete of ash and rock, the ash washed away earlier and one is left with the rocks today. Deeper down is the Montgomery Creek Formation and deeper still, the Chico Formation, of the Late Cretaceous Period, 70 million years B.P.¹

The flat where the “outpost”² Hi Good Cabin once stood in Section 21 contains enough soil for potential haying in places in the spring and grassy enough for low elevation cattle grazing in the winter months.³ The hot summer sun, however, quickly turns May and early June’s green grasses, with annual profusion of wild flowers, into a very dry and parched landscape. Its seasonal dryness was why Hi Good, with early partner Alexander Barrington, established their headquarters ranch earlier (circa 1856) 1 1/4 miles due south in Section 33 along the fertile south bank of Deer Creek that runs the whole season, from the snow on the mountains.⁴ Alluding to the many places in California like their Section 33 “Rio Alto Ranch,”⁵ where it is easy to irrigate, Good’s partner, Alexander Barrington, boasted in his 1856 letter home to his brother William back in Ohio, that “. . . the soil will raise anything from white beans to the very best corn.”⁶

The Section 21 property is today used primarily for cattle grazing. The stockmen property owners, Fred and Mike Hamilton (and sister Susan N. Junge), together own approximately 3,800 acres in adjacent Section 15 and Section 21. In 2003, their cattle of Hereford and Hereford-Angus cross, totalled 138 animals. They traditionally winter their cattle in Vina and move them for the spring and summer into the foothill’s eastern fringes of Acorn Hollow. This means that animals do freely wander across the Hi Good site flat for a good part of the year. Occasionally, neighbors run their cattle across the Hi Good flat as well. Standing water on the flat does result after a winter or spring down pour, and resultant cattle mud divots as deep as 9” are not surprising.

1 Personal communication (2007) Professor Dick Hilton, author and geologist for Sierra College’s Natural History Museum, Rocklin, California.

2 “Outpost” cabin refers to Hi Good’s more “frontier residence” in Section 21, which served dual purposes, namely: (1) to serve as a more remote base camp for Hi Good and his “boon buddies” to spy and be “prospecting” the foothills for the whereabouts of the Mill Creek Indians themselves, their guns, and their plunder, taken from the many settlers’ cabins and mines, and (2) to accommodate Good’s second and new sheep operations enterprise that he started up in 1866.

3 Interview sessions in 2003-2006, with Section 21 property owners Mike Hamilton and Fred Hamilton.

4 One geographically precise statement comes from the memoir by Simeon Moak in the 1923 *The Last of the Mill Creeks*, p. 32. for the year 1870. He reports that, “Good lived in Acorn Hollow at this time and had a fine ranch and garden on Deer Creek about one mile and a half south.”

5 “Letter No. 9, from Alexander Barrington, to his brother William Barrington, dated February 29, 1856 from “Rio Alto Ranch” as reprinted in Jane Bissell Grabhorn 1934 *A California Gold Rush Miscellany*. San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, pp. 43-45. This letter, in its entirety is reprinted in the Appendix.

6 Grabhorn (1934:43).

Lassen Peak (*Waxganuup'a*) and approximate study area just out of view in distant left.

Large blue oak is barely discernible along ridge top at Ned's Draw, to where Hi Good's body was likely dragged and where Indian Ned was killed in May 1870.



Figure 6. Open range land southwest of the Hi Good Cabin site. Photo by the author, March 17, 2007.



Figure 7. Angular lava rocks of the Tuscan Formation, strewn across the flat. The Tuscan Formation mudflow of the Late Pliocene, occurred 2 to 3 million years ago. Photo by the author, March 3, 2007.

The approximate five acres studied in Vina's Acorn Hollow, sets in a kind of bowl that protects its occupants from direct winds across the Vina Plains, winds that have real power during the hard rains that invariably strike in the dark winter months. The foothills, consisting of volcanic lava rock aggregates from the more recently formed Southern Cascade Mountain Range, begin to ascend from the Sacramento Valley floor just 1 1/2 miles east of the site. This rugged foothill country was originally labeled as "rough and mountainous" [sic] on the 1859 plat of the Township 25. The gradual rising ridge continues upward for some fifty miles distance to its 10,457 feet zenith, the now dormant Lassen Peak volcano. Her last eruption commenced on May 30, 1914. Its active rumbling continued until about 1921. On a clear day when standing near to the fenced corral and windmill area of the site and looking northeasterly, snow capped Lassen Peak is visible (See Figure 6). Ishi's tribe called Lassen Peak, *Wa ganu p'a* [also spelled *Waxganuupa*] which translates, "Little-Mount-Shasta." (Sapir and Swadesh 1960:172). This majestic, dormant, volcano appears just above the ridge line of Little Dry Creek drainage and the upper Acorn Hollow terrain. Deer Creek is entirely out of view. The Deer Creek drainage is a full 1 1/2 miles east and south from CA-TEH-2105H.

Deer Creek - This major drainage enters the Sacramento Valley about two miles southeast of the site. For an unbeknownst geological reason in eons past, the Deer Creek water's course turned abruptly south at the point where it approaches the Sacramento Valley proper. It continues southward and then arcs to the west, such that Deer Creek is never closer than the 1 1/2 miles distance at any point. She passes Hi Good's former ranch headquarters, formerly on the south side of Deer Creek in Section 33. At this point, the river's natural flood plain is on the south side. Hence, irrigating its bordering terraces for vegetable gardening, remains to this day, easily achieved by diverting some of its waters. Walnut orchards today cover the terraces of Hi Good's former ranch. Nothing that might have been Hi Good's former ranch house has ever been observed by the present owner who has had the property since 1975 (See Anderson 1909:49-53 and VI. "Land History" below).

Deer Creek's original water source is the north face watershed of Butt Mountain in Plumas County. This mountain is 7,866 feet in elevation, and clearly seen in the southeast from Deer Creek Meadow (where today's Hwy 36 and 32 converge). Its waters run across Deer Creek Meadow, which was evidently Hi Good's favorite spot for summer grazing of his sheep (Approximate years: 1867, 1868, and 1869). Deer Creek's snow-melt waters then tumble and churn their way westward, continuing along side Hwy 32 for several scenic miles. Eventually Deer Creek runs into a deep canyon gorge, which in some places is 1,000 feet deep. Its red rim-rock canyon walls in rugged forested terrain, is both picturesque and spectacular. Deer Creek winds through the Lassen National Forest and the federally protected "Ishi Wilderness" (established by Congress on September 28, 1984, Public Law 98-425, the California Wilderness Act.).

Plant (flora) status - Endemic and interdependent tree and plant species found include: Blue oak, Black oak, Mountain juniper, Gray pine, Ponderosa pine, Western red cedar, California laurel (bay), Common buckeye and others. Some plants are: Blue elderberry, dogbane (Indian hemp), soaproot, brodiaea and camas bulbs, sunflower family plants, willows, sedges, deergrass, and more.

Fish status - The spring Chinook salmon run, when compared to the fall run, is considered to be at risk of extinction, demonstrated by the dramatic decline in population over the last few decades. The fall and spring "wild" runs from the Pacific Ocean up the Sacramento River and farther up Deer and Mill creeks are two of the remaining runs that have survived.

Animal status - The adjacent Ishi Wilderness still harbor black bear (some of which are cinnamon colored), Mountain lion, Bobcat (*Lynx*), Northern river otter, Red-tailed hawk, Common gray fox, Acorn woodpecker, Snowy egret, Wood Duck, Golden eagle, Western pond turtle, Western rattlesnake, California newt, and other creatures. The lower foothills include a curious wild horses, as well as provide critical winter habitat for one of the largest Black-tailed deer herds in the state.

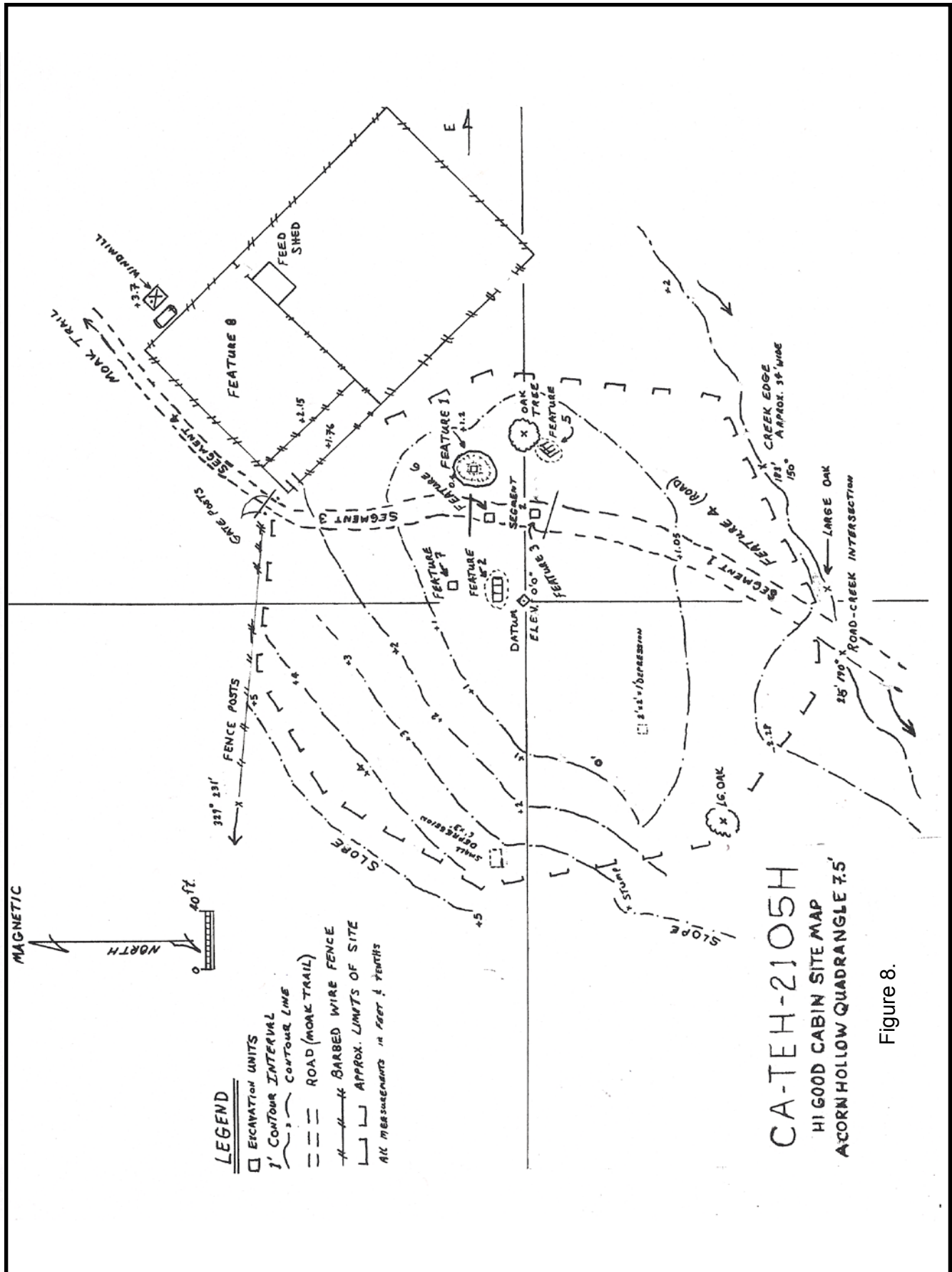


Figure 8.

Figure 9. (Opposite) Broad View Sketch Map. Illustrates relationships of modern highways. Territory shown is about 40 miles (length) x 40 miles (breadth).

Highways: Familiar are the major highways. The two that run north-south are Interstate 5 (far left) and Hwy 99E (on east side of Sacramento River). The two highways that run roughly west-east are Hwy 36 (upper portion) and Hwy 32 (lower portion).

CA-TEH-2105E Study Area: is represented by the "dot" placed inside the upper portion of the rectangular square that runs vertically (at middle left on map). The site is east of Hwy 99E and northeast of Vina (distance of about 4 miles). The site is close to the southwest corner of Sections 21 of Tehama County's Lassen Township 25N, R1W. The "middle" rectangular "box" is Section 28. The bottom square or box represents the south bank area of Deer Creek, Section 33.

Hi Good Cabin, Alfred G. Carter, Good's Ranch (Find black dots placed inside rows of squares):

(1) Dot at top portion and on north bank of the Acorn Hollow seasonal wash, is labeled on map, "Good's Cabin." Two dots in bottom square on south bank of Deer Creek are Alfred G. Carter's ranch (to left) and Hi Good's Ranch (to right) with vegetable garden. Preemption claim made in 1857. It's proper location is the Lassen Township, Tehama County, California SE ¼ of Section 33, of Township 25N, R1W.

Additional Place Names:

Campo Seco -Site of probably the last battle with the Mill Creeks, which occurred in 1867 or 1869, today on Gray Davis Dye Creek Nature Preserve property, administered by the Nature Conservancy.

Old Lassen Emigrants' Trail is represented by "line of dots."

Wm. J. Seagraves' "storage cabin, in Twentymile Hollow" (T. Kroeber 1961:85) -Undetermined locale.

Obe Fields Spring - Former Rev. Robert R. Roberts cabin site (See Fig. 97, p. 149). Named for by teamster Obe N. Field who kept his hunting camp there on south side of Lassen Emigrant's Trail (Section 2 of T26N, R2E).

Bruff Camp -Camp site maintained by Joseph Goldsborough Bruff (1804-1889) during winter 1849-1850 along the "narrows" between Deer Creek and Mill Creek.

Ishi's Village (Lower Camp) properly known as Wowunupo' mu tetna, Grizzly Bear's Hiding Place. Notice relationship to Ishi's Upper Camp farther upstream.

Major Cities/Towns (North to South): Red Bluff and town of Mineral (Upper right), riverboat town of Tehama (eight miles north of study area on west bank of Sacramento), Vina (along Deer Creek) and Chico (along Big Chico Creek).

Water courses named : Sacramento River (that flows north-to south). Water drainages that all flow westerly include: Antelope Creek, Dye Creek, Mill Creek, Dry Creek (its name changes to Toomes Creek). Farther south are: the Acorn Hollow seasonal creek (wash), Deer Creek, Pine Creek, Rock Creek, Mud Creek, and Big Chico Creek (north of Hwy. 32).

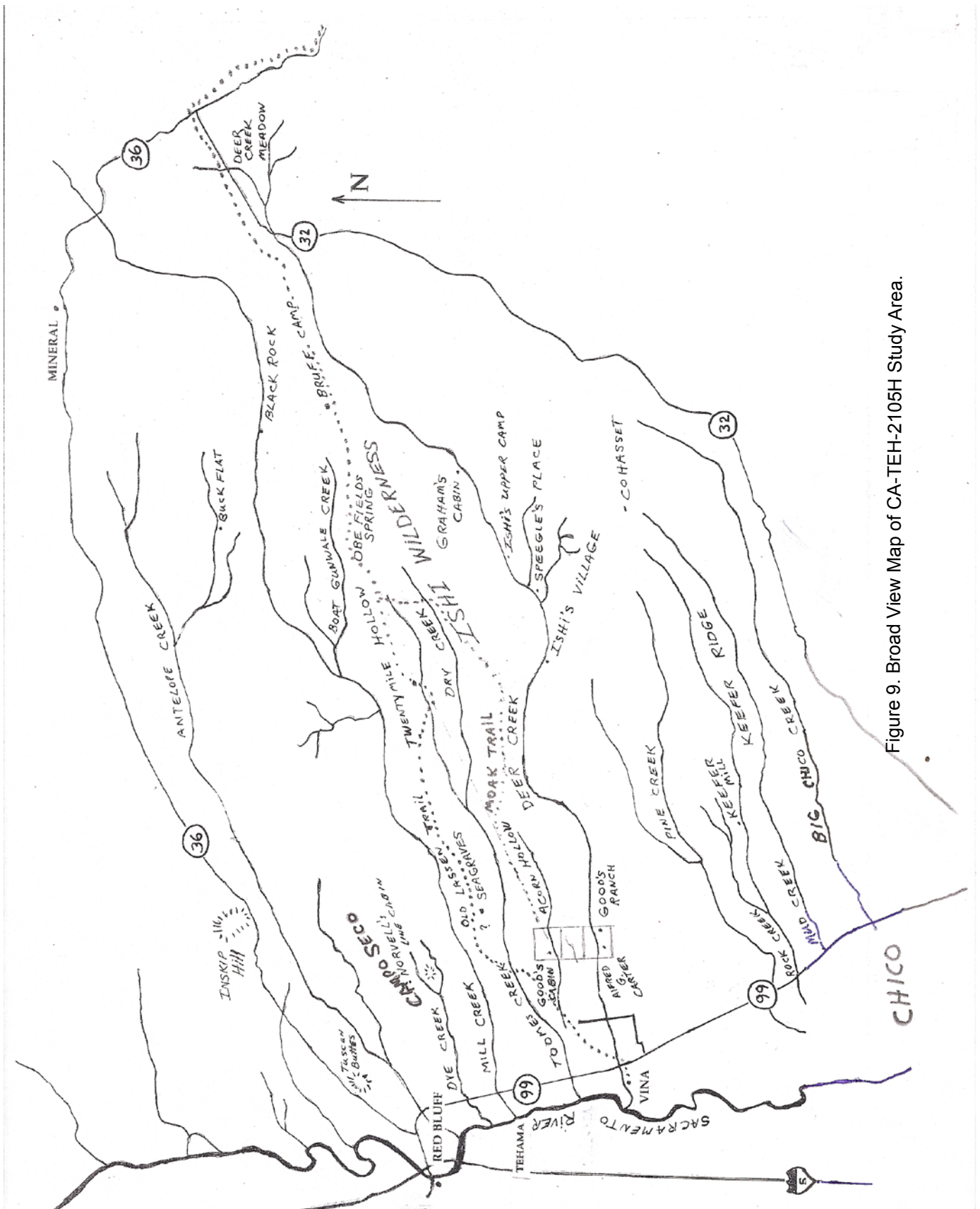


Figure 9. Broad View Map of CA-TEH-2105H Study Area.

Project Research Design's Twenty Questions (Themes) For Testing

The study area today is part of a working cattle ranch. They are:

Ishi's Yahí/Yana History versus Indian Adversary Hi Good:

1. Can we glean more insights and/or connections about the resolute Indian adversary Hi Good and the respective frontier settlements that better explain the demise of Ishi's Yahí culture?
2. Can we determine more about the geographical locus of Ishi's diminished band in hiding, especially relative to where they were residing in 1870, which was the year of the ambush, the Five Bows ceremony (truce) and protracted negotiations that followed?
3. Can we gain new cause and effect understandings from an improved and/or expanded Ishi versus Hi Good chronology?

(Some of these interpretations may be read on pages 25-47, 499, and 571-585.)

Social-economic Organization:

4. What were the life ways of ranchers (sheep, cattle) and social/economic interactions?

(Interpretations may be read in Ch. 2, pages 51-54, 87-88, 197-206; 101-102, 107, 118, 122, 127-128, 130-133, 142, 147-148, 157-158, 170-176, 188, 207-208, 223-231; Ch. 3 on pages 234-236; Ch. 6, pages 423-435, 487-489, 449, 500, 504-509, 511-519, 541-543; and in Ch. 9, on pages 586-588.)

5. Can we find data that suggests Hi Good had a sheep raising operation underway in Section 21 in about 1867, such as tools or sheep herder living quarters?

(Early related sheep operation living quarters artifacts are listed in Ch. 6 on page 501, as well as related tools and sheep faunal remains in Ch. 8, on pages 539-549.)

6. Can we find evidence in Section 21 of visitations by Hi Good's shepherd and neighbor, Alexander Robb Barrington, and his "Spanish" wife (Moak 1923:24) who helped rear one of Hi Good's little Indian girls before she died?

(Some data may be found in Ch. 2 on pages 101, 116-117, as well as one photo of one of the Indian orphans distributed by Hi Good, on page 127.)

7. Can we find any commercial trade items (e.g., glass trade beads, small mirrors, etc.) or any evidence of fur trapping pelts and/or equipment for such use?

(Nothing related was found.)

California Trails' History:

8. Can we find items from the Lassen Emigrants' Trail along the road that passes through our site in Section 21?

(See Fig. 117 in Ch. 2 on page 188).

9. Can we draw any tentative conclusions about the Moak Trail and its significance in history based on what is found in Section 21?

(See interpretations based on data in Ch. 2, on pages 190-195.)

Technologies Development:

10. About the Hi Good Cabin, can we determine construction techniques such as from the nails used for “board and batten” or other construction?

(See Ch. 7 interpretations on pages 550-552, with Table 16 on page 533).

11. Can we find and differentiate evidence of the other wooden cabin structures that property owner Mike Hamilton purported was brought from downstream to the Hi Good Cabin site in about 1937 due to excessive flooding?

(Conclusion reached may be read in Ch. 9, on pages 569-570.)

12. What was the source of the red bricks observed?

(One possible source may be read in Ch. 6 on page 460, as well as suggestions for future brick studies on pages 464-466.)

13. Can we find a cobble stone hearth in front of the fireplace and evidence of a wood floor?

(Interpretations may be found in Ch. 6 on page 457-459; as well as questions posed in Ch. 9, on page 568).

14. Can we date the Hi Good Cabin site in Section 21 to pre-1870 based on artifacts found? Any barbed wire types or historic armament found etc.?

(Vintage barbed wire type found may be viewed in Ch. 5, Fig. 302 on page 421. Interpretations may be read in Ch. 7 on page 528 and in Ch. 9 on page 571.)

15. Regarding raising sheep in Section 21, can data be found that points to hired herders taking up residence in and around the cabin site under study?

(From archival data, the names of some of Hi Good’s sheep crew laborers may be read in Ch. 2 on page 153. See also listings in Ch. 6 on page 501.)

16. From where did Hi Good likely procure his consumer supplies, and others later?

(Presumably the town of Tehama, eight miles north of the study area was Good’s major source for his consumer supplies. See Ch. 2, Figures 88 & 89 on pages 136. Also, Mayhew’s Crossing with stage stop included a local store to which mailed items may have also been delivered, as described in Ch. 2 on pages 103-111. See also Ch. 9 summary on pages 577-578.)

17. Can we surmise what kind(s) of small firearms (armaments) that Hi Good used?

(The archival/site data listings may be found in Ch. 5, pages 397-403; Ch 6, on 496-497; and Ch. 8 on page 541.)

18. Regarding [healthful] diet, can we find food remains at the site?

(Food diet data may be read in Ch. 6, on page 502, as well as Table 11 on page 508.)

Environmental Issues:

19. Has earlier overgrazing by sheep men in Section 15 and 21 killed off the native vegetation, leaving the greater area today excessively weedy?

(Data may be read in Ch. 2 on pages 223-227.)

20. What was the water availability and accessibility in 1867? How do conditions compare with today? Regarding water availability, how reliable was the ground water and how efficient was the hand dug well feature? Was this well built and used circa 1867 to 1870 or later? Was it used for trash disposal and when was it filled or closed? Or was it partially filled and later closed?

(Data may be read in Ch. 2 on pages 228-229.)

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

"Scholarly research often leads one down unexpected paths."
--Thomas Layton (1997:7)

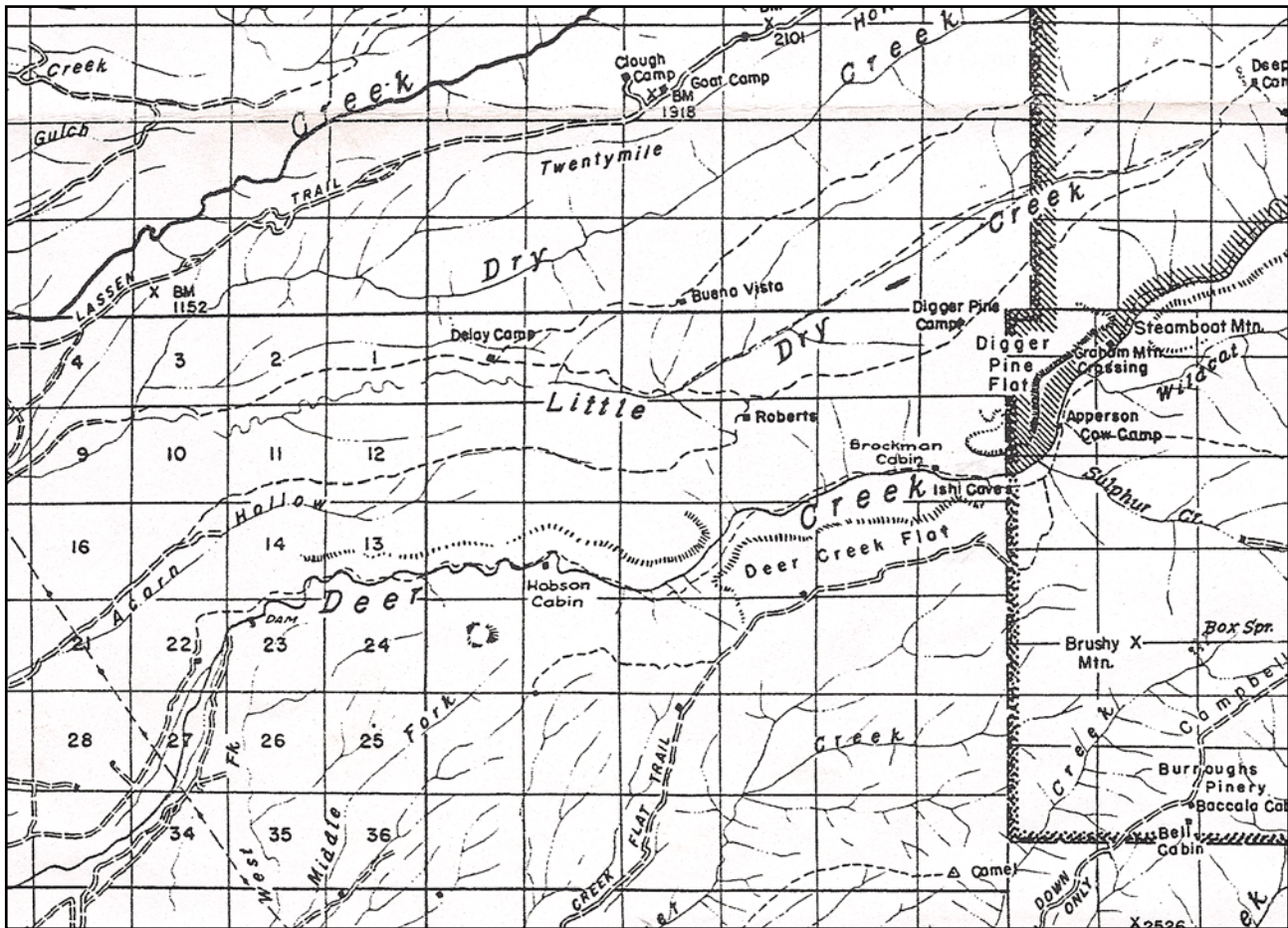


Figure 10. Map: Study area Section 21 (far left) and area eastward, 1952, by Division of Forestry, Department of Natural Resources, State of California. Map on file at the Meriam Library, California State University, Chico.



Figure 11. "Ishi arrows made before contact." These priceless arrows were taken by Harry Keefer in 1908, from Grizzly Bear's Hiding Place (called "Ishi Caves" on Fig. 10 map, above right). Location is about eleven miles northeast of CA-TEH-2105H.

Their proportions as to form, coloring, and finish are of very high order. The three (left side in photo) are a set of five. Ishi's traditional cresting was alternating rings of red and blue, each a quarter of an inch wide. Two of these four arrows have pressure-flaked corner notch points, made of clear window pane glass. They are today on exhibit at the California State Indian Museum, 2618 "K" Street, Sacramento. Grace (Mountain) Keefer, after her husband died, gave the "six" arrows (two not shown above) to her half sister, Ruby Speegle, married to Chester Rose of Chico, California. It was their son, Philip Rose of Richvale, CA, who donated these Ishi arrows to the State of California. Photo by permission of Philip Rose of Richvale, California.

I. The Local Indigenous Tribes

The Inherent Struggle

Two Civilizations with Different Uses for the Land

For at least 15,000 years the stewardship of North America was solely in the hands of the Native Americans. Since 1769 in California the past 240 years has been a struggle of the indigenous peoples to resist conquest and the wanton destruction of their natural habitats, while remaining true to their heritage. Native Americans advocate Jack Forbes (1973:202) wrote, “The essence of Indianness . . . basically revolves around the values.” [And] “. . . of a person functioning in a harmonious way with nature and people.” The Native peoples’ sense of place as human beings to be protectors of the remembered Earth, is deeply ingrained. With eloquence, Professor Forbes (1973:205) defined the ethos of Native Americans this way: “To create ‘beauty’ in actions, words, and objects is the overall objective of human beings in this world.” The Natives’ ecologically driven values and outlook are significant because they provide a means for solving many of the significant problems faced by all peoples today.

Before the major 1849 Gold Rush of California, the Native peoples lived a hunter-gatherer and semi-horticulturist life-style, in which they moved with the seasons, obeying nature’s guide-signs to take best advantage of the available fish and game and for harvesting acorns, seeds, clover and berries. This is wisdom developed from centuries of living. This author recognizes the importance and continued hopes of the environmental movement (see also Ch. 2, XI “Environmental issues).

* * * * *

The principal reason why this author chose to study (test) the Hi Good Cabin site (also referred to as the study area) was to hopefully glean new insights and connections that contributed to the Yahi/Yana’s final demise. This researcher’s clearer understanding is that (and contrary to popular opinion)

the Yahi’s path crossed with Hi Good and his associates probably for the first time in March of 1870, when Ishi was about sixteen years old; that Hi Good had been battling Ishi’s tribe for years was a myth. The primary archival account for this revelation is Waterman (1918:57-58), which is reprinted below in Ch. 3 “Earliest Published Accounts.” Waterman quoted *verbatim* William J. Seagraves’ eye-witness account. Seagraves was the receiver of the “Five Bows” in 1870, a formal call by the Yahi for a truce with Hi Good. The Five Bows formal ceremony occurred about four miles north of the study area (See Fig. 9 map). In 1915 and on the University of California’s Berkeley campus, Seagraves revealed for Waterman the grim and sordid details about how he assisted Hi Good in killing and capturing some of the very last of Ishi’s band. The guns they used this time were Henry Repeating rifles, each with sixteen rounds of fire power (Waterman 1918:58). In the San Francisco Bay area, Seagraves immediately recognized Ishi before him as one the five warriors who, in 1870, had approached him in the night at his cabin in Twentymile Hollow. Seagraves remarked how Ishi “was lighter in complexion” compared to the others.

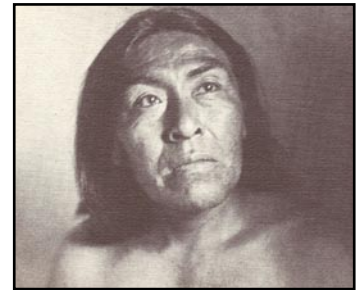


Figure 12. Ishi photo, 1913, taken in San Francisco when Ishi was about 59 years old. The photographer was Joseph Dixon with the Wanamaker Expedition.

On that night, Seagraves led Ishi and the four other peace envoys to Hi Good's "camp." They desperately hoped to win the release of their three Yahi females, being kept as hostages there. The local geography, the verified sheep faunal remains, the sheep hand shear blades also found in the course of digging, joined with archival records about their "camp" are all compelling. The site, CA-TEH-2105H, appears to have been Hi Good's sheep camp with cabin, all one and the same place.

Five topics provided in this Background History provide perspective about Hi Good's encounter with Ishi's established Yahi tribe. Topics include: (1) Ishi's Yahi's population size over time; (2) what tribe(s) in pre-contact times occupied the study area; (3) Ishi's Yana place-names territory map; (4) a review of who were the "Mill Creeks" vis-a-vis the "Yahi"; (5) and lastly, an assessment of the two most devastating events that befell the Yahi/Yana: the little remembered 1858 relocation of 181 Yana from the Battle Creek area; and the 1864 general massacre that commenced in Shasta County.

(1) The Yahi's Diminutive Population Size and Decline:

Ishi's Yahi/Yana population was significantly reduced by: the 1858 roundup (Waterman 1918:43-44) led by W. S. Knott, an employee at Nome-Lackee with 175 Indians from Major Reading's, Jelly's, Love's, and other ranches on Battle Creek; and by the September through December, 1864, general massacre (Curtin 1899:519).

Ishi's Yahi population was always small. According to Professor Alfred Kroeber (1925:339), each Yana geographical location had "an average of 300 to 500 souls." Kroeber (1925:341) also wrote about the Yahi that "this little group . . . can hardly have numbered much more than 200 or 300." (See also Cook 1943:97).

The "total Yana" population in 1848, was set at 1,900 (Cook 1943:97; Johnson 1978:362; while Jeremiah Curtin (1899:517, 518), in contrast, believed that the whole Yana tribe, in 1864, were numbering about 3,000.

Estimated Decline of Ishi's Yahi/Yana Band Through Time

<u>Year</u>	<u>Est. Population/events</u>
pre-contact	300 speakers (Kroeber 1925:339, 341).
<u>1845</u>	200 [Peter Lassen arrived in Feb. of '45 at his Rancho Bosquejo, today's Vina, CA.]
<u>1854</u>	175 [approx. population in approx. year of Ishi's birth, Waterman 1918:58].
<u>1858</u>	63 [approx. population after W. S Knotts' force- removal of 178 -181 Central & Southern Yana speakers from Battle Creek and rancherias of P. B. Reading, Jelly and Love (Waterman 1918: 43-44; ("Indians" [1858,May 26] <i>Red Bluff Beacon</i>).]
<u>1864</u>	17-25 [Yana population compromised by general massacre compromised in Millville, 12 m. E. of Redding & Copper City; spreads to Cottonwood]
<u>1870</u>	14 [One day in March, 1870, w/ trailing dogs, Hi Good, Seagraves, William Sublett and George Spiers party surprised Ishi's Yahi band along Mill Creek near Black Rock. Ishi was about 16 years old (Waterman 1918:58). Their "Old Doctor" was killed. About the female hostages taken Dan Delaney (1872) wrote: "These females were held as hostages at Good's camp for weeks, guarded by the Captain's Indian boy"

Estimated Decline of Ishi's Yahi/Yana -continued-

Year Est. Population/events
1870 May 4. 14 survivors. The Yahi had the motive and probably influenced Indian Ned to help them kill Hi Good on May 4, 1870 (Burrill 2008). After killing the settlers' hero, and anticipating retaliation, the Yahi resumed their concealment. About the "Indians" who likely killed Hi Good, read this author's article, "Likely Origin and Demise of Indian Ned" (2008 Winter) *Diggin's*, Vol. 51, No. 4. Oroville, CA: Butte County Historical Society.

1872-1884 Years of the 'Long Concealment' according to Theodora Kroeber (1961:98).

circa 1881 Four "wild" Indians appeared at Buck Flat before property owner John L. Boles (Kauffman ms. circa.1882). "1881" is based on Kauffman's mention of the Yellow Jacket sawmill. A narrow meter logging train ran to it from Lyonsville. Discontinued in 1882 (Kent Stephens). See map w/photo in Burrill (2004:308).

1880 "Jenny" was adopted by Peter and Maggie Cleghorn (1880 census, in Henleyville, Township 24N, R4W, Tehama County). This is only published account for "Jennie" found to date.

1882 10 - "Wild Indians Captured." (1882, January 7).
Red Bluff Weekly People's Cause:

"Two old squaws of the Honka or Mill Creek tribe of Indians, were brought into town Sunday evening by Ralph Johnson and Geo. Greer. These Indians were tracked with a dog into a cave about 25 miles from here and 2.5 miles south of the [Chris] Kauffman mine, near Mill creek. When found they were almost naked and had nothing to eat. Two or three "bucks" were seen on the Mill Creek hills, supposed to be the Indians, who have been committing various depredations on stock and robbing houses in that section of the country for a long time. We understand that the Sheriff will send an officer or two out with the squaws who say that they can find the males and induce them to come to town. What will be done with this remnant of a once strong and warlike tribe, is not yet known. They ought to be sent to an Indian Reservation."

1882 4 Indians witnessed. "Yesterday . . . an old buck and an equally old squaw, a man about 35 and a boy aged 16, came to Colonel Boles' place [Buck Flat] about thirty miles from here [Red Bluff]. The colonel gave them food, which they ate with great avidity. It is thought that there are one or two more still in the Mill creek mountains." ("Poor Lo." [1882, October 21] *Red Bluff Weekly People's Cause*).

circa 1883? [1870?] Uncle George Greer and Frank D. [Davis] returning from Red Bluff with groceries, found Deer Creek too high to cross. Camped in a cave, one mile north of the Three Knolls. Dark inside. When the light from the camp fire, show[ed] two Indian girls, shivering with cold and fright, about 12 & 18. The boys gave them warm food, and most of their blankets. [Homer Speegle wrote of a female Indian ally whom they named "Red Wing" in his "Eight Pages" and "Thirteen Pages," parts of which are reprinted in Burrill 2001:96-102.] It appears the Speegles believed she was part of Ishi's tribe. Whether she was one of the last Mill Creek refugees is unresolved.

Estimated Decline of Ishi's Yahi/Yana -continued-

Year Est. Population/events

1890 Dec. 16 12 Indians witnessed. "Several Red Bluff hunters were fired upon the other day by a roving band of Indians. They used arrows and one of the men, Wm. Lyons [sic] by name, received one of the barbed shafts through his hat. The affair occurred in Big Antelope canyon, east of Red Bluff. About one dozen Indians were estimated to be in the party. The one remnant of the old Mill Creek tribe, a branch of the famous Pitt River Indians, who were relentless foes to the whites in the early days. *Chico Enterprise Record* p. 2/1. Darwin B. Lyon Jr., experienced three arrows fired at him. Besides the tool-making kit Darwin also picked up one arrow and retreated with it (Burrill 2001:32-33).

1896 7 or 8 Indians witnessed. "On Mill Creek are seven or eight of the old Mill Creek tribe. They are so shy and reserved that they are rarely ever seen. They dress in Indian style, using the skins of deer and will not make friends with white men." (1896, March 20) *Oroville Daily Register*, p. 3/1.

1900 or 1902 Tom J. Cleghorn (Snowflake) and Miss Ethel Coloma Eubanks married in Stockton, Stockton County.

circa 1904 First "raid" (not "cleaning") of Speegles's Place on Deer Creek. Apparently by Mill Creek renegade Indians, described by Homer Speegle (Burrill 2001: 119-120, 124).

circa 1906 "Encounter occurred with band of buckskin clad Indians who confronted John Hobson and Mattie Mulkey Speegle (probably at Willard Speegle's Place in Section 23 along Deer Creek) who could have been Shoshone Mike* and his band, passing through Deer Creek Canyon. According to the map in Dayton Hyde's (1973) *The Last Free Man*, Shoshone Mike and his ilk in 1910, wandered and foraged from Mount Lassen, then possibly through the Deer Creek drainage, en route to Oroville. Neither Ruth nor Jackie Speegle (daughters of Willard Speegle) could be sure about the year. Sources for the above were secured from Norman Leininger (born 1922), tape interviewed on December 20, 2003 and Bernadine (Boring) Kelly (born 1927) tape interviewed on September 11, 2005, by Richard Burrill. Mattie (Mulkey) Speegle was the grandmother of Bernadine Kelly.

* Shoshone Mike (of Wyoming's Bannock tribe) and his band were mostly killed in late February of 1911, "Band of Murderous Shoshones Wiped Out by Possé". (1911, February 28). *Humboldt County, Nevada's The Silver State*, p. 1; Dayton Hyde (1973) *The Last Free Man* New York: The Dial Press.

1908 Nov. 5 3 or 4 Indians witnessed -Hunters and surveyors discovered Grizzly Bear's Hiding Place and raided the camp of all its Indian goods! (Burrill 2001:39-77); "J. M. Apperson thinks eight to ten Indians are living there in a "wild state" ("Indians found on Deer Creek" [1908, November 16] *Plumas National*, p. 2/3).

1910 Ishi was probably encountered by Joe Papey on Mill Creek drainage. "Wild Indian seen in Mill Creek Canyon. (1911, January 4). *Red Bluff Daily People's Cause*. p. 1. (Entire newspaper account reprinted in Burrill 2004:72)

1911 Aug. 28. Ishi "came in" to his Second World (Oroville and San Francisco).

Evidence continued to be advanced that "wild" Indians remained at large even since Ishi came into "civilization." (Waterman 1918:68).

(2) What tribe(s) in pre-contact times occupied the study area, CA-TEH-2105H?

Walter Goldschmidt (1978:341) wrote that, "The River Nomlaki [of the Wintuan language group] lived in the Sacramento River valley in present Tehama County." At the time of the California Gold Rush, their camps were kept along both banks of the river. Hence, the four prehistoric artifacts recovered at the Hi Good Cabin site are possibly of River Nomlaki manufacture but proto-Yana as likely.

The Yana claimed their fishing stations and the one village named *Wawi'ldjuwaha* (See Fig. 13 map). As to what tribes lived along the Sacramento River in the Tehama County area, Sapir and Spier (1943:241) provide Thomas Waterman's interpretation that, "... the eastern bank must have been in powerful Wintun hands and that the Yana were essentially foothill people." Sapir and Spier (1943:241) clarified that "... the Yana laid claim to the land quite to the river, where they had fishing stations though perhaps no permanent villages." So in this fashion for the river frontage, "for the Yahi ... there is some evidence for joint occupation by Wintun and Yahi of the lower country east of the Sacramento (1943:242)." Sapir and Spier (1943:240) also wrote that, "During the salmon season of June and July, the Yana had regular rights jointly to fishing stations on the Sacramento River, at Balls Ferry and at the mouth of Battle Creek.

Ishi's place names map (Figures 14, 15 and 16) corroborates that the Wintuan division occupied the river's east bank, with the exception of their Yana village named *Wawi'ldjuwaha* ("Otter Water"), located at the confluence of Battle Creek and the Sacramento River (see Sapir and Spier 1943:245, and respective map [1943:iv]; also pointed out as Yana village by Dotta 1982:78.).

That *Wawi'ldjuwaha* was a "permanent" Central Yana (Nozi) village is corroborated by the facts that apparently a bloody skirmish in 1844, was led by early settler Samuel Hensley against the indigenous Yana tribe who felt that their

fishing stations were being threatened because Hensley's crew of woodcutters were dropping logs into the Sacramento River there to be floated downstream to John Sutter's operations. In memory of the battle that Hensley and his woodcutters had fought, he bragged that he christened the place, "Bloody Island" (Smith 1991:68). One of Battle Creek's earlier names was Nozi Creek. Nozi Creek appears on 1846 map drawn by Charles Preuss with Frémont's second expedition (Smith 1991:11).

- At *Saya* was the Wintun chief [headman] named Kinnuitci. Kinnuitci was friendly. Ishi also told Professors Kroeber and Waterman that the Wintun chief named Memponna and his people came to their "rich village" called *Tuliyani* (#26), located on Mill Creek (Fig. 17) where the Boat Gunwale drainage empties into Mill Creek (Fig.18). Wintu visited Ishi's Yahi tribe at the Yahi's rich village called *Tuliyani* (#26). The above is what led Professor Kroeber (1925:345) to conclude, "The Wintun and Yahi appear to have been on friendly terms."

- One Bidwell Indian (of the Mechoopda in Chico) named William "Bill" Conway, and who was a Wintu speaker and traditional herbalist, apparently had kept in contact with Ishi's band as late as November 1908. This became known by the press coverage generated at the moment when Grizzly Bear's Hiding Place was discovered (T. Kroeber 1961:106-112; and Burrill 2001:38-77). Editor George Mansfield for the *Oroville Daily Register* on November 12, 1908, secured these details from William Conway about Ishi's band encountered at Grizzly Bear's Hiding Place, that:

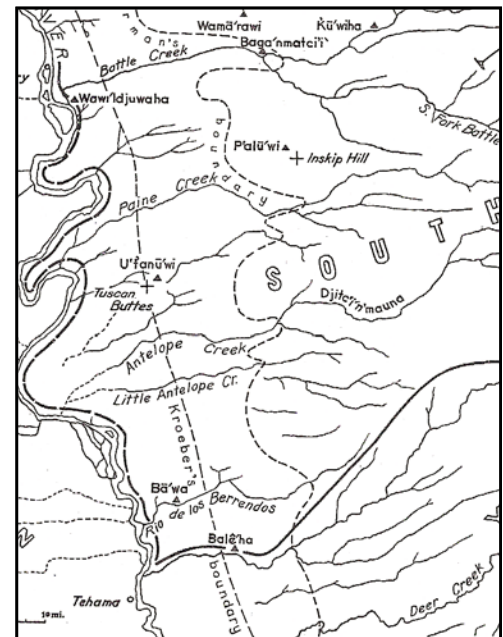


Figure 13. Map: *Wawi'ldjuwaha*, Central Yana (Nozi) village (Sapir and Spier 1943:iv) at Battle Creek's confluence into the Sacramento River at area Samuel Hensley argued he named "Bloody Island."

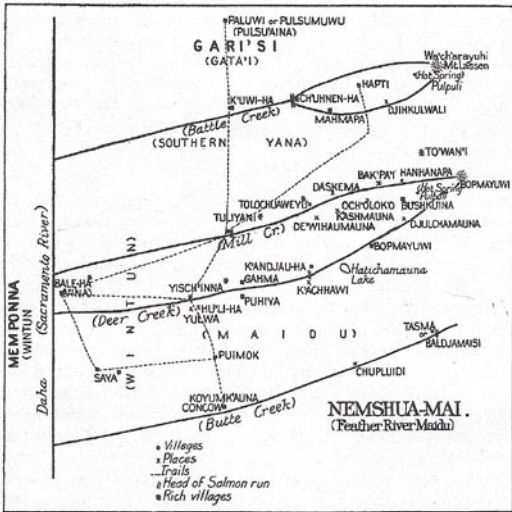


Figure 14. Ishi's Map by Kroeber (1925:334) and reprinted from Kroeber's *Handbook of the Indians of California*.

P'ulsumuwu or Paluwi (#27) at top of maps. Ishi said was the "Clover Creek" area (See Figures 19 & 20).

The "rich village" Tuliyani (#26) located on Mill Creek where the Boat Gunwale drainage empties into Mill Creek.

Baléxa (#28) and Saya (#33) Ishi said had Wintun leadership at Baléxa was "Malki a woman chief, Wintun."

#23 *gahma* on south bank of Deer Creek. *ga'mesi*, #157 "creek" is directly across on north side of Deer Creek (Pope says Ishi tells him he lived here when young).

Daha -Yahi's name for the Sacramento River, while the *Memponna* was the River Nomlaki's spoken name for her. Ishi also said that *Memponna* was the name of a Wintun chief, whose "people came to his "rich village" of *Tuliyaná*" (#26).

Below reads:

5/10/13

|| head of salmon run

○ houses ○ rich villages

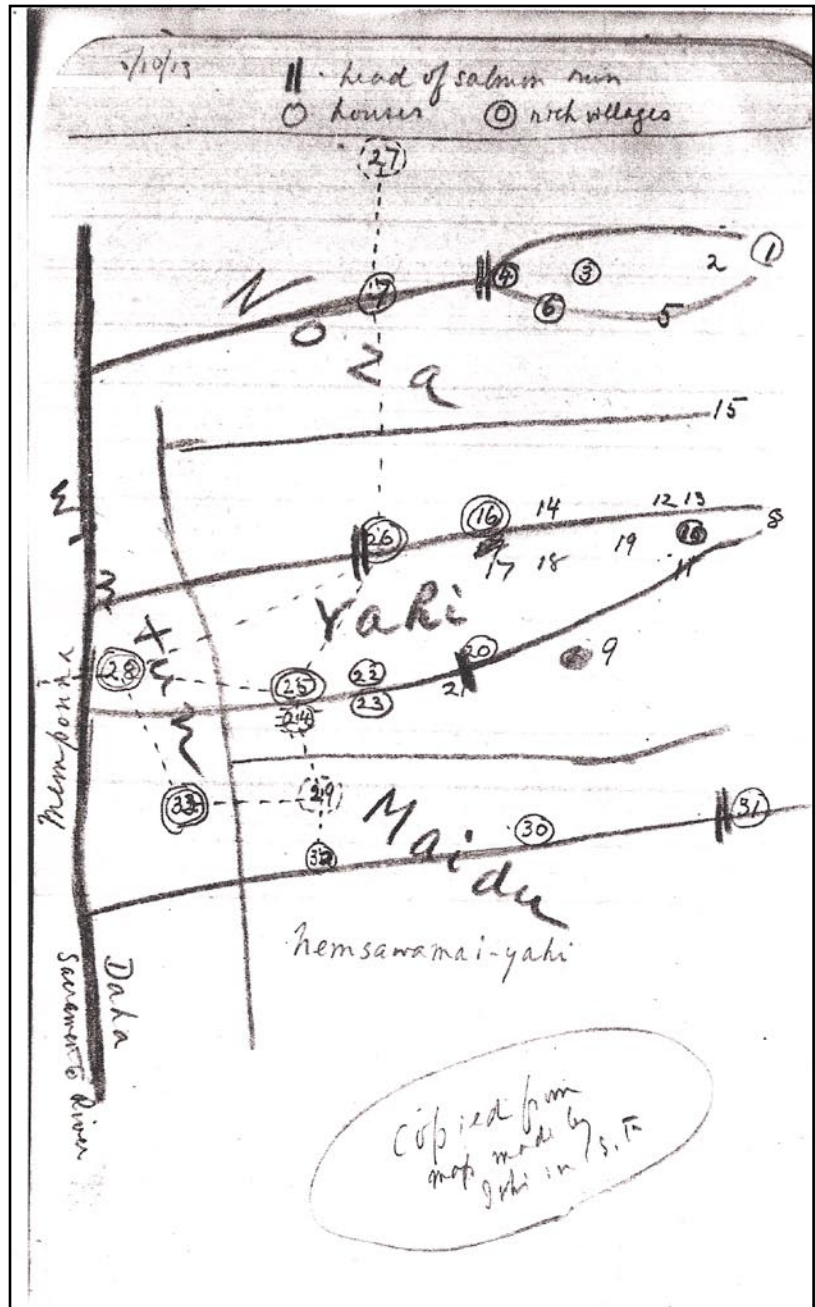
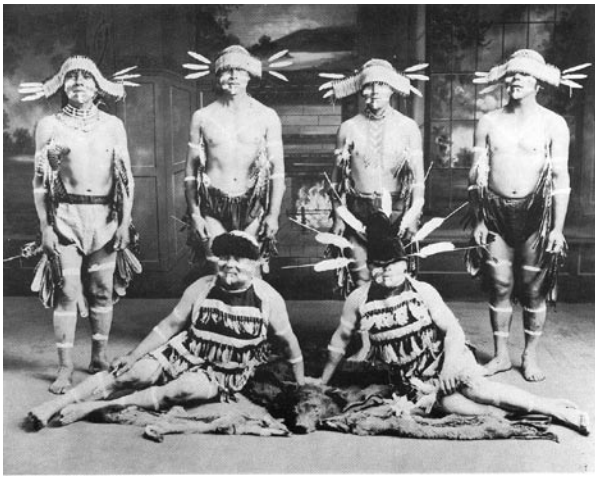


Figure 15. Map: Ishi's Place Names Map, 1913. On the top left portion of this map is the date, "5/10/13." On the lower portion of map and circled, is "Copied from map made by Ishi in S. F." A. L. Kroeber 1869-1972 Papers. Banc Ms. C-B 925 Carton 17 Folder 17:36. Reprinted courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

- = houses
- 160 ① wa²te²arāyawi
- 161 2 p²u²pulli - hot spring
- 162 ③ xāpti
- 145 ④ te²uxnenxa (head of salmon run)
- 163 5 dix kulwalsi (≠)
- 164 ⑥ maxmapa (≠)
- 165 ⑦ k²wi-xati
- 158 8 lo²ma-yuwi [-] (y. pine)
- 166 9 katitcā-manna (dead people's lake)
- 1 ⑩ bu²guina (= "fox")
- 167 11 d²u²l²ca-manna (≠)
- 168 12 bak²pai
- 169 13 a²n²a²nāpa
- 170 14 daskema (y. pine)
- 171 15 tō²wax²i (mt.)
- 172 16 to²lō²te²u²wēyu (rich people here)
- 173 17 de²wi²ka²manna (high up)
- 174 18 k²a²c²manna { " " }
- 175 19 o²te²o²lok²o { " " }
- 176 ⑳ k²a²nd²au²xa
- 177 21 k²ā²tch²ā²wi (no salmon above here)
- 178 ㉒ p²u²h²iya
- 179 ㉓ ga²h²ma
- 184 24 yulwa and e²ā²lixa 183
- 180 ㉔ yest²inna
- 181 ㉕ t²u²liyawi (no salmon above here)
- 182 (27) P²ulsamuwa (= Clover Creek) or Paluwi. Sami's People
- 2 ㉘ palēxa (- Mal²ki a woman chief) Wintim
- 185 (29) Puimok Indrawo - friendly Maidu
- 103 ㉚ te²u²pluidi
- 103 ㉛ tasma or baldjāmais: } hostile Maidu
- 147 ㉜ gayum k²arena
- 116 33 sāya (Kin²nuit²ci chief; friendly) Wintim
- Memponna, name of a Wintim chief; people came to T²uliyawi ㉞
- 157

Figure 16. Nozi (Central Yana), Yahi, and Maidu village names (mostly) named by Ishi as numbered on Map (Fig. 15 opposite). Reprinted from A. 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.



“These Indians have steadily refused to give up their own religion and adopt that of civilization. There was with them up to a year ago, he says, a chief named Krogdo, nearly 100 years old, who had preserved the traditions of the tribe for thousands of years, covered in deerskins and buried in a place known only to himself” (“Wild Indians Still Roam in Butte [sic] County” *Oroville Daily Register* [1908, November 12]).

Figure 17. Data suggests that Bill Conway (front and sitting on left) had intimate knowledge and likely personal contact with Ishi’s band before Ishi “came in” to his Second World in Oroville on August 28, 1911. Conway also met with Ishi in Oroville inside the Butte County Jail with Sheriff John Brooks Webber present on August 30, 1911.

Back row (L to R): George Nye, Isaiah Conway, Jodie Conway, Herbert Young. (Front and sitting) William “Bill” J. Conway and Dewey Conway in 1921 at Chico State Theatre.

In addition to knowing Chief Krogdo’s name, on August 30, 1911, Bill Conway visited “Ishi” in Oroville inside the Butte County jail. The reporter for the *Chico Daily Enterprise* wrote, “Conway thoroughly understands the Digger Indian dialect” [and] “not only did he obtain the Indian’s whole story, but says that there were some of the things which were told him that he cannot tell lest there be bloodshed” (“Local Indian Talks with Oroville Captive” [1911, August 31] *Chico Daily Enterprise*, p. 3; See also Burrill 2004:170-176).

3. Ishi’s Yana Place Names

- The neighboring tribes of the Yana referred to them as the “Salt People” The Pit River or Achumawi name for the “Salt People” was *Ti’saichi*, (Sapir and Spier 1943:242). About this Professor Alfred L. Kroeber (1925:339-340) wrote:

“Near the Central Yana village of *Wichuman’na*, some miles east of Millville, was a saline swamp. The dark-colored mud was taken up and dried for use as salt. Achumawi, Atsugewi, and Wintun all resorted to this place--a fact that indicates more of less chronic friendliness. This locality originated the Achumawi name for the Yana, *Ti’saichi*, “Salt people.”

- Sam’s People (on map) - Ishi was probably referring here to Sam Batwee (Bat’wi) who was Central Yana. Linguist Edward Sapir (1943:239) wrote about Bat’wi that he: “. . . passed his childhood at *Ku’wiha* on Battle Creek, where he spoke the now extinct Southern Yana dialect. Later he moved north to Cow Creek and learned to use the Central Yana dialect. His father was a Central Yana from Old Cow Creek (North Fork of Cow Creek); his mother was half (Southern) Yana and half Maidu, her mother having been a ‘Big Meadows’ Indian (Mountain Maidu).”

- *Tehama* - The place name origin for “Tehama” is unresolved, although it is believed to be a word of Native American origin (Hisken (1989:3-4). Though time, the story has been passed down that “Tehama” is a geographical description for “a crossing place.” Perhaps “at the bar just below Tehama, where the river was shallow,” that one could cross there safely. Story has it that an Indian maiden called to the non-Indians, “Te-ha-ma, Te-ha-ma, meaning shallow. She repeated “Te-ham-a” several more times. Finally, they “got it” and crossed successfully and the name stuck.

Figure 18. *Tuliyani* (#26 on Ishi's map), the "rich village" along Mill Creek. The flat is shaded by tall cedar trees in distance, and flat is on the same side where the Boat Gunwale drainage empties into Mill Creek (See Fig. 15 below). Photo taken by author on May 25, 2007, looking upstream.

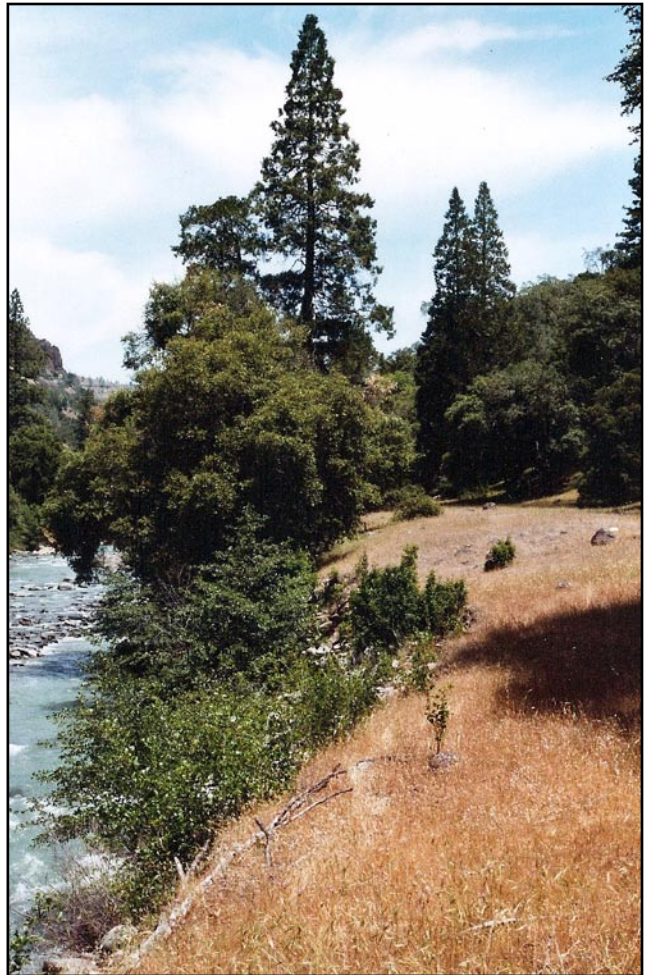


Figure 19. Boat Gunwale drainage at confluence (foreground) into Mill Creek adjacent to *Tuliyani*. Towards the left in photo, the water runs downstream. Photo by author, May 25, 2007.



Figure 20. Clover Creek Falls at *Ba'ri'mauha*, northeast of Millville, Shasta County, CA. Millville Historical Society field trip on June 12, 2005. Photos courtesy of John A. Haner.



Figure 21. "*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).

This photo shows the top and bottom of falls. Ishi's place name for "Clover Creek" on his 1913 map is *P'ulsumuwu* or *Paluwi* (#27), shown at very top of maps.

- *Wowunupo mu tetna* (Grizzly Bear's Hiding Place) - Located about nine miles east of the study area (See "Ishi Caves" on Fig. 10) The Yahis' "Lower Camp." It was a hiding place probably used from about 1884 to 1908. In 1884, "Ike" Speegle obtained his property about one mile upstream called "Speegles." It was kept in the family when the property was sold to Jack Apperson also of Vina in 1922.

On about November 5, 1908, a survey team for the Oro Light and Power Company (and with three locals paid as guides and hunters for fresh meat) chanced upon a "wild" Indian. He appears to have been Ishi. With more exploring, Harry Keefer, Charles Herrick, and Jack Apperson found the Indians' camp. An elderly woman, hid in a rolled up quilt. This was Ishi's mother (T. Kroeber 1961:106-114; Burrill 2001:39-77). The *Chico Record* newspaper's banner headlines for November 10, 1908 read, "Camp of Wild Indians Reported Found in Deer Creek Canyon" and "Attired Only in Skins of Wild Animals." *The Oroville Daily Register*, November 11, 1908, announced, "Indians in Wild State Live on Deer Creek."

The camp contained a rich array of traditional Indian goods, which were looted. Only some of the objects taken ended up in public museums. Six Ishi made arrows (See four in Fig. 11 above), taken by Harry Keefer, were later given by the wife, Grace (Sauber) Keefer, to Chester Rose and wife Ruby (Speegle) Rose of Chico. For years they were on display for local students to see in their private museum on Nord Avenue.

Joseph Goldsborough Bruff Encountered Yahis/Yana Man in 1850

One colorful encounter with a Yahis man was recorded by pioneer and artist, Joseph Goldsborough Bruff, in his *Gold Rush* (1949:341-342) journal entry on April 9, 1850. Bruff, of course, did not use the term Yahis, for this linguistics name was not announced until 1915.

(Setting the scene) It happened that Bruff finally felt he could tramp down out of the snow and follow the long ridge to "Old Pete" Lassen's Rancho (today's Vina). Bruff got almost to Lassen's Rancho when this memorable encounter transpired:

After I had recovered, so as to proceed, I arose, by turning over, and rising on my hands. In a quarter mile more, I met a low square-built Indian, very dark, and had slight mustache; he had just emerged from a deep gulch, on the left. He was nude, except a kind of fig-leaf, had a knife, a quiver full of arrows on his back, and a bow in his hand. He was accompanied by a small black indian dog.* I spoke to him in Spanish, but he did not understand me. I then made signs that I was hungry —starving, and wanted something to eat, which he comprehended but gave me to understand he had nothing While he was going off, I turned round, thought of eating him; he was then about 30 or 40 paces; but I could not shoot the poor wretch in the back: besides he had done me a favor.[of keeping Bruff's puppy at bay].

* According to Kroeber (1925:341), "The native dog of the Yahis was sharp-nosed, erect-eared, short-haired, of the shape and size of a coyote, but gentle and definitely domesticated since it bred in a variety of colors. It was used in hunting bear and deer, and was more or less fed on meat; but like most American dogs, died from eating salmon."

The editors of the Bruff *Gold Rush* journals, drawings and papers, Georgia Read and Ruth Gaines (Bruff 1949:689), wrote that: "Bruff's description is probably the first recorded of a Mill Creek Indian. The appearance of this foothill Indian doubtless approximated that of Ishi, the last of his tribe, and in view of contemporary comments on 'Diggers.'"*

Dr. [Saxton] T. Pope's account of him [Ishi] may be of interest: "His skin is light, reddish bronze, soft, sparsely endowed with hair . . . Musculature is well developed."

*"Digger" - An abusive term for "Root-Diggers" regarding Indians west of the Rocky Mountains where roots are, for the great portion of the year, their main subsistence (Bruff 1949:629).

For the purpose of establishing better clarity of historical events, the terms "Mill Creeks" and "Yahis" are reviewed below. Unfortunately, the use of "Mill Creeks" as synonymous for "Yahis" has led to so many confusions that the more accurate history of Ishi's tribe was almost lost.

The Yahi/Yana, Oldest of the Old

The Yana were one of the established tribes of the California Indians. Yahi was Ishi's first language that he spoke, the southernmost division of the Yana family of languages. Yana was of the Hokan stock (one of the six major language stocks of North America). Professor William Shipley (1978: 81) concluded that "The oldest language group still more or less in situ in California would seem to be Hokan." Shipley (1978:85) continued about the Hokan stock, "They were then disrupted by the incursion of Penutian stock [e.g., Wintu and Maidu], which spreading through the great central valley, forced Hokan to the periphery." Shipley (1978:85) also wrote that, "The interrelationships of the Hokan languages lie much deeper in time, a fact paralleled by their geographical discontinuity."



Figure 22. Yana women, Kate and Lizzie B. Robert, pictured ca. 1904. This author believes that the warlike, fierce and independent reputation of the Yana was largely a myth. Photo reprinted courtesy of the Shasta Historical Society.

How Old Is the Yahi/Yana Culture in North America?

A preliminary review suggests that the Yana ancestry in California goes back potentially some 15,000 years. Fluted points and chipped-stone crescents that have been found in California, for instance, are "arguably 12,000 years old" (Wallace 1978:25). This supports the premise that Ishi's exodus marked the closing of the Formative main event of the Holocene Epoch, which commenced about 11,000 years Before the present. In comparison to this incredibly large picture, Harmon "Hi" Good's presence along Deer Creek, which lasted only fifteen years (1855 - 1870), was but a flash in the pan!



Figure 23. Portal to Ishi's "First World." Photo shows Deer Creek drainage (center) approximately 15 miles east of the Sacramento Valley, as she passes the red rimrock canyon mesa tops of Digger Pine Flat (middle left) and Deer Creek Flat (middle right). The Yahi/Yana's lower camp, called Grizzly Bear's Hiding Place, remained hidden (in the shadows, middle right) until discovered by non-Indians in November of 1908. Photo looks eastward. Taken by author on 10/16/2005.

ABOUT EPOCHS, Professor Jack D. Forbes of the Native American Studies Department at University of California, Davis and D. Q. University (1973:219) explained, "From the Native perspective, we are now in the fourth or fifth world." The Native perspective, in contrast to Western thinking, views that history is cyclical, not advancing progressively. The world has self destructed before because people in previous "eras" went astray and contributed to the destruction. Forbes (1973:219) wrote, "More and more inventions, etc., may not lead to any great "Utopia" in the future, but simply to the end of this epoch."

Ishi, one of the last Yahis, had continued to procure game for his diminished, yet resilient Yahi band, by using the bow and arrow of his own manufacture for twenty-five years longer than Geronomo's band of Chiricahua Apaches.* The silent bow helped to maintain their independence. The Yahi women continued to use baskets and to pound acorns and seeds for supplemental food. In one of two known sleuthing expeditions into the southerly Yana country, undertaken in secret by Waterman in 1909 and 1910, one tray basket with white acorn paste still adhered to its fibers was discovered (Alfred Kroeber 1911 August "The Elusive Mill Creeks" *Travel Magazine*; Burrill 2001:90).

*Geronomo was finally taken prisoner on March 25, 1886 (Brown 1971:44 and 409). Kintpuash [Captain Jack] was finally captured in late May, 1873, and hanged October 3, 1873. Shoshone Mike's end occurred in late February 1911 ["Band of Murderous Shoshones wiped out by posse. (1911, February 28). *Humboldt County, Nevada's The Silver State*, p. 1; Dayton Hyde (1973) *The Last Free Man*. NY: The Dial Press.] These three relied mostly on gun power rather than bows and arrows to defend themselves and for raids.

The traditional Yahi knew to avoid the urbanized, multi-cultural Mill Creeks who possessed guns and the plunder from their raids upon the Euro-American settler cabins. Ishi's disdain for and being uneasy around other Native Americans was noted by Thomas Waterman, first on September 4, 1911 in Oroville when Central Yana interpreter Sam Batwee confronted Ishi. This led to a feud between them that really never ceased (Burrill 2004:273-284).

Waterman (1918:65) wrote:

A factor still more important was this, that the Yahi had learned to view all other peoples with suspicion and hostility. It was interesting that he [Ishi] should be readier to make friends with whites than with other Indians like himself. The Yahi had apparently been utterly isolated for a considerable time even before their tribe became so much reduced.

As revealed in places in Thomas Waterman's original 1918 monograph, "The Yana Indians," he doubted that Ishi's tribe were the "Mill Creeks" as was popularly believed. For example, about the grim raid on the Robert Workman farm in Concow Valley in August, 1865, Waterman (1918:52) wrote:

"I can hardly imagine the Yahi proceeding so far from home for devilment, but in any case they were again credited with the outrage."

This author concurs with Waterman about those who raided and pillaged in the Concow Valley, were not members of Ishi's tribe. Based on Ishi's reactions and his "Time Traveler" curiosity first in Oroville and then in San Francisco, about virtually everything "non-Indian," this author concludes that the Yahi's contact with the outside world became nearly complete. Why was this? First, as aforementioned, the Yahi's population size had always been small. In pre-contact times, "300 to 500 souls" was the average for each of the Yana divisions (Kroeber 1925:341). The Yahi were not the raiders "at every place and at every time." Secondly, early newspaper accounts found by this researcher corroborate Thomas Waterman's (1918) background history that in May, 1858, Southern Yanas were compromised. In '58, Ishi would have been about four years old. Waterman (1918:43-44) wrote: "For example, one hundred and eighty-one Indians along Battle Creek were removed to the Nome Lackee Reservation, twenty miles east of Tehama on the west side of the valley" (U.S. Office of Indian Affairs, Report of Commissioner for 1858:289). As a result, those remaining Yana survivors with the child Ishi made hiding from the outside world their number one priority to save themselves!

4. A Review of Who Became the "Mill Creeks" vis-a-vis the "Yahi" This author believes that "guilt by association" befell the established aboriginal Yahi when several groups of displaced Indians - renegades-- began to encroach and take refuge in the Yahi's traditional territory of mainly the Mill Creek drainage, Deer Creek (to the south), and the Antelope drainages (to the north). Added to the "guilt by association" situation was a second perceptual problem that "all the Indians looked the same," not to say anything about the diverse language barriers that confronted the two very different "civilizations," each with very different uses of the land. A "no win" situation for the aboriginal Yahi had developed!

Provided are seven accounts of "Indians" who fled to the mountains to save themselves; many being the survivors of general massacres by Whites of the Indians; many stragglers from the defunct and unsafe Indian reservations. Many took refuge in the Yana homeland and were branded wrongly by the non-Indians, the "Mill Creeks."

- 1846 mid April - "Our advance guard of 36 first came in sight of them and immediately charged and poured a volley into them killing 24. They then rushed in with their sabres. The rest of the party coming up they charged in among them and in less than 3 hours we had killed over 175 of them. Most of the inds. [sic] escaped to the neighboring mts." —"Narrative" by Thomas S. Martin with Frémont's third "exploring" expedition (Reprinted from Egan 1975:7).

- 1859 ["ESCAPE OF INDIANS." (1859, December 17). *Shasta Herald*], "Nine of the most dangerous Indians captured by General Kibbe in the vicinity of Lassen's Butte, have made their escape from Nome-Lackee Reservation, to the mountains."

- In 1866, the editor for the *Butte Record* reported about the Hat and Antelope Creek Indians that they were, "stragglers from the reservations" who "practice no mercy, but deal out death and destruction to the border settlers, invoking for themselves a war of extermination" ("After the Indians." [1866, September 15] *The Butte Record*).

- Robert Anderson (1909:44) wrote: “The other Indians jumped the Reservation, singly or in small squads, and drifted back to their former haunts. Some perhaps became contented with the life there and remained. However, taken as a movement to rid the foothills of the bad Indians, Kibbey’s campaign [1859] was an absolute failure. In one way, it resulted in making matters worse in our part of the country, for the more dangerous of the Indians, on returning from the Reservation, were apt to bring others of like character with them, and, in this way, undoubtedly, a number of tough redskins were added to the bands in the hills.”

- Journalist and educator Herbert “Bert” H. Sauber (1870-1940), reflected, “From some place, perhaps from half a dozen of the Indian bands of Northern California, parties of renegades had drifted into the dark, wild cañon of Mill Creek” (Sauber 1897:122-127).

- Jeremiah Curtin (1899:517): “Certain Indians lived, or rather lurked, around Mill Creek, in wild places somewhat east of Tehama and north of Chico. These Mill Creek Indians were fugitives; outlaws from various tribes, among others from the Yanas” [And] “Some time after the bloody [1864] work was done, it was discovered that the Mill Creek outlaws had killed Mrs. Allen and Mrs. Jones, and that the Yanas were innocent. The Mill Creeks were left unpunished.”

- Marie Potts (1895-1978) Mountain Maidu educator and editor for *Smoke Signals* (one of the first in the nation, Native American newspaper that called for civil rights); authored in 1977 *The Northern Maidu* (Happy Camp: California: Naturegraph Publishers Inc.) correctly described how other Indians—who were not Yana—were hiding out and encroaching on the Mountain Maidu’s easterly neighbor, the Yahi/Yana’s traditional homeland. *Kom’-bo* was Marie Potts’ Mountain Maidu language name for the Yahi, the southernmost division of the Yana.

Marie Potts, in all her interviews, never once implied that the “mean Mill Creeks” were Ishi’s people. Significant is that her Mountain Maidu tribe referred to the hostile Mill Creeks as the “renegades.” What Marie Potts said about the “renegade” Indians is very credible information, for it was Marie Potts’ grandmother, Mariah Bill, who was kidnapped in the summer of 1864, and who escaped from the “Mill Creeks” in mid August, 1865, after almost one year in their captivity. Also, Marie’s Potts’ grandfather, Hukespem (“Wise One”) with American name, “Big Meadow Bill”, attempted to rescue Mariah from the hostile Mill Creeks. After Mariah finally escaped from the Mill Creek Indians, Big Meadow Bill succeeded in getting revenge for his tribe by returning from a Mountain Maidu foray with one scalp of one Mill Creek he had killed! [“Letter from Greenville” (1866, November 10) *The Plumas National*].

Marie Potts was tape-recorded on October 27, 1971, by Sacramento City College instructor Clifford G. Curtice with his anthropology students present. Curtice had grown curious to learn more about the Mountain Maidus’ early history.

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. 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."

From the above examples, the "Mill Creek" Indians were those who knew to enter this still remote, and sparsely populated Yahvi territory. They moved into the Yahvi foothill country to escape from the armed attackers who were comprised of settler "volunteers" (some sanctioned and others called "irregulars" or vigilantes), as well as federal Army Regulars and State Military blue coat soldiers. "Mill Creeks" also composed some of the many who, in desperation, fled the reservations. But upon going back to their traditional homelands, discovered how already their village sites now had white settler cabins on them; that their food and pharmaceutical resources were now fenced off; that their acorns in the fall were being saved and then fed to their hogs. How many "Mill Creeks" were those who turned renegade with a vengeance because miners stole their children or spouses from them? Some "Mill Creeks" had attempted to become urbanized Indians to learn the white man's ways, but were eventually spurned; deemed misfits or outlaws in the eyes of the towns' people. Many were the result of abuses experienced by owners of the many *rancherias* throughout California. Few settlers with *rancherias*, for example, kept their subjects living on their property year round. More than a few recruited the already displayed souls onto their fields for seasonal work. After the haying or harvesting ended, they were told to leave and to fend for themselves. Some of the "Mill Creeks," no doubt, were out-of-state Indians, who, as Marie Potts noted, "They didn't speak the California languages at all."

U.S. Treaties Failure - During 1851-1852, eighteen treaties were drawn up in good faith with "139 different California Indian groups" by President James Filmore's three treaty-making commissioners. But Californians successfully lobbied the U.S. Senate not to ratify the eighteen treaties. This disavowed 7,488,000 acres of California lands that the California Indians would have received if the eighteen treaties had been ratified (Slagle 1989a & b; Burrill 1994:337-339).

Indian Reservations Failure - Plan 2 was to create remote Indian reservations to send the California Indians away to. The first five reservations were: Tejon Reservation in San Bernardino, Nome Lackee at Paskenta, Fresno Reservation, Klamath Reservation, and the Mendocino Reservation at Fort Bragg. The Nome Cult Farm (est. in 1856) became renamed the Round Valley Reservation at Covelo in 1858. These became "holding places" to where the many northern California Indian tribes were force-marched, often at gun-point. However, all experienced varying degrees of internal malfeasance. And rival bands of local settlers (who were violent racist rowdies) at Round Valley wanted the Indians' "federally designated lands" (Beard and Carranco 1981:55-83). It became criminal that there were not enough garrisoned Army Regulars nor State Militia at the reservations to protect the Indians. Food shortages and shortages of blankets and basic needs generated real fears of starvation and death. In the end, very few of the Native peoples forced to the reservations chose to remain. Unattended diseases and lack of health care personnel on the reservations were also major problems. Recommended references about the failed reservations programs include: Heizer and Almquist (1971), Castillo (1978), Beard and Carranco (1981), Secret (2003), and Gillis and Magliari (2004).

(5) An assessment of the two most devastating events that befell the Yahi

Besides the Gold Rush years (1848-1854) of invasion and its environmental degradations, the data points to the May 1858 removal of some 181 Indians from their villages largely along the Battle Creek drainage and the general massacre in 1864 of the Yana that started and spread from Shasta County, as the two most devastating events that befell Ishi's tribe.

Thomas Waterman's (1918:43-44) original assessment is corroborated and therefore stands the test of time. The significant sources scrutinized to help make this assessment were: Curtin (1899), Waterman (1918), Kroeber (1925), Heizer (1974), Hislop (1978), Miller (1978), Bleyhl (1979), Beard and Carranco (1981), Schoonover (1994), Strobridge (1994), Smith (1995), Secrest (2003), as well as the Shover (1998-2005) series of article on the regional Indian history.

Consulted also about the Kibbe Rangers/Guards: "Gen. William Kibbe" -California State Military Department.

Sacramento: The California State Military Museum.

<<http://www.militarymuseum.org/KibbeRangers.html>>

[1119 Second Street, Sacramento, CA 95814 Preserving California's Military Heritage California State Militia and National Guard Unit Histories

1858, circa. May 26 Removal of over 175 Yana Indians

Reprinted below is Thomas T. Waterman's (1918:43-44) complete original paragraph about this major event responsible for significantly reducing the number of Southern Yana speakers. Recently retrieved, which helps to round out the 1858 relocation story, are the local newspaper accounts of the day:

A number of such events concerning the Yana are crowded into the year 1858 and 1859. For example, 181 Indians along Battle Creek¹ were removed to the Nome Lackee Reservation,² twenty miles west of Tehama on the west side of the valley (U.S. Office of Indian Affairs Rep. of Comm. for 1858 p. 289). Most of them were diseased, presumably with venereal ailment judging from the phraseology used.³ They probably spoke Southern Yana, and this removal may account for the disappearance of the Southern dialect from the scene.⁴ The Indians thus concentrated at Nome Lackee were scattered prior to the year 1861. The reservation buildings as a matter of fact were wrecked, and the site practically abandoned. Probably few if any of the Battle Creek people returned to their own territory. So we witness here the exit from history of one Yana dialect⁵ (Author's underscore)

1 "Before going to Press yesterday evening, our friend W. S. Knott, an employee at Nommee-Lackee [sic] arrived in town with 175 Indians from Major Pierson B. Reading's, Andrew Jelly's, Alex Love's, and other ranches on Battle Creek. They leave this morning for the Reservation. We begin to hope for a better state of affairs in the Indian department ("Indians" [1858, May 26] *Red Bluff Beacon*); Hislop (1978:43-44). During early May, '58, a party "somewhere on Battle Creek . . . killed some fifteen of their number" (1858, May 5 *Red Bluff Beacon*).

2 In April 1858, the Army Regulars "for the second and final time" withdrew their detachment from the Nome Lackee Indian reservation (Strobridge 1994:164). Captain Judah of the Army Regulars sent 1st Lieutenant Hiram Dryer to the area east of Red Bluff to separate the settlers from the Indians. His detachment marched up Battle Creek. Regarding the Tehama County citizens' intent on killing any Indian that came into their sights, Strobridge (1994:163) reported "With Judah's backing, Dryer warned settlers that the Regulars would withdraw if 'such barbarity' persisted."

3 "Loathsome," was invariably the "phraseology" used for those having venereal disease, which was "so repugnant, so disgusting, and so nasty!"

4 It appears likely that the "Southern Yana" division and the "Yahi" division were 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 co-authored 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."

5 This one Yana dialect was Yahi. 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,) 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" (Underscore author's).

Keeping with the subject of what became of Ishi's tribal members, this author in August, 1998, conducted research in San Bruno, California, at the National Archives and Records Administration's library archives. The end result was to be void of any solid data that "Yana Indians" were at the Round Valley Reservation. Why was this so? People of the "Ukie Tribe" (Yukis), for instance, as well as Pit River, Wailaki, Konkow, and Pomo, appear in the censuses of the United States that were reviewed. Neither could this researcher locate the other tribal names for the Yana, namely, the "Nosea" (Central Yana) or the Kom'-bo [Note: Kom'-bo is the Mountain Maidu name for their westerly neighbors, the Yahi].

Neither apparently has a response letter ever been found regarding Professor Alfred Kroeber's query letter, dated June 8, 1914, that he had sent to the Superintendent of the Round Valley Reservation. Kroeber had asked whether "two Indian women of Ishi's tribe" had possibly arrived there in about 1883 (See copy of Kroeber's letter in Burrill 2001:102).

Just the same, both Thomas Waterman (1918) and Yuki and Huchnom scholar, Dr. Virginia Miller (1978:249) cite that "Yana" Indians were among the Indians relocated to reservations. Waterman (1918:43-44) in the above paragraph reported that "probable" Southern Yana speakers were sent to the Nome Lackee Reservation.

Miller's one Yana reference stated about Round Valley, "In 1858 the farm officially became a reservation, and other Indians—including Wailaki, Maidu, Nomlaki, Achumawi, Atsugewi Pomoans, Lassik, Modoc, and Yana--were brought there to live" (Underscore author's). This researcher concludes, therefore, that the Yana were in the mix forced to the reservations. However, their tribal name(s) were evidently never recorded. Also, with their representation so small, it is assumed that the Yana who were present simply became assigned with one or more of the other aforementioned tribal names. For example, an Indian whose heritage was listed as "Nomlaki," in reality, may have been a Yana.

The percentage of "Southern Yana" (Yahi) removed to the reservations, when extrapolated from the data, was as high as 62% reduction. Thomas Waterman (1918:43-44) cited "181 Indians" removed from along Battle Creek in 1858. Professor Kroeber's (1925: 339) demographics reported that there were "300 - 500 souls in each Yana division." The lower number, 300, was used in the simple math.

1864, General Massacre of the Yana

During September through December 1864, a general massacre was the final devastating blow that reduced the entire Yana nation to "not far from fifty" (Curtin 1899:519). This commenced in Shasta County after the two white women were killed: September 8, Mrs. Catherine (Boyes) Al-

len; and September 9, Mrs. Arkansas Jones. One excerpt from May Southern's scrapbooks reads: ". . . During one week alone in September 1864, while volunteers were out from Copper City and Millville avenging the murders of Mrs. Allen and Mrs. Jones, it was estimated that 500 Indians 'bit the dust'" (Smith 1995:108). The "Notes" on pp. 517-520 in Jeremiah Curtin's 1899 *Creation Myths of America* (London: Bracken Books) provide some insights about the 1864 general massacre.

The next section of the Background History is this review of Kibbe's Campaign, with summary, and assessment made by Indian adversary Robert Anderson. The expanded understanding that came from this review, is that the Kibbe Campaign was about killing and routing out the California Indians of which few, if any, were Yana.

Kibbe's Campaign of 1858-1859 Revisited

About Kibbe's campaign, this researcher defers the reader to Steve Schoonover's 1994 solid scholarship titled, "Kibbe's Campaign *Dogtown Territorial, No. 20*, pp. 10-11, 44-49. His introductory article w/ map helped this writer to experience a closer look at the series of ruthless skirmishes and roundups often at gun-point, master-minded by Adjutant General William C. Kibbe. The year, 1858, marked the start of the two-year long "Kibbe Campaign," the most comprehensive, austere, yet futile campaign against the California Indians, and involving the territories of Mendocino, Humbolt, and Trinity counties, as well as the territory between the Pit River to the north and Feather River to the south.

Personally, General Kibbe had already turned pragmatist about the efficacy of his own professional military training for fighting the Indians in the hills. By official letter in 1856, Kibbe expressed that volunteers would be more effective than the U.S. Army against the Indians, who "use untraditional methods of warfare." With this, Kibbe's requested the California Legislature (who in turn, asked Congress) "for thirty to fifty thousand stand of arms to be issued to the volunteers to protect the "northern frontier" of California against ". . . a large and hostile Indian foe" [Letter on Arms for California from William C. Kibbe, Quartermaster and Adjutant General of the State of California. 34th Congress, 1st session, Senate Miscellaneous Document 67, Vol. 1, June 19, 1856. P. 3 Serial set no. 835; referenced also by Bleyhl 1978:13].

The Kibbe Campaign was always by authority of Governor John B. Weller. However, the total number of state sanctioned "volunteer" versus vigilante posse (i.e., "irregulars") remains moot. Governor Weller, in early January, 1860, was able to officially announce that he knew of "forty-nine." Weller stated:

"We have forty-nine companies of volunteers organized, 2,700 muskets, (or their equivalent), and two six-pound field pieces, with accoutrements" (California Legislature, Journal of the House of Assembly, 11th Session begun January 2, 1860, Sacramento, California p. 51.).

1858, 1st year of Kibbe's Campaign: California's fifth Governor, John B. Weller, received petitions from settlers in Mendocino, Trinity and Tehama counties who complained that hostile Indians were a threat to their lives and property, such that they sought protection. First, federal troops (Army Regulars) went north to make their presence felt, but to no avail. Gov. Weller then gave authority to Adjutant General William C. Kibbe of California's State Militia (later called the National Guard) to enlist "volunteer military companies." By Oct. Kibbe had mustered troops in both Weaverville and Big Bar (both Trinity County). The Big Bar unit was under the command of Captain Isaac G. Messec. The subsequent killings and roundups became known as the "Wintoon War." By Feb. of '59, Messec sent 121 prisoners from Humboldt Bay by steamer to the Mendocino Reservation; another 160 were sent on March 15th, following the Big Lagoon Conference. On March 20th, after at least 100 Indians were reported killed in the field, Kibbe declared the "Wintoon war" at an end. The California Legislature paid those volunteers \$52,000 (Secrest 2003:315). Presumably none of the above involved Yana Indians.

1859, 2nd year of Kibbe's Campaign: It was on Aug. 16th, when Kibbe enlisted 93 volunteers in Red Bluff, Tehama County. On Aug. 20th, Kibbe divided his force into three parts, and they "went out." Keeping with the three groups, Steve Schoonover (1994:45) explained:

(1) The northern column under Lt. Bailey moved almost due east without incident, and was in Battle Creek Meadows by Aug. 29th.

(2) Schoonover (1994:45): "In the center, Capt. William Byrnes [also Burns] and about 25 men moved up the Lassen Trail between Deer Creek and Mill Creek." On circa August 17, Breckenridge's party (with Anderson and Good) surprised the "... thieving Indians on the head waters of Deer Creek, and killed all the bucks and took squaws and children to the reservation" ("For the Reservation" [1859, Aug. 24] *Red Bluff Beacon*).

On Sept. 14th: "Crossing over into Concow Valley ... he [Byrnes] succeeded in capturing the chief ... *Tippee, Moola* and *Yumyam*, the latter being the head chief of all the tribes" ("From Gen. Kibbe's Command" [1859, Sept. 21] *Red Bluff Beacon*). Volunteer Elijah Renshaw Potter (1859) in Brynes' detachment wrote: "The Konkows were taken ... to ... the Mendocino Reservation." About *Yumyam*, it is believed that his son replaced him as chief in 1860, and the son's Konkow and American names, recorded by Stephen Powers (1877:306), were *Tum'-yan-neh* (Captain George)" The July 1884 *Overland Monthly* tells this chief's story written by A. G. Tassin (1884:7-14).

(3) Circa August - To the south, Lt. Van Shell's company w/Kibbe accompanying him climbed over the Cohasset Ridge, and came down on Forks of Butte from the north, while Coon Garner and 27 men came up Butte Creek canyon from the west." Schoonover added that, in short order, Van Shell's men and Coon Garner's men gathered up "Indians in the vicinity of Forks of Butte "and shipped them off to the reservation with a guard under the command of a Lt. McCarthy. These were probably Butte Creeks or Concows, Kimshews or Tigers.

Sept. 3 - "Pit River Rangers attacked Beaver Creek village and massacred 75 Indians ... (Schoonover 1994:44). [And] Kibbe took Lt. Bailey's men from Battle Creek Meadows north to Hat Creek valley just "in time to impose himself between the U.S. troops and the raiders." Early Sept. Byrnes and Van Shell's men united at Butt Valley "field" headquarters. Mid-Sept. S. D. Johns' men descended N. Fork of Feather River and collected hundreds of Konkaus, Kimshews and Tigers for the reservation. Schoonover (1994:45) wrote: "Johns arrived there [Red Bluff] on September 24 with 218 Indians, not counting children".

Circa Oct. 4-10, 1859 at Eagle Lake (Lassen Co.) Kibbe's Rangers killed five Indians who "began to run." Byrnes killed one more ("From the Volunteer Camp" [1859, Oct. 26] *Red Bluff Beacon*; also re. Eagle Lake [1859, Oct. 28.] *Sac. Union* Oct. p. 2/4).

On Oct. 13th at Indian Valley, Hat Creek leader Shavehead was captured with 3 of his warriors and 8 females (1859, Oct. 22 *Red Bluff Beacon*). In Oct. Lt. McCarthy's forces went south to Honey Lake Valley. McCarthy forced-led 33 captives through Quincy to Oroville, arriving Dec. 14th.

Oct. - Nov. - Kibbe in Pit River and Hat Creek valleys gave his repeated ultimatum, "We can't live together so you've got to leave." They killed or maimed resisters and rounded up hundreds for the reservations.

Dec. 11 - Kibbe's Rangers captured 33 more of Shavehead's tribe, but 9 escaped [*Sac. Union* Dec. 17, 1859, 2/1]. "Nine of the most dangerous ... escaped from Nome Lackee Res." [and] "Four hundred of the Indians were taken on board of the Steamer *Sam Soule*. ..." ("Escape of Indians"[1859, Dec. 12] *Shasta Herald*; See Fig. 128 illus. on page 214 of *Beacon* ad. "Departure From Red Bluff," California Steam Navigation Co.

Dec. 14 - "Gen. Kibbe, with 480 of these dusky captives, arrived at San Francisco ... on Wednesday evening. They encamped--that is, squatted--on the sand of North Beach at the foot of Powell street ... Yesterday, they were visited by hundreds of citizens and strangers. A rope was stretched about their encampment, within which the guard of half a dozen men, with rifle, prohibited the approach of the white skins. ... Old and young enjoyed the pelting with apples that the outsiders amused themselves with. ... This afternoon, the whole company re-embark for the Mendocino Reservation." Dec. 24th: "The Indians are guarded day and night ... They will leave for Mendocino during the day in the brig *Jannett*." [Prisoners observed: "Very troublesome Hat Creek Lize, the amazon" and, her brother, Chief Shavehead w/large "labret" through nasal septum and "arm splintered up, having been shot and his arm broken] Two sources are: 1859, Dec. 16, *San Francisco Bulletin* and "The Captured Indians" [1859, Dec. 24] *Red Bluff Beacon*). See also Starn 2004:132-133, 321; Dec. 15, 1859, *Alta California*; Dec. 16, 1859 *San Francisco Bulletin*; Oct. 28, Dec. 3, 12, 17, 1859, *Sacramento Union*;].

Summary "Futility of it all" Kibbe Campaign Assessment: By December 12, 1859, approximately 1,000 California Indians had been killed and over 1,000 captured by gun point and forcibly marched to Red Bluff for removal to the reservations. Then, add to this the hundreds of scalps taken by the vigilante "irregulars"!

Q. How many Yana perished due to Kibbe's Campaign during 1858-1859? Tentative answer: Probably none in '58 and few, if any, during '59.

Steve Schoonover (1994:49) concluded that, "In the end, the brutality of Kibbe's campaign was futile. That may be why the expedition gets such short shrift in the telling of Northern California history." The reason why Kibbe's Campaign proved futile is because practically all of the California Indians who were relocated to the reservations left the reservations and made their way back to their homelands. Why? There were not enough federal regulars posted on the reservations to protect the displaced mix of California Indians from the "white rowdies," such as, George E. White, Walter S. Jarboe, and others. Also, there was the real fear of starvation for lack of enough food and provisions on the reservations. Beard and Carranco's 1981 *Genocide and Vendetta* remains the seminal work about the infamous and failed Round Valley Indian Reservation history.

Indian adversary Robert Anderson (1909:44) wrote his personal assessment of Kibbe's Campaign:

"The history of Kibbey's [sic] campaign can be quickly summed up. He roamed through the mountains for several weeks, going as far east as the Big Meadows, where he seized a number of perfectly harmless Indians as prisoners. He returned by way of Butte Creek, where he got more prisoners, and, proceeding to Chico, "captured" the Bidwell Indians and transported the entire lot to the Reservation. He did not get a single Mill Creek, or any other Indian who had ever caused the whites any trouble.

General Bidwell promptly went to Sacramento and gave bonds for the good behavior of his Indians, whereupon the Government authorities released them, and they returned to Chico."

* * * * *

In conclusion, Ishi's band, in stark contrast to the displaced and retaliatory "Mill Creeks," retained their traditional ways for procuring their sustenance. The silent bow and arrow remained their weapon of choice (see Fig.11) If guns were used in "depredations," they were invariably Mill Creeks, not the Yahi. The last of Yahi's survival was extended because they were made so small in number, down to maybe 64 individuals before Lieutenant Robert Bailey and Kibbe headed their way. Also, the Yahi became experts at hiding. They kept separate from both the urbanized, renegade Indians and from most all of the settlers, albeit there were some settler exceptions over time who quietly protected Ishi's tiny band (Read *Ishi Rediscovered*, 2001 by this writer).

Many of the displaced "Mill Creeks" who encroached on Ishi's Yahi homeland, no doubt, put great pressure and serious demands on the Yahi survivors. They demanded to be shown the Yahi's very best hiding places. It is romantic, moreover, to think that the Yahi never commingled with any of the renegade Indians. But the number of Mill Creeks taken in appears to have been minimal. It is possible that Ishi himself, was one of those adoptees when he was quite small, maybe from a Maidu family in the Yankee Hill / "candy man" vicinity (Mel Speegle's account in Burrill 2001:114). This may never be resolved.

Many consider Thomas Waterman's September 1, 1911, letter written in Oroville, as perhaps the best testimony of Ishi's remoteness. The letter was mailed to Waterman's superior, Professor Alfred Kroeber in San Francisco. Kroeber, no doubt, quickly opened it, eager to learn more.

September 1, 1911

Dear Professor Kroeber:

This man is undoubtedly wild. He has pieces of deer thong in place of ornaments in the lobes of his ears and a wooden plug in the septum of his nose. He recognizes most of my Yana words and a fair proportion of his own seem to be identical [with mine]. Some of his, however, are either quite different or else my pronunciation of them is very bad, because he doesn't respond to them except by pointing to his ears and asking to have them repeated. K'u'i [No!]-it is not-is one. "Alia!" [Yes!] pleases him immensely. I think I get a few endings that don't occur in Northern Yana on nouns, for example. Phonetically, he has some of the prettiest cracked consonants I ever heard in my life. He will be a splendid informant, especially for phonetics, for he speaks very clearly. I have not communicated with him successfully enough to get his story, but what can I expect? He has a yarn to tell about his woman, who had a baby on her back and seems to have been drowned, except that he is so cheerful about it. We had a lot of conversation this morning [September 1st] about deer hunting and making acorn soup, but I got as far as my list of words would take me. If I am not mistaken, he's full of religion bathing at sunrise, putting out pinches of tobacco where the lightning strikes, etc.

I'll try rattlesnake on him when I go back after lunch. It was a picnic to see him open his eyes when he heard Yana from me. And he looked over my shoulder at the paper in a most mystified way. He knew at once where I got my inspiration (T. Kroeber 1961:7-8).



Figure 24. The verso of this mystery photograph reads only "Ishi." Is the newspaper clipping below (Fig. 25) the correct match about this photo? Was this photo taken in the hills of San Bernardino County, California? Did Curator George Barron meet and learn this elder's name, tribe affiliation and more things? Can the photographer be found to hopefully learn more about where and when the photo was shot? Photograph Collection, Neg. #28,600 (4x5") Verso reads, "Ishi." Reprinted courtesy of California History Section, California State Library.

Figure 25. This author recently discovered this curious news story, and believes it probably depicts the Native American in the curious photo above, Fig. 24. More research is certainly merited.

"Discover New Ishi to succeed Butte County's Original" (1916, April 8) *Chico Enterprise*, p. 1.

Discover New Ishi To Succeed Butte County's Original

SAN FRANCISCO, April 8.—A successor to Ishi, the Aborigine, last of the Deer creek tribe, has been discovered.

Not in the Sierras back of Oroville this time, but in the mountains of San Bernardino county, has a last survivor of an old California tribe been found.

George Barron, curator of the Golden Gate Park museum, has left for the south to find him and bring him to San Francisco. He will be turned over to the department of anthropology at the Affiliated Colleges for a continuation of the studies of California Aborigines interrupted by the recent death of Ishi.

BACKGROUND HISTORY

II THE MEXICAN PERIOD

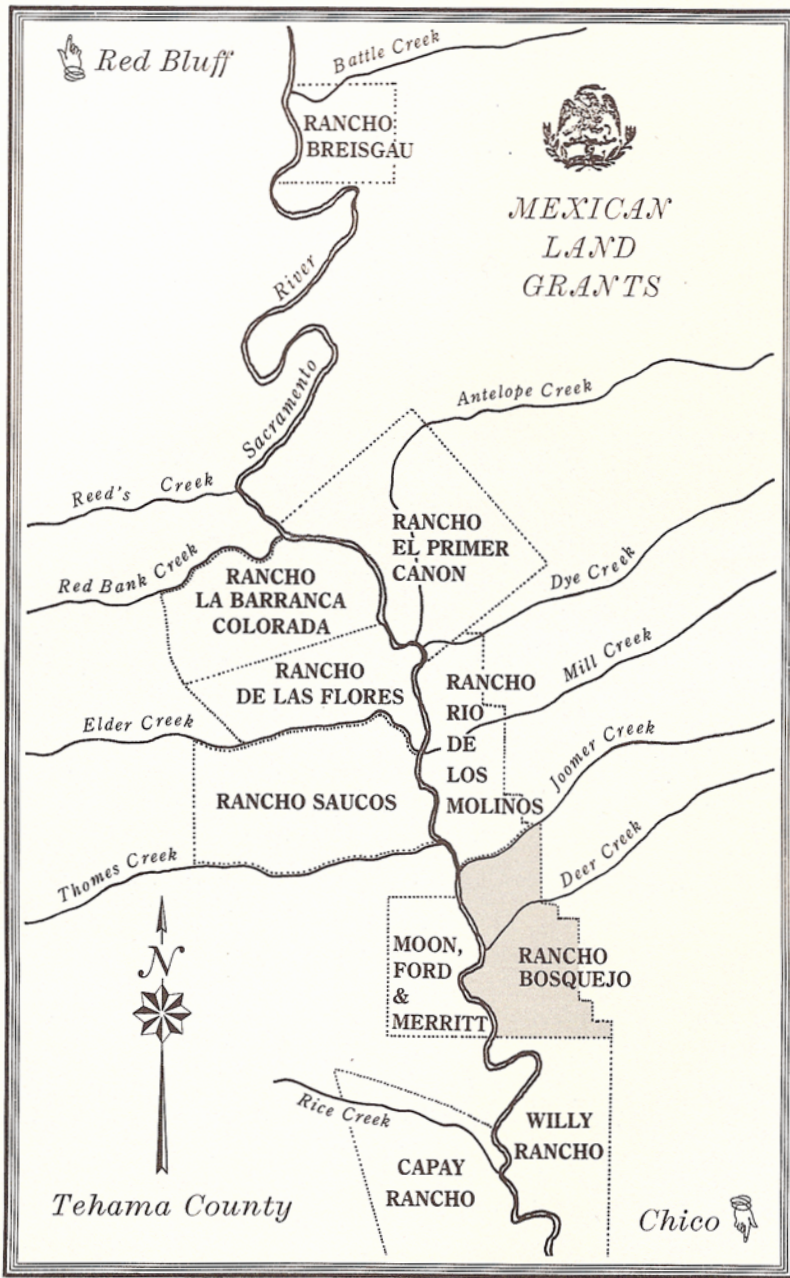
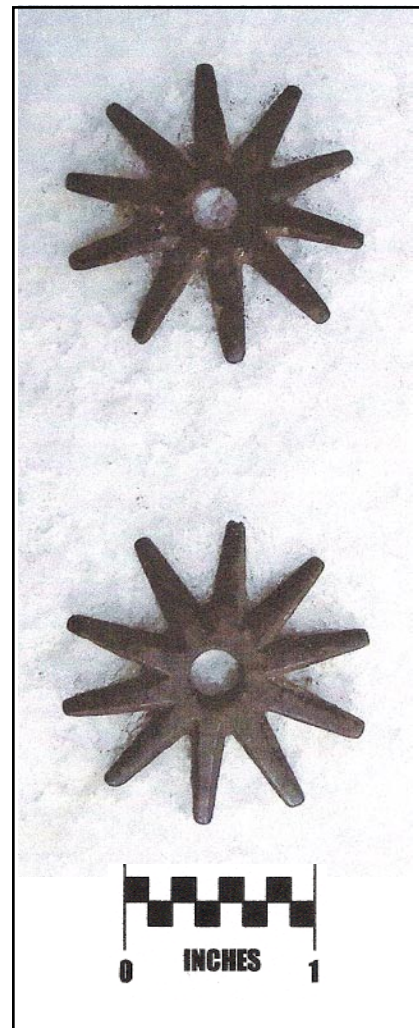


Figure 26. Map: Mexican Land Grants of Tehama County showing location of *Rancho Bosquejo* (Peninou 1991: Frontispiece)

Figure 27. Spanish spur rowels found by former local Bob Aulabaugh, provides evidence of the Mexican Period influences in the area. Each of the pair is 1 5/8 inches diameter with 1/4 inch diameter center hole. According to Judge Edward Lewis (1891), it is a fact that Peter Lassen, who kept a blacksmith shop next to his adobe house "... obtained great local distinction as a manufacture of bridle bits and Spanish spurs." Whether these were made by Lassen is unresolved. They were found about one mile southeast of CA-TEH-2105H, and on the former Jimmy Ellis Homestead in Section 27 of Township 25N, R1W; on the flat's apron along the north bank that overlooks Deer Creek.



II THE MEXICAN PERIOD

Part A. Peter Lassen's Legacy

The Mexican Period lasted from 1821 to 1848. The Mexicans had revolted against Spain and won their independence in 1821. The Republic of Mexico lost Texas in 1836. After defeat in the Mexican-American War (1846-48), Mexico lost the area that is now California, Nevada, and Utah, most of Arizona and New Mexico, and parts of Wyoming and Colorado under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

It is a significant fact that "missionization" of the California Indians never reached farther north than Mission Sonoma (established in 1823). A seminal essay on this subject, reviewed by this researcher, is titled "The Impact of Euro-American Exploration and Settlement" by Edward D. Castillo (1978). His overall conclusion is that "Indian neophytes and gentiles alike were seized for forced labor and their property confiscated" (Castillo 1978:104-105). This happened despite the Mexican governments's early adoption in 1821 of the Plan of Iguala, an act that "guaranteed citizenship to Indians and protection of their person and property"!

The 1832-1833 disease epidemics proved catastrophic for the California Indians. In 1832, the Ewing Young party, including trapper Job Francis Dye* (1807-1884) trapped up the Sacramento Valley (Elliott and Moore 1880:49). But in the summer of 1833, Col. J. J. Warner described seeing "a veritable valley of death." In the Central Valley the disease was probably malaria. In 1833 small pox also killed thousands, mostly along the coast. "Fully 20,000 Indian people died in the Great Central Valley" (Cook 1943: 30-37).

* Job Dye would later settle southeast of the Tuscan Buttes. The sawmill, Tehama County's first, Dye built and operated from 1855 until 1859 (Penner 1969, Ch. 3). It was called Antelope Mill and located west of Lyonsville "near the confluence of Judd and Lyman Creeks" (Gene Serr personal letter to author, 10/12/2000; Kraft and Woodrum 2005:106).

There is not the space here to provide more about the horrors endured by California Indians ruthlessly murdered by the Mexican State and Church. The 1971 book, *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination Under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920*, by Robert Heizer and Alan J. Almquist, gives a thorough accounting.

* * * * *

Ishi knew a few words of Spanish when he arrived in Oroville in 1911 (Starn 2004:77-78). In addition, an intriguing Spanish Spur (Fig. 26) was discovered by a local about one mile southeast of the study area. According to Judge Edward J. Lewis (1891), "Peter Lassen's blacksmithing skill included local distinction as a manufacturer of bridle bits and Spanish spurs"! Former Vina local Bob Aulabaugh uncovered the old spur rowels, with a wide enough diameter to know that it is of the Spanish spur type, on the Jim Ellis homestead, about one mile southeast of the Hi Good Cabin site. Whether Bob Aulabaugh found a vintage Peter Lassen spur remains unresolved. And what about the items that Vina collector Archie Brown retrieved (see photo in Fig. 117) that included a Spanish spade bit and Spanish spurs, said to have been found on the Lassen Trail? Can any of these be traced to Peter Lassen's blacksmith shop?

Lassen's First Sheep - The probable sheep species that Peter Lassen first brought to Deer Creek in 1845, and that Hi Good and his crew may have obtained, were the rangy and coarse-wooled Spanish California *churros* (Haslem 2007). Part of Peter Lassen's legacy is that he brought some of the the first sheep to today's Tehama County, upon having bartered grist stones for them with John Sutter in 1845.

The earliest record when “livestock” were first herded north up the Sacramento Valley en route to Oregon appears to be 1837, when “Ewing Young and Philip Edwards led the first cattle drive from Central California to Oregon. The herd followed the east side of the Sacramento Valley to the area of Red Bluff and then crossed to the west bank, and it may have been observed by the Yahi” (Johnson 1978:362, 733, who cited B. F. Frank and H. W. Chappell 1881:16-17).

From Simeon Moak (1923:33), it is inferred that Hi Good began his sheep business with only the \$3000 amount in about 1866, during non-drought circumstances, Good probably paid at least \$4.00 per head. At that rate, it meant that Good probably started up his new enterprise with about 750 head of sheep.

The “\$4 per head rate” comes from Tehama County’s former sheriff and local historian, Lyle A. Williams (Briggs 1996:61). Williams wrote in his article, “Early Day Sheep Raisers in Tehama County 1860- to 1940” that “Kit Carson in Sacramento sold 15,000 head of cattle “for \$4.00 per head to the settlers.” Williams added that, “The first sheep in the Sacramento Valley were driven from New Mexico by way of Salt Lake to Sacramento by Kit Carson.” A corroborative source retrieved is Guy Rocha (2008) who is the Nevada State Archivist. Rocha stated, “Kit Carson passed through Eagle Valley [Carson City] in 1853 on his way to Sacramento from New Mexico Territory.” Also, Carson is said to have trailed “some 7,000 head” of “sheep and goats” and he sold the livestock “for \$32,000.” A second on-line source [<http://virtualology.com/kit-caron.com/>] reports: “In 1853 Kit Carson drove 6,500 sheep over the mountains to California.” Best guess is that they were of the *churros* breed.

Anne McNabb (Reprinted in Briggs 1990:68 from Tehama County Memories, 1983) wrote that the, “First sheep brought into the north Sacramento Valley were rangy, coarse-wooled Spanish California churros, typical in the coast country . . . The first recorded fine-wooled French Merino sheep band trailed into Tehama County came in 1857, brought by the Rawson brothers” (See Chronology).

Veteran sheepman Jack Haslem (2007) upon hearing the above McNabb data, added that:

“*Churros* are Navajo sheep. The Navajo lost pretty much all their sheep when John Collier was Commissioner of Bureau of Indian Affairs during the 1930s when they went in and slaughtered pretty much all of their sheep. Some of the Indians took their own sheep and went out into their back country and hid out. When it got all done, they still had the seed stock of the *churros* sheep, very similar to what the Spanish brought in. Collier had both sheep and cattle killed during the Hoover Boom to keep the price up.”

Haslem also explained to this author that “The range sheep breeds are the Merino, Rambouillet, and Suffolk, for the main breeds in the United States.” Haslem added, “For the wool, the Merino and Rambouillet produce the higher quality. The Suffolk are used as a meat and for terminal sires, with their wool quality being of a coarser quality.” Other less renown breeds referenced by Briggs (1990:4) included Allen T. Spencer of Tehama County who developed his own breed of Romadale sheep. Also, Briggs (1990:46) wrote that “The [Rawson] brothers in 1859 started back from Missouri with a choice band, among which were a “bunch of pure-bred Cotswold sheep.”

Briefly about Hi Good's breed of sheep used in the study area circa 1867-1870, the species of sheep his outfit would have had remains undetermined. Four faunal remains found at the site were determined to "compare favorably to sheep." Perhaps a DNA study of some of the sheep remains recovered can reveal what breed(s) of sheep Hi Good may have lambed and/or trailed.

It was during the Mexican Period when "Pedro" Lassen (1800-1859) from Denmark, received his Mexican citizenship on July 25, 1844 (Lassen 1990:62). Five months later, on December 26, 1844, Lassen received his Mexican land grant (Fig. 26) of only 5 square leagues (22,193 acres) rather than the 11 square leagues he had hoped to receive (Lassen 1990:65) called Rancho Bosquejo ("wooded place"), as approved by Governor of California General Manuel Micheltorena. Based on the Figure 26 map, it remains undetermined whether Rancho Bosquejo's acreage included the CA-TEH-2105H study area.

Peter Lassen's steady presence in the study area was 1845 to 1850, until fate and the gold fever struck him hard. In 1852, Henry Gerke would take over Lassen's last holdings. With this said, Peter Lassen was the first pioneer settler along lower Deer Creek, beginning in about February, 1845. It could not have been 1844 when he arrived as many accounts claim, for in December of '44, Lassen became stranded in Marysville on the Cordua Rancho because the Sacramento River "had become flooded and they had to wait at least a month before they were able to continue"

(Lassen 1990:62). The "they" included Lassen's housekeeper, the mysterious "Dutchman Sargent." But his aide, about then, retreated. According to Lassen's biographer by blood, René Weybye Lassen (1990:62), the housekeeper felt that Peter Lassen's new home was "this 'nowhere' [and] was not what he wanted, and he disappeared."

Besides the *churros* and Lassen's early blacksmithing talents, a significant accomplishment, though hard to fully reconstruct, was how Lassen secured the labor of both the local California Indians and Mexican laborers who continued to build his rancho. Lassen, being Danish, was adept at learning other languages. He was gregarious, a dreamer. He nurtured sound friendships most of the time. Dan Sill was one of his early close friends, another blacksmith, who, in July of 1843, Lassen apparently met when both of them worked a stint as blacksmiths for John Sutter at his *New Helvetia* /Sutter's Fort colony in Sacramento (see Dan Sill biographical sketch on pages 118-120). Lassen enticed Sill to leave with him for his Deer Creek venture. Sill always seemed to keep "friendly Indian laborers" working for him. As introduced in the preceding Section I, Peter Lassen's "eastern bank" was in "powerful Wintu hands"(Sapir and Spier (1943:241). These were the willing and able River Nomlaki. Present, too, but in smaller numbers were the foothill Yana. They would have had to pass through Lassen's rancho to visit their fishing stations on the Big Water's east bank. The Yana may have provided fish and game for Peter Lassen during that peaceful and promising time.

In constructing the early Rancho Bosquejo adobes, putting up fences, and in so many capacities, this was paramount to Lassen's success, though short-lived as it was. Sill did contract work for Lassen. It was in 1847, when Lassen sold to Dan Sill his Rancho Bosquejo property, which stood on the north side of Deer Creek, with the promise that Sill would use his "resources" to complete Lassen's second adobe residence headquarters on the south side of Deer Creek. The data points to Lassen and Sill beginning the Rancho on the north side of Deer Creek. It is probable that some of the Indian laborers listed on Sill's rancheria in the 1860 census (see page 118), were of the same Indian families who had helped build and maintain Rancho Bosquejo.

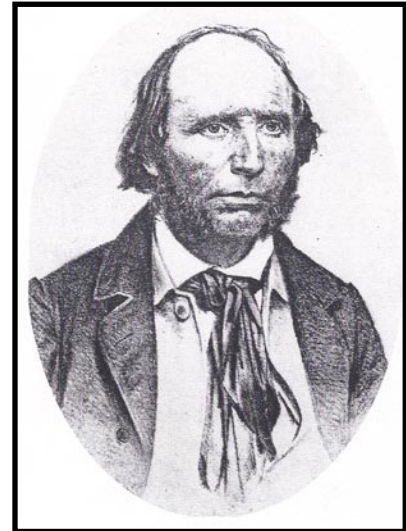


Figure 28 Peter Lassen
1800 - 1859

It is surmised that while Peter Lassen masterminded the rancho plans, Dan Sill did the recruiting, taming, and training of the local Indian labor pool. Hence, this team accomplished the initial ground-breaking of friendly laborers for Hi Good's generation of settlers who came to this same locale just ten years later.

Peter Lassen was not only a dreamer who craved adventure, but at the same time had to be always thinking and tinkering and making inventions. Peter preferred the new over the old. He liked planning, executing, and directing various projects — often all at the same time, if it were necessary. Lassen liked companionship with those who had an active and investigative mind. Lassen and Sill both had natural aptitudes for all trades and both preferred to be at the farthest outposts of "civilization." Lassen had gumption for testing the limits. His enthusiasm was tempered with fortitude, to bear up under any hardships that came his way. In 1845 Peter Lassen was doing exactly what he wanted. Peter Lassen's great optimism that both economic success and a harmonious, multi-cultural community could be successfully established were his greatest gifts to posterity.

John Bidwell said of Lassen that he "was a singular man, very industrious, very ingenious, and very fond of pioneering—in fact, of the latter stubbornly so. He had great confidence in his own power as a woodsman, but, strangely enough, he always got lost" (Rogers 1891:37-54).

Lassen's grist (flour) mill project on Deer Creek, for some reason failed. But Lassen was always tinkering with mills. Upon conducting the background history, this researcher learned that in September, 1841, Isaac Graham, a German named Frederick Hoeger, and a Dane named Peter Lassen, agreed to erect a mill on Zayante Creek near its entrance to the San Lorenzo River in Santa Cruz County, California (Steen 2006). According to Leon Rowland (1929:44), the mill was a 'muley' with a straight saw which worked up and down in a wooden frame. In keeping with sawmill technologies, what became of the circular saw idea that Lassen "heard" (Lassen 1990:65) the mechanic William Brown Ide "had constructed"? Ide came to Deer Creek but left without having finished the sawmill for Lassen.

Lassen also spent time scavenging and salvaging the derelict wagons and supplies that had been abandoned along his Lassen Emigrants' Trail. According to Bruff's Journal (1949: 206-207, 250, and 347), Lassen hired out a separate force of workers who encamped near Bruff's Camp. Using the dubb (wooden mallet) with froe to precisely strike the top portions of the sugar pine tree blocks, "Old Pete's shinglemen" began to rive shingles for his rancho structures and for other future homes as well.

Now add to this Lassen's skills at "diversified farming, namely, wild oats and hay, wheat planted to the north of Deer Creek and a vineyard" (Forester 1991:5). Seeing these products in the field caused some of the emigrant passersby to be inspired by this promising and helpful frontiersman. Many who met Peter Lassen at his Rancho Bosquejo wrote in their diaries about Lassen's "desire to please."

What were Lassen's weak points? His emigrant trail venture is discussed in Section VIII, pages 187-195. Was Lassen charging excessive amounts for vital supplies that the emigrants had to have at the end of the trail? Was he not too daring and too much the gambler about the prospects for upriver steamboat *Lady Washington* transportation? It is established that his *Lady Washington* steam boat gamble began in August, 1849, until disaster struck in February, 1850 (Bruff 1949:303; MacMullen 1944:11-12. 138; Bancroft 1888, Vol VI, 450).

Did Lassen's restlessness or wanderlust get the better of him about striking it rich as a miner? His mining attempts lasted from 1850 until 1859. While the steam boat investment caused Lassen his greatest financial ruin, it was about mining that Peter Lassen paid the ultimate price. He heard of silver that, supposedly, had been found in the Smoke Creek area of western Nevada. On April 26, 1859, Peter Lassen had gone there to explore when he was killed by other miners or by Indians with gun power; or maybe by shades of both in the Black Rock Desert. The murder scene is along today's Clapper Creek, some forty-nine miles northeast of Gerlach, Nevada.

* * * * *

A vivid window into the past tells what Peter Lassen's early Rancho "community" was like in about 1849, as found in this portion of the William Swain's Diary and Letters, 1849-1851. It was first published in J. S. Holiday's book, *The World Rushed In* (1981:291):

At Lassen's Ranch "everything is a regular jam. men going hither and yon, some in search of friends whom they are to meet here, others are those to be met. Some are buying provisions, some whiskey, some victuals, and others have nothing to buy with

"The tenements at Lassen's are three sun-dried brick houses,¹ eleven by thirty, in which are kept a tavern, grocery, provision store, etc Along the road for a half a mile are posted numerous tents and wagons at which provisions are for sale . . . to the poor, worn-down penniless emigrants." "Twenty-five cents for a drink of whiskey, fifty cents for brandy There is plenty of liquor. No lack of drink or drunkards, regular bloats. There are some dilapidated outbuildings and a log house² in the course of erection. The whole establishment is on the bank of Deer Creek,³ the bank of which is here fifteen or twenty feet high and lined with alder, sycamore, willow, etc. Quarters and parts of beef hang on the trees and lie around on logs. The whole place is surrounded with filth. Bones, rags, chips, sticks, skulls, hair, skin, entrails, blood, etc. The steep bank, down which all must go for water, is paved with this offal"

Through three days of heavy rain on Nov. 8, 9 and 10, 1849, Swain waited at Lassen's Ranch, anxious for the arrival of Frederick Bailey and other Rangers still on the trail. A few came in each day, until all were at last safe from the mountain storms. [*William Swain Diary and Letters, 1849-1851 Manuscript*. New Haven, Connecticut: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University].

1 In 1849, Lassen's headquarters with store was up and running on the south side of Deer Creek.

2 One log cabin appears on the right side in Bruff's 1850 "Lassen's Rancho" drawing (Fig. 63).

3 This again is describing the geographical setting where the Abbey of New Clairvaux resides on the south side of Deer Creek today.

Two forces, each so much larger than any one mortal could thwart, came directly at Peter Lassen. The first to knock on Peter's door was named Manifest Destiny. That turning point arrived on March 30, 1846. Her representative was John C. Frémont on behalf of the United States of America, that restless nation. The subsequent events resulted in Lassen's loss of innocence. His short-lived days of contentment in "Camelot" (Rancho Bosquejo) were dashed asunder. Historian Edward Petersen (1972:7) reflected,

"It was Frémont's extra-curricular political activities that helped Americans in California wrest the province away from Mexico in the year of decision, 1846."

The second force was called the California Gold Rush. It is related next in Section III, "The Gold Rush Period." Its representative was Samuel Brannan whose May 12, 1848, cry was heard "round the world." This Gold Rush caused Peter Lassen's hopes for "Benton City" to be abandoned. The fire of the Gold Rush mania incinerated Lassen's paper town to ashes.

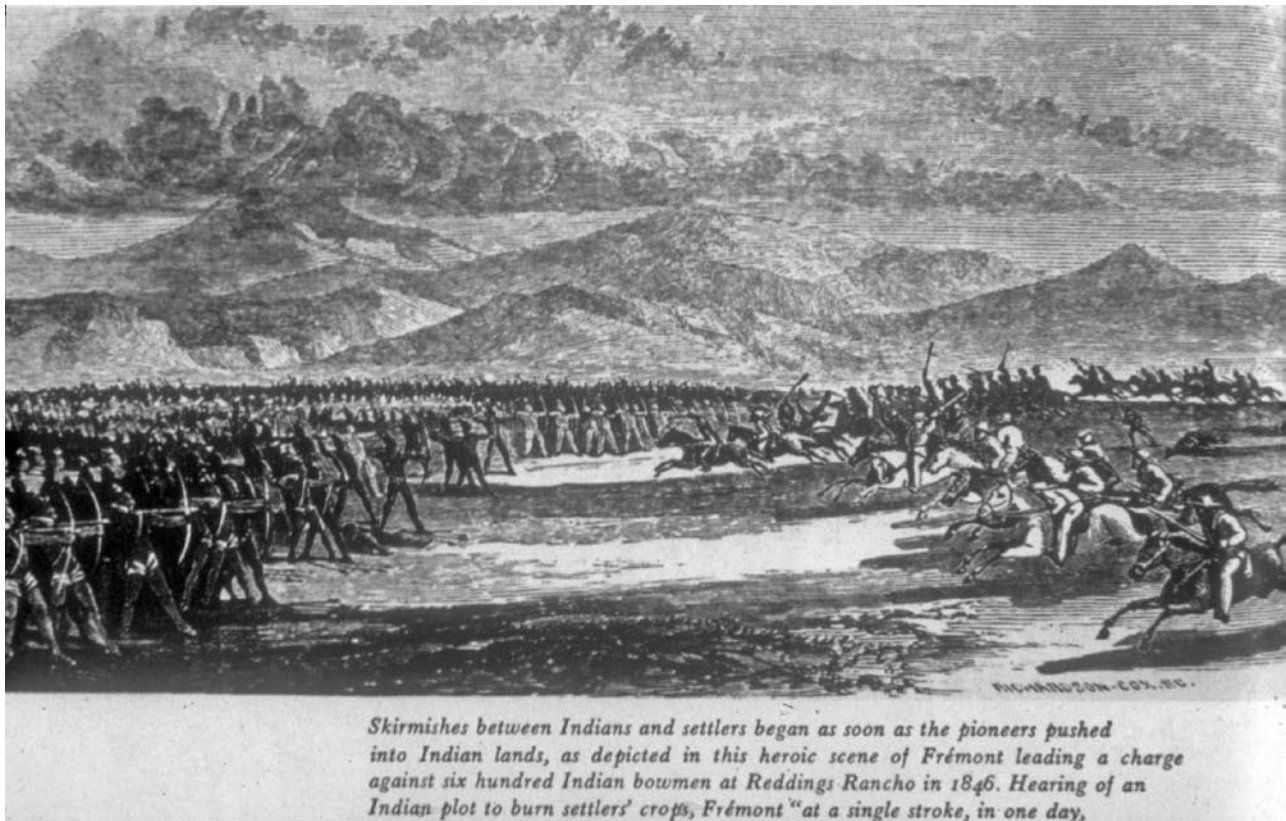


Figure 29. "Charge upon the Indians at Reading's Rancho." This purported 1846 scene is assuredly propaganda, as solidly argued by Shasta historian James Dotta's (1982:70-80). The unnamed artist presumably completed this art piece in about 1856, for placement on page 233 of Charles Wentworth Upham's 1856 book, *Life, Explorations and Public Services of John Charles Frémont*. Boston: Ticknose and Fields.

Upham's work was issued to promote Frémont's run for the U.S. presidency in 1856. Frémont was the first Republican to enter a presidential race, which he lost that year to James Buchanan. This book, in ephemeral circles is also described as being "generally adulatory" or promotional on Frémont's behalf. CD No. 125, Accession No. SHS 1994.52.15. Reprinted courtesy of Shasta Historical Society.

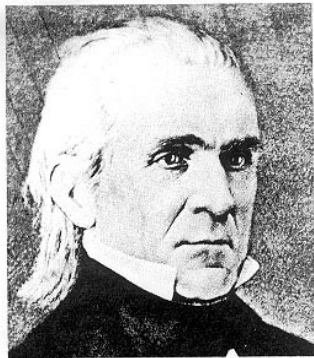


Figure 30,
President James K. Polk
1795 - 1849



Figure 31.
John Charles Frémont
1813 - 1890

Part B. The Turning Point in the Year of Decision 1846

The Loss Of Innocence of Lassen's Bosquejo Rancho

The data indicates that Peter Lassen during February through August, 1845 established a peaceful frontier outpost with the local California Indians. Author/educator René Weybye Lassen (1990:64) from Denmark, a nephew of Peter, four time removed, wrote about his uncle:

“The first seven months of his stay at Bosquejo Rancho, Lassen was living as the only white man with the Indians around. While living here he was clearing the land so he could plant a variety of crops. He went hunting for deer. He started trapping beavers and otters which skins he tanned himself.”

The linguistic maps of the California Indians constructed by anthropology pioneers John Wesley Powell (1891), Alfred L. Kroeber (1925), Robert Heizer (1978), and most recently by Pacific Western Traders' Herb Puffer (1994), affirm that Wintu and Yana were invariably the Indians who Peter Lassen worked with and learned from. René Lassen (1990:64) observed that:

“For most of the white settlers an Indian was just an Indian. The settlers never noticed which tribe he belonged to, his cultural background, or his way of living.”

Peter Lassen (See Fig. 28) was friendly as usual to the indigenous cultures. Having come from a smaller country himself with neighbors who were larger and more powerful than his land, it became customary for the Danes to learn about their neighbors and to keep the respect. Danes today, in fact, acquire German and English languages by the time they graduate from their gymnasiums (high schools). This corroborates René Lassen's (1990:64) contention that:

“Lassen tried to learn a little of the different languages the tribes near Deer Creek and the Sacramento River were using. These sincere attempts to learn their languages helped endear him to the Indians, thus winning their friendship and veneration” (Lassen 1990:64)

But in the spring of 1846, Peter Lassen's Camelot was dashed asunder. The archival data reveals that Lassen made his own bed of troubles in March/ April 1846 that irrevocably ended the peace he had established with the indigenous peoples around him. Lassen invited the American “outsiders,” as led by Captain John C. Frémont, to be his “guest for as long as they wished” (Egan 1977:325). Peter Lassen (1990:72) was so taken apparently by the daring American representative of Manifest Destiny, that Lassen later named his own paper town, Benton City,* in honor of Mrs. Jessie Frémont whose father was the anti-slavery, U.S. Senator, Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri.

* Various interpretations have developed over time about “Benton City's inception as well as the location of this “paper town.” Dan Sill evidently promoted his paper town named “Daneville” (Lassen 1990:66), located on the north side of Deer Creek. Was “Benton City” surveyed where Daneville was supposed to be? J. G. Bruff, however, began surveying Benton City to be for Lassen in April, 1850. This was when Peter Lassen was living on the south side of Deer Creek! Most Vina folks believe Benton City was on the north side.

According to the Western Star Lodge No. 2 pamphlet by Harold O. McDaniel Jr. (1998:5-6): “The name Benton City was derived through the influence of Saschel Woods. He was a friend and admirer of Thomas Hart Benton . . . Woods was able to prevail upon Lassen to name his new town Benton City in honor of Senator Benton.”

In fairness to Peter Lassen, it is this researcher's belief that had Lassen been perhaps less naïvé and had he known somehow in advance of what a ruthless and mean-spirited killing spree against the California Indians was about to be carried out, as led by apparently Frémont's guide, Kit Carson, let alone what false rumors and subterfuge tactics were being applied to cause unrest throughout the greater region, Lassen would have surely taken back his offer of "full assistance." The horrific brutality committed against the nondescript California Indians that took place on about April 15, 1846, set a grim precedent for Indian-White relationships in California for the decades that followed. Alas, Lassen's choice to support the Americans has become part of his legacy. March 30, 1846 was when the mighty force of empire-building came knocking on Peter Lassen's door.

In 1982 James Dotta published his revised interpretations about the purported "Bloody Island Massacre" in the Shasta Historical Society's annual publication, *The Covered Wagon*. His article is titled "Bloody Island: Fact and Fantasy." His hard evidence is compelling that the major event occurred more probably along the Sacramento River and closer to Colusa and the Sutter Buttes area in northern California. Moreover, Frémont biographer Ferol Egan (1977:325) discovered that the heralded "Pathfinder" Frémont stayed at Lassen's camp; that during the "all in one day" rampage, "John Charles did not take part in this sad affair"!

News Flash! In 2005, western genre writer Larry McMurty, became author of *Oh What A Slaughter: Massacres in the American West: 1846-1890*. In this book McMurty refers to the affair as "The Sacramento River Massacre." Two assessments that have grown from discussions about this latest book are that the Sacramento River Massacre of '46 is so forgotten that its site near the northern California village of Vina can only be approximated; and that the Sacramento River Massacre was overlooked for a very long time. The 1864 general massacre of the Yana that began in Millville, Shasta County, California, and spread southward, is another forgotten massacre. Credit goes to Jeremiah Curtin (1899:517-520) who is the only interviewer who kept this 1864 massacre account alive.

The concluding Historical Background research for the Mexican Period includes: (1) Buck Gover's interpretations secured by interviewer Dolores Mitchell about the history of Bloody Island, and (2) a brief summary of the Ferol Egan (1975, 1977) and James Dotta (1982) research about the more aptly titled, Sacramento River Massacre. Its fallout places a stain on the beginnings of California statehood. It calls for a very serious look at who are some of our long-standing American heroes.

Putting One Popular Myth to Rest

Why Bloody Island Owner Buck Gover Believes that the 1846 Sacramento River Massacre Happened Somewhere Else

Dolores Mitchell's interview of property owner Buck Gover was included as part of Hazel McKim and Bessie Sanders's (1985:152) resource book *A History of Shasta County California*. The Gover's place today is a fifth generation ranch.

"Buck Gover owns the island (Fig. 32) now and with his son, Dan, grows walnuts on the 600 acres. He will tell you that there are a lot of stories about Bloody Island, but he believes just one.

"The story he believes was told to him by Bill Shelton, an Indian, who used to work for Gover. Shelton said he was told by his people that this island was the site of an Indian battle between two Indian tribes. They were fighting over fishing rights on Battle Creek. They met on the island and fought it out. After the battle was over, Indians of both tribes buried their dead in a common grave on the island.

"Quite a few years ago, a man, who lectured on Indians, wanted to sift the soil for Indian artifacts. Buck gave him permission and the man set to work. One day Buck went to check on him to see what he was doing. The man showed him some Indians that he had found buried in a sitting position as was the custom of the tribe that lived on the island. Right next to the properly buried Indians were 18 more skeletons just laid out in a common grave. Each one of these had their skulls smashed. Everything was left as it was found, the graves were reburied and the site marked.

"Mr. Gover said that the skeletons showed no sign of bullet marks. He believed that it was most likely an Indian battle. Except for the mass grave, no other skeletons have been uncovered. He will no longer allow anyone to dig for artifacts on the island."

There was this additional statement by Buck Gover (also obtained by Dolores Mitchell) that convinced him that Indian Shelton's story is closer to the truth than the popular myth that Frémont battled the Wintus and that was how Bloody Island and Battle Creek got their names. Gover said:

"General Frémont did camp there. The history books are right about that. He camped about 300 yards below the house, near a large oak tree that my parents called 'Frémont's Oak.' I just don't believe the story that Frémont slaughtered hundreds of Indians there."

• Carmen Schuler (1962:27-28) in her family history wrote of a massacre that occurred some time after the Marie Dersch Massacre that occurred in 1866:

"At another time some Indians went through the country around Ball's Ferry where they killed some settlers. In one family they killed the mother and a small boy and had scalped a baby girl who survived. Captain Schuler led the volunteers to track the Indian killers, whom they followed onto a neck of an island just below Ball's Ferry where the Indians were surrounded. A battle ensued and most of the Indians were killed. Some of them jumped into the surrounding water and were drowned. The island got its name of "Bloody Island from this battle." [mispelling corrected for clarity]

• From Smith (1991:16) Samuel J. Hensley claimed he named the island in 1844 for a battle he and his crew of woodcutters were involved in with the Yana's while working in the area falling and floating trees down the Sacramento River to John Sutter's sawmill.

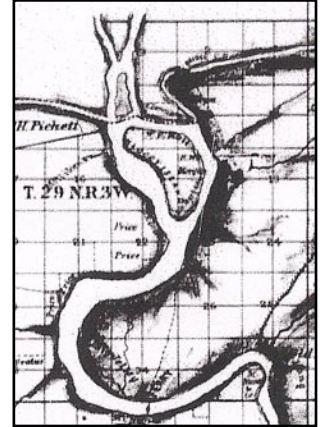


Figure 32. "Bloody Island" on "1878" Tehama County Official Map, in Township 29N, R3W. *Nono'ni*, near Ball's Ferry and where Battle Creek enters the Sacramento River. "Name seems to be Wintu rather than Yana; island is in Wintu territory" (Sapir and Spier 1943:247). Sierra Flume is line approaching from the NE. Today, not an island but rather a tongue of land of east bank.

Summary of the Ferol Egan (1975, 1977) and James Dotta (1982) Data Regarding the Renamed "Sacramento River Massacre"

Here are some of the key facts and dates of "that year of decision," 1846, regarding what can and cannot be said about the "Sacramento River Massacre":

- 11th U.S. President - The man who became the 11th President of the United States of America under the U.S. Constitution was James Polk who served from 1846-1849. Polk campaigned on a pro-western platform. He advocated annexation of Oregon and statehood for California, and directed Frémont and his ilk to cause unrest in *Alta Californio* with its conquest the chief objective.

- 1846, March 30 is when Frémont's First Encampment at Lassen's Rancho happened. Frémont led his Third Expedition to California, consisting originally of 86 men (Egan 1975:2, 7)..

- 1846 ca. April 15 - The approximate date of the Sacramento River Massacre in which at least 175 Native peoples were killed "all in a day" (Frémont 1887:473-498; 516-517).

- Frémont's American spying mission consisted of "men chosen because of having wilderness experience and expert marksmanship" (Egan 1977:317). However, what Frémont (1887:456) said to all officials about his troopers was that he:

"was engaged in surveying the nearest route from the United States to the Pacific Ocean . . . being under the direction of the Bureau of Topographical Engineers . . . that [the journey] was made in the interests of science and of commerce, and that the men composing the party were citizens and not soldiers.

- Frémont's troops' equipment and armaments: "Each man's equipment was furnished by the Govt. to be deducted afterward from his wages, and consisted of 1 whole-stock Hawkens rifle, two pistols, a butcher-knife, saddle, bridle, pistol holsters and 2 pt. blankets For his individual use each man was given a horse or mule for riding and one to two pack animals to care for" (Martin's *Narrative* in Egan 1975:2).

- Dottie Smith's (1991:16) findings about Bloody Island: "Occupied by Yana Indians prior to the Gold Rush." [and] "Many versions for the naming of the island." [and] "Another version claims the island received its name for an 1846 battle between the soldiers under the command of Capt. John Frémont and Indians in which approximately 175 warriors were killed" (D. Smith cited McNamar [1952] and Southern (1942). However, James Dotta's (1982) research, with hard data, helps put to rest an urban legend that lingers even today.

- Which California Indian tribe(s) were killed? If Frémont's forces rampaged the Indians near Colusa and/or east of the Sutter Buttes as Dotta (1982:75) argued, those Natives would have been Southern Wintun or Patwin, while south of the Buttes begins to become Maidu-Nisenan territory.

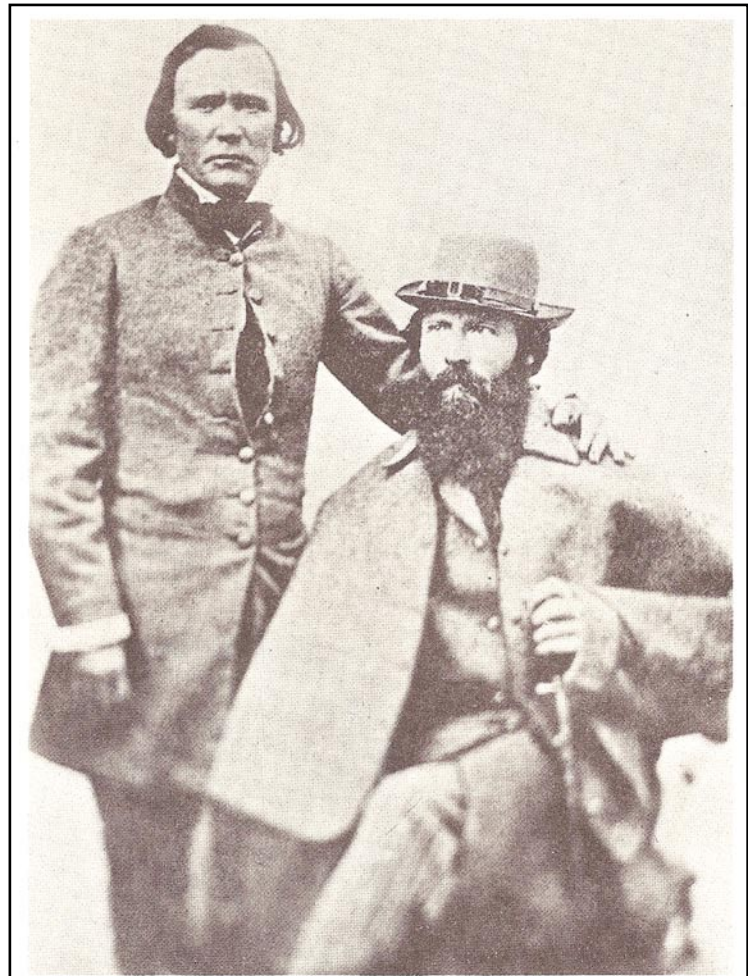
- Not only did Frémont (1887) not make any mention of encounters with Indians in the upper Sacramento Valley in 1846, in his 1887 *Memoirs*, neither does any "Bloody Island" event appear in Ferol Egan's *Frémont Explorer for a Restless Nation*, nor in Quaipe's (1966) *Kit Carson's Autobiography*.

- In contrast to Upham (1856) who claimed that the Indians were defeated "all in a day," another Frémont biographer of the same time period, Samuel M. Smucker (1856:26-27), wrote that Frémont's campaign against the Indians that spring [1846] took sixty days.

- Also, Ferol Egan (1977:569) wrote about Jessie Benton’s editing and writings of her husband’s *Memoirs* that she “had a flair for drama, and her works must be used with care.”

- Egan (1977:325-326) places the middle of April, 1846, for when “a battle” occurred when “. . . more than 175 Indians . . .” were apparently killed and when “. . . the survivors had taken cover in the foothill country” [versus Martin here who wrote, “Most of the inds. escaped to the neighboring mts” (Egan 1975:7)].

- Egan (1975) did editing and annotations of all of the *Narrative* of Thomas Salathiel Martin who was one of Frémont’s Third Expedition (1845-1846) participants. The original document is preserved in Berkeley at the Bancroft Library. Also three copies are available at Oakland Public Library’s “History Room,” 2nd floor, Call No. 917.8 MAR. As part of his preliminary Frémont research, Egan in 1975 also published the entire Martin *Narrative* under the title, *With Frémont to California and the Southwest 1845-1849*, published by the Lewis Osborne-Book Publisher in Ashland, Oregon.



The man seated is apparently not Charles Frémont.

Figure 33. Kit Carson and Frémont? This image now has a very questionable history, as explained and available online: <<http://www.longcamp.com/perrin.html>> In this daguerreotype of Kit Carson (standing on the left) is most likely Edwin Perrin (sitting to the right) rather than Charles Frémont as earlier assumed. Reprinted courtesy of the Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, call number: F-5624.

Chronology Includes Entries From Frémont's *Memoirs of My Life* (1887:473-498; 516-517):

March 10 about. Encamped ten days at Sam Neal and David Dutton's (Chico's Butte Creek).

March 30 to April 5, 1846 Encamped at Lassen's Rancho (6 days).

April 6: Company crossed Sacramento River in canoes to farm on the right (west) bank of the river.

April 7: Traveled toward Shasta Peak; left the Sacramento at a stream called Red Bank Creek; encamped at an elevation of about 1,000 feet above sea level on a large stream called Cottonwood Creek.

April 8: Continued 16 miles north; encamped on the Sacramento. "We are now near the head of the lower valley."

April 9: Boated the river —"continued our journey eastward toward the foot of the Sierra . . . in about six miles farther descended into the broad bottom of a swift stream twenty yards wide called Cow Creek . . ."

April 10: "Turning to the southward, we retraced our steps down the valley, and reached Lassen's, on Deer Creek, on the evening of the 11th."

April 11 to April 23rd, Frémont and his men remained at Lassen's Rancho (12 days)

[April 12-14] Frémont's "Call underneath the Valley Oak" (at today's Abbey of New Clairvaux, Vina, California. See Fig. 65 on page 113 of this report). About when Frémont invariably circulated rumors that American emigrants had supposedly approached him and were asking for his help to protect their families from so-called hostile Indians. The rumors were circulated to create unrest and instability).

[April 15 Tom Martin, Alexis Godey and the four Delawares returned from the San Joaquin Valley with 18 new horses.]

[April 15 Carson led Martin and the others who dispersed, routed and butchered the Indian foes all "in a day."]

April 24: Left Lassen's, traveled up the Sacramento over ground already described; on the morning of the 26th left the Sacramento.

[May 8 or 9] U.S. Marine Courier Gillespie* (with his "Negro" steward to dress Gillespie *et cetera* named "Ben" Harrison) finally found Frémont. They caught up with Frémont up north in the Klamath Lake area. Note: This was only accomplished due to the services of Peter Lassen, Sam Neal (See Fig. 46 on page 81), William (Levi) Sigler, and Bill Stepp (Frémont 1887:487; Egan 1977:328; Lassen 1990:72; Durham 1994:16).

* On May 9, 1846, U.S. Marine Lieutenant Archibald Gillespie brought both his own memorized verbal messages and written dispatches from President James Polk (Fig.30), Secretary of State James Buchanan, Secretary of the Navy Bancroft, and Senator Thomas Hart Benton. When said and done, Frémont interpreted the communications to mean that "war was at hand and that the conquest of California was "the chief object of the President." Frémont returned to further this end, and to play "a prominent if hesitating role" in his conquest"(Quaife 1966:99; Frémont's 1887 *Memoirs*, 487-490).

[May 10 about] The Klamath Indians retaliated against Frémont's party, killing three (Basil Lajeunesse, Wetowka Crane, and Denny). Remark: Also, there were no doubt many more Indians who sought revenge in the south near Lassen's since circa April 15 rampaging.

May 24th Headed south and reached Lassen's (7 days).

May 30th Leaving Lassen's Rancho, the company moved south, and on May 30th they camped at the Buttes of Sacramento [Sutter Buttes].

[June 14 - The date when the California Bear Flaggers took Sonoma and arrested Mariano Vallejo].

Provided are these testimonials by two of the active participants at the Sacramento River Massacre, which occurred circa April 15, 1846:

KIT CARSON: "He [Frémont] started for the Indian encampment with his party and some few Americans near-by. We found them to be in great force, as had been stated. We attacked them, and although I do not know how many we killed, it was a perfect butchery. The survivors fled in all directions and we returned to Lawson's [sic], having accomplished our purpose and given the Indians such a chastisement that it would be long before they would again think of attacking the settlements" (Quaife 1966:95).

TOM MARTIN: "When we got back [from trading for more horses] to Deer Creek the settlers of that section were very much alarmed, the indians [sic] having threatened to massacre them all and it was reported that they were already gathering for that purpose. They asked Fremont to protect them. He refused as he had no right to fight the inds. but he told us that those who wished [to] take part in an expedition against these indians he would discharge, and take us again afterwards. Four of our men were hired by the rest to stay and take care of camp while all of the remainder were gone in the expedition.

"At the foot of the low hills where the Sac. riv. comes out of the mts., on the left hand side of the river going up we found the indians [sic] to the number of 4000 to 5000 on a tongue of land between the bends of the river, having a war-dance preparatory [sic] to attacking the settlers. Our advance guard of 36 first came in sight of them and immediately charged and poured a volley into them killing 24. They then rushed in with their sabres. The rest of the party coming up they charged in among them and in less than 3 hours we had killed over 175 of them. Most of the inds. escaped to the neighboring mts"(Egan 1975:7).

The following ten paragraphs (reprinted below) are from pages 325-326 of Ferol Egan's 1977 biography, Frémont Explorer for a Restless Nation (Verbal permission granted from Mr. Ferol Egan, telephone conference call on 7/30/2008.). This section helps to explain Frémont's movements and whereabouts relative to the Sacramento River Massacre.

[Note: The footnotes and bracketed data (below) are by Burrill, not by biographer Ferol Egan.]

Martin's *Narrative* (Egan 1975:7) entry for circa March 10, 1846, reads:

"The next morning we left [from San Juan Bautista], and went to Sutter's Fort via Pacheco Pass. Thence to Butte Creek, above the present site of Maryville. Here we laid 10 days at [Sam] Neal¹ and [David] Dutton's² place. Thence to old man Lawson's [sic] at Deer Creek where we remained about 6 weeks"³

Ferol Egan (1977:325-326) wrote:

Three days later [March 30, 1846] they [Fremont's Third Expedition] reached Deer Creek and the ranch of Peter Lassen of Denmark. Here, between present-day Chico and Red Bluff, Lassen had built a smaller version of Sutter's empire. Maidu Indians⁴ worked for him as field hands, and he planted wheat and cotton and maintained a vineyard for the making of wine and brandy. Along with this, he had a good blacksmith shop and a growing cattle herd.

Lassen's Bosquejo ranch consisted of twenty-two thousand acres of upper Sacramento Valley land, and John Charles was greatly impressed by what he saw at this outpost. Lassen and Frémont took a liking to each other, and this explorer was invited to be a guest for as long as he wished. The Dane was so impressed by the explorer that he later named a settlement (now a ghost town) Benton City in honor of Senator Thomas Hart Benton.

While the men rested at the Deer Creek camp and made short exploration trips beyond it, John Charles sent Alexis Godey, young Tom Martin, and four Delawares southward to the San Joaquin Valley to trade for fresh horses before the party continued its journey toward Oregon. As Tom Martin recalled, they bought eighteen head of horses and mules and "paid a small butcher knife and a string of beads for each horse."⁵

By the time the men had returned with the fresh animals, it was [April 15th] the middle of April,⁶ and spawning salmon were moving up the Sacramento and all the tributary streams. The large fish were so thick in the smaller streams that their fins rode above the surface of the water, and it was a time of feasting for the Indians, settlers, visitors, and grizzly bears.

While the horse buyers had been away, Frémont had crisscrossed the upper Sacramento Valley just to look over the country. He took special notice of trees and flowers, observed that the soil ranged between a rich, dark loam and a hard-packed red clay; and he took careful readings of the fluctuating temperature and changes in altitude. He saw the long jagged, snow-packed range of the Sierra Nevada to his east; he was duly impressed with Mount Shasta's dominating white cone to the north, and named one of the Coast Range mountains, far to the west, Mount Linn⁷ in memory of Senator Linn of Missouri.

As they camped, newly arrived emigrants just in from the States, came to Captain Frémont and requested his help in protecting them against so-called hostile Indians. While John Charles did not take part in this sad affair, he allowed Kit Carson and most of his men to become involved in a vicious killing spree against the local Indian tribes.⁸

As Tom Martin remembered this bloody business, they charged into the Indian village and killed twenty-four with their initial rifle attack. Then, using sabers, they cut a red path of death for three hours. When it was all over, more than 175 Indians were dead, and the survivors had taken cover in the foothill country.

The attitude of these men toward the Indians of the area was that they were only savages, something less than human. As Kit Carson put it, this “perfect butchery” would give them cause never to attack the settlements again. These men were the spawn of generations of border families that had been pushing their boundaries farther westward into Indian country year after year.

After the killing it was time for a dance! Twelve miles south of the Deer Creek camp there was a party of emigrants just in off the long trail, emigrants bound for Oregon. The men received permission from Frémont to attend a party in their honor. They took cuts of fresh bear, deer, and elk meat to the pioneers, and a festive time was had in celebration of victory over the Indians. It was a time Tom Martin never forgot as there were fifteen ladies among the party. “A place had been cleared away,” he said, “and we began dancing which we kept up for two days.” (Egan 1975, from Martin, *Narrative* p. 15).

The stay at Peter Lassen’s came to an end on April 24, 1846.⁹ John Charles thanked the Dane for his hospitality, said farewell, and struck north toward the Cascade Mountains and Oregon.

1 Samuel Neal arrived in CA as a member of Frémont’s Second Expedition, 1843-1844; Neal worked as a blacksmith at Sutter’s Fort. In 1847, he obtained a land grant on Butte Creek [Chico].

2 David Dewey Dutton hailed from MA, and traveled overland in 1839 to the Oregon Territory. In 1845, he served as a cook at Sutter’s Fort. In 1847, he “shared a range” with Neal on Butte Creek (Egan 1975:34).

3 Martin’s “about six weeks” appears to be close since Frémont’s troopers made three stays at Lassen’s for a total of twenty-five days. The period of time from their first to their last encampments was six weeks exactly, March 30 through May 30th based on Frémont’s 1887 Memoirs and other diaries consulted.

4 Egan’s entire paragraph here is about Sutter’s Indians and what Sutter accomplished, not about Lassen’s Indians and what they accomplished. This was explained to this author by Ferol Egan during telephone conversation on 7/30/2008. Mr. Egan said about the historical figure John C. Frémont that: “He was pretty friendly with the Indians in his life-time, especially with the Plains Indians. He has been given, I believe, an undeserving bad rap by poor biographers.”

5 Egan (1975:13) from Martin’s *Narrative*.

6 According to Frémont’s *Memoirs* (1887:477-478) his two sojourns at Lassen’s ranch were six days (March 30 - April 5) and twelve days (April 11-23, 1846) wherein Frémont does not mention any battling nor slaughtering of the Indians.

7 Maps of South Yolla Bolly Mountain early on, as well as some recent maps refer to this peak as Mount Linn, elevation 8,081 feet. Mt. Linn is twelve miles south of North Yolla Bolly Peak, elevation 8,000 feet. Yolla Bolly is the Wintu name meaning “high snow-covered peak” (Hislop and Hughes 2007:53).

8 Here biographer Ferol Egan wrote that “John Charles did not take part in this sad affair”! Tom Martin’s own “Narrative” (Egan 1975:7) also gives Frémont a possible out where Martin wrote, “Four of our men were hired by the rest to stay and take care of camp while all of the remainder were gone in the expedition.” Forever curious “to get to the bottom of this,” this researcher successfully contacted Mr. Ferol Egan by telephone at his Berkeley home on July 30, 2008.

“Yes, this did not happen,” Ferol Egan said. Egan said that he stands by his words (Egan 1977:325) where it reads, “John Charles did not take part in this sad affair.” The particular source Mr. Egan had for writing this he could not recall. In so many words, Mr. Egan told this researcher that it had been quite a while since he had researched his Frémont biography, but he did, at the time, come upon a source that revealed that Frémont stayed out of that fray.

Apparently, with the publication of Charles Wentworth Upham’s propaganda book in 1856, this was the first time when the general public was duped about this part of Frémont’s life-story. Upham’s narrative reads about Frémont in 1846, that, “They unanimously declared their readiness to join him, and appointed him [Frémont] commander. He instantly marched against the Indians”!

9 August 24, 1846, also comes from Frémont (1887:473-498), according to Dotta (1982:75).

More Early Indian Troubles

1847 February 28 - This letter (below) about more Indian troubles was written by Peter Lassen's neighbors some ten months after the purported Sacramento River Massacre. It was written during the Mexican-American War and indicates that peace with the Native Americans never was reestablished. The closest frontier town with possible reserve "American" soldiers was Sutter's Fort, Sacramento.

Sir-

Mill Creek Feb. 28, 1847

We the undersigned take this method of informing you of our situation in this part of the valley the [I]ndians are assembling together and have commenced killing cattle belonging to Messrs Sill & Lassen also have killed cattle belonging to David Dutton and driven a portion into the mountains the Indians are very numerous and if we cannot be forced to abandon our farms and leave our property to the murcy [sic] of the Indians purhaps something worse. The Indians in the valley are uniting with those of the mountains which will make their number much greater than it ever has been before.

We their fore [sic] think that the only way that we can muntain [sic] our position will be to have a military force sufficient stationed in this vicinity to keep the Indians in awe.

Respectfully yours & c & c

Daniel Sill
A. G. Toomes
R. H. Thomes

According to Peninou and McCoy(1965:5), the response "to keep the Indians in awe," was that, "Lieutenant Kern and a small troop came from Sutter's Fort. There were a few skirmishes and a few Indians killed." How many more Native Americans were killed this time also remains unresolved.

The Mexican Period formerly ended on February 2, 1848, with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. This treaty announced California was seceded to the United States and all persons then living in Alta California are granted U.S. citizenship.* But in the making that same day as the Treaty, a second equally powerful force as was Manifest Destiny was in its nascent stage. James Marshall was meeting privately with Captain John Sutter to show him some possible gold that he had found in the mill race gravel at Sutter's sawmill in Coloma on the South Fork of the American River! (See Ch. 2 III "The Gold Rush").

* 1919 Congress passed an act on November 6, granting citizenship to Indian men enlisting in military service. All the other Native Americans had to wait until 1924 for American Citizenship finally granted by Congress's the Snyder Act.

BACKGROUND HISTORY

III THE GOLD RUSH



Figure 34. “Gold! Gold from the American River!” Standing on San Francisco’s Montgomery Street on May 12, 1848, Sam Brannan held up a small glass bottle with the gold he had found. His cry was heard ‘round the world’!

- “It was said that of *Gam Saan* [literally means “Gold Mountain,” the Chinese name for the United States] that a man could find pieces of gold as large as a first born son lying openly on the ground for anyone to pick up and keep.” (See1995:3).

III THE GOLD RUSH

The Gold Rush year of 1849 “was a hinge year” asserted author S. J. Holiday of *The World Rushed* in. “California was transformed for the Gold Rush,” he added. Some 300,000 people from all over the world hurried to California. Peter Lassen is one of the exceptions. Peter Lassen, Joseph Goldsborough Bruff and others were intrigued and inspired by the stories of “Gold Lake.” This researcher contends that it was the power of such stories that caused gold-seekers to go up into the farthest canyons and to climb to the highest mountain plateaus.

Regarding the Hi Good Cabin study area, geologically speaking, natural gold deposits are not to be found. Predictably, any gold found in the vicinity is gold that human beings brought in. Oral history shared with this author by Vina stockman Jerry Stephens purports that Hi Good buried his gold “somewhere” in the Vina area (See Ch. 6, page 455). Most interesting to this researcher as of late is that Joseph Goldsborough Bruff (1949:364) observed and wrote in his journal, on July 3, 1850, that [Peter] “Lassen had some fine samples of gold he found.” This fact surely whetted Bruff’s appetite to try and find out where Lassen’s ledge (of quartz) might lie.

But wait, and just maybe, the source of Peter Lassen’s gold samples may have come from an Indian, Baptiste Chereux. The source for this comes from the nephew to Peter Lassen, four times removed, René Weybye Lassen from Roskilde, Denmark. In René Lassen’s book, *Uncle Peter: The Story of Peter Lassen and the Lassen Trail* (1990:80), he wrote:

It is told that the very first gold that was found in Northern California was —ironically enough— found on the land of Bosquejo Rancho already in the fall of 1845. An Indian, named Baptiste Chereux from Oregon, had been helping some trappers. When they camped at the river bank near Bosquejo Rancho, the Indian found a small piece of yellow metal in the sand. Baptiste Chereux took it up and kept it, thinking that he had just found a piece of brass. In 1848 —when everybody began talking of gold, Chereux had his piece of metal examined. The metal was gold!

What more will future researchers find out some day about the Indian from Oregon, Baptiste Chereux?

A. Population Changes That Transformed California

Staff writer for the *Chronicle* Carl Nolte (1998) wrote, “When the word got out about the gold discovery, more than 300,000 people from all over the world came to California” (Carl Nolte “California’s Glittering Past” [1998, April 11]*San Francisco Chronicle*, p. A11).

Providing more Gold Rush related population statistics is this text segment from a tape-recorded radio broadcast titled, “The Origin and Power of the California Image” (circa. 1999, radio station unknown) by historian J. S. Holiday, author of, *The World Rushed In* (1981). Here Holiday reflects about the year, 1849, and what he perceived was the driving force that brought so many people to California. In the following, he makes some interesting points. But, in this author’s opinion, Holiday coldly shoved off respect for the Native peoples who were here first:

J. S. Holiday: “1849 was a hinge moment. California was transformed by the Gold Rush, transformed from a backward, neglected province of Mexico into a dynamic attraction for the world. We democratized the American west. Suddenly for the first time it wasn’t just a place for the trappers and the explorers. City folk were now traveling across the vast wilderness. I don’t think the Gold Rush has been interpreted properly . . . not a time of disappointment nor dismal experience of a would be, by-gone, tale of victims.

“J. S. Holiday” -continued-

“No! It was a robust entrepreneurial time, remarkable for the growth and prosperity of California . . . surging California ahead of all other states! And the trigger of the gold rush was not the discovery. Never before in the history of the world was the gold free . . . free for all! The key isn’t that gold was discovered here, but because the gold was free here!

“Well, why was it free?

“1769 to 1847 —I’m not counting the Native people— How many people came from outside? Those who had come as settlers, migrants during those years, 1769 to 1847, were 7,600. Hence, California was sparsely populated. 1848 --before the gold rush-- California’s population was 11,000 to 12,000. It was free because there was no one in power to say, ‘That it’s mine.’ The Indians were scattered and frightened.

“Think if gold had been discovered in New Jersey, in Massachusetts or Pennsylvania. . . . Do you think that would have been allowed in Pennsylvania or any other place? Remember this is the middle of the 19th century that this is happening. There were 2,000 miles of railroad on the east coast in 1850. California didn’t have a road, didn’t have a bridge. That was why the gold was free. No one [was] here to say the loud and powerful ‘No, it’s not yours. It belongs to me.’”

Estimated Number of Americans Moving West	
<u>Year</u>	<u>Estimated Number</u>
1848	4,000
1849	30,000
1850	55,000
1852	50,000
1853	20,000
1854	10,000
1855	5,000
1858	10,000
1860	15,000
1861	5,000
1862	5,000
1863	10,000
1864	20,000
California’s gold rush has ended. The rich surface and river placers are largely exhausted; hydraulic mines are the chief sources of gold for the next 20 years.	
1865	25,000
1866	25,000
People come to California from all over the United States and the world, by land and by sea. <u>The gold rush compresses a half century of normal growth into a half decade!</u>	
Virtual Museum of Sutter’s Fort. California Technology Assistance Program. Sacramento, CA: Sacramento County Office, Region 3 Schools of California Online Resources for Educators Project. (Retrieved on the internet on 8/2/2008). Available: < http://score.rims.k12.ca.us/activity/suttersfort/pages/timeline.html >	

B. Stories of “Gold Lake”



Figures 35 and 36. The “Hieoglyphic Defile” [sic] of Snowstorm Cañon (Smoke Creek), which was such a source of wonder to Joseph Goldsborough Bruff and Peter Lassen, who, together, witnessed them on October 1, 1850, during their search for the legendary “Gold Lake.” Bruff (1949:424) wrote: “I pictured several of the most distinct groups of symbols, and some look much like the Egyptian; but was compelled to have a friend at my elbow, with ready rifle, to look out for the Philistines while I sketched.” Photo by author taken 10/24/2005.

Joseph Goldsborough Bruff
1949. *Gold Rush The Journals, Drawings, and Other Papers of J. Goldsborough Bruff April 2, 1849 -July 20, 1851.*
New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 423-424; illus. 551, 713.

Story One: A great excitement had spread in the area about “Gold Lake” reported to be the richest diggings of the territory. All that is to be done there, it was said, was to sit down and pick it up! From Lassen’s Bosquejo Rancho, J. Goldsborough Bruff (1949:362) wrote on June 20, 1850, this entry:

Mrs. M. and Col. Wood returned. A rumored discovery of immense deposits of gold, around a lake, situate [sic] somewhere between the upper waters of Feather and Yuva [sic] rivers.”

During the following weeks, several companies left Lassen’s Ranch to join the hunt, and on July 12, 1850, Peter Lassen himself became a part of the stampede to the higher mountains. This was what Lassen and Bruff were doing on October 1, 1850, when they discovered these Indian petroglyphs.

Persistent rumors about a rich Native American civilization that intrigued Spanish exploration date back to the early sixteenth-century. The “Seven Cities of Cibola” is perhaps the most famous story. In northern California, stories circulated about “Gold Lake.”

Never doubt the power of story to bring out the gold rush fever in the otherwise most indifferent of men! It sets the fire that kindles the imaginations, sending people searching, tramping, pushing and crawling their ways into the most remote places. Belief IS their trigger that keeps them going. Notice the last sentence is written in the present tense. This author has met several gold-seekers of late.

Humbug stories are always framed with concrete details and eye-witness accounts, sprinkled often with some of the real thing—a poke in a store window or gold displayed by the mule-skinner. Then quickly he tucks it back into his canvas pannier for safe-keeping. This is a “Gold Lake” recruitment account crafted by Captain Bruff himself!

Story Two: “They Believe in this Gold Lake”
By Joseph Goldsborough Bruff

Reprinted from Bruff, Joseph Goldsborough eds. Georgia Read and Ruth Gains
1949 *Gold Rush the Journals, Drawings, and Other Papers of J. Goldsborough Bruff April 2, 1849-July 20, 1851*. New York: Columbia University Press, p. 404:

Sept. 12, 1850. Subject of private talks, whispering, and mystifying as to who here, are to go on the expedition, and who should not; and how it is to be managed. They all firmly believe in the existence of this “Gold Lake” where each person can soon get his mule load; and they have explored around so that there is but a small circuit of country left to explore for it; and in that very circuit it must be! [Bruff then gives his account of his knowledge of the existence of this “Gold Lake.”

—A young man named Gibbs,* wearing earrings, from Boston, —nephew to a Surveyor employed by the government, accompanied his Uncle out,—up Sacramento valley, across Pitt-river, and continuing E. came to a deeply embosomed fresh water lake, about 5 miles long, on whose marginal mountains stood 3 buttes [fn 106] —and that said lake basin was so full of gold, that he picked up pieces from the size of marbles to that of walnuts, along the edge of the stream, and washed them in his handkerchief. He thus procured, in a couple of hours, at ease, \$5000 worth. That the neighboring indians were hostile, and wounded some of their men. That the basin was so deep-seated, that the lake could only be seen from the crest of the very steep mountain rim over it. The part lowered down their pack-mules with ropes. But they found an easier way to get out. That his Uncle returned to Boston and took him along, and desired Secrecy. —That he had the position of the lake, from an observation taken by his uncle, but he most unfortunately lost it on the Isthmus. His Uncle is getting quartz crushing machinery made, to bring out next season; and as he (G’s) is afraid some prospectors might accidentally stumble on this Laguna del oro, he thought best to return, and anticipate such action of the outside barbarians. As the indians are very hostile there, and every man who goes is certain of speedily becoming a millionaire in a month or 6 weeks, it is indispensable that the party shall be strong, courageous, and honorable men. —A select party, of brave, adventurous Gold Lake prospectors. Gibbs told me this statement, and related the same, with slight variations to others. fn 709 [Stoddard]

* About Gibbs, his first name is unknown. The Critical Notes by Read and Gains in Bruff (1949:701) provide more about one named Gibbs.

Story Three: "Ghost Town Benton City"

By Warren N. Woodson

[Reprinted from Warren N. Woodson 1935 *The Trial of the Tail Blazers*
Corning, CA: Rotary Club of Corning, pp. 22-23.

Before my mind wanders off on some phase of early action permit me to present to you my thought picture of Benton City (See Fig. 58). When Peter Lassen rode away from his dream city, in '47, on his Masonic mission, he left some seventy families in covered wagons, tents and improvised shelter who had come west to carve out homes in this primitive land; to help to mould a Benton City. But listen: while Uncle Peter was in St. Louis, qualifying to receive his charter, James W. Marshall, at Coloma, discovered that precious metal which electrified the world. The cry of "GOLD FOUND in California" echoed around the world, as if broadcast by radio. And strange as it may seem, the Chinese were attracted in greater numbers than any other nationality. During '49 gold had been discovered all the way from Hangtown and Bidwell's Bar on the south, to Eureka on the north.* Quite naturally those who had planned to be builders of Benton City stampeded north and south to the placer gold diggings. So it was that when Peter Lassen returned from St. Louis with his charter he found that his citizens had "folded their tents like the Arabs, and as silently stolen away."

More Gold Lake Related Sources to Further Research



Figure 37. "Old Hutch" on Horse. Drawing by H. D. Bugbee placed on cover of W. H. Hutchinson (1954) *Another Notebook of the Old West*. Chico, California: Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University.

- J. G. Bruff's Gold Rush (1949: 406, 709-710, and 711) journal recorded three more stories.
- Obe Leininger's earliest 1881 (source?) is apparently about knowing how to find Peter Lassen's gold. Obe Leininger's second story, "Lost Gold Mine" was published in the *Chico Record*, 1887.
- Read from Meriam Library Special Collections, "Lost Mine On Your Doorstep" from W. H. "Old Hutch" Hutchinson (1954:119-124). Provided is the legend of Obe Leininger's Ledge and about the "familiar rock, shaped like the number four at Obe Field's camp on the Lassen Trail, which marks the trail head into Deer Creek Canyon.
- "Crazy Stoddard and His Sack of Gold!" in *The Feather River Territorial* (Fall and Winter 1960-1961); "Crazy Stoddard's Search" [sic] by W. H. "Old Hutch" Hutchinson's [no date] possibly from his companion work, *A Notebook of the Old West*. Read also "Hunting for Gold" by Major William Downie (1820-1893). Downie was a Scottish prospector and explorer who traveled, for a time, with Stoddard [Stoddard]. In '49, Downie was the first mayor of Downieville, California, until which time it had been named "The Forks." During the gold rush-era, Downie led an expedition up the North Fork of the Yuba.

C. Chronology of Early California Gold Rush Events

1842 March Ignacio del Valle, northern section of San Fernando Valley. Here, it happened that a Mexican laborer was pulling up wild onions on north side of the oak still extant and found gold. In 1842, placer gold was also taken from the gravel of the Santa Clara River (Stone 1955:34).

1845 Fall-Baptist Chereux discovered a small piece of gold in the sand on Deer Creek on Lassen's Rancho (Lassen 1990:80).

1848 Jan. 24 James Wilson Marshall and Peter L. Wimmer discovered gold at the new Sutter's Mill on the South Fork of the American River. [Note: James Marshall's letter dated January 28, 1856, in *History of Amador County, California* p. 52., reads that he made his discovery on January 19th!]

1848, Jan. 28 James Marshall met privately with Capt. John Sutter to show him the purported gold they has found. It tested out as "the real deal!" Five days later (2/2/'48), the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo formally ended the Mexican War, ceded California (as well as NV, AZ, NM, CO etc.) to the United States, and thereby granted U.S. citizenship to all of the American-Mexicans living in *Californio* at that time. All Mexican/ Spanish land grant and their respective rights were "supposedly" protected as well.

1848, March 15 *The Californian* newspaper reported that gold was discovered along the American River. The news is not widely believed in San Francisco.

1848, May 12 Sam Brannan waved his bottle of gold dust that he had found, and shouted, "Gold! Gold from the American River!" Brannan's call was heard 'round the world'!

1848, May 27 In San Francisco, ships' crews deserted and rushed to the gold fields.

1848 [May and early July] Major Pierson B. Reading discovered gold first on Upper Clear Creek at Reading's Bar (in 1851 the area was named "Town of Clear Creek Diggings" and then became "Horsetown") in Shasta County; and on about July 2, in Trinity County, Reading discovered more gold farther west at a second "Reading's Bar." "The location of Major Reading's second gold discovery," according to local historian Ron Jolliff of Igo, California, "was west of what was to become Ono and beyond the foot of Bully Choop Mountain. Reading's larger party then ascended to the head of what is now called Reading Creek. They followed it to where this creek joins the Trinity River about a half mile from what is now Douglas City. At that point, they crossed over to a bar (Reading's Bar) and voila!"

1848, June 14 *California Star* ceased publication because the staff had rushed off for the gold fields!

1848 July 4 Another major gold discovery was made by John Bidwell at Bidwell Bar on the Middle Fork of the Feather River.

1848, July 11 Governor of California, Gen. Richard Barnes Mason, visited the gold fields with his aide, Capt. William T. Sherman.

1848, August 19 *New York Herald* printed an item about the discovery of gold in California.

1848, Sept. 10 Gold dust price was set at \$16 per ounce; San Francisco citizens' demanded that the United States open a branch mint in San Francisco.

1848, Nov. 28 "U.S.S. *Lexington*" departed San Francisco with \$500,000 in gold destined for the U.S. Mint in the East.

1848, Dec. 2 President James Polk gave his message before Congress, which was read into the *Congressional Record* and published on the next day, December 3, 1848, in the New York newspapers. Polk's words were that, "The accounts of the abundance of gold in that territory are of such an extraordinary character as would scarcely command belief . . ."

President Polk's message was heard then in Europe, with the French newspaper, *Revue Des Deux Mondes*, publishing the very first announcement in all of Europe (Lassen 1990:81).

1848, Dec. 7 Lt. Lucian Loeser arrived in Washington with 230 ounces [6.5 kg] of gold stuffed into a tea caddy. It was placed on display at the War Department and causes much excitement!

1857, September 12 -Steamer *Central America* sank off the Carolinas in a hurricane with the loss of 435 passengers and \$1.6 million in gold (measured at \$20.67 per Troy ounce)! Underwater salvers found her in 1987, with Sotheby auction in 1999.

1859 April 12, -From out of the hill above Whiskey Flats at Magalia (Dogtown), in a canyon by the West Branch of the Feather River, washed out "the approx." 54-POUND nugget and into the hands of one Chauncy Wright, employee for the Willard Mine, an hydraulic claim. Then it was valued at \$10,690! (Courtesy of the Gold Nugget Museum and History Center, Paradise, Butte County, California).

IV. Biography of Harmon Augustus Good

Part I: 1836 - 1857



Figure 38. Sandy Young (left), Jay Salisbury, Hi Good (center seated), and Indian Ned.

• Size: 10 1/2" x 13 1/4" of the photo print: "copy" on exhibit inside Oroville's Pioneer Memorial Museum. This photo was taken in about 1869 and probably in Oroville. As for the photographer, best guess is pioneer photographer Edward A. Kusel whose studio was on Montgomery Street. H. P. Bagley wrote, "Until the late nineties, all the negatives Kusel had accumulated through the years were stored in the basement of the Kusel building. A flood destroyed all the old negatives" (Harry Potter Bagley [1941, April 19] "Behind the Old Family Album." *The Sacramento Bee Magazine* section, page 3.)

The picture's body language suggests that Hi Good has the "place of honor," sitting. The penciled handwritten names on the original picture frame's backing have the lowest of the four penciled names as being "Hi Good" seated. About the four penciled names on the frame's onion paper backing, Mrs. Betty Boyle Davis of Oroville was interviewed. Were they her mother's handwriting? Betty's answer on June 25, 2005 was: "It is not my mother's handwriting. My mother, Florence Danforth Boyle, probably typed its accession card, however." See also Richard Burrill, 2005, "New Research Reveals Correct Picture of Hi Good." *The California Territorial Quarterly*, Number 62 , pp. 44-45.

I. "Early Life in Pennsylvania and Ohio, 1836-1853

CONTENTS		
PART I	I	Early Life in Pennsylvania and Ohio (1836-1853)
	II	Hi Good and Alex Barrington Arrive in California (1854)
	III	Local Unrest in 1857 Defined Hi Good's Destiny

Harmon "Hi" Augustus Good led a life as an "Indian hunter." His closest friends in California addressed him as Hi Good.¹ On May 4, 1870, he was murdered probably by members of Ishi's Yahi band, who, especially would have had the motive.² Hi Good became a ruthless adversary, and a leader of volunteer vigilante parties, who battled the diverse mix of Native Americans in northeastern California during the Indian war years, 1857 to 1865. One local writer's accolade for Hi Good was to proclaim him the "Boone of the Sierra."³ "Hi Good, in particular, was held in the most bitter hatred among the Indians," wrote Butte County historian George Mansfield.⁴ "Hi Good, the Indian hunter" seems to be the most common appellation for the man. Yet, archival data scrutinized about much of Hi Good's life and personality is mixed and in some places disputatious.

He was born in 1836 of probable German⁵ and English⁶ heritage in Pennsylvania. "Good" is an anglicized variant of the name *Guth*. *Gut* in the German language means "good."⁷ Through both marriage and acquired friendships, the Good family also had strong Irish-American connections.⁸ Hi Good's birth day, month, and city / county locations in Pennsylvania remain unknowns.⁹

Harmon was the second child and only son of four children born to Henry and Mary Good. All four children grew to adulthood (See Fig. 43 Family Chart)

The First Move



Figure 39. Map: The Miami-Erie Canal linked Toledo with Cincinnati, 1848.

Very little is known of Harmon Good's formative years. In about 1849, the Good family moved to Dayton City, Montgomery County, Ohio, because, like many doting grandparents, the Goods wished to remain closer to their grandchildren. In 1848, Anna Marie, the Goods' eldest child, married Irish-American John W. McLain who was already living in Dayton City, an employee for a drug/pharmacy business there.¹⁰

The McLain's first baby (of seven) was Charles J. McLain, Hi Good's nephew. The 1850 census, Dayton City Township, Montgomery Co., shows the nephew as age "1," born in "PA."¹¹ It is deduced that when the mother and baby Charles were strong enough, they moved to Ohio, to be with their husband and father. 1849 is likely when Harmon and his two younger sisters were brought to live in Ohio by their parents.

Harmon Good's first job at age 15 in the 1850 census was "clerk" for his father who was "hotel keeper." The house residents consisted of Harmon's parents, his sisters Amanda, age 14, and Emma, age 8, as well as one adult man, a wagon-maker named Mr. Miller, and a second adult, a blacksmith named Mr. Mead (See Fig. 40).

U.S. Census: Free Inhabitants in the Dayton City Township,
in the County of Montgomery, State of Ohio
enumerated on the 30th day of September 1850

Dwelling-houses numbered in the order of visitation	Families numbered in the order of family visitation	The name of every person in this family	Age	Sex	Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each person, male & female, over 15 years of age	Place of Birth Naming State, territory or country
36	2171/2174	Henry Good	46	M	Hotel Keeper	Ohio
37		Polly	44	Fe		PA
38		Harmon	15	M	Clerk	"
39		Amanda	12	Fe		"
40		Emma	7	Fe		"
41		Tom Miller	28	M	Wagon maker	Ohio
42		David Mead	27	M	Blacksmith	PA

SCHEDULE I. Free Inhabitants in *Dayton City* **in the County of** *Montgomery* **State** *Ohio*
of *Pa.* enumerated by me, on the *30th* day of *Sept* 1850. *W. H. ...* Asst. Marshal

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
33	<i>2170</i>	<i>2183</i>	<i>H. E. Wilkinson</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Druggist</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>Eng.</i>				
34			<i>Libby</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>F</i>			<i>P. A.</i>				
35			<i>Charles</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>M</i>			<i>Ohio</i>				
36	<i>2171</i>	<i>2184</i>	<i>Henry Good</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Hotel Keeper</i>						
37			<i>Polly</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>F</i>			<i>Pa</i>				
38			<i>Harmon</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Clerk</i>						
39			<i>Amanda</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>F</i>							
40			<i>Emma</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>F</i>							
41			<i>Tom Miller</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Wagon Maker</i>		<i>Ohio</i>				
42			<i>David Mead</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Blacksmith</i>		<i>Pa</i>				

Figure 40.

Mid 19th century Dayton City, for any curious and perceptive teenager, was an impressionable scene to behold. A boon of prosperity had resulted from completion in 1845, of the largely hand-dug, Miami-Erie Canal system, that traversed the beam of Ohio, while passing through Dayton City, the hub (See Fig. 39). What had been an isolated settlement on the Miami River drainage on the edge of the wilderness, had recently been transformed into a thriving regional center of commerce. Countless businessmen now at less cost, shipped their wares on the canal from as far away as New York, New Orleans, and London. Beginning in the south at Cincinnati (called the Queen City) on the Ohio River and 66 miles from Dayton City, flat-bottomed boats, loaded down with merchandise, were pulled by mules or horses along the towpaths that lined the waterway. The same system from the north brought merchandise starting from Toledo on Lake Erie.¹²

As hotel clerk, Harmon Good helped sign-in the paying customers. He helped porter their luggage to and from their conveyances parked out front on the street. Many of these patrons were dandies* and merchants of trade, fashionably dressed with their tall beaver hats, pocket gold watches with fob, and decorative canes that connoted having prestige. The guests stayed the night to vend their supplies in the morning, everything from barrels of nails, cigars from Cuba, perfume bottles from New York, and stoneware ink bottles from London. 1850-1851 likely helped make young Harmon more "people savvy" and cultured about city-life.

* dandy - A man unduly devoted to style, smartness, and fashion in dress and appearance.

This researcher found evidence that formal education was important in the Good household. Harmon must have received some schooling in Pennsylvania, because, as aforementioned, he went to work as “clerk” with Henry Good, “hotel keeper.” Moreover, Harmon Good’s sister Emma (Good) Lloyd became a school teacher. Harmon’s niece, Alice McLain became a school teacher. “Minnie” (McLain) Hoffer, Harmon’s grand niece, was a librarian.¹³ Also, listed in the Henry Good estate inventory, Schedule A, besides the “Family Bible, Family Pictures,” were “The School Books used by or in the Family Library”¹⁴(See Fig. 41).

The presence of peace officers was another theme that surfaced about Harmon Good’s family. Anna Maria Good’s husband John McLain became Judge McLain, when he was elected Probate Judge for Auglaise County. He served from 1879 to 1888. Harmon’s other sister, Amanda (Good) Scott, married Charles T. Scott, a policeman for St. Marys. Keeping with law men, Jay Salisbury, who is pictured with Hi Good in California (See Fig. 38), was a Sheriff Deputy for Tehama County.

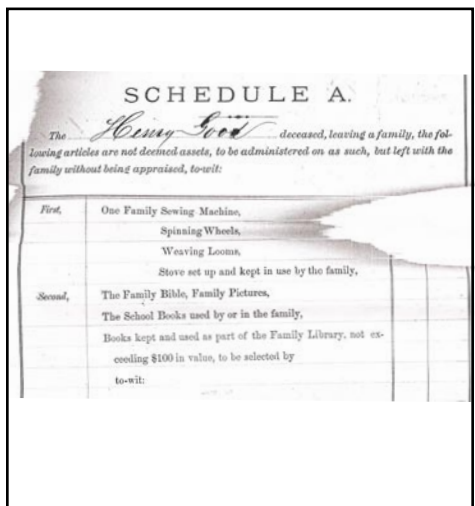


Figure 41. Schedule A of Henry Good Estate, #2128

The Second Move

In about 1852, Henry and Mary Good relocated their three children, one last time, 55 miles northeast of Dayton City to St. Marys, Auglaise County, Ohio, in west Central Ohio (See map Fig.39). The reason for moving is assumed to have been the same as before, to remain close to family members. In 1850, John McLain had begun his profession in St. Marys, “for the first drug store in that section.”¹⁵ Their child Alice McLain, who was born on August 24, 1851, recalled their early move to St. Marys and how they,

“came on a canal packet [small steamer] from Dayton to St. Marys. She was a child when she made the trip but she recalled it vividly and frequently spoke of the experience.”¹⁶

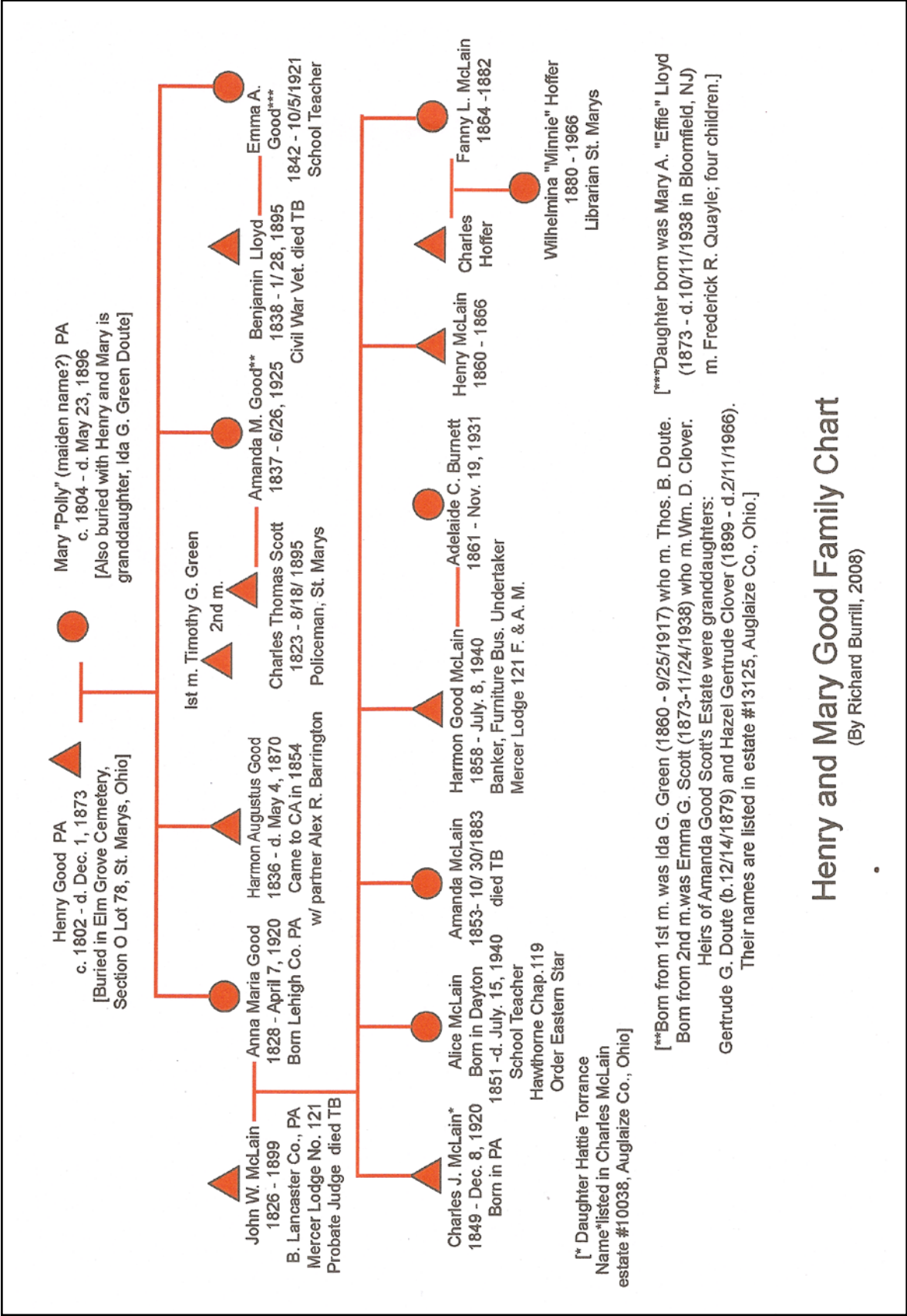
This points to 1852 or 1853 as the year when the McLain children and then the Good family moved to St. Marys.

Family Life in St. Marys

The above time sequence means that Harmon Good’s time spent living in St. Marys may have been as short as one formative year before departing for California, never to return.¹⁷ Harmon was closest with his sister, Anna (Ann) and his brother-in-law, John McLain. This is affirmed because of the fact that in 1858, when Ann and John had their fourth child (their second son), and Harmon had still not returned from California, they christened their new baby boy with the keepsake name, “Harmon Augustus McLain” (Fig. 42). This suggests that he was missed.



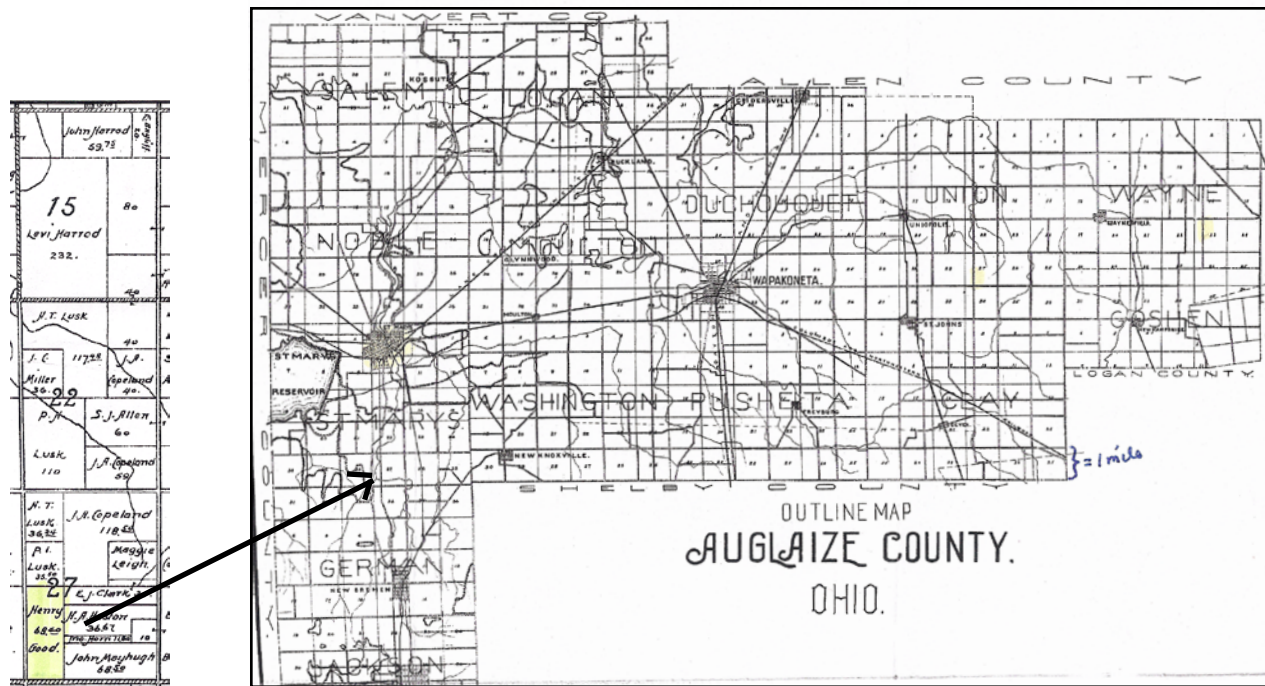
Figure 42. Harmon Good McLain (1858-1940) and Adelaide Burnett McLain (1861-1931). One of Harmon G. McLain’s obituaries, written by Carl Bimel whose father apparently had been Harmon’s first employer , wrote that Harmon Good McLain was “An ever cheerful, peppery individual, a born mimic, a loyal friend and a real fellow has been lost to St. Marys.”



Henry and Mary Good Family Chart

(By Richard Burrill, 2008)

Figure 43.



Figures 44 and 45. Maps: Hi Good's parents' 68.4 acre farm in the SW portion (see Fig. 44 left) of Section 27 of the St. Marys Township. The farm is about three miles due south of the St. Marys' downtown, Auglaize County, Ohio.

Data collected suggest that the Good family in St. Marys remained a low income or middle income family at best. Harmon Good, and his two younger sisters still living at home, would have witnessed their parents' adjustments and frustrations to life in St. Marys. Harmon's happier moments may have been when he was at John McLain and his sister's home, with nephew Charles and his two nieces, Alice and Amanda McLain. Amanda was born in 1853.

In St. Marys, the Good family would eventually become acquainted with the Irish-American family, the Barringtons.* By 1853, it appears that four of the ten children born to William Robinson Barrington (1796-1844) and Jane Robb (1800-1859) were living in St. Mary. The Barrington's family home was in Piqua, about thirty miles south of St. Marys (See map Fig.39). In 1820, the father brought Jane and their one daughter, Catharine, from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to the western frontier of Piqua, Miami County. He pioneered the first printing press to Miami County, Ohio. His newspaper, the *Piqua Gazette*, ran from 1820 until 1839. Its July 27, 1820 edition is still extant!¹⁸

* Or this may be recast, if more findings surface, that the Goods and Barringtons were instead "long time friends." (See curious artifact [See Fig. 50] that has surfaced during research, a primitive art painting of "Mary Good" who displays "8 scalps in her belt.")

Living in St. Marys since 1838 were Catharine (Barrington) Gordon (b.1819) and her husband Robert Gordon. They would be joined by Alex Barrington (b. 1830) in 1849 or earlier. William Barrington (b. 1828) and his wife and young family arrived soon after. Susan (Barrington) Dunan (b. 1825). In October 1853, Susan Barrington (b. 1825) and George Washington J. Dunan (b. 1831) married in Piqua and also moved north to St. Marys. One other sibling purposefully mentioned here, is their younger brother, the ninth born, named Sherman Barrington (b. 1839).¹⁹ In 1859, Sherman would come to California and live next door, but across the Deer Creek drainage from Hi Good on Alex Barrington's, his older brother's "Rio Alto Ranch."²⁰ Jane Robb Barrington, the mother, became a widow in 1844, while still living in Piqua. For the record, both the Barringtons and the Goods today have burial plots in St. Marys' Elm Grove Cemetery (See more about Alex Barrington on pp. 116-117).

Alex Robb Barrington Recruits Harmon Good to Go to California

Alex Robb Barrington (1830-1879) was of adventurous spirit and athletic like Harmon. Alex was six years his senior, and delighted in telling Harmon about his colorful stories as argonaut in the California gold fields for all of his eight months odyssey in 1849-1850.²¹ Alex had found some “color” in California. He came back with enough of a grubstake, in fact, that he purchased some land parcels

in Ohio, putting his older brother William Barrington in charge of them. Alex soon decided he would return to California and urged Harmon to go with him. Henry and Mary Good’s home income was modest. It is unknown whether Alex’s success at finding gold influenced Goods’ parents to encouraged their only son to go with Alex. News, no doubt, had circulated in Pennsylvania, and maybe reached neighboring Ohio, that young family members in the California gold country had sent money back to their parents. For example, Sam Neal (Fig 46) struck it rich in 1849 at Long’s Bar near Oroville, such that his grubstake was \$110,000! Neal sent his parents, Thomas and Nancy Neal in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, \$40,000!²²

The businessmen of St. Marys did offer work to its many German and Irish emigrants in its foundry operation, making cast iron products. Equally so, many of the towns’ people were manufacturers of furniture and paper.²³ It remains unknown whether Henry or Harmon drew any “day wages” from either of these local industries.

Early on, however, Henry and Mary Good saw economic promise in the town’s woolens industry. The family purchased a 68.4 acre farm in Section 27 of the St. Marys Township, located about three miles south of the St. Marys downtown (see opposite, maps Figures 44 and 45).²⁴ Based on copies of the Henry Good estate #2128 documents secured (Fig. 47), the Goods kept at least “one cow, and they had twelve sheep.”²⁵ Did Hi Good learn from his father how to skillfully shear the fleece from a sheep before he left for California?

Besides the livestock, also listed were: “one family sewing machine, spinning wheels and weaving looms.” Other related items in the possession of the family were “wool shorn from them . . . flax, thread and cloth manufactured therefrom.”²⁶ These listed items suggest that the Good family’s income, in part, was derived from cottage industries involving weaving and sewing.

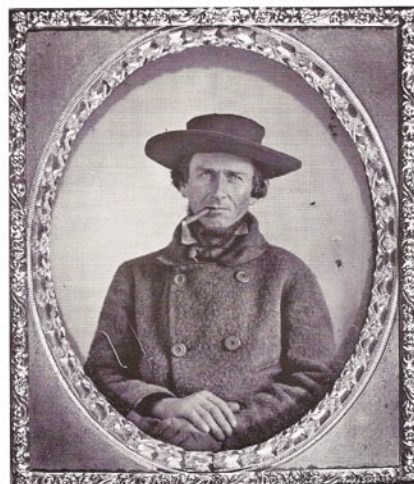


Figure 46. Sam Neal (1816-1859).

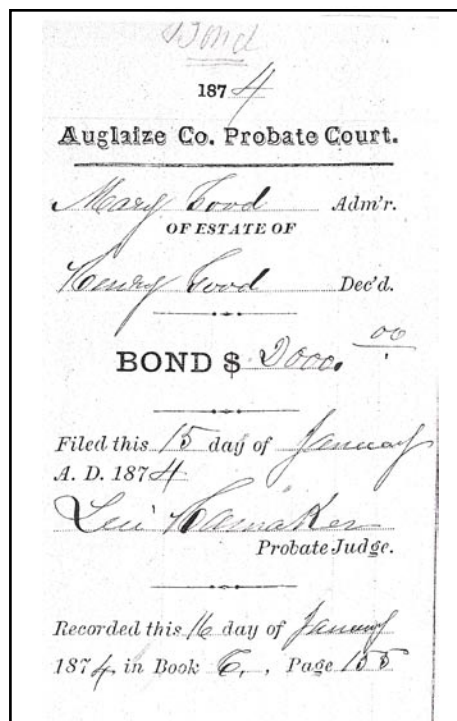


Figure 47. Henry Good Estate #2128 front page, on file at Auglaize County Probate Court Office, Wapakoneta, Ohio.

In 1853, Harmon Good was an aspiring seventeen year old. What he most needed was a place to stand alone and find himself. Upon arriving in St. Marys, Harmon Good would have visited Fort Recovery on the SW side of the town and near the Indiana border in Mercer County. Forty-seven years prior (1816), Indiana Territory had been “elevated” to statehood. Fort Recovery (Fig. 48) was the site of U.S. General Arthur St. Clair’s defeat by Indians in 1791 and of General Anthony Wayne’s “recovery” of the area in 1793.²⁷ Harmon Good learned that this fort and the other forts in the greater area were already antiquated. Buckskin fringed frontiersmen had Won the West there, in west central Ohio, in 1831. This was five years before his birth. In 1831, the Anglo-Americans had made the Indians “bury



Figure 48. Fort Recovery. In 1791, she was Ohio’s western frontier on the edge of the Indiana Territory.

the hatchet.”²⁸ Ohio historian Leonard Hill (1970) described how the tribes agreed in formal ceremonies to relinquish their hunting grounds for reservations in Kansas Territory. A mass migration began September 19, 1832. It is told how the Indians leveled the graves of their fathers, performed their tribal dances, then started west. Many of the remaining Piquas hesitated and made one camp at a former village site at Upper Piqua. But they left this village around September 22, 1832.²⁹ Hill (1970) tells how the “broken” Indians traveled in groups that were strung out for as much as 85 miles.³⁰ This lesser known “Trail of Tears” in U.S. history preceded by six years, the Cherokee’s “Trail of Tears” of 1838.

Some of the pioneer patriots who were living in west central Ohio, no doubt would recall their fighting days against the displaced indigenous peoples. Harmon Good might have absorbed the names and exploits of some of the Native warriors who had lived or had visited St. Marys: Tecumseh, Blue Jacket, Little Turtle, Cornstalk, Logan, Pontiac, The Prophet, Brighthorn and others.³¹

The greater St. Marys area also afforded Harmon Good the opportunity to learn what the Indians looked like, how to tell tribes apart by their appearances and regalia special to each tribe, about their war dances, and invariably some of their Chinook language and sign language as well. Harmon Good was in a perfect place to be exposed to details involving the former war-making strategies of the Miamis, Piquas, Senecas, Wyandots, and Ottawas. These were the tribes who had lived in Hi Good’s backyard of Mercer, Auglaize, and Allen counties.³²

Several of these tribes had joined the confederation with the great Chief Tecumseh of the Shawnees.³³ One war strategy was the Natives’ war whoop. And how effectively it had been used by the warriors! The cry to begin a fight was one syllable, “Ne’er!” [short for “Never!”]. It was used to commence a battle. The cry immobilizes an opponents’ movements, makes their faces turn ashen, their hair to stand on end!



The spirit and tragedy of the Native Indian Americans of greater Ohio, is well conveyed in these fighting words by the great leader Tecumseh of the Shawnees. He asked:

“Where today are the Pequot? Where are the Narragansett, the Mohican, the Pokanoket, and many other once powerful tribes of our people? They have vanished before the avarice and the oppression of the White Man, as snow before a summer’s sun. Will we let ourselves be destroyed in our turn without a struggle, give up our homes, our country bequeathed to us by the Great Spirit, the graves of our dead and everything that is dear and sacred to us? I know you will cry with me, “Never! Never!”³⁴

—TECUMSEH (c. 1768 - 1813)

Figure 49. Tecumseh (c. 1768 - 1813) His Shawnee nation had been displaced from New England and forced west to the Ohio valley.

So, with this background history of Harmon Good's formative years, it is not of any real surprise to learn about Hi Good in California that, once he began his 1857 to 1865 run as relentless Indian hunter/Indian adversary on behalf of the frightened settlers, that he employed the Ohio warriors' war whoop! Dan Delaney's (1872) wrote about Hi Good in battle in '58 that, "His yell was as familiar to the Indians as their own war whoop, and whenever heard, struck terror to the heart."³⁵

With the frontier closed in Ohio, and with Harmon Good striving to find new frontiers upon which a man could create his own myth and carve out his own destiny, the lure to journey to the California gold fields with his adventurous partner, Alex Robb Barrington, seemed to be the thing to do!

The Problem: It remains undetermined whether this is the same Mary Good who was Hi Good's mother. Have we here a case of, "Like mother, like son"? A preliminary review of J. A. Rayner's (1916) *First Century of Piqua, Ohio* does not mention any incident in 1832.³⁶

Description: The decorative scroll in the upper center portion of the painting says:

MARY GOOD and OLD JOHN
WITH WHAT SHE KILLED 8 INDIANS
S. PIQUA, OHIO, OCTOBER 7, 1832

Size: 14 1/2" x 10 1/2." The painting was recessed in a pine frame, dressed up with gadroon beading.

The portrait is a pioneer woman who wears typical early 19th century clothing, cap/scarf, and lampier lace. She holds out to her right, her Pennsylvania or Kentucky Rifle, a flint lock, muzzle-loader. A black powder pouch, with waist strap, hangs from her belt.

Provenance: The picture with story is: Bill Fox (1962, October 7). "Piqua Mystery: 8 Indian Scalps In Mary's Belt?" *The Dayton Daily News*, pp. 1, 22. News writer Bill Fox reported that the original painting was apparently last witnessed in 1962, in an antique shop in Mt. Carmel, Connecticut. The wife of Paul V. Hostetler told Fox that:

"We bought the painting at an auction last March [1962].
It was part of the Bahr collection in Ridgefield, Conn.
But there were no papers with it."

Fox also interviewed Norton Lindenberger who told him that "after an exhaustive search in the dusty court house archives she "could not find "any marriage record, estate or will" for one named "Good" or "Goode." She searched in Miami and Shelby Counties [not in Auglaize County].

Compelling are these facts: (1) The life dates for Mary Good (Hi Good's mother) makes her a possible candidate [born ca. 1804 - died May 23, 1896] (2) The Good family in St. Marys had strong connections with the Barringtons from Piqua; (3) It has been established that William Robinson Barrington, the father, first arrived in Piqua in 1820. He died in Piqua in 1844; and (4) There is a gap for Mary Good's whereabouts during the span of years, 1829 to 1835. While family documents found so far made no mention of "their" Mary Good in Ohio before 1850, it has been established that in 1828, Mary Good was in Lehigh County, PA, where she had her first child. Then there is the gap. In 1836 she reappeared, again in Pennsylvania, where she gave birth to her second child, Harmon Good.



MARY GOOD SUBJECT OF PRIMITIVE ART
Gun Identified As Old John

PIQUA MYSTERY

**8 Indian Scalps
In Mary's Belt?**

Figure 50. "Mary Good" art image with news story heading, as published by Bill Fox on Oct. 7, 1962 in *The Dayton Daily News*, p. 1.

I I. Hi Good and Alexander Barrington Arrive in California

S ometime in 1854, Hi Good and Alex Barrington left for California. Good was eighteen years old and Alex twenty-five.

It is most probable that the pair took the sea route from Ohio to California for two reasons. Barrington probably relied on his prior experience by sea, and so may have led Hi Good to Baltimore, which had been Barrington's gateway port when he departed for California in 1849. In '49, Barrington sailed around the Horn aboard the *Barque Paoli*, a small trading vessel.¹

The second reason that the sea route was their most probable route taken is Alex Barrington's earliest letter, which infers that "Sacramento City" was their "starting point" in California (rather than referencing Hangtown or Susanville, for example). Barrington's February 29, 1856 letter (see Document #1 on pages 235-236 of this report) written from Deer Creek, California, to his brother William Barrington in St. Marys, Ohio, recalled their start in northern California, that: "We had just arrived in Shasta after 300 or 400 miles of a hunting and prospecting tramp through Coast Range mountains from Sac. City to Shasta."² Moreover, in '54, the California Steam Navigation Company (CSNC) began their operations. Travelers arriving by sea to San Francisco, could then take a second steamer to Sacramento.³ The new CSNC provided steamers that crossed the Bay and made stops at Petaluma, Martinez, and Antioch. Then the steamers headed up the Sacramento River, stopped at Rio Vista, and on to Sacramento.

Alex Barrington in Ohio would have surely sold Hi Good on steamers. Barrington, no doubt, told Good about his 1850 "return cruise" adventures aboard the steamer *Antelope* from Sacramento all the way to Panama City (See opposite side bar). She was a 202.6 foot, side-wheeler type vessel (see Figures 51 & 52). The *Antelope*, in history, was christened the "Gold Boat" and the "Treasure Ship"

Why was the *Antelope* called the "Gold Boat"? It was because of the millions of dollars she successfully transported of gold dust and bullion for Wells Fargo's Express from 1850 to 1880, without ever losing a single golden flake to theft, robbers or accident." The *Antelope* was also a connecting link with Sonoma, via Petaluma Creek. Her fame as a gold ship grew under the steady seamanship of captains David Van Pelt, E.A. Poole, Albert Foster and Enos Fouratt.⁴ Early steamer historian Jerry MacMullen added, in his 1944 seminal work, *Paddle-Wheel Days in California*, that:

"The trim *Antelope*, a former Long Island sound excursion steamer (built 1847) answered the call of the Gold Rush and came west to take her place as a speedy favorite on the Sacramento, when she maintained a tight schedule with regularity as late as 1880 (see below chronology)⁵

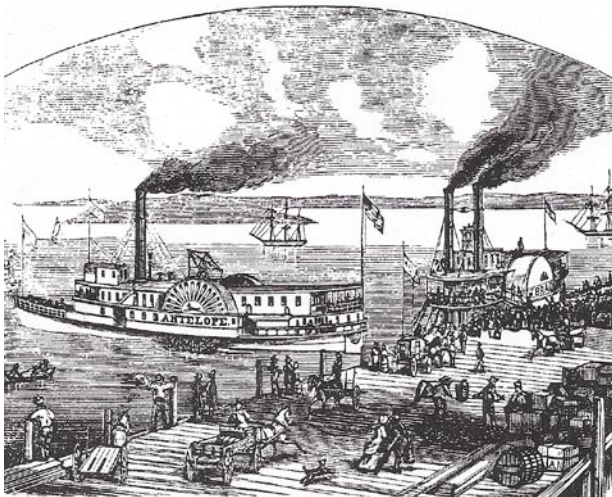


Figure 51. The steamer *Antelope* pulling away from the wharf in San Francisco.

November 5 - December 10, 1850 Journal Entries of Alexander Robb Barrington During his Return from Sacramento to Panama on board the *Antelope* steamer [Jane Grabhorn, ed., 1934 *Gold Rush Miscellany*. San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, pp. 1934:8-9.]:

Nov. 5 - Took passage for San Francisco.

Nov. 6th "Arrived in morning and took lodgings at Illinois House opposite Sacramento House. Runners for sailors. Bot ticket to Panama on Steamer *Antelope* Forward cabin fare \$125. Bot cap and shirt.

Nov. 7 - Steamer *Tennessee*. Mailed arrived in morning. Cholera on the decrease. Became acquainted with Mr. J. R. Stedman of Lucas County, Ohio, formerly Rep. from our district. The man who called Bob Gordon in the night. Mr. Johnson of Dayton.

Nov. 8 - Steamer "*Isthmus*" arrived in morning. Spy-glass hill. Went to St. Francis Hotel to attend funeral.

Nov. 9 - Seeing the sights.

Nov. 10 - Sunday -On Clark's Point --walk thro. city --long wharf.

Nov. 12 Embarked for Panama in American steamer *Antelope*.

"First trip down. Sailed at three o'clock p. m. Sea rough —about half sick."

Nov. 15 Calm & beautiful weather. Gradually getting warm. Lat. 31-14. Long.113.

Nov. 16 -Steamer on fire! Confusion. Queer feeling one has in such a predicament. . . . Some scared into fidgets!!! Stedman and the man who wondered the vessel didn't fire. Sea smooth; sky clear.

Nov. 23 Slept on deck last night. . . . Arrived in Acapulco in afternoon.

Nov. 26 Weighted anchor at 12 m. and farewell to Mexico.

Dec. 4 Arrived in Port Panama. Put up at Mansion House.

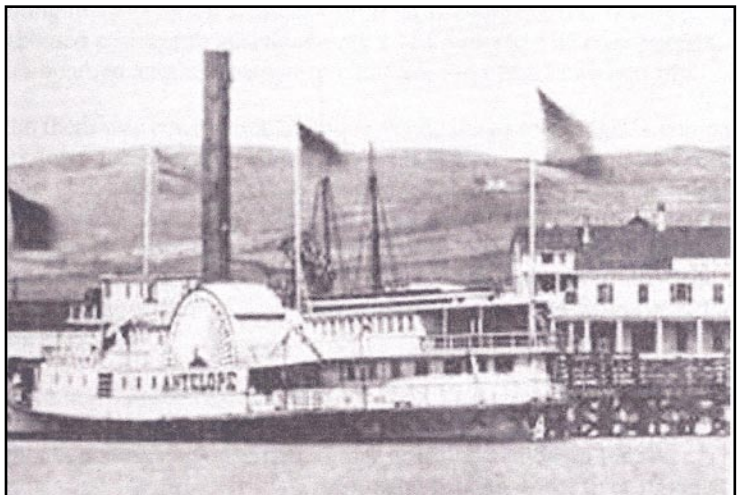
[Alex Barrington then crossed the Isthmus; tramped from Cruces to Chagres.]

Dec. 10 1850 *Philadelphia* sailed for NY via Kingston, Jamaica. Thief lashed, great trial! for stealing two thousand apples.

Dec. 11 - Bot parrot, paid \$8.00. Parrot is eight months of age.

Alex Barrington

Figure 52. The steamer *Antelope* also called the "Gold Boat" circa 1860. Stops at Martinez, Contra Costa County, en route to Sacramento City.



Significant Events of Steam Boat History, 1853 -1865

1853-1854 - Grimes (1983:48) wrote that "by 1853-1854 there were 19 different steamships supplying the upper Sacramento River communities. The *Orient*, *Plumas*, *Cleopatra*, *Gazelle*, *Colusa*, and *Flora* were a few of the picturesque riverboats during that romantic period."

1854 - The California Steam Navigation Company formed and operated out of San Francisco.

1854 May 6 - Capt. Gilman navigated his steam boat with passengers aboard the *S.S. Belle* to Tehama from Red Bluff and returned. (McNamar 1992:209); George Shaw (1964:19) reported that "the steamer Belle made the trip to the mouth of Clear Creek." [And] that "The *Belle* made the trip up to Reading's Ranch and beyond several times during 1854 and 1855" (Shaw 1964:20).

1860's - "Every second afternoon at four o'clock, the *Antelope*, *Chrysopolis*, and *Yosemite* would leave, each vessel laying over at Sacramento and coming down the next night." (Jerry MacMullen 1944:13.)

1860 April 15 - It fell to the *Antelope* to carry to San Francisco the first mail brought in as far as Sacramento, by the Pony Express. On April 13 - Pony Express rider Bean Hamilton, late in the afternoon, carried the first westbound mail pouch down the Sierras back to Sacramento. Hamilton, his horse with *mochila* or saddlebags, all boarded the steamer *Antelope*. She fired up her boilers and rapidly steamed the remaining 125 miles to San Francisco arriving, at the wharf before midnight. Hordes of cheering (and very intoxicated) citizens formed a parade of triumph. The band played "See the Conquering Hero Comes." Bean Hamilton, riding his Pony Express mount, proudly brought up the rear!

1861. Dec. 31 - *Chrysopolis*, 245-foot sidewheeler, built (1860) in San Francisco for \$200,000, considered the classiest boat on the river. She could carry 1,000 passengers in comfort! On Sacramento downstream to San Francisco run on 12/31/1861, she set the new record of 5 hours and 19 minutes. A record which still stands. Her speed was 22.7 mph or 19.8 knots, upset the popular belief that paddle-wheel vessels are necessarily slow.

1862 - California Steam Navigation Company was operating a fleet of eight vessels—*Orient*, *Cleopatra*, *Shasta*, and five others—on the run to Sacramento, with sailings from the Pacific Street wharf at 4 o'clock each afternoon. At Sacramento these vessels connected with smaller craft, such as the *Gem*, and *Victor* that continued up the river to the head of navigation at Red Bluff (Lewis 1966:120-121).

1865 Oct. 12 - *Yosemite* steamer, upon pulling away from Rio Vista, her boilers exploded in two explosions, killing some 150 Tang Chinese! (Lisa See 1995:21)

Alex Barrington's 1856 letter failed to provide any details about their 300 or 400 miles of tramping besides to say that they partook of "hunting and prospecting." No mining claims were recorded by them that are known. Their extended survey of northern California was to find the most promising place to settle. Alex wrote:

I have neither time nor space, (as the printers say) to give you anything of a description of the country we passed through, our hunting, sports, hard times &c, but you may depend we seen a little of all—I think I could find location for a ranch in some of the small valleys of these mountains, where I would be content to spend my days, were it not quite so far from civilization; the soil will raise anything from white beans to the very best corn; but to bring corn and vegetables it would be necessary to irrigate, which is very easily done from the thousand of mountain streams, running the whole season, from the snow on the mountains.⁶

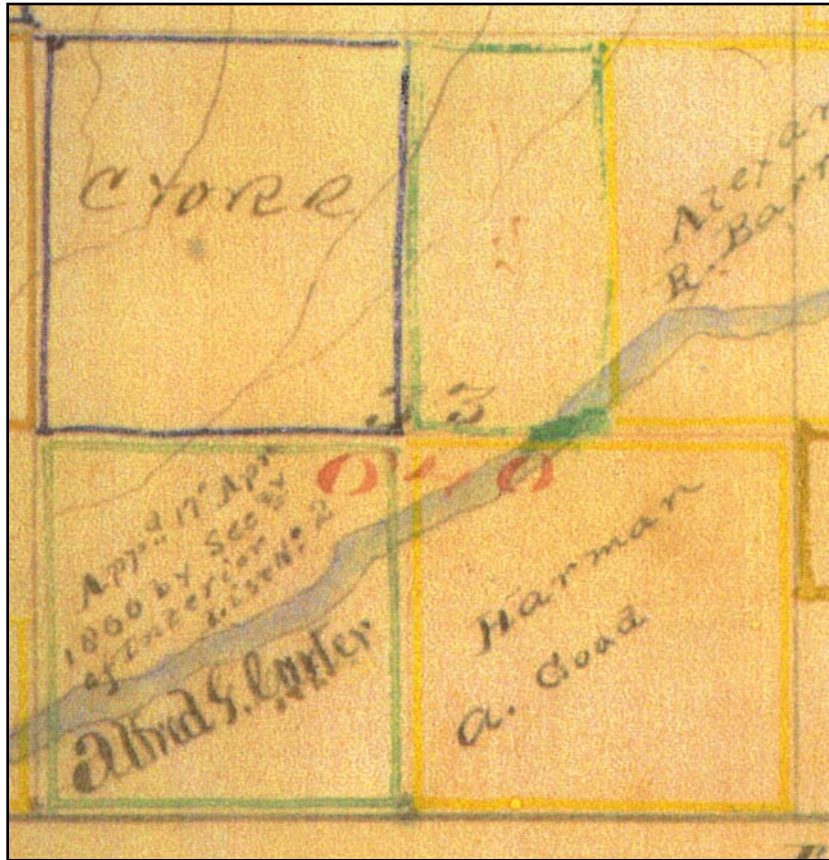
The place they decided upon that possessed nature's simplicity and grandeur most suitable to their tastes was along Lower Deer Creek (today's Vina) in Tehama County. Deer Creek ran "year round" with water from the "snow on the mountains."

Upon arriving, Alex Barrington was old enough to legally apply for property based on the Pre-emption Act that had been passed by Congress in 1853. The Act stipulated that "squatters" who are "US Citizens and at least 21 years of age may buy public land at \$1.25 per acre for not more than 160 acres, such as existed in the area, and to build a home." The closest federal government, General Land Office was located south in Marysville, about 55 miles distant. The Act also stipulated that "After one year of residence a settler could file a homestead application for said 160 acres and receive title and possession."



Figure 53. Lower Deer Creek. Photo look northwesterly and taken in the approximate locations of Alexander Barrington's (north bank) and Hi Good's 160 acre land parcels (foreground) in Section 33 of the Lassen Township 25N, R1W. Photo by author on June 12, 2005.

The restored 1859 map (Fig. 54 below) at the Tehama County's Assessor's Office shows "Harmon A. Good" and "Alexander R. Barrington" each with their own 160 acres (quarter) section on Lower Deer Creek and across the creek from one another. Hi Good's Proof of Claim was filed in the Marysville office on February 4, 1857. [Note: More Seagraves biography may be read in this report on page 101 and 116-117.]



Alexander
R. Barrington

Figure 54. 1859 Map of Section 33 of Tehama County's Lassen Township 25N, R1W. This is part of the only map found that bears Harmon A. Good's name. Good's 160 acres was the SE ¼ of Section 33. The entire Township 25N map may be seen on page 168, Fig. 103.

Half of Alexander R. Barrington's name is discernible (above upper right). Barrington had the NE 1/8 of Section 33 and the NW 1/8 Section 34 (not shown). The date when Barrington applied for his 160 acres remains unknown but probably was secured in about 1855. The map shows Barrington's property on the north side of Deer Creek and across from Good's SE ¼ section of Section 33. In 1865, Alex Barrington and his Mexican wife accepted "a little Indian girl" given them by Hi Good probably as a result of the Three Knolls battle (Anderson 1909:80-81 and Moak 1923:23-24).

Hi Good, as well as his neighbor, Alfred G. Carter (lower left) maintained gardens of corn and other vegetables. Good's garden produce helped sustain he and his sheep camp crew during about 1867-1870. This sheep camp location is the site study area, CA-TEH-2105H, due north of Deer Creek about 1 ¼ miles distant.

III. Local Unrest in 1857 Defined Hi Good's Destiny

In early '57, Harmon Good reached the legal age of 21, and so homesteading became Good's major goal. On February 4, '57, Good filed his Proof of Claim in Marysville for his quarter section (160 acres) along the south bank of Deer Creek, where his neighbors, the Carter brothers, each resided with their families on their ranches on the west side of Good's new property (See Fig. 54 map opposite). The Carter families included: Alfred "George" Carter, and his wife "Ellen"; and Lemuel Carter Sr. and his wife Isabella. However, some of the same troubles that the Carter brothers experienced also engaged Hi Good. First, Lemuel's wife, Isabella, died on June 9, 1858, from injuries she had sustained in the Steamer *Pike* disaster on April 7, 1858. Next, in December 1860, word arrived that Lemuel's son (George's nephew) named Lemuel M. Carter Junior was feared killed by "Indians" in the Humboldt sink's Nevada territory ("Difficulty with Indians," [1857, April 29] *Red Bluff Beacon*, p. 2/3). Lemuel Jr. had been mining there. He was apparently a single father at the time. The son's brood of five children (Lemuel's grand kids) were already living with their grandpa (See 1860 Census below on page 122). The Carter brothers' woes with the local Indians continues below.

Land claimant Harmon Good in '57 was "proving up" on his property. Congress's Pre-emption Act of 1853, stipulated one full year of residence. "Claimants" had to also build one property structure. Then the land title to their maximum 160 acres became the claimant's "free and clear." Hence, Harmon was building his ranch house during '57. He presumably "engaged" local Dan Sill's rancheria Indian laborers to help dig his irrigation ditches for Good's rich soil terraces, and to assist in the initial planting of his truck garden, known to have had corn and likely white beans, with other vegetables. Rural homesteader gardens supplemented the game that the settlers hunted after and the seasonal King Chinook salmon which they landed by gigging them from the Deer Creek shoreline with fishing gaff (See photo Fig. 315 on page 434, of the modified fishing gaff found at the site).

Indian problems escalated in 1857, that threatened to usurp Good's homesteading plans and very livelihood. By '57, the first wave of Native American refugees who left the ailing reservations took sanctuary in the eastern foothill country of Tehama County. Displacement stemmed from three causes: (1) lack of food which meant possible starvation for their Indian and/or blended families, (2) fear for their safety from white rowdies who coveted the Indians' reservation lands, and (3) the aggravated problem of Indian women and their children being kidnapped. Pathetically, the stealing of Indian children was encouraged and became a flourishing trade by the "actual practice" of Section 3 of the notorious and deceptively named 1850 Act for the Government and Protection of Indians. This Act remained on the books until repealed by the California Legislature on 1863 (Magliari 2004:353, 382). Sherburne Cook (1943:314-315) estimated that "between three and four thousand children . . . fell victim to kidnappers supplying the Indian labor market."

These many outraged, displaced, and now desperate Native Americans, became known as the "Mill Creeks." The name is only a locational name, for the renegades' hideaways were largely along the long and remote Mill Creek drainage. They encroached on Ishi's Yahi (Kom'-bo) homeland. Since all Indians "looked the same" to the white man, the Yahi regrettably were confused and deemed guilty by association.

The so-called Mill Creeks' new and rugged sanctuary afforded protection for recovery and recuperation after staging and then returning from raids upon the settlers down in the Sacramento Valley. The long mountain ridge lines pointed like extended fingers to the settlers' doorsteps. The plateau "Ishi country" also contained a network of pre-contact, established Yahi foot trails that the Mill Creeks effectively utilized.

Presumably Hi Good's earliest encounter with Mill Creeks was recalled by Dan Delaney (1872) who wrote:

"In 1857 there existed a band of savage Indians in the neighborhood of Good's ranch in Tehama county, who were making frequent raids upon the section. Finding a number of them one day engaged in stealing his corn and having no weapons, he charged upon them with stones and put them to flight."

Like anyone's emotional state when robbed, Hi Good felt violated, threatened. He grew angry. Vexed, Good's attitude towards the displaced hardened. Upon finding himself in 1857 on California's "frontier," presumably some of the impressionable, former St. Marys, Ohio, "frontier" war stories and war fighting strategies resurfaced.

Also in 1857, his neighbors, the Carter brothers, got into apparently their first serious fight with local Indian laborers who neighbor Robert Anderson (1909:86) recalled, had been "encamped on the Carter place on Deer Creek. They were likely from Dan Sill's rancheria. Moreover, a drunkard with last name "Bessey," who was visiting just down the road, also greatly agitated the local Indians.

About the Carter Brothers -- Indian adversary Robert A. Anderson (1909:86) wrote in his last chapter memoir called *Fighting the Mill Creek Indians* that:

"A party of the Indians were encamped at the Carters' Place on Deer Creek, being employed as workmen by the Carter brothers. Some among them killed a cow brute belonging to the white men. The Carters got a small party together and followed the Indians up to a foothill camp, and attacked them without giving the latter a chance to explain their action, or make good the loss of the slaughtered animal. Several Indians and one white man were killed, and the fires of hatred kindled in the heart of the savage were such as could be quenched only in the one way.

About drunkard "Bessie" --According to the newspaper account ("Difficulty with Indians," [1857, April 29] *Red Bluff Beacon*, p. 2/3), it was reported that an intoxicated Mr. Bessey went to a rancheria on Bill Mayhew's ranch on Sunday evening. Bessie got in difficulty with the Indians and was beaten. It was also reported that Bessey had been the aggressor. A second newspaper one week later announced that Bessey died from the beating, and that two Indians were arrested for his murder! (Bleyhl [1979:148] was "Dead" [1857, May 6] *Red Bluff Beacon*, p. 2/2).

Again, presumably [Anderson provided no name], the Carter brothers made Hi Good part of their posse. After all, what are neighbors for? It is a fact that the continuing raids by the marauding Mill Creeks turned eastern Tehama County into a war zone. The white retaliatory campaigns were initially led by captains Spaulding and Breckenridge. By '62, the lead captains, sometimes on separate forays became exclusively Good or Anderson.

The summary assessment from *Genocide and Vendetta* by Beard and Carranco (1981:39), in their Chapter 3 "The Early History Before 1856," reads:

"All Indians were regarded as predatory animals, to be treated as such. It is therefore not surprising that physical violence was the rule rather than the exception. The native's life was worthless, for no American could be brought to trial for killing an Indian He had no civil or legal rights whatsoever. Finally, since the quickest and easiest way to get rid of his troublesome presence was to kill him off, this procedure was adopted as standard for some years. Thus was carried on the policy which had wiped out en masse tribe after tribe across the country."

Gradually Harmon Good transformed from carefree, adventurous youth to resilient and determined Indian adversary. Good's naïveté and vulnerability faded. He vowed to never again allow himself to be caught without a weapon to defend himself and his ranch, with vital garden plots. And serving as constant reminders before him, were those sad faces of Lemuel Carter's five grandchildren. Their daddy, Lemuel Carter Junior, now gone, had been "killed by Indians"!

By about 1860, Hi Good was a hellion to the Indians and a hero to the settlers. Butte County journalist/historian George Mansfield (1918:210) wrote: "Hi Good, in particular, was held in the most bitter hatred among the Indians."

Bessie/Mayhew Connection - Bessey's father-in-law was Bill Mayhew, who was also the local Mayhew Stage Stop owner. Bill Mayhew had married a widow, Mrs. Besse, in the fall of 1853. In 1854, Bill had gone to Santa Clara and "rescued" the children from his new wife's former marriage, and brought them by steamer up the Sacramento River to the mouth of Deer Creek. Peter Lassen's adobe was then on Henry Gerke's newly acquired property on the south side of Deer Creek, while Bill Mayhew's adobe was on the north bank of Deer Creek.*

* The geography is compelling that Bill Mayhew took possession of the former Peter Lassen adobe, which Col. Warren Woodson photographed and later described (See Fig. 59 below on page 105), while Mayhew's Crossings stage stop was downstream "not far" and also on the north bank (See Fig. 60 of Preston Moore map).

It is also recalled that a large number of Indians were assembled to meet the new arrivals. This frightened the children very much. Bill Mayhew's son, Charles, tried to be brave. But his sisters, all the same, felt quite certain that they were going to be killed! At that time the Indians' rancheria (village) was on the banks of the Sacramento River, and more than two hundred of them were there (Tehama County Biographies 2005).

Likely 1st 1857 campaign - Regarding the winter of 1857, Anderson (1909:4) added that because the Indians raids became numerous and caused much uneasiness among the settlers, he and Hi Good were part of a party of fifteen men organized by Jack Spaulding. As early as '57, Anderson described that Good's "acquaintance with the hills was extensive"* and so Good "... was elected Lieutenant, while Spaulding acted as Captain." This party got to what was J. G. Bruff's Camp along Lassen's Emigrants' Trail and "... signs of the Indians were numerous." First, in a nondescript "... steep, sheltered ravine," they endured rifle shots (Anderson 1909:5). Anderson (1909:6) wrote: "The next morning we started for the valley, the Indians hanging on our flanks and rear, clear to the edge of the hills." Anderson (1909:7) concluded: "We were gone on this expedition four days"

* Anderson's observation that Good's "acquaintance with the hills was extensive," smacks that it is probably truer than fiction as author and educator, Bert Sauber (1897) wrote about Hi Good that Good did take a "... long tramp "... into the hills" to an unnamed destination. This researcher believes that Hi Good probably took several tramps during 1855-1857 (when between 18 - 21 years of age) and that the destination was likely visits with teamster and Plumas County man, Obe Field (1810-1887). Early passersby on the old Lassen Emigrants' Trail recalled routinely seeing Obe Field at his "camp" up on the Lassen Trail (See below Obe Field, pages 145-151).

Likely 2nd 1857 campaign - Anderson (1909:7-8) wrote that Hi Good with three others undertook one more hunt after hostile Indians in '57. This was because "... a neighbor's barn was visited and four very valuable mules spirited away." No one was killed in the hunt. The only other details given were that they "... picked up the Indians' trail, and on the second day out, located their camp." The Indians were inside "... snuggled away near the bed of Dry Creek." The party attacked and moved the Indians from out of their cave. "We got no Indians but recaptured considerable stolen plunder." They also purportedly found evidence that these Indians had stolen and "... had killed the mules."

For this chase, Anderson had enlisted a young man named "Jones" and a second man named "George Carter."*

* Anderson vague description of the latter suggests that this was not Alfred G. Carter, Good's immediate neighbor. Rather he was likely the George Carter, age 28, who hailed from Missouri, according to the 1860 census (Lassen Township) of Tehama County.

"How the Captive Indian Girl, Mary "Nannie" Hoag,
Escaped from Drowning."

One last "1857" Tehama County story that remains symbolic for why the First Californians grew embittered toward the new arrivals, is the true story of the California Indian girl whose American name became Mary "Nannie" Hoag (See Fig. 55, opposite). This account and respective photograph are courtesy of Donald F. Houghton (born 1926) of St. Helena, California. Donald's great uncle and great aunt were George W. Hoag* and Amanda Josephine (Johnson) Hoag of Red Bluff (Lingenfelter Archives 1996). Mary "Nannie" Hoag was Donald's nanny. She was possibly Yahi/Yana, based on the location where she was captured, in the vicinity of Inskip Hill (on the north side of today's Hwy 36, across from the Paynes's Creek community turn-off, some twenty miles east of Red Bluff). Here is her story:

circa 1857 - Following a pitched battle with Indians at Inskip Hill, a packer, whose identity was never determined, came upon an Indian boy and a younger Indian girl. Seeing the white man, they began to run off. The packer succeeded in lassoing the girl, however, while the boy escaped. The fate of the male youth remains a mystery. Conceivably they may have been members of Ishi's tribe. To date, this has never been resolved.

The packer tied the girl onto the back of his pack mule. He traveled with her to Red Bluff. At the livery stable and blacksmith shop, he found the owner, George W. Hoag (1820-1886). The packer inquired as to whether Mister Hoag would take the unnamed Indian girl as his house domestic.

"My great-uncle's reply," related Donald F. Houghton (personal letter to this writer, dated August 8, 2000) was "No, I don't think so."

"In that case," returned the packer, "I guess I'll just throw the little tot in the river."

"No! You can't do that!" Hoag protested. "I'll ask my wife if she will take her in" (which Amanda (Johnson) Hoag did).

Donald Houghton: "Mary was with our family in Corning, Tehama County, until she died in 1932. She raised my grandmother, my mother, and me. I was just under six years old when she died ("LAST INSKIP INDIAN DIES" [1932, July 26] *The Sacramento Bee*). But I remember her vividly and we all loved her very much."

"My great grandparents thought she was about 12 or 13 years old when they got her. She was like a frightened wild animal and they had to keep her locked in a closet for a couple of weeks until she trusted them. Can you imagine!

"In time, she became our family's personal maid. My relatives named her 'Mary' and she was known as Mary Hoag. But we always knew her as Nannie. In fact, my mother would become very annoyed if anyone referred to her as a 'squaw.' She was family!"

*1860 July George W. Hoag and his partner drove their flock of sheep northward to Red Bluff. Hoag settled with his portion of the sheep in Riceville (east side of Corning), "which was then all wild land without a house in sights" (Briggs 1996:10). Hoag had as many as 8,000 head.

In 1865, George Hoag in partnership with Gorham Gates Kimball, and John W. Burgess (with Indian shepherds "Dick" and "Buck"), dogs "Jim" and "Flora" and their six riding horses, together, were the first to successfully drive a band of sheep from the vicinity of Red Bluff to Boise City, Idaho Territory, for sales to the miners in the greater area. The trip confirmed that profits could be realized (Wentworth 1954:50).



Figure 55. Mary "Nannie" Hoag, with Donald Houghton, age 2, and "Pete," an English bull terrier. Photo taken in Corning, Tehama County, California, on May 19th, 1928. Reprinted courtesy of Donald F. Houghton.

This concludes the Historical Background IV: "Biography of Harmon Augustus Good." Due to space constraints, the balance of the biography (See proposed outline below) may be placed in a separate publication, hopefully to be released in the near future.

PART II	IV Indian Fighter Years 1857-1865
	V Pack Train to Idaho (1866)
	VI Stage Robbers Caught (1866)
	VII Sheep Operator (1866-1870)
	VIII "Wild" Indians Ambushed & the Five Bows (March 1870)
	IX The Murders of Hi Good and Indian Ned (May 1870)

Notes

I. "Early Life in Pennsylvania and Ohio"

1 "Harmon A. Good," as his proper name, is based on both the earliest census of 1850, Dayton City, Montgomery County, Ohio, as well as the original letters and/or documents still extant that he penned such himself when living in California. It is a fact that several early newspapers spelled his name "Hiram Good." This, no doubt, stemmed from reporters hearing his friends calling him "Hi Good." A case in point is the comprehensive retelling of the August 14, 1865 battle (popularly called today "The Three Knolls" battle) to wit, Daniel Klauberg (1865, August 26) "A Trip in the Mountains and Fight with the Indians." *The Union Record*.

2 Read Richard Burrill 2008. "Likely Origin and Demise of Indian Ned." *Diggin's*, Vol. 5 1, No. 4. Oroville, California: Butte County Historical Society, pp. 43-57. Hi Good was executed "by Indians" (so report many of the earliest accounts) on May 4, 1870.

3 School principal/ teacher and writer, Herbert "Bert" H. Sauber (1870 -1940), wrote fiction/non-fiction books (1899) *Adventures of a Tenderfoot* and articles (1897 *Overland Monthly*, Vol. 30, pp. 122-127 [reprinted in T. Kroeber and Heizer (1979:122-127) about Hi Good's exploits.

Bert Sauber was born on July 20, 1870, less than three months "after" Hi Good was killed. Sauber never "rode in the gloomy, wet night" with Hi Good, as he or the *Overland Monthly's* editor would have the reader believe. But kernels of truth about Hi Good are invariably sprinkled throughout Sauber's writings. Why is this so? At the imaginative age of nine years, Bert Sauber's family in 1879, moved from Wisconsin to Tehama County ["Long, Eventful Life of Mrs. Ruby [Howland] Sauber Ended" (1903, October 2). *Chico Record*, p. 3]. Bert's oldest sister, Elizabeth "Lizzie" Sauber Mountain, married widower "Ike" Mead Speegle on May 5, 1887. Hence, it is established that young Sauber grew up with a vast family network and with neighbors who had known about Hi Good and invariably told him several first-hand or second-hand accounts. More about Bert Sauber is provided in the Obadiah N. Field essay in this Background History, IV.

4 Mansfield's source was John Adams Clark (1868-1947) of Yankee Hill whose mother was Yohema (Burchard) Clark. George Mansfield 1918 *History of Butte County*. Los Angeles: Historic Record Company, p. 210.

5 German heritage - The family surname, "Good," is a clue that leans toward German tradition. "Good is an anglicized variant of the name Guth," explained Reference Librarian & Genealogist, Ms. Carol M. Herrity with Allentown, Pennsylvania's Lehigh Valley Heritage Museum.³ Gut, in the German language, means "good" and Guth was the common spelling used.

Ms. Anna Selfridge, Curator of Archives & Manuscripts of the Allen County Museum, Ohio, considered both geography and church affiliations. "Normally for a family of that surname that we know had come through Lancaster County, PA, would be assumed to be a family of German descent." Ms. Selfridge also found a possible marriage match for Hi Good's parents that suggests the possibility of German heritage. Ms. Selfridge in her 2/8/2007 e-mail wrote, "The only marriage I found for any Henry Good that fits the family you want as Henry to Maria Getz on 7/6/1826 in Reiher's Reformed Church, Lancaster Co., PA." Ms. Selfridge added both, " I won't guarantee, however, that that's your man"; and that "The Reiher's Reformed Church was also German."

Future Research - Ms. Anna Selfridge shared about Hi Good's parents and grandparents, "There is one individual who has some research online on this family: David Mosier Miller -mosier4640@msn.com. He might already have done the footwork you need. There is also one LDS title that looks especially promising. Film #1321201 item 1 - it refers to the Adam Good family of Lehigh Co.

6 About English-American - That Good "was of English descent" comes from Frank Weston (1955 February). "Hi Good, Indian Fighter" *Wagon Wheels*. Vol. 5. No. 1, p. 5. The Westons lived in Monroeville on the Sacramento River. Hi Good gave to Frank Weston's parents, Jubal Weston and his wife, Sarah Richardson Weston, one young orphan Deer Creek Indian girl they named "Nellie."

7 About "Guth," letter to Richard Burrill dated April 4, 2007, from Ms. Carol M. Herrity of Lehigh Valley Heritage Museum in Allentown, Lehigh County, PA.

8 Irish-American connections (McLains, Barringtons, and Patrick Fitzpatrick)

The Goods had a direct tie through marriage with the Irish-American community when their first child, Anna Maria Good, married Irish-American John W. McLain of Lancaster, PA.

The Barringtons, originally of PA, then Piqua, Ohio, and by 1850 shared the same town of St. Marys with the Goods where the families apparently befriended one another.

Hi Good's partner to California, Alexander Robb Barrington who grew up in Piqua, and relocated to St. Marys in about 1849. Alex was the son of William Robinson Barrington.

Keeping with Irish-American connections, noteworthy, too, is the fact that on November 30, 1858, the person in California who sold and assigned unto grantee Harmon A. Good the 1/4 SE of Section 33, was Patrick Fitzpatrick. National Archives records No. 78359 dated Feb. 1, 1859 as well as earlier on November 30, 1858 of the Federal Lands Office, Marysville, California. Documents provided for Richard Burrill by Mr. Dale Wangberg from Nelson, CA.

9 When and where born? Harmon Good's exact day of birth remains undetermined. However, his birth day was either in January or one of the first four days of February. February 4th was the "special" day when Hi Good first filed his Proof of Claim for land in California at Marysville's Federal Lands office. One had to be 21 years of age to file according to the Preemption Act stipulations.⁷ If and when the Good's family Bible is found, it would be the most acceptable source based on a genealogical point of view. No official state records for birth days were kept this early in Pennsylvania.

Search for Goods' family Bible unresolved: The Henry Good estate documents #2128 on Schedule A lists "The Family Bible, Family Pictures," copy secured from the Auglaize County Common Pleas Court, Wapakoneta, Augalize County, Ohio (copy in Burrill Collection). To date, the attempt to follow through the heirs after Mary Good to locate the family Bible has been without success.

About where born: The one family member obituary that provides a clue about where Hi Good was born is that his oldest sister, Anna Maria Good, born in Lehigh County, where Allentown was the county seat. One copy of her obituary was secured through correspondence by this researcher: "Deaths, Mrs. Maria McLain" (1920, April 15). Wapakoneta's *The Auglaize Republican*] in Burrill Collection.

10 John W. McLain obituary: "Gently" (1899, March 23). St. Marys, Auglaize County, *The Argus and Democrat*, Vol. XXVII No. 43. The Good family choices stirring in late 1848/ early 1849, were discerned in the son-in-law's 1899 obituary (Burrill Collection) that states, "Judge McLain was born in Lancaster County, Penn., Aug. 24, 1826. When but a boy he moved with his parents to Dayton, O., when he entered the employ of Dr. Walters as a student in the drug business. He remained in Dayton until he became of age when, with his young wife, he located in St. Marys, in the year 1850, and opened the first drug store in this section of the country." Corroboration that the above is correct is that fact that also, "He was perhaps the oldest Mason in the county, having joined the order in Feb. 1849 at Dayton, O."

11 Joyce L. Alig, ed. 1978 [1980] Mercer County Historical Museum, Second Printing. (Dallas, Texas: The Taylor Publishing Company), pp.1, 6; "Dayton's Fifth River: The Miami-Erie Canal" from Dayton City at the Archive Center, available: <http://www.daytonhistory.org/glance_fifth.htm>

12 Alig (1978:6) op cit.

13 genealogy secured

14 Henry Good Probate Estate #2128

15 John W. McLain obituary, op cit.

16 "Miss Alice M'Lain Dies Today Just One Week After Brother, Harmon G." (1940, July 15). *St. Marys Morning Leader*.]

17 The likely year "1854" when Harmon Good left St. Marys, Ohio, for California, is based on (1) the year of Harmon Good's birth, "1836" (1850 census, Dayton City Township, Montgomery County, Ohio) along with (2) Grabhorn (1934:43) and (3) Delaney (1872). Jane Grabhorn's 1932 compilation titled *A Gold Rush Miscellany*, includes Alex Robb Barrington's February 29, 1856 letter from Deer Creek, still Butte County, CA, to his brother William Barrington residing in St. Marys, Ohio. Alex Barrington included the sentence, "We had just arrived in Shasta after 300 or 400 miles of a hunting and prospecting tramp through Coast Range mountains from Sac. City to Shasta." Alex also wrote, "So you have named your boy Alex, have you?" However, the birth date for William Barrington's son (Alex's nephew) named Alex Barrington had not been determined. The McBride (1973:428) genealogy book for the Gordons and Barringtons only states, "Of the eight children of Will and Caroline, only two married."

Dan Delaney (1872), who was Harmon Good's neighbor and admirer wrote about Good, "When the author of this sketch first knew him he was about 19 years old. The arithmetic here comes out, "1855."

18 Nancy D. McBride (1973:423-424) wrote about the *Piqua Gazette* that, "The July 27, 1820 edition is extant."

19 William Barrington is referenced in McBride 1973:428-429, while Sherman Barrington is referenced in McBride 1973:430-431. Sherman's name also appears in the 1860 census, Lassen Township, Tehama County, listed living with his brother Alexander Barrington.

20 Grabhorn 1934:43-45.

21 Grabhorn 1934:43-45.

22 About the exploits of Sam Neal (1816-1859), Butte County historian Lois McDonald published two informative articles. Louis McDonald 1991 "Sam Neal of Rancho Esquon," *Dogtown Territorial Quarterly*, No. 6, page 5; Louis McDonald 1991 "Sam Neal of Rancho Esquon," *Dogtown Territorial Quarterly*, No. 7, page 4. The seminal biography on Sam Neal remains that of Edna Reynolds Durham 1949 *Samuel Neal, California Pioneer*. Oroville: Butte County Historical Society.

23 City of St. Marys' economy descriptions from *Webster's Geographical Dictionary* Revised Edition 1959. Springfield, Mass: G. & C. Merriam Co., Publishers, p. 979; Alig (1978:6) op cit., 5 Joyce L. Alig, ed. 1978 [1980] Mercer County Historical Museum, Second Printing. (Dallas, Texas: The Taylor Publishing Company), p. 6.

24 Maps provided courtesy of Anna Selfridge with Allen County Museum, Lima, Ohio, with explanatory e-mail received 3/31/2007.

25 Henry Good Estate #2128 documents from the Auglaize County Probate Court provides an inventory and appraisal of all the Good family's property after his death that occurred on December 1, 1873. Estate papers were filed January 15, 1874. Contact: Darla Miller, Deputy Clerk, Auglaize County Common Pleas Court 201 Willipie Street Suite 103, Wapakoneta, Ohio 45895-1972.

26 Henry Good Estate #2128, listed on page 2 of Schedule A.

27 Fort Recovery history from *Webster's Geographical Dictionary* Revised Edition 1959. Springfield, Mass: G. & C. Merriam Co., Publishers, p. 368.

28 "Bury the hatchet" translates "to cease making war." The hatchet or tomahawk was more commonly used as a war weapon by the Eastern tribes. It is a heavy hafted stone used as a lethal club in war.

29 Miami County historian Leonard U. Hill, interviewed by Bill Fox, "Piqua Mystery: 8 Indian Scalps in Mary's Belt?" [circa 1932] *The Dayton Daily News*. Copy preserved by St. Marys Community Public Library in the work assembled by Leonard U. Hill 1970. Reproduction of a scrapbook from newspaper articles on local and regional history written and compiled by Leonard U. Hill 1948-1970. Piqua, Ohio: Printed and bound by Hammer Graphics, Inc., p. 113.

30 Also by Hill (1970). More about the struggles with the indigenous peoples in Ohio, is available: <www.connerprairie.com> and additional documents preserved by Ms. Anna Selfridge, Curator of Archives & Manuscripts with Allen County Museum, 620 West Market Lima, Ohio 45801.

31 History Professor Randal Buchman (no date) "Indians of This Area" one page reprinted in Joyce L. Alig, ed. 1978 [1980] *Mercer County Historical Museum*, Second Printing. (Dallas, Texas: The Taylor Publishing Company).

[Note: This single page has no page number. It was photocopied and mailed to this researcher with pages 6 and 7 from Alig 1978[1980] with cover letter dated July 28, 2006 by Beth Keuneke, St. Marys Community Public Library, St. Marys, Ohio.]

32 Randal Buchman (no date) "Indians of This Area" [one page reprinted in Joyce L. Alig, ed. 1978 [1980] *Mercer County Historical Museum*, Second Printing. (Dallas, Texas: The Taylor Publishing Company); "History of Auglaize County, Ohio. 1991 Wapakoneta, Ohio: Auglaize Historical Society, p. 1.

33 Originally, Tecumseh's ancestral Shawnee tribe were Atlantic Coast Indians, one of the tribes of the eastern division of the Algonquian language family. The Shawnee tribe withdrew to Canada and the Ohio valley. Tecumseh was born in about 1768 in the village of Piqua on the Mad River (near today's Springfield, Ohio). Tecumseh helped to form a loose confederacy with the Wyandots. Together they attempted to preserve the Ohio as an Indian boundary. Tecumseh sided with the English in the War of 1812. He was killed in battle on October 5, 1813 (Hirschfelder 2000:37; Spence 1998; Brown 170:1,5).

34 Brown 1970 [2001]:1.

35 Dan Delaney (1872, June 7) "The Adventures of Captain Hi Good" *Northern Enterprise*, 1/3.

36 J. A. Rayner 1916 *First Century of Piqua, Ohio*, Piqua, Ohio: Magee Brothers Publishing Company.

II. "Hi Good and Alex Barrington Arrived in California"

1 Grabhorn 1934:v, 3-5.

2 Grabhorn 1934:43.

3 A preliminary search has failed so far, for their names aboard any vessel that entered San Francisco harbor in "1854." A preliminary investigation was conducted with the San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park (with library), San Francisco, Lower Fort Mason Bldg. Room 265. Note: If they stayed in steerage, it is most probable that their names were not recorded.

4 Jerry MacMullen (1944:13).

5 Jerry MacMullen (1944:13).

6 Grabhorn 1934:43.

V. Social-Economic Groups and Organizations (Hi Good's Community & Neighbors)



Figure 56. Lower Deer Creek, upstream from Mayhew's Crossing in Lassen Township. This is the approx. location where Alex Robb Barrington (left on north side) and Harmon "Hi" Good (right, along the south bank) each owned 160 acres ($\frac{1}{4}$ section) across from each other from 1857 to 1866. Photo looks upstream and easterly. Photo taken by author on 6/12/2005.

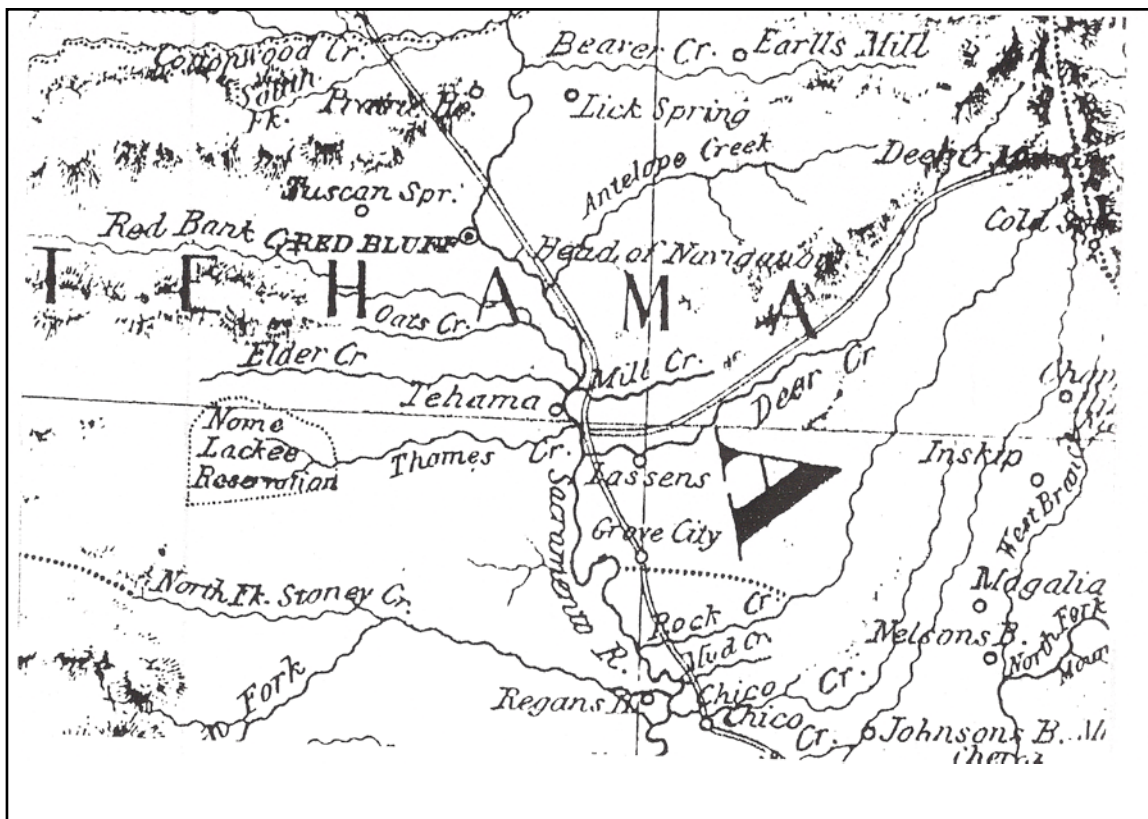


Figure 57. Map: Tehama County, 1864, small part of Bancroft's "Map of the Pacific States."

For "ethnomapping" purposes, this early map provides several place names and their relationships regarding the Hi Good Cabin site study area when Hi Good and Alex Barrington were still living approx. 1.8 miles upstream and east of "Lassens" [sic] on "Deer Creek." Bancroft is looking from afar, which lends insights about what place names were of some notoriety to outsiders.

Notice the major stage road that runs from south to north, while keeping east of the Sacramento River. The "Shasta Road" (Marysville to Shasta) was probably its most popular name. Shown are several stage stops (stations) in use by the California State Company, which, in 1854, consolidated all of the stage lines north of Sacramento City (McNamar 1992:41).

Keeping with "Lassens," this stage station is shown upstream "quite a distance" east of the Shasta Road. Provided below are Maps Figures 57 and 60 that show that the stage station was east of the major thoroughfare, about 0.6 to 0.8 of a mile east of today's Hwy 99E. "Mayhew's Crossing," rather than "Lassen's," appears in this 1859 newspaper account:

"On Sunday afternoon says the *Beacon*, while the occupants were absent from home, the houses of Mr. Roundtree [sic] and Mr. Anderson, some 4 ½ miles above Mayhew's Crossing on Deer Creek, were set on fire by Indians and entirely consumed., as well as their hay stacks, fencing & c." ("Another Indian War" [1859, August 6] *Butte Democrat*).

About "Grove City" stage station: Simeon Moak (1923:23) wrote, "The next morning [August, 1865] Thomasson and I saddled our horses and came to Pine Creek to the Oak Grove Hotel and Stage Station. It was owned by a Mr. Phillips and rented to Mr. Hickok, the father of the children that had been murdered by the Mill Creeks [in 1862]."

"Head of Navigation" - For the flat-bottom steamers, Red Bluff finally became the Sacramento River's upriver termination point,

"Nome Lackee Indian Reservation" - Established in 1856 but became virtually abandoned by the end of 1861 (Hislop 1978:60-66).

Alexander Robb Barrington and Harmon Augustus Good

1860 Census of Lassen Township, Tehama County

Dwelling-houses numbered in the order of visitation	Families numbered in the order of family visitation	The name of every person in this family	Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each person, male & female, over 15 years of age	Place of Birth Naming State, territory or country
156/156	A. A. Barrington ¹	Age 29 M	Farmer	Ohio
	N. Jaeger	Age 22 M	Laborer	Ark
	S. Barrington ²	Age 22 M	Laborer	Ohio
	C. Manning ³	Age 23 M	Laborer	Ohio
	A. Tarlson	Age 17 M	(Indian)	Cal.
	Sarah ⁴	Age 16 Fe	(Indian)	Cal.
	Billy ⁵	Age 21 M	(Indian)	Cal.
	Polly	Age 19 Fe	(Indian)	Cal.
166/166	M. P. Hayden ⁶	Age 49 M	Farmer	Conn
	H. A. Good	Age 25 M	Laborer	Ky ⁷
	James Norman ⁸	Age 32 M	Laborer	Mich
	J. W. Conass	Age 31 M	Laborer	N. Y.
	Hiram Heath	Age 22 M	Laborer	Norway ⁹

1 Hi Good's partner, Alexander Robb Barrington (1830-1879) was born in Piqua (Miami Co.) Ohio, and in about 1849, he had moved to St. Marys. In 1853, Alex's sister, Susan Lawes Barrington (1825-1910), married Mr. Washington J. Dunan and moved to St. Marys (More of Barrington's life-story may be found on pp.116-117.).

2 This is Alex Barrington's younger brother, Sherman Alexander (b. 1839) also from Piqua, Ohio.

3 C. Manning is also from Ohio, born 1837, occupation farmer, listed in Lingenfelter (1996) Archives, Unmarried Persons, Vol. 3. Did Manning come to CA with Sherman Barrington?

4 Sarah and Polly are the only females, and both "Indian" listed who were residents in 1860, dwelling with the Barringtons, which infers that Barrington did not find his "Mexican" wife, Natividad until a little later. Regarding 1866, Moak (1923:24) wrote simply "Mrs. Barrington was Spanish" (with no first name given. A woman named "Natividad" was found residing with Barrington in the 1870 census for San Francisco (See below).

5 Could this be the Billy Sill who was later killed by Anderson at Three Knolls? (See Anderson 1909: 61, 75, 79-80). See below also Dan Sill's *rancheria* names.

6 HAYDEN, M. P., Born Connecticut 1832. 1860 Lassen with Edward G. Born 1832, listed in Lingenfelter (1996) Archives, Unmarried Vol. 3.

7 The "Ky" has been "written over" as confirmed by genealogist and librarian, Ms. Anna B. Selfridge.

Hi Good hailed from PA, possibly born in or near Allentown (Lehigh County) PA; in '49 moved to Dayton City Township, Montgomery Co., Ohio, as documented by 1850 census. Left St. Marys, Auglaize County, for CA in 1854.

8 NORMAN, JAMES Born Michigan 1828. Lassen 1860 census, listed in Lingenfelter (1996) Archives, Unmarried Vol. 3.

9 HEATH, HIRAM Born Norway 1838, listed in Lingenfelter (1996) Archives, Unmarried Vol. 3.

Note: Indian Ned does not appear in this 1860 census because he was not "secured" by Hi Good until 1866.

Daniel Delaney and Family

In about 1855, Dan Delaney, age 32, from Tennessee with young family, his wife Malinda, who was expecting, and their one year old son Thomas Delaney, met Harmon Good who was then 19 years old. Delaney's recollection of having met Hi Good in 1855, remains the earliest archival account that this researcher has found of Hi Good's presence in Deer Creek, California. Delaney became a big admirer of Hi Good. He knew Good for all of his fifteen years in California, until Good's premature death in 1870. Dan Delaney is mentioned in Moak (1923:32), as one of the men searching for Hi Good when he went missing in early May, 1870. Two years later, in 1872, Delaney published an autobiographical sketch of Hi Good, titled, "The Adventures of Captain Hi Good," in the *Northern Enterprise* newspaper, June 7, 1872, p. 3/1. Delaney wrote, "When this author of this sketch first knew him he was about nineteen year old, full of vigor, and energy, and in all matters touching the interests of the section in which he lived taking a decided and distinguished leadership" (Dan Delaney's 1872 "The Adventures of Captain Hi Good" is reprinted below in Ch. 3).

The original Delaney Place apparently existed along the south bank of Deer Creek, about 0.6 of a mile east of the Deer Creek bridge that crosses today's Hwy 99E (See opposite, map Fig. 56). This is surmised because "Delaney" appears on the 1976 USGS "Vina, California" Quadrangle map, of the 7.5 minute series.

Based on the Lingenfelter Archives (1996), Delaney appears in the 1860 and 1870 census for the Lassen Township. All total, the Delaney couple had seven children. The "Sarah Delaney" listed below was possibly Daniel Delaney's mother. The 1880 census indicates that the Delaney family had relocated to Yavapai County, Arizona Territory.

1860 Census of Lassen Township, Tehama County

Persons Name	Age/Sex	Occupation	State of Birth
Daniel T. Delaney*	37 / M	Farmer	State born: Tenn
Malinda Delaney	20 / Fe		State born: Tenn
Sarah Delaney	60 / Fe		State born: Ky
Thomas E. Delaney	6 / M		State born: Mo.
James M. Delaney	5 / M		State born: Mo.
John H. Delaney	4 / M		State born: Cal.
Silas C. Delaney	2 / M		State born: Mo.

*Lingenfelter (1996) cites "Daniel Jefferson Delaney born 1829 Malinda born Tennessee 1831. Deer Creek 1870 census, moved to Modoc County).

In 1855, the Deer Creek area was still part of Butte County, until Tehama County was born on April 6, 1856. Tehama County was created by the California Legislature just six years after California had become a state, formed from territory belonging to Shasta, Butte, and Colusi [now Colusa] County.

As introduced above, Good and Barrington, by February, 1857, established their own separate land claims along Deer Creek on opposite sides from each other (see Fig. 54 map). They situated themselves at a point a little more than one mile upstream from "Mayhew's Crossing."

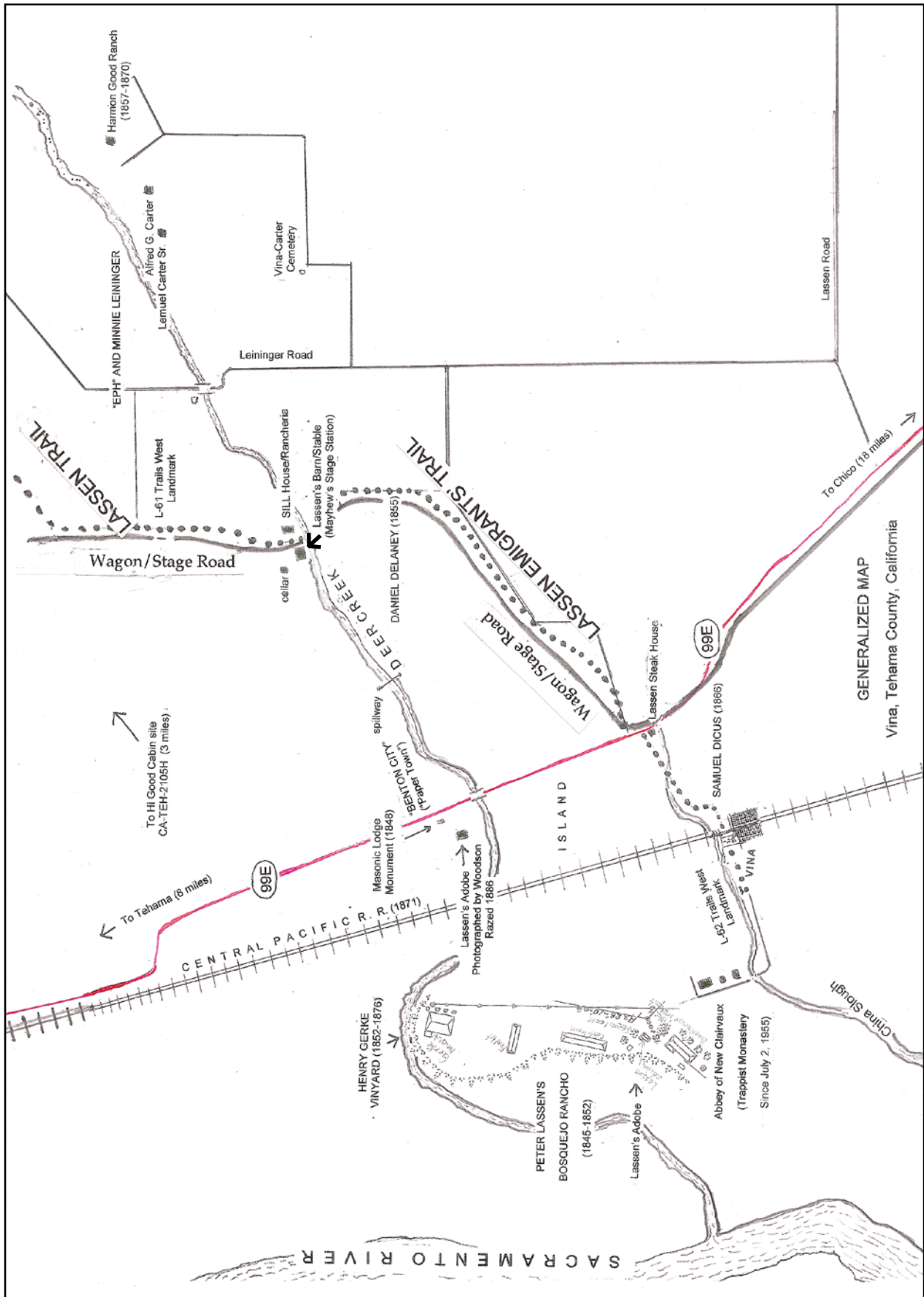


Figure 58.

Mayhew's Establishment Defined

The name, "Mayhew Crossing," may have been the most popularly used by the press in about 1859. For instance, on August 6th, the *Butte Democrat* reported that Anderson and Rountree's houses had been "set on fire by Indians," whose houses were located, ". . . above Mayhew's Crossing on Deer Creek." Yet, an equally used name by the locals for their locale was "Lassen's." Why "Lassen's"? Because the local Tehama County Township was named "Lassen's Township." Mayhew's "at the ford (crossing) was the new store that also served as the first local stage coach station, set along Deer Creek's north bank.

The stage station was the brainchild of local resident William "Bill" Mayhew, himself a former teamster and stage driver who, as a result, knew better than most about the growing transportation needs of the region (see below, Mayhew family history). Beginning in 1854 through December of 1870, "Mayhew's Crossing" became for the California State Company what the town of Vina became for the Central Pacific Railroad when its gandy-dancers finally crossed Deer Creek in 1871. Mayhew's commercial vitality quickly subsided, however, in December, 1870, when the wooden structure completely burned (see reprint of such below).

Bill Mayhew gladly accepted his title as the first local agent for the California State Company. They were the company who in 1854 consolidated all the stage lines north of Sacramento City. Mayhew envisioned how his station-store would build upon Peter Lassen's recent legacy. No photograph has yet surfaced that shows Mayhew Crossing in its heyday. It became the local hub for community socializing. The locals could purchase from Mayhew's store limited general store merchandise, such as some coffee, a plug of tobacco perhaps, or baking powder for those biscuits at home. With stagecoaches coming through and stopping daily to exchange for a fresh team, that meant that mail could be received and sent off by the folks.

Applying his teamstering experiences, Mayhew pragmatically knew it was best to construct his station-store at the same natural ford that Peter Lassen's Emigrant Trail had used for its crossing during yesteryear (see Fig. 56 map). This natural ford is located still today about 0.6 of a mile upstream from today's Hwy 99E Deer Creek Bridge crossing. Dan Sill's Place with *rancheria* was also at this same location. Also, a large wooden barn, called Lassen's Barn, was there. Logically, Lassen's Barn belonged to Sill.

Preston Moore Map (1938) --A one of a kind 1938 map, drawn by Vina resident Preston Moore, at the request of the State of California's Railroad Commissioner, Leon Whitsell, was found by this researcher in the Col. Frederick Robson Scrapbook. Moore's map shows the cluster of structures as just described that apparently comprised Mayhew's Crossing (see opposite. Fig. 60). The Preston Moore map in the Robson Scrapbook is preserved in Red Bluff inside the Tehama County Library [RC979.427 Office pp.16-17].

This, in a nutshell, is basically how the Lassen Township was transforming itself and growing during the years of Hi Good's presence. Bill Mayhew became one of the early California Stage Company stage driver himself. Mayhew invested in the construction of his own stage station. Next he became its agent. It was not long after when Mayhew hired others as staff workers for him. In June, 1859, when putting down the Indian raids by the Mill Creeks was the No. 1 priority, Robert Anderson (1909:10) wrote that a man named, "Cohen [Cohn]* was a merchant who conducted a store at the Mayhew stage station on Deer Creek." Cohn, it was decided would keep the \$3,000 of subscription money collected by passing around the hat to help pay for the Deer Creek Volunteers to go hunt and kill the Mill Creeks.

* From Lingenfelter Archives (1996), it is probable that "Cohen" was Alexander COHN, ALEXANDER Born Germany 1845 died Tehama Co -Feb 11, 1905- married. He became a Red Bluff merchant 1884, 1896, 1902 moved to Red Bluff 1882, 2 children. Also, Alexander Cohn's sister, Annie Cohn, married Louis A. Gyle, brother of Samuel Gyle.



Figure 59. "Lassen Adobe," photographed by Warren N. Woodson, and reported by Woodson (1935:23) to have been located:

"Immediately at the north end of the bridge which spans Deer Creek we are on the site of the city that used to be. That same old sturdy oak which stands on the west rim of the highway sheds midday shade on the abode abode of Peter Lassen."

This structure was apparently razed in 1886.

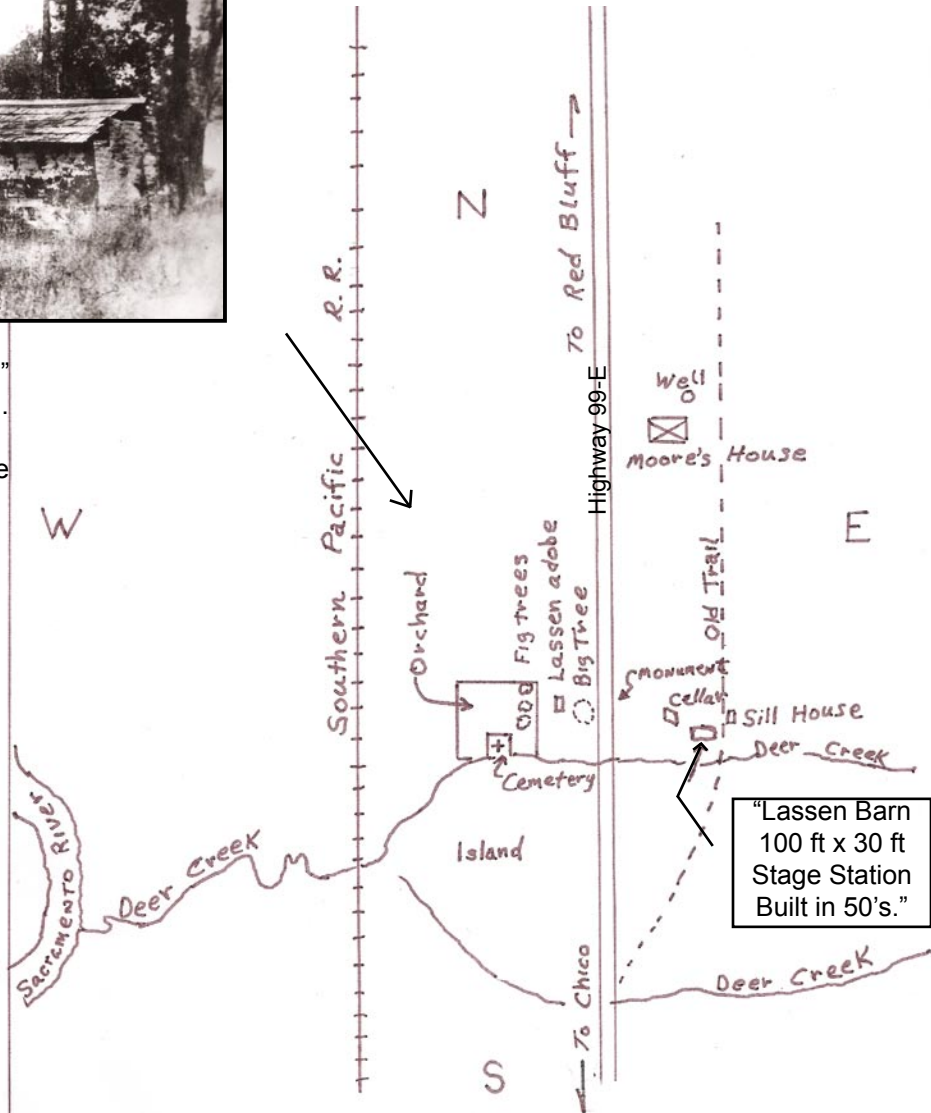


Figure 60. Map tracing by this researcher of Vina resident, Preston Moore's map drawn in 1938, for State of California Railroad Commissioner Leon Whitsell. Commissioner Whitsell wrote this letter on April 6, 1938 to Col. Fred Robson:

Some time ago I became acquainted with Mr. Moore who at one time lived on the Stanford Ranch or that part of it known as Benton City, and at my request he drew a rough map of that he termed, "Benton City." I thought you might be interested in the same so I am sending you here-with a blue print,"(Tehama County Library, Red Bluff, Col. F. T. Robson Scrapbook RC979.427 Office pp. 16-17.).

Moore's map also included the small side bar information, "Lassen Barn, 100 ft. x 30 ft., Stage Station, Built in 50's."

Notice about the Lassen Emigrants' trail that, in Moore's interpretation, the trail continued due south from his property (where L-61 Trails West marker is posted today, to the Deer Creek ford (crossing). Also, earlier, there were two pronounced channels of Deer Creek. The lower one appears to have connected to what is called "China Slough" (see Fig. 58 map).

And in 1870 or earlier, Almira (Brown) Williams recalled that “Uncle Billie” Mayhew had hired her late husband, Obadiah Brown, to run his stable with horses operation (Waterman 1918:58-59).

It also deserves to be briefly mentioned here that the locals looked north to the town of Tehama, as their closest “urban’ center, eight miles distant up the Shasta Road, for obtaining their household consumer goods and their ranching supplies and equipment. Locals walked or rode in their buckboard wagons to Tehama. Tehama was a promising river boat commercial center, set on the west bank of the Sacramento River. A ferry at Tehama brought travelers, stagecoaches, and teamsters, across the Sacramento River to the Tehama side with river landing. Steamers from Sacramento frequented up-river from Tehama. There was a long heated struggle as to where the northern most termination point for steamers should be. It ended up being Red Bluff, which according to MacMullen (1944:145), was twenty-two miles farther upstream from Tehama’s Landing.

The Early Stage Lines on the Shasta Road - In 1854, the great California Stage Company was able to consolidate all lines north of Sacramento City. Beginning on September 15, 1860, their stages commenced daily service from Sacramento to Portland, Oregon. In 1854, “Stage fare from Sacramento to Red Bluff, 89 miles, \$15.” In 1856, the stage left from Marysville, “every day at 2 p.m.” (McNamar 1992:41). The line followed the Shasta Road. Upon reaching Marysville, the next overnight stop with sleeping accommodations —called “houses”— was not until reaching the river boat Town of Tehama (set along the west bank of the Sacramento River). At Tehama, there was a ferry used by stages as early as “June 1852” [and] thence to Cottonwood and over the upper road to Shasta” (McNamar 1992:41).

Stage stops northward included: Red Bluff, Cottonwood, American Ranch (Anderson), Clear Creek, and Shasta. In 1856, the California Stage Company’s extended route continued to Yreka (McNamar 1992:41).

The biggest excitement daily would be the stage rolling in, often pulled by a team of six stout horses. The team pulled the stage across Deer Creek crossing and up the north bank, with its passengers “holding on” inside. Routinely, the fresh team of horses was brought out in advance, and the exchange of charges was quick and efficient.

William Perry Mayhew (b.1816 - d. Sept 4, 1900)

William P. Mayhew was born in Carthage, Illinois, on September 20, 1816, known as “Uncle Billie Mayhew.” He came to the “Benton City” (today’s Vina) area in 1853. Historically, Hi Good and the Mayhew family shared events, starting in 1857, which included fighting the hostile Mill Creeks. Mayhew’s stage station with stables with store was the local meeting place for getting the “Stage news,” for retrieving one’s mail, and for cultivating friendships. For instance, two of Hi Good’s friendships, were Obadiah and Almira Brown who were in charge of the horses at Mayhew’s stage station stable.

William and Harriett Mayhew Family and Rancheria Indians

1860 Census of Lassen Township, Tehama County

Numbered visitation	Family Names	Age/Sex	Color	Occupation	Place of Birth
173/173	Wm P. Mayhew	40 / M	White	Agent Calif. Stage. Co	Ohio ¹
	Harriett [Bessie] ²	30 / Fe	"		NY
	Charles R. ³	17 / M	"		Ind
	Byron	5 / M	"		Cal.
	H. A.	3 / Fe	"		Cal.
	Margaret	16 / Fe	Indian	Servant	Cal.
	Tom	18 / M	Indian	Servant	Cal.
	Jane	20 / Fe	Indian	Servant	Cal.
	Mike	24 / M	Indian	Servant	Cal.

1 Rather than Ohio, Carthage, Illinois, appears to be the correct place of birth for Wm P. Mayhew "Tehama County Biographies."

2 Wm. Mayhew married his 2nd time to Mrs Harriet (Sill) Besse (b. NY 1828 - d. Red Bluff 6/27/1887). Lingenfelter Archives (1996) lists that she was evidently one of the earlier daughters of Daniel Sill and Harriet Hungerford. She had married first in 1850 to Danforth Besse (1821 -1852).

3 Charles R. Mayhew (1844-1904) also became employed by the California Stage Company. In 1876, he was elected Treasurer of Tehama County. Charles was born on 8/31/1844 in St. Louis, MO.

Bill Mayhew had first married Miss Adaline Hubbel, a native of Ohio. By her they had six children, of which only two survived. Bill Mayhew came to California in 1849. His wife died that next year and their children were farmed out to relatives living in Santa Clara.

Early on Bill Mayhew earned his first income as a teamster, running a six-mule team to the mines from Marysville. By his third trip he had made enough to pay for the outfit. When the California Stage Company consolidated all the stage lines north of Sacramento in 1854, the company also made Bill Mayhew a proposition to drive for them. His salary was \$150 per month. He accepted the proposal and drove a four and sometimes a six horse stage from Hamilton City to the Town of Tehama, which was a distance of about 60 miles.

In about 1853 widower William P. Mayhew met and wedded a widow, Mrs. Harriet (Sill) Besse. According to the Lingenfelter Archives (1996), Harriet was one of the earlier daughters of Daniel Sill and Harriet Hungerford. Now secure with his new wife, Bill Mayhew in May 1854, went to Santa Clara to reclaim "his" children from his first marriage. Mayhew returned with them and his new wife by steamboat up the Sacramento River to Tehama County. They landed at the mouth of Deer Creek, which soon was renamed Mayhew's Landing. The Mayhew family members recalled their special return to Deer Creek:

Peter Lassen's house was on one side of the river and Mrs. Mayhew's on the other, both adobe houses. A large number of Indians had assembled to see the white children, who were very much frightened. Charles tried to be brave, but the girls felt quite certain that they were going to be killed! At that time the Indians had a rancheria on the banks of the river, and more than two hundred of them were there.

[Source: *Memorial and Biographical History of Northern California*, Lewis Publishing Co., 1891 pages 759-761. Transcribed by: Melody Landon Gregory August 2004.]

Obadiah Brown and Almira (Briggs) Brown, Employees at Mayhew's
Almira was informant for Thomas Waterman about Hi Good's Last Day Alive

Circa 1870, May 3 or 4 Hi Good visited the Browns at Mayhew's Stage Stop:

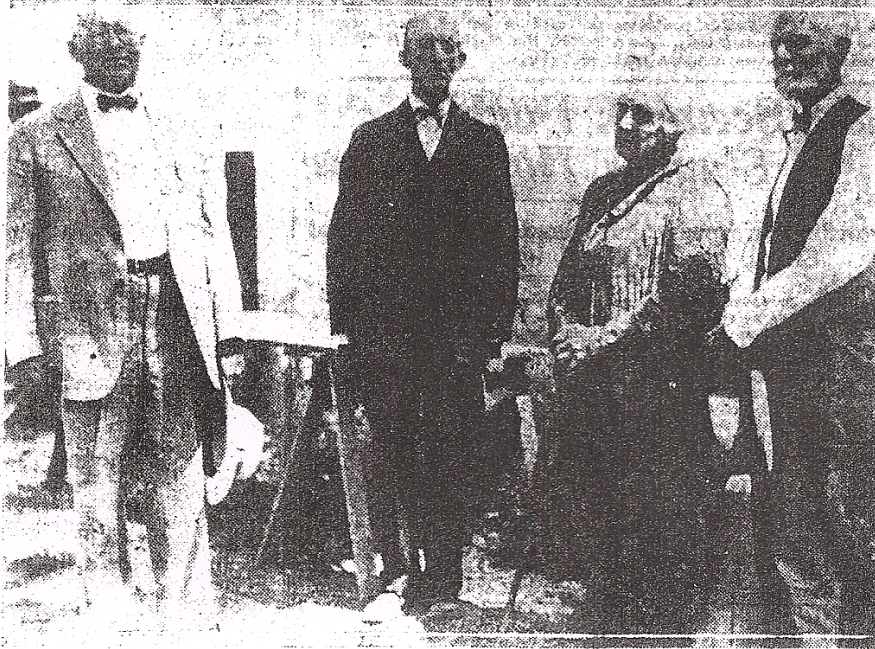
Obadiah and Almira Brown — Moak (1923:32) wrote, "When Hi Good returned on the 29th of April, he determined immediately from the condition of the house what had been going on." Almira Brown recalled to Waterman (1918:58-59) who wrote, "Boy, living with Good, hooked his cache of money. Good angry, threatened to settle with him and came to Browns and told about it. Mrs. G. W. Williams was then Obadiah Brown, stage stop stable at ford/bridge, NE of Vina, 1 mile" (Waterman Index card, p. 25). Waterman (1918:59) wrote, "private information from Mrs. G. W. Williams at Tehama").

Almira (Briggs) Brown Williams (born New York June 13, 1842 died Dec. 13, 1931). Married Obadiah Brown, Tehama Co., July 16, 1862. Obadiah Madison Brown (born Conn. 1835 - d. March 1, 1872). In 1874, Almira married her 2nd husband, George Washington Williams (b. NY 1837 - d. in Red Bluff on May 11, 1914) who, in 1867 was a Deputy sheriff (Lingenfelter 1996, Vol. A-E Married). Note: Harry Haselen, great grandson of Almira Briggs Brown, may have early local area photos. He donated Almira Brown Williams' wedding dress which is on exhibit upstairs at Tehama Museum.).

Together Almira and Obadiah Brown had four children: Abba Jennie Brown (1863-1867), Charles E. Brown (1864 - 1901), Harry S. Brown (b. 1865), and Obadiah M. Brown Jr. (1867 - d. Red Bluff March 23, 1946); unmarried.

Ghost City Lives Again For A Day

Benton City was the scene Saturday of exercises designed to dedicate a plaque marking the end of the Lassen Trail and the site of the first Masonic lodge in California. Warren N. Woodson, left, was master of ceremonies; Obediah Brown of Tehama is next, and his mother, Mrs. George Williams, also of Tehama, are next in order. Mrs. Williams is among the few living former residents of Benton City; Plumber Edgar of Red Bluff, at the right, is also a former Benton City resident.



(Left to Right) Warren N. Woodson with pioneer settlers Obediah [sic] Brown Jr. Mrs. G. W. Williams, Plummer Edgar. The woman pictured here was one of Professor Thomas T. Waterman's informants about the Ishi and Hi Good story. Her full name was Almira (Briggs) Brown Williams. Almira died on Dec. 31, 1931. Waterman (1918:58) wrote how Almira's husband, Obadiah Brown Sr, "who had a stage stable [Mayhew's] at the ford one mile northeast of Vina," was one of three men who found the body (Hi Good's) by the odor four days later" (probably three days later, on May 7, 1870, based on obituary account).

BENTON CITY PLAQUE PLACED

History Turns Back As Crowd Gathers At One-Time Junction Point

BENTON CITY (Tehama Co.), Aug. 11.—The pages of history were turned back Saturday from the site of Benton City, Tehama County's ghost town, which was figuratively painted by Peter Lassen, early-day pioneer, as the end of the rainbow. About 200 people saw the unveiling of a marker which dedicated this spot as the end of Lassen's trail over the Sierra Nevada, and the site of the first Masonic Lodge in the State of California.

Warren N. Woodson, father of Corning, was chairman of the fete, and in introductory remarks said there was no man in the history of California whose name was so monumental as was that of Peter Lassen. Woodson listed a volcano, the only one in continental America, a forest covering several California counties, an important county of the state, and a trail to the state as immortal monuments to the memory of the trail blazer.

Sweeney Tells History.
John Sweeney, Tehama County historian and educator, told of Lassen's history, a simple, kind, ambitious and initiative character who eventually was killed by Indians.

Charles Brown of Redding, historian of Western Star Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons, of Old Shasta, told of the part Lassen had in bringing the first Masonic charter to California to found a lodge at the site of Benton City, later to have it removed to the boom town of Shasta. A copy of the original charter brought by Lassen was displayed, as was also a map of the Lassen Trail.

Introduced to the audience was Mrs. George Williams, 88, whose husband owned and operated a general merchandise store at Benton City in the '60s. Plumber Edgar of Red Bluff was also introduced to the crowd. He had lived in Benton City in 1863, and with his sister sold peaches to passengers on the stages. His sister is Mrs. J. S. Copeland of San Francisco.

This trio is the only living survivors of what once was the people of Benton City. Motion pictures were taken of the ceremony.

Figure 61. Almira (Brown) Williams (standing, third from left) was one of Professor Thomas Waterman's informants interviewed in 1912, regarding Ishi and the Hi Good story.

(ABOVE STANDING, LEFT TO RIGHT)

#1 Col. Warren N. Woodson (1863-1951) was the author of the 1935 local history book, *The Trail of the Trail Blazers*. On pages 21 and 23 Woodson revealed that "the old stage stopping place" . . . [and] "operated by William P. Mayhew" [was located] "on the north bank of Deer Creek, and just above the present highway bridge." Woodson also took the early photograph of the Lassen Adobe (see Fig. 59), the one he explained he saw on the north side of Deer Creek, before it was razed in 1886.

#2 Obadiah M. Brown Jr. (1867-1946), Almira's son.

#3 Widow Almira (Brown) Williams, 88 years old at the time that this photo was taken. Her life dates were 1842 - 1931).

#4 Plumber Edgar (1854 -1937). in Tehama). He had lived in Benton City in 1863, and with his sister sold peaches to passengers on the stage."

In Search of Mayhew's Crossing

The Problem: It remains undetermined precisely where the early Deer Creek historical establishment called Mayhew's Crossing once stood. Archival data purports that Mayhew's Crossing was a small commercial establishment in the form of a cluster of structures, namely: (1) Mayhew's stage station/store, cellar (possible root cellar), Lassen's Barn, and Dan Sill's Place w/ Indian Rancheria (see below 1860 census). A preliminary review of the data suggests that this early establishment was between .6 to .8 of a mile upstream from today's Hwy 99E Deer Creek Bridge.

Description: Establishment of at least three structures in Lassen Township, Tehama County, along north bank of Deer Creek (2 miles east of today's downtown Vina). Its time period was mid-1850s until about 1872.

- (1) Mayhew's stage station/store or 'house.' Size dimensions undetermined. Materials: wood structure, probably with large blocks underneath, for "The house is raised about 2 feet from the ground." No photographs have been located.
- (2) Lassen's Barn (not to be confused with Lassen's Adobe). Probably belonged to Dan Sill
- (3) Dan Sill Place (No known photographs)

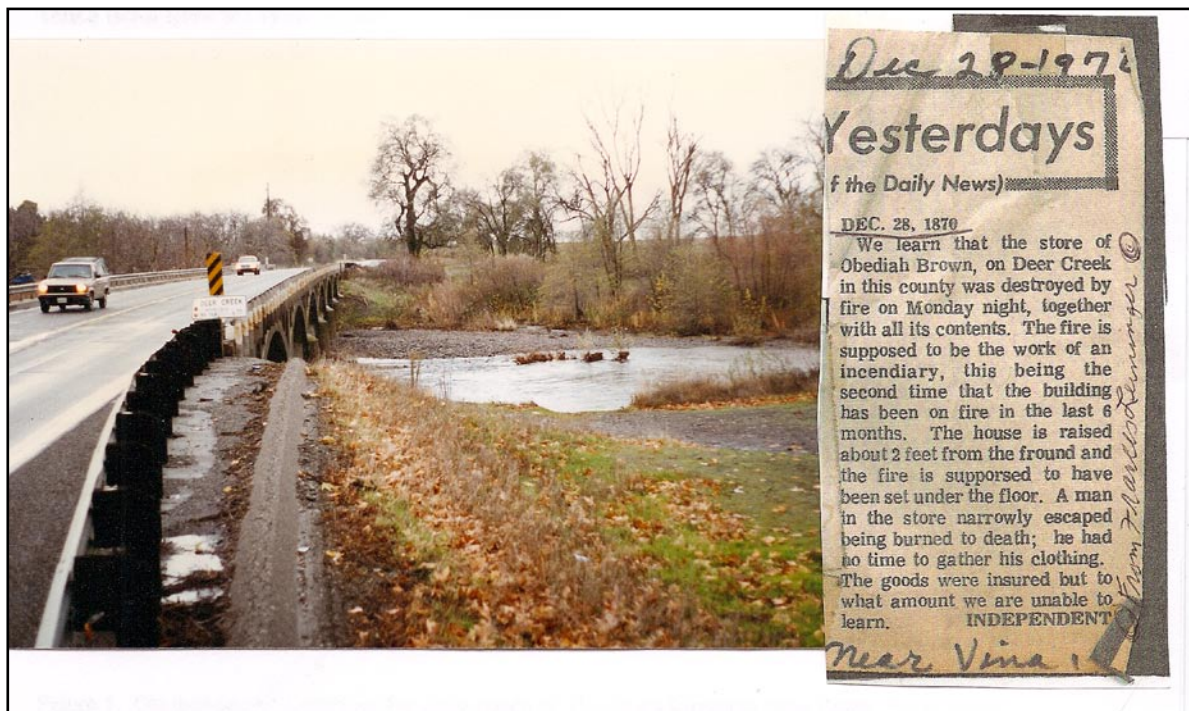


Figure 62. Deer Creek Bridge, Hwy 99E. Photo by author looks north. The data collected points to the site of Mayhew's stage station to be upstream (to the right in the photo above), about .6 to .8 of a mile, and on the north bank. Newspaper clipping courtesy of Frances Leininger Collection.

"Yesterdays" (1972, December 28) *Red Bluff Daily News*:

DEC. 28. 1870:

"We learn that the store of Obediah Brown, on Deer Creek in this county, was destroyed by fire on Monday night, together with all its contents. The fire is supposed to be the work of an incendiary, this being the second time that the building has been on fire in the last 6 months. The house is raised about 2 feet from the ground and the fire is supposed to have been set under the floor. A man in the store narrowly escaped being burned to death; he had no time to gather his clothing. The goods were insured but to what amount we are unable to learn."

--Red Bluff Independent

Provenance: The stage station structure called Mayhew's ("Lassen's" because it was in the Lassen Township) was fundamentally a "store," part of the thriving Mayhew's establishment on Deer Creek's north bank of today's Vina, Tehama County. Its ephemeral existence was at its heyday in about 1859. Its popularity waned significantly in 1871, when the building of the California Pacific Rail Road crossed Deer Creek. It appears that during the heyday of the California Stage Company, 1854 -1870, that at least one stage arrived daily at Mayhew's and exchanged for a fresh team of horses (1992:41). On about December 27, 1870, Mayhew's station/store was completely destroyed by fire. Arson was suspected ("Yesterdays" [1972, December 28] *Red Bluff Daily News*).

The stage station was constructed under direction of William Perry Mayhew (1816-1900) in ca. 1854, Best archival data collected to date: Preston Moore, 1938, original blue print map (Fig. 60) from Fred Robson Scrapbook, Red Bluff's Tehama Country Library[RC979.427 Office, pp. 16-17] and Warren Woodson (1935:21, 23) reprinted below.

Future Research: Tehama County Records Office and Assessor's Office search for land history. Mae Helene Boggs 1942 *My Playhouse Was a Concord Coach*, on reserve at the Shasta Historical Society may provide more data. Perhaps William Mayhew and/or Daniel Sill family descendants can be contacted for possible family photo albums and related history. A Sill "family history letter" dated September 29, 1983, from William Mayhew "Hugh" Sill of Bakersfield, California, reads, in part, that "Addie [Sill] was supposedly the first white child born in Tahama County [sic] and married a fellow named Frink" (Frances Leininger Collection). See 1860 census for Daniel Sill w/ *rancheria* Indians on page 118.

1935 Warren N. Woodson's *The Trail of the Trail Blazers* (1935:21, 23) published by the Rotary Club of Corning, CA, which includes this description:

The old stage stopping place, on the north bank of Deer Creek, and just above the present highway bridge, was latterly [sic] operated by William P. Mayhew, whom I first saw in '79 in Red Bluff. [page 21]

So now, in this year of our Lord 1935, lets take a mental look at this ghost town where hopes and dreams ran rampant. Immediately at the north end of the bridge which spans Deer Creek we are on the site of the city that used to be. That same old sturdy oak which stands on the west rim of the highway sheds midday shade on the adobe abode of Peter Lassen. How thoughtful and considerate it was that both highway engineer and builder should preserve this and its companion oak just on the opposite side of the road.

Look at the iron hitching rings in this old oak—all but overgrown since they were driven or screwed in the body of this aged tree 90 years ago [1845].

Look over the fence, to the west, into the farm of R. W. Hanna, of the Standard Oil Company, at those mammoth Mission fig trees—the variety brought from Spain to California by the Padres in 1769.

The Ghost City of Benton -Here on the east side of the highway you see the mill pit walled and preserved by crude masonry through which the mill race was planned to run to turn the wheel to grind the grist. Over there by those old Cottonwoods, some 300 feet away, ran the race.

Just up the east side of the highway are decaying remnants of the old stage barn where stage teams were changed and fed. There on the east side of the highway is a concrete marker erected and dedicated by Western Star Lodge No 2 of old Shasta in which is set a bronze plaque (See below Figures 20, 21 & 22) commemorating the opening of the first Masonic lodge in California.

Such is a sketch picture of the remains of Benton City—a city of blasted hopes and broken hearts.

—Warren N. Woodson



Figure 63. "Lassen's Rancho" by Joseph Goldborough Bruff. Presumably Bruff (1949:346-347) drew this art piece on about April 16, 1850. Peter Lassen's second residence from circa. 1847-1851, located on the south side of Deer Creek. Reprinted courtesy of the Huntington Library.

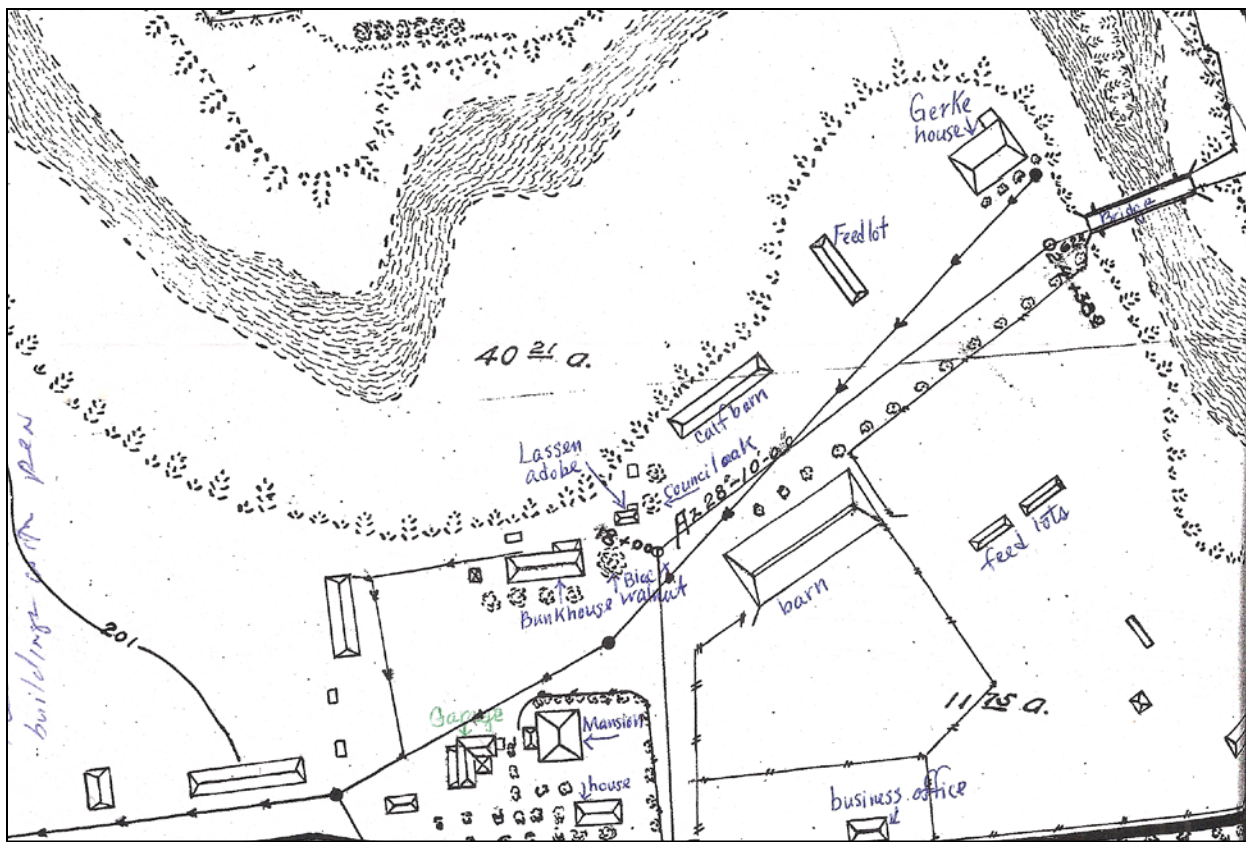


Figure 64. Map survey, 1916-1918, of Stanford-Vina Ranch. Reprinted courtesy of Butte County's Department of Public Works, Oroville, CA. Father Paul Mark Schwan of the Abbey of New Clairvaux, wrote the building identification on this map in December, 2001. The top illustration is one of several detailed Bruff drawings reprinted in J. Goldsbrough Bruff, 1949, *Gold Rush The Journals, Drawings, and Other Papers of J. Goldsbrough Bruff April 2, 1849-July 20, 1851*. New York: Columbia University Press. Reprinted courtesy of The Huntington Library San Marino, California.

Old 1st Bunk house
Ancient Fig tree

Lassen Rancho
Adobe

"V" shaped
California
Black Walnut

"Council Oak" of legend. In 1970, this giant
Valley oak felled during a severe rain storm.

Henry Gerke house with brick winery
cellar; still extant, and thereby the oldest
structure on the property.



Look Behind the Left horse!

Figure 65. "Peter Lassen's Second Residence Adobe." Photo taken in 1937 by Frances Shattuck (Woolsey) Robson (1885-1949) on the grounds of what is today the Abbey of New Clairvaux (Left to right) Fig tree, bunk house, one of Lassen's Rancho headquarters adobes, "V" of California black walnut, Frémont's 1846 Council Oak, Gerke's House with winery cellar (still extant). Two riders are unidentified. Photo permission of Abbey of New Clairvaux, Vina, California.

The adobe structure (behind the left horse) captured in the Robson photo, is likely one of the original "Lassen's Rancho" headquarters adobes, that Joseph Goldsbrough Bruff included in his April, 1850 drawing (see opposite Fig. 63). In 1919, Frances Robson and her husband, Colonel Frederick T. Robson, bought the "headquarters" ranch (590 acres) from Stanford University. They lived on the property until 1950.

Father Paul Mark Schwan with today's Abbey of New Clairvaux shared with this author, "This photo was given to Father Joseph, along with other photographs in about 1955 by Colonel Robson. Father Joseph, in turn, kept a photo album ["Historical Photo Album 1919-1958"], which remains today as part of the Abbey's archives. Father Schwan also guessed that the caption on page 17 of this same album, Father Joseph typed in and made fast with glue, along with the three photos on the same page in about 1956" (See Fig. 67 below. Its caption reads:

(Upper left corner) Another shot of the old bunk house where our present dorm is located. Notice the bldg. behind the left horse. This was a very old small house which Colonel Robson suspected might have been Peter Lassen's home—but after many years as he could find nothing to verify it, he tore the building down.

On December 6, 2001, Father Paul Mark Schwan was able to show this researcher precisely where the late Frances Robson had taken her photo. "Yes, I can show you some of the things in this picture," began Father Paul Mark. "You see, this place is inside what we call 'The Enclosure.' Normally it is off limits to the visiting public, unless special permission is secured ahead of time. I will gladly take you there today." (Interview December 6 & 8, 2001).

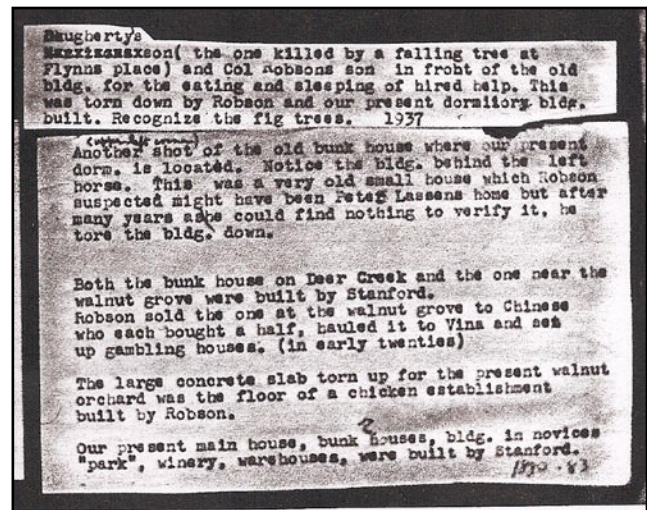
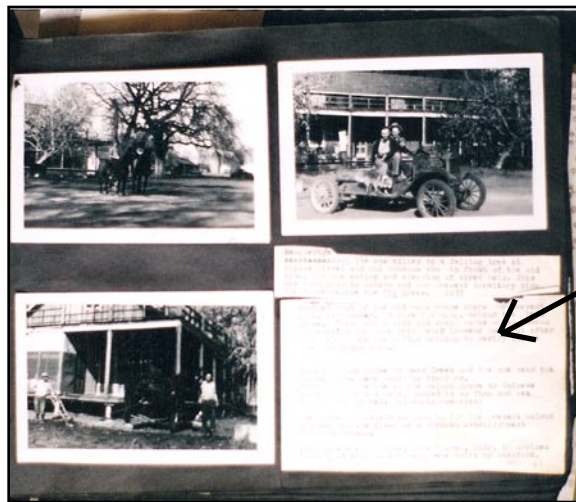


Figure 66. Three photos from the *Historical Photo Album 1919-1958*, Abbey of New Clairvaux Archives, kept by Father Joseph. Photos by author, December 6, 2001. The upper left corner photo is Fig. 65. Figure 69. Caption from page 17, of *Historical Photo Album 1919-1958*,



Figure 69. Father Paul Mark Schwan.

Figure 68. "Ancient California black walnut crowds rebuilt bunkhouse." Notice to left side, the same ancient fig tree photographed by Frances Robson (Fig. 65). Photos by author on December 6 & 8, 2001.

Right away upon first seeing the J. G. Bruff drawing (Fig. 63 above), Father Paul Mark Schwan responded, "Very definitely, it captures the shapes of the branches of the two large trees photographed by Frances Robson" (Fig. 65). Father Schwan added, "The other bigger tree [in Fig. 65] with white trunk is gone now. It fell in 1970, and was removed by Brother Casimir Fuskik. It was a massive Valley oak and was called the Council Oak." Father Schwan's latter remark harkens back to Charles Frémont's return to this very spot on ca. April 12-14, 1846, and his call for the American-Mexicans and American squatters to join him in defense against the Indians, rumored to be seeking revenge, and to conquer Mexico (See discussion above on pages 55-65, Section II: "The Mexican Period").

Figure 70. Mason's Western Star Lodge #2 Marker. This photo was taken along Hwy 99E, looking south towards the Deer Creek bridge crossing at today's Vina, Tehama County, California. One of Peter Lassen's earliest adobes (See Fig. 59 above) stood behind this marker, close to where it stands today, and a little towards the Deer Creek bridge crossing. There, according to Warren Woodson (1935:23), "... an old sturdy large oak" once "shed midday shade on the abode adobe of Peter Lassen." From 1923 to about 1984, this marker stood on the opposite (or east side) of this Hwy 99-E. Photos by author.



Figure 71. "First Masonic Meeting Marker."



Figure 72. "Masonic Marker," as repositioned on west side of Hwy 99E.

This monument now stands on the west side of Hwy-99-E. First erected on the east side of Hwy 99-E, at the "Benton City" location on May 10, 1923, to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the date of its charter granted in Missouri on May 10th, 1848. Warren N. Woodson described in his little history book, *The Trail of the Trail Blazers* (1935:22) that "... the first two Masonic meetings held in California, were atop a round, bald knoll, about a quarter of a mile north and east of the Masonic marker erected [in 1923] beside highway 99E." Woodson's source for such was Nathaniel Merrill. Sarchel Woods brought the first (and thereby oldest) Charter to California on Peter Lassen's 1848 wagon train. Woods opened Western Star Lodge #98 at Peter Lassen's "Benton City," almost one year later on October 30, 1849.

History about why Western Star Lodge #2 is not #1 --When the first Grand Lodge of California was established in 1850, there was faulty data circulated that led to California Lodge #13 of San Francisco being erroneously given the #1. Upon securing permissions on May 9, 1851, Western Star Lodge #98 was changed to #2, and their meeting location commenced in Shasta City, located west of Redding (Pamphlet published by "Western Star Lodge No. 2 Celebrating in 1998 our Sesquicentennial Anniversary." Shasta, California.).

Charity was provided by the local Masons for Hi Good's family --Molino Lodge #150 of the Town of Tehama received its starting dispensation on May 30, 1861. After Harmon A. Good was killed, a communication on June 11, 1870, was received from Brother John McLain, Hi Good's brother-in-law (husband to Hi Good's older sister, Anna Maria [Good] McClain). McLain petitioned under the seal of Mercer Lodge No. 121 of St. Marys, Ohio. In response, Tehama's Molino Lodge No. 150 provided charity by settling up the estate of Good for his parents (Henry and Mary Good) and three surviving sisters. No Masonic funeral service was provided Hi Good because Hi Good was not a Mason (Davis Jr. 1961:11; Apperson 1971:80).

Alexander Robb Barrington (1830 -1879)

The 1860 census (see previous on page 101) is the first and only census that shows both Barrington and Good living in California. Sherman Barrington, Alex's younger brother, born in 1839, also appears with his brother in California. Because Sherman was listed in the census, it would have been more than just a visit. Nothing more about the younger brother in California was found.

It is assumed that during the first two years, Hi Good lived and worked with Barrington on his Rio Alto Ranch on Deer Creek's north side, which is closer to the study area, CA-TEH-2105H. The only known letter sent home to St. Mary, Ohio, from Deer Creek by either Alex, Sherman or Hi Good, is Alex Barrington's letter to his brother, William Barrington, dated February 29, 1856 (See copy in Ch. 3).

Barrington's 1856 letter (Grabhorn 1934:43-45) includes new facts and intriguing clues regarding living with Hi Good along Deer Creek. One of the significant facts is that it firmly establishes that the pair of them first arrived in California in about July of 1854, for Barrington remarks to his brother in earlier letters that he had received from Ohio, that: "I recd Mary's 3rd last month, dated St. M. [St. Marys] Nov. 4th . . . and "July last." These months had to be part of 1854's calendar year. Also, the "Mary" in the above was not Mary Good, Hi Good's mother, but rather one of Alex's older sisters, Mary Agnes (Barrington) Hunter (born 1821). She and her husband were living in Piqua and based on the genealogical resource, *Gordon Kinship* (McBride 1971), Mary was a prolific letter writer.

Another fact learned is that Barrington (presumably with Good) now lived on "their" new ranch, which Alex (probably) had christened, "Rio Alto Ranch." Editor Jane Grabhorn (1934:vii) in her Contents/Introduction, wrote about Barrington that, "In California he became a farmer—the "Rio Alto Ranch" belonged to him and Harmon Good." (Underscore author's). Editor Grabhorn wrote this incorrectly. The fact of the matter is in 1856, Hi Good was not yet old enough to own property. The date when Hi Good first legally acquired property was his "Proof of Claim" (Pre-emption) on Wednesday, February 4, 1857 for the SE ¼ of Section 33 of the T25N, R1W (south side of Deer Creek).

To learn about Alex Barrington was a delightful aside when conducting the archival research and Hi Good and Ishi. Simeon Moak's memoir, *The Last of the Mill Creeks* (1923:24) was the first source that this researcher came upon that told Hi Good had a "partner" in California. Moak simply wrote that Hi Good "had a partner named Barrington." This took on greater meaning when this researcher, upon asking more questions in Red Bluff, at the Tehama County Assessor's Office, when --"voila!"-- the one of a kind 1859 Lassen Township 25 map was discovered! (See entire map on page 160, Fig. 103). This is the only map found that includes Good's and Barrington's names. This was the same map that told this researcher, Barrington's first name! On the map, "Alexander R. Barrington" appears across the NE ¼ of Section 33, and conveniently directly across the creek from the SE ¼ owned by "H. A. Good."

In no time at all, an internet search popped up with Alex Barrington's name connected with the 1934 rare book publication [550 copies] by editor Ms. Jane Grabhorn of Grabhorn Press of San Francisco, titled, *A Gold Rush Miscellany*. It is a compilation of early California accounts, maps and color lithographs, inclusive of two Barrington documents: (1) Barrington's personal letter to his brother, William Barrington, in Ohio, dated February 29, 1856 (See letter in Ch. 3) and (2) "Off for California" diary entries, of his nine months—April 1 to December 11, 1850 first trip to California "via ship" around the Horn to San Francisco. This was where this researcher became introduced to the steamer, the *Antelope* (See pp. 84-86 with Figures 51 and 52).

Alex Barrington's 1850 odyssey to California for gold was such a financial success that, upon returning to St. Marys, Alex used his "California gold" to buy property there! He found most of his color on the Yuba River. Unfortunately, Alex elected to assign his brother William, in Ohio, to be his bulldog about his property investments, while he returned to California for his second trip, this time with Harmon Good. Somewhere and somehow, editor Jane Grabhorn (1934:vii) learned that "his brother mismanaged his real estate holdings so completely as to lose them."

When editor Jane Grabhorn was assembling her “gold rush” documents, apparently her sources were not very reliable ones, for her published descriptions are not without errors. One glaring *faux pas* set in print is what Grabhorn (1934:vii) wrote for Alex Barrington’s death that: “Barrington was killed in the early sixties by his Indian guide who coveted his rifle and money.”

For the record, an attempt was made without any positive results, so far, to try to locate the whereabouts of Alex Barrington’s original documents. If two be found, there may be others with them that could be real gems. Jane Grabhorn (1934) wrote after her title page how, “. . . we must acknowledge our indebtedness to Mr. Harold C. Holmes who has been instrumental in supplying us with most of the original material used.” An internet search found that the repository for the Harold C. Holmes Papers is the Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections, University Library, University of the Pacific, Stockton, California [<http://www.uop.edu/library/deptholt.html>].

Upon initiating a telephone inquiry in October, 2008, UOP’s Librarian Trish Richards responded promptly to this author’s request (also by telephone), that she had looked through the Holmes Papers but found no original Alex Barrington letters.

Biographical sketch: Irish-American Alex Barrington was born in 1830 in Piqua, Miami Co., Ohio, the sixth of nine children born to William Robinson Barrington and Jane Robb Barrington (McBride 1973:423-431). Alex and Hi Good met in Ohio’s west central town of St. Marys likely because each of these men had an older sister they were close to, who married and moved with their respective husband to St. Marys. In December, 1850, Alex, when age 20, had returned home to St. Marys from his initial solo, nine months long California odyssey to find gold (Grabhorn 1934:3-9). Hi Good was sixteen years old. No anecdotal story of their meeting has survived. They shared the traits of being athletic, intelligent, and energetic. For them the world was their oyster. Alex’s stories of California adventure and his wanderlust to return to California grew contagious. They up and left together for California in 1854. Neither of them ever returned.

The Barringtons left Philadelphia in early 1820 for Piqua, Miami Co., Ohio. Alex’s father, William Robinson Barrington (1796 - 1844) was a pioneering newspaper editor, as he brought the first printing press there from Philadelphia and established the *Piqua Gazette*. The July 27, 1820 edition of this newspaper is still extant (McBride 1973:423-424). 1838 - The year when Alex Barrington’s oldest sister, Catherine Robb Barrington Gordon (1819-1892) moved to St. Marys upon marrying Robert Bryarly Gordon (McBride 1973:426-427, 430). 1849 -The year when Alex Barrington apparently moved to St. Marys (Grabhorn 1934:v). 1853 -Alex’s sister, Susan Lawes Barrington (b. 1825 -d. 1910) married George Washington Dunan and the couple moved to St. Marys (E-mail received from Richard Cordero 3/18/2003, Robert Makley in <www.Ancestrylibrary.com> 1859 - Jan. 18, Alex’s mother, a widow, Mrs. Jane Robb Barrington, died in St. Marys. Both she and her husband are buried in the Gordon plot in the Elmgrove Cemetery, St. Marys, Ohio (McBride 1973:427) where Hi Good’s parents and one grand niece are also buried.

Good/Barrington partnership ends in late 1866- Based on Tehama County land records, Barrington and his Mexican wife [name unknown] left Deer Creek under financial duress and evidently never returned. Moak (1923:24) indicates that Barrington had a “Spanish [sic] wife” on Deer Creek, “Mrs. Barrington wanted to go to her people in Mexico.” Moak added that “Good bought Barrington out.” Based on Section 33 land records (see below), Good did not purchase Barrington’s quarter section. Rather Good’s friend, Dan Delaney’s name appeared as the grantee on March 12th. This researcher determined that on October 15, 1867, Tehama County’s seventh Sheriff, Samuel D. English, sold Barrington’s property because the lien expired for delinquent taxes (Handwritten page #3 Big Book F, p. 390 [Burrill Collection]; listing provided by the Chicago Title Company).

This researcher determined from requesting the estate papers for Alex Barrington from the Wabash County Clerk’s office, State of Indiana (McBride 1973:430) that Alex Barrington’s death occurred December 17, 1879, in the Republic of Mexico near “Magutecu” [hard to read].

Daniel Sill (born circa. 1796 - died 6/27, 1862)

Daniel Sill hailed from Connecticut. He was born there in about 1796. According to Bancroft (*History of California, Vol. 7*), Sill “came to Calif. in ‘32” He had crossed the plains by a nondescript route. In July, 1843, Sill “worked for John Sutter for a time” in Sacramento. In 1839, Sill relocated to the bay of Yerba Buena (San Francisco), where he became the miller for the first gristmill in California as well as the town’s first blacksmith.

Dan and Harriet Sill Family and Rancheria Indians 1860 Census at Lassen Township, Tehama County

<u>Persons Name</u>	<u>Age/Sex</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>State of Birth</u>
Daniel Sill Sr ¹	66 / M	Farmer “Benton City”	State born: Conn.
Harriet Sill ²	62 / Fe		State born: N.Y.
Daniel Sill Jr.	34 / M	Farmer [letter*]	Canada West
Sarah Sill	20 / Fe		State born: Mo.
A. W. Sill	1 / Fe		State born: Cal.
Mosen	25 / M	(Indian) Laborer	State born: Cal.
Henry	18 / M	(Indian) Laborer	State born: Cal.
Peter	35 / M	(Indian) Laborer	State born: Cal.
Tim	16 / M	(Indian) Laborer	State born: Cal.
Charles	12 / M	(Indian) Laborer	State born: Cal.
Billy ³	6 / M	(Indian) Laborer	State born: Cal.
James	18 / M	(Indian) Laborer	State born: Cal.
Mary	20 / Fe	(Indian) Cook	State born: Cal.
Jane	35 / Fe	(Indian) Laborer	State born: Cal.
Mary Ann	18 / Fe	(Indian) Laborer	State born: Cal.
Juliana	17 / Fe	(Indian) Laborer	State born: Cal.
Kate	16 / Fe	(Indian) Laborer	State born: Cal.
Hatty	16 / Fe	(Indian) Laborer	State born: Cal.

1 Dan Sill Sr. (ca. 1794-1862) J. Goldsborough Bruff (1949:345, 691) provides the earliest account of “Sill,” that: “It seems that when Lassen had selected the more favorable locale, on which he now resides, and improved it, he sold this [north side], with certain grounds adjacent, to a man named Sill, another old settler, from Mo.

2 Harriet’s maiden name was Hungerford (Lingenfelter Archives 1996).

3 This likely was the “half-breed Billy Sill” who Anderson (1909:79-80) witnessed at Three Knolls and wrote about; “He had been herding sheep for Sill a short time before this, when one day he left the band and joined the Mill Creeks.” Also, he “was known to many of us, having lived from childhood with Uncle Dan Sill.” Anderson (1909:75) wrote, “Billy Sill made a break to escape . . . I swung my rifle on him and cut him down . . . As he rolled toward the creek he cursed me venomously with his last breath.” Based on this 1860 census, if accurate, Billy would have been only eleven or twelve years old in 1865 when killed.

English speaking Bill Sill on the Mill Creek side of the fray is recognized and killed. A second Mill Creek Indian man also swears in English, cursing all of the Indian fighters with, “You god dam American sons of bitches!” (Anderson 1909:72-75; Moak 1923:20-21; Shover 2002b who also cites *Butte Record*, 26 August 1863 and *Butte Record*, 20 August 1865).

From a “biographical scrap” with no name attached that the editor of the *Chico Courant*, published on February 17, 1866, this researcher believes it was written by Peter Lassen. Part of the scrap reads:

“I came to California in 1840; came to Sutter’s Fort, July 4th, 1843; Sill came there a few days afterward. Sill said he had a blacksmith’s shop in San Francisco near the plaza. [W. G] Chard was in Santa Cruz at that time” [Note: This gem was discovered in 2008, by historian/librarian Dale Wangberg].

Daniel Sill (born ca. 1796 - died 6/27, 1862)

Sill's Blacksmith Shop



Enlargement
(of map's list)

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| 13 - John Sullivan's Residence. | Capt. W. B. Lewis |
| 14 - Peter T. Sherback's do. | "A CONTINUOUS RESIDENT SINCE 1845" |
| 15 - Juan C. Davis' do. | 27 - Gen. M. G. Vallejos building |
| 16 - G. Reynold's do | 28 - C. L. Ross' building |
| 17 - A. J. Ellis's Boarding House. | 29 - Mill |
| 18 - Fitch & Mc. Kurley's building. | 30 - Capt. John Paty's Adobe building |
| 19 - Capt. Vogel's Residence. | 31 - Doctor E. P. Jones' Residence |
| 20 - John Fuller's do. | 32 - Robert Ridley's Residence |
| 21 - Jesus Mae's do. | 33 - Los Pechos de la Choca |
| 22 - Juan N. Pidiña's do | 34 - Lone Mountain |
| 23 - A. A. Andrews' do. | 35 - Sill's Blacksmith Shop. |
| 24 - Capt. Antonio Ortega's Residence. | → Trail to Presido |
| 25 - Francisco Caceres's Residence. | ← Trail to Mission Dolores |

Figure 73. View of San Francisco [California] named Yerba Buena in 1846-1847, includes #35 "Sill's Blacksmith Shop," at the NE corner of Kearney Streets. USS Portsmouth (A center foreground), Commander John B. Montgomery first arrived on June 3, 1846. Designed by Capt. William Swasey, not before 1847. Color lithograph 52.5 x 59.4 cm. Printed by Bosqui Eng. & Print Co. Los Angeles County of Natural History.

According to William Heath Davis, who wrote in 1929, *Seventy-five Years in San Francisco*, explained that in '39, the brig *Corsair* steered by Captain William S. Hinckley's arrived there from Monterey. Davis added:

On this trip the *Corsair* landed at Yerba Buena, consigned to Spear & Hinckley, the machinery for a gristmill, from Callao, manufactured at Baltimore. Shortly after, the machinery was put up in a heavy-frame wooden building, two stories high, on the north side of Clay Street, in the middle of a fifty-vara lot between Kearny and Montgomery streets. This was the first gristmill in California. It was operated by six mules, Spear having some eighteen or twenty for this work. A man by the name of Daniel Sill was the miller. The mill made a considerable quantity of fine flour from wheat raised by the rancheros round the bay, each of them having a patch and some of them fields of good size.

On June 30, 1847, we pick up again with Peter Lassen who deeded to Daniel Sill all of his Rancho Bosquejo land on the north side of Deer Creek. The north side was soon to be renamed the paper town of "Benton City." By this same land contract, Sill was committed to complete the construction of Peter Lassen's second abode, this one being an adobe headquarters structure on the south side of Deer Creek (See above Figures 63, 64 & 65). Lassen kept only the "running-gear and stones of the mill," apparently left on the north bank side. On about April 14, 1850, Joseph Goldsborough Bruff would draw for posterity his "Lassen's Rancho" art piece (see above, Fig. 63).

When Hi Good and Alex Barrington arrived in 1855, Daniel Sill could look from his open door across the Lassen Emigrants' Trail at Mayhew's stage station with/store (see Fig. 60 Preston Moore map). By 1860, Sill was already a senior citizen at about 66 years of age. Daniel Sill Junior, born in "Canada West," is listed (above) at about 34. Sarah Sill is apparently Dan Sill Jr.'s wife; and they have had a one year old baby girl named H. W. Sill. The Mason's local historian, Grover C. Davis (1961:7) wrote that Dan Sill was also a Mason and that when Sill died on June 27, 1862, "The first Mason funeral exemplified by Molino Lodge was for a Brother Dan Sill, Sr."

According to the 1860 census, Lassen Township listings, Sill had the largest local *rancheria*. It can be assumed that when Lassen deeded his land to Sill, "his" Indian laborers stayed at Sill's. Or maybe they always had stayed with Sill who was a kind of construction foreman. Thirteen California Indian laborers, whose ages ranged from 6 to 35 years in 1860, are listed above.

Author William Heath Davis (1929) also included in his work, *Seventy-five Years in San Francisco*, these additional intriguing details about Daniel Sill that:

Sill, the miller, was an old mountaineer who had come across the plains in 1831 or '32, and lived about the bay of San Francisco, either at a mission or with a rancho. He was industrious and useful, possessed of a deal of common sense but of no education; quiet and well behaved; a splendid hunter and marksman, having brought from his eastern home his old rifle, of a very primitive pattern but unerring in execution in his hands. If he ever drew it upon a coon, a bear or a lark, the result was that the game had to come down. . . .

Sill spent a portion of his time in the Sacramento Valley trapping beaver and land otter for their skins, which were very valuable. He also killed elk for their hides and tallow. There was a blacksmith's shop connected with the mill, and Sill, who had a natural aptitude for all trades, was the blacksmith as well as the miller, the first one in San Francisco. Afterward, old Frank Westgate was employed as blacksmith. He understood that work but was a hard drinker. Sill remained as miller for Spear until about 1842 or '43, when his disposition to rove impelled him to take his departure. He went to the upper Sacramento Valley and lived a while with Peter Lassen, a Dane, who had settled there under a grant. At times he stopped with some of the other settlers; with Sutter for a while at *New Helvetia*. As he always made himself useful, he was welcomed wherever he went.

William Heath Davis. *Seventy-five Years in San Francisco*. 1929: San Francisco
<<http://sfgenealogy.com/sf/history/hb75ym.htm>>

Alfred George Carter
(B. Sept. 18, 1829 - D. March 12, 1871)

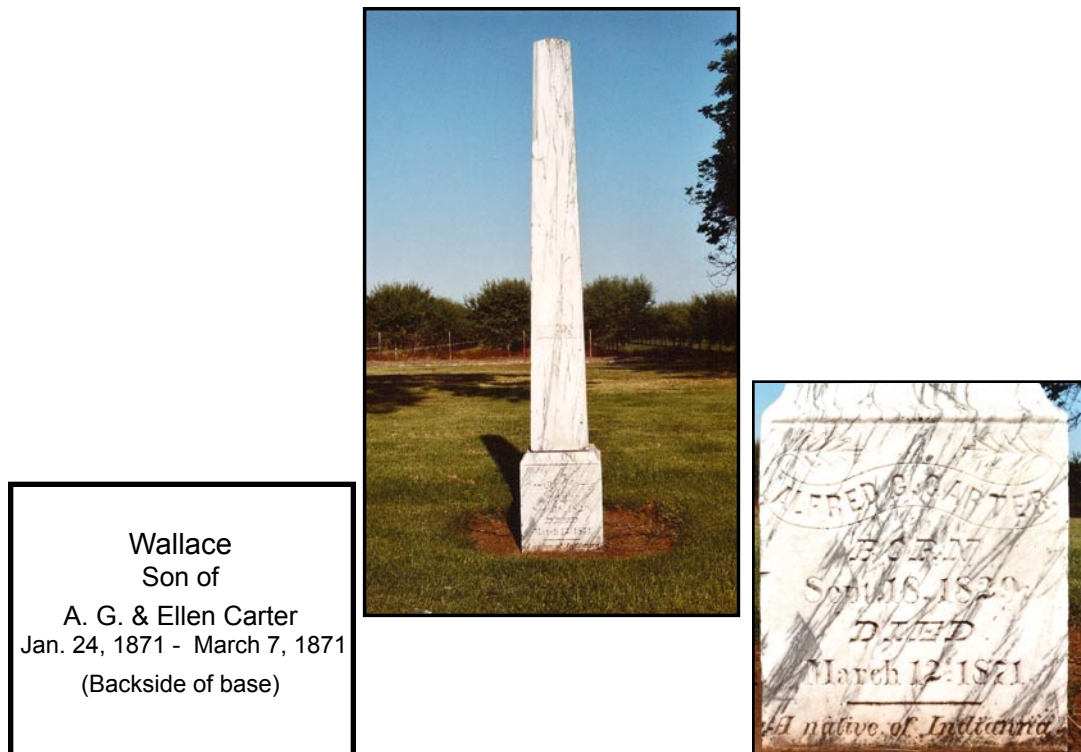


Figure 74a & 74b. Alfred G. Carter obelisk with base inscriptions enlarged
Vina-Carter Cemetery. Photos taken by author on 5/30/2007.

If Simeon Moak's (1923:31) memoir is correct that Sandy Young and Obe Field were Hi Good's "boon companions," this author senses that Alfred "George" Carter would have been about third place in Good's list of friends. Just before Hi Good was killed in 1870, and according to William J. Seagraves (Waterman 1918:57), the three female Indian hostages "... were handed over to a man named Carter, living about a mile from Acorn Hollow on Deer Creek." It is likely that George Carter, not the older brother, Lemuel Carter Sr., took the prisoners. Prior to this, Indian Ned had been ordered to guard the prisoners at Good's camp (Delaney 1872). The prolonged negotiations came to a rapid halt when the Indians in the hills (apparently Ishi's band of Yahi), learned that their three females held prisoner had disappeared. In their eyes, Hi Good had committed a most serious violation. The data implies that the "older Indians" had motive to kill Hi Good (see also Burrill's article *Diggin's* Vol. 51, 2008).

George Carter was one of Hi Good's closest neighbors. Starting in about 1857, they joined forces with others to battle the hostile Indians who were threatening their livelihoods. George Carter may have also assisted in maintaining Hi Good's garden along Deer Creek and in harvesting its yield so that Good's shepherders at their camp in Section 21, were provided enough sustenance to remain as workers.

As for reliable sources to the above, it deserved to be mentioned here about Robert Anderson that, besides being an Indian "hunter" with Hi Good on several campaigns, he was also a primary source about the goings-on at Deer Creek. He was Good's and the Carters' neighbor just upstream from them at the time, until he relocated to the Rock Creek community in 1864, about ten miles south of Deer Creek. As already described on pages 89-90 above, Anderson (1909:86) sincerely believed that the source for the 1857 "fires of hatred" between the Indians and non-Indians, was initially kindled by the ruthless actions of the Carter brothers. Their feud was over cows killed belonging to the white men."

Both Carter brothers lived lives involving tragedies, inclusive of losing their friend and neighbor, Hi Good, on May 4, 1870. The 1860 census about "The Carter Family" with footnotes (below) and "The Carter Brothers' Chronology" (opposite) introduce this history.

The Carter Family

1860 Census, Lassen Township, Tehama County

Family Members	Age/Sex	Occupation	Place of Birth
L. M. Carter Sr. ¹	44 /M	Painter	State born: Va.
S. E. Carter ²	13 /Fe		State born: Iowa/Tenn?
L. O. Carter ³	13 /M		State born: Mo.
Frank A. Carter ⁴	8 /M		State born: Cal.
Albert H. Carter ⁵	6 /M		State born: Cal.
J. C. Carter ⁶	4/ Fe		State born: Cal.
Alfred G. Carter ⁷	30 / M	Farmer	State born: Ohio
<hr/>			
George W. Carter ⁸	28 / M		State born: Miss.

¹ Widower Lemuel M. Carter Sr. (b. 1814- d. 12/21-1876) lost his wife Isabella Carter on June 9, 1858, from the April 7, '58 Steamer *Pike* disaster. The footstone for her reads, "Not lost but gone before." See handwritten [hard to read] Burrill Collection. In December of 1860 Lemuel M. Carter Junior was killed by Indians in Nevada ("Rumored Death" [1860, December19] *Red Bluff Beacon*). The Lingenfelter Archives (1996) reports that Lemuel M. Carter Jr.'s footstone reads, "Gone but not forgotten."

Nothing is listed that could be found about the whereabouts of the wife/widow of Lemuel Carter Jr. It appears that their brood of five children are those listed (above) living with their widower grandfather. Lemuel Carter Sr.'s property was the SE 1/8 of Section 32 (See Fig. 103 map on page 160).

² Twin Sarah Elizabeth Carter born Iowa 1847 [twin] married Alexander Armstrong. Likely daughter of Lemuel M. Carter Jr.

³ Twin Lemuel "Oscar" Carter born Missouri 1847. [Note: The 1860 census erred by listing this twin as only eleven years old. Likely son of Lemuel M. Carter Jr.

⁴ Frank A. Carter born California Nov 30, 1852 - d. Feb. 25, 1873. Likely son of Lemuel M. Carter Jr.

⁵ Albert Harper Carter born Calif. Oct. 29, 1855 -d. Sept. 16, 1881. "Weep not for me." Had married Minnie Allen (b. 1862 in CA). Minnie married 2nd Summers (They are both buried at Oroville). Likely son of Lemuel M. Carter Jr.

⁶ J C Carter (daughter) born Calif 1856 died before 1876. Likely daughter of Lemuel M. Carter Jr.

⁷ Alfred George Carter, younger brother of Lemuel M. Carter Sr. For the record while the 1860 census lists him as born in Ohio, his cemetery obelisk reads, "Native of Indiana." Born Sept. 18, 1829. Died in Vina on March 12, 1871. Alfred George Carter married "Eleanor" who went by "Ellen," born in Indiana in 1840 or 1844. Together they had two daughters and one son of which only one lived to adult age. March of 1871 was a sad time for Ellen Carter who lost her son Wallace and her husband. Eleanor remarried in Tehama Co. on 4/7/1872 to Leonard H. Morley. Deer Creek census, 1860, 1870, farmer. Two daughters: Cora May Carter (1866 - d. Vina 1/3/1868); Emma (Amy Fedora) Carter, born Calif. 1869, chose her uncle L. M. Carter Sr., as guardian on 5/19/1876, he died in December. Emma then chose as her guardian, Samuel C. Discus (Lingenfelter Archives 1996). Alfred G. Carter's property was the SW 1/4 of Section 33 (See 1859 map).

* * * * *

⁸ This George Carter, "born in Mississippi," is probably a different Carter family. He is likely the "George Carter" referenced by Robert Anderson (1909:7) who was recruited to join he and Hi Good to pursue Indians who had "spirited away" with "four very valuable mules."

The Carter Brothers' Chronology

circa 1857 Anderson's (1909:86) account relates that local Indian laborers, living and working on the Carter brothers' cattle ranches, were accused of wrongly slaughtering cows. The Carters got together a party of men who went out and killed several of the Indians, "without giving them a chance to explain their actions." Also, "one white man was killed." This kindled the fires of hatred. Whether Hi Good joined his neighbors remains unknown. Norris Bleyhl (1979:62) does reference an 1858 newspaper account of a party of seventeen men setting out to chastise the Indians on Deer Creek, and the original account may have been incomplete. ("More Indians thieving on Deer Creek" [1858, March 10], *Red Bluff Beacon*. Bleyhl's summation makes no mention of one white man being killed. And about said engagement, the seventeen men ". . . were attacked by the Indians instead."

1860 "We learn that there is a probability that L. M. Carter, of Deer Creek, has been killed by the Indians at the new silver diggings on the Humboldt, above the Sink. He was a large shareholder in the mines lately discovered in that section. We hope the rumor may prove incorrect." ("Rumored Death" [1860, December 19] *Red Bluff Beacon*.

1863 August. Robert Anderson (1909:59) wrote, On one Sunday morning in August [ca.1863], "My neighbors, the Carters were gone at this time, and the three boys of the family, fearful of a night attack at the hands of the Mill Creeks, had come to my place to sleep."

1870 late April. The three female Indian hostages (an unnamed old woman, young woman, and a little girl) were relocated to George Carter's ranch. Waterman (1918:58) wrote, "These three are handed over to a man named Carter, living about a mile from Acorn Hollow on Deer Creek."

This author's hypothesis is that George Carter colluded with Hi Good by temporarily hiding the three Indian hostages on his ranch, which was next to Good's on the south side of Deer Creek. Subsequently, Carter, or someone else, may have transported them north eight miles to the Tehama ferry. There, they may have been taken across the Sacramento River to the riverboat town of Tehama and placed under the control and possession of Sandy Young. Chambers and Wells (1882:221) reveals that "Sandy Young lived in Tehama" [but what years are not reported]. Stephen Powers (1877:280) reveals that two of the same three hostages, mother and daughter, were with Sandy Young when [in Jan. 1871] the daughter gave birth to a baby boy. Powers (1877:281), who apparently interviewed Sandy Young in Tehama circa 1872, added, "In memory of the extraordinary circumstances under which it [sic] was ushered into the world, Young named it, 'Snow-flake,' and it is living to this day a 'wild-eyed lad' in Tehama."

Additional recovered data tells how the Indian boy, Snow-flake, in time, accepted "Tom Cleghorn" (See Fig. 160 on page 276) as his American name, for it was customary at that time for Native Americans to adopt the names of the white families for whom they were working and living as ranch servants or laborers. Tehama County sheep man Peter Morrison Cleghorn with his wife, Margaret (Orr) Cleghorn, are listed in the 1880 census with only one "adopted" but nondescript girl named "Jenny," born in about 1872 (see also Burrill 2008). Jenny was either the youngest female hostage named "*Muchacha*" referenced in Waterman (1918:58) or perhaps a second child of Snowflake's mother (also known as Letitia) fathered this time by Peter Cleghorn. Thomas James Cleghorn's death certificate (State File No. 59-033395, preserved on microfilm at the Sacramento County / Clerk / Recorder's Office) lists:

Name and Birth Place of Father: "Peter Cleghorn, Scotland."

Maiden name and Birth Place of Mother: "Letitia, Spain"

Whether Hi Good, Sandy Young, and perhaps George Carter, were going to eventually sell the three hostages to the highest bidder and split their windfall is entirely open to speculation, for suddenly Hi Good was killed on May 4, 1870.

About the Vina-Carter Cemetery- Tehama County historian Gene Serr, in his e-mail received March 27, 2003, stated that in the Vina-Carter cemetery “eight Carters are buried.” This cemetery is the smallest and the oldest cemetery in Tehama County. In 1849, at the end of the Lassen Emigrants’ Trail some died and there were buried. Vandalism has been a problem. From Frances Leininger and Bertha O’Brien, this writer understands there were over 80 markers in the cemetery that they have observed. In 1984, 50 markers were known. It had been established by Frances Leininger, Bertha O’Brien and others that perhaps 80 to 90 bodies were buried there. In the 1920s, however, monuments by the truck load, several hundred of them, were stolen. In some cases the headstones were deliberately knocked down and broken. Due to the damage of many headstones in the Vina Cemetery, they have been embedded in large concrete blocks and set into the ground to preserve them from damage of natural causes.

Robert A. Anderson (1840-1915)

Robert Anderson fought along side Hi Good in several of the campaigns against the Mill Creeks from 1857 to 1866. Anderson “. . . in 1890, would be elected to the first of two terms as Butte County’s sheriff” (Gillis and Magliari 2004:264). In 1909, Anderson’s memoir *Fighting the Mill Creeks* was published by the Chico Record Press (Burrill 2004:71). He and his brother Jack Anderson (Anderson 1923:21) were neighbors north of Hi Good ranch on Deer Creek (See 1859 Map), living with Joseph A. Rountree (See below). In 1864, Robert Anderson relocating south along Rock Creek, purchasing 160 acres. Starting in 1890, Anderson served two elected terms as Butte County Sheriff (Magliari 2004:264).

On Sept. 2, 1911, Anderson identified “Ishi” in Oroville’s county jail as one of the Mill Creeks he had encountered in 1864 (Burrill 2004:247-252). Norris Bleyhl (1979:65) includes an obituary from the *Plumas National Bulletin* (1915, March 4) titled, “Old Butte Indian fighter, is dead.” Bleyhl’s abstract: reads: “Reports the death of Robert Anderson, Butte County, who, in 1863, fought 27 Indians on Mill Creek, killing seven of them.” However, Anderson’s body count at Forest Ranch (1909:24) that, “There was not a bad Indian to be found, but about forty good ones lay scattered about,” appears to be only bravado, for the *Butte Democrat* (1859, August 6) reported “fourteen . . . and one white man, their leader, were killed” (see also Shover 1999:16).

Joseph A. Rountree (born 1831)

Joseph Augustus Rountree was a bachelor north of Hi Good on whose property Robert Anderson with his brother, Jack Anderson, had a house in which they lived (Anderson 1923:21) Lingenfelter Archives (1996) lists: Patent September 5, 1861. Deed 1864. Lassen 1860 census. Anderson (1909:37 & 59), wrote how the Indians attacked his house on Rountree’s property in 1859 and again in August of ca. 1863 Regarding the ‘59, “Rountree and Anderson’s houses were set on fire” by the Indians. (“Another Indian War” [1859, August 6] *Butte Democrat*.) They also killed five head of cattle. In about ‘63, the Indians “paid me a friendly call.” They had started his barn on fire and stole two horses.

1860 Census Lassen Township, Tehama County

Person’s Name	Age/Sex	Occupation	State of Birth
Joseph G. Rountree	29 / M	Stockman	State born: Ohio
Polly	19 / Fe	(Indian)	State born: Cal.
Robert A. Anderson	20 /M	Farmer	State born: Mo.
Jack Anderson*	30 /M	[Visiting]	State born: Mo.

[The Andersons are not shown in 1860 Census. “My brother, Jack” was then living with me” (Anderson 1909:37). In July-August 1859, Jack Anderson joined his brother for the Forest Ranch (1909:21-24) and Butte Creek skirmishes.

Andy J. Post

Andrew Jackson Post --born New York in 1830 . Lingenfelter Archives (1996) lists: Lassen 1860, 1880 census. Deer Creek 1870 census. Post first married Marico, born Calif 1847. Post married 2nd Tehama Co March 24, 1875 to Mrs Fanny Neal Brown (born Calif 1853). Fanny was the daughter of Samuel Neal (of Durham) a Calif. Indian. Fanny in 1871 had married 1st Bill Brown. Post's step-daughter was Mary Brown (born Calif. 1872). Post's children through Fanny were: Andrew J. Post Jr. (born Calif Dec 20, 1876) and Eve Post (born Calif. Feb. 1880). Waterman (1918:58) wrote that in 1870 Andy Post, Sandy Young, and Obadiah Brown found Good's body "by the odor four days later." A. J. Post 's property on the 1859 map (See Fig. 152 in Ch.3) is shown in Section 34, on east side Hi Good's property.

Dr. Willard Pratt (1826 - d. June 13, 1888)

Dr. Pratt was a pioneer medical doctor in northern California and hotel entrepreneur in Prattville (Plumas Co.). He graduated as physician from University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. He migrated to Wisconsin and married Sarah Hart from England (Brown 1991). Three of their five children together were born in Wisconsin. Dr. Pratt's urge to see California became great, such that in 1853, Pratt journeyed west across the plains on a wagon train drawn by oxen. From 1853 to 1857, he worked in Hangtown; 1857-1860 in Colusa; and 1860-1866 at Four Corners on Rock Creek. Wife Sarah and the daughters arrived in Colusa in 1858. [Note: In Hi Good's letter to General Wm. C. Kibbe in Sacramento, written on 7/13/1862 and requesting a commission to track down and kill the Indians, Good wrote "I would recommend Dr. Pratt of Rock Creek as Clerk or financier."]

In September 1866, Dr. Pratt was presented by Hi Good and his men, with a badly wounded stage robber. Moak (1923:17) wrote, "Doctor Pratt did what he could for him but the next day he died and was buried in Prattville." [Note: The robbers identities remain unresolved at this writing.]

In 1867 in Big Meadows (Plumas County) Dr. Pratt built his first Prattville hotel where he also became postmaster. In 1876 while away, it burned down. In 1877 he built a second hotel, "with twenty-six sleeping rooms."

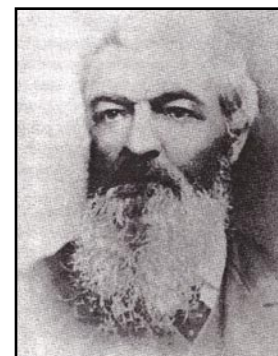


Figure 75.
Dr. Willard Pratt

Henry Gerke (1810-1882)

Henry Gerke made his first fortune through real estate dealings in San Francisco, inclusive of the downtown Union Square properties. His home at 107 Mason Street, San Francisco (between Ellis and Eddy streets) was one of the first houses built there. On July 12, 1852, Gerke took exclusive ownership of Peter Lassen's headquarter's Bosquejo ranch property (on south side of Deer Creek.) Good would have known Gerke as a dedicated and secretive wine-maker, and no doubt knew of the construction of his new house with brick wine cellar. Gerke's quality wines were very much desired by the people of San Francisco. This may explain why Leland Stanford became so interested in what later became the Stanford Vina Ranch, the largest winery in the world! Making a quality dry claret wine was one of Leland Stanford's goals. Apparently, brandy was more successful in Vina than the various wines made. On July 24, 1869, Gerke lost interest in things when his wife Louisa A. died in Red Bluff. In 1875, Gerke sold out his Lassen Township holdings to Cone and Bennett and Stanford. Henry Gerke died on April 22, 1882. (See Fig. 11 photo of Gerke's house still extant with wine cellar in the Feature 2 Interpretations.).

Jay Salisbury (1829-1892)

Jay Salisbury is the one standing in the back (middle) of the group photo with Hi Good (man sitting in foreground). Jay Salisbury married Mary Etta (1841-1924) whose surname at death was Goldbarn. Jay Salisbury is buried in the Chico Cemetery. The Lingenfelter Archives (1996) lists Jay Salisbury as Deputy Sheriff and Tehama farmer 1867. It is noticed that law enforcement was an attraction for the Salisbury family, for Jay's sister, Jeanet Salisbury, married Thomas Alpaugh (b. 1831) who served in 1859-1861 as the 4th Sheriff of Tehama County. Jay's father, Marvil Salisbury (1801-1887) made the Tehama 1860 census. Marvil was a Tehama saddler 1867. Red Bluff 1880 census with son George. A Deed of August 25, 1863, Marvil Salisbury gave to Jay Salisbury.

Mrs. Elizabeth "Betsy" McConnell Lewis



Figure 76.

Widow "Betsy" Lewis
Reprinted courtesy of
Mrs. Frances Leininger.

Elizabeth "Betsy" Lewis and husband, Thomas Lewis, with family (See below) were neighbors of Hi Good. Thomas Lewis (b. 1800 - d. 2/25/1862) brought his wife and family to Deer Creek in 1859. The Lewis place was just downstream and on the north side of Deer Creek. Upon the loss of her husband in 1862, Betsy worked some of the cobbler's trade for family income. In the spring of 1870, she had repaired Hi Good's boots. When Good was strangely unaccounted for, Indian Ned paid widow Lewis and her daughter "Maddie" Lewis, a visit to claim Good's boots. Ned's short visit, however, left them suspicious of him. Moak's (1923:32-33) account recalls that after killing Hi Good, Indian Ned went to the Lewis's place:

After leaving Good there the Indian went down to the Widow Lewis' place on Deer Creek. Mrs. Lewis and her daughter were in the yard. The Indian rode up and took a twenty dollar piece out of his pocket and said, "I will give this to see Hi Good's boots." Mrs. Lewis said, "What's the matter with Hi Good?"

The Indian said, "He is missing." In showing the money they noticed Good's gold ring on his finger.

He had robbed Good his money and taken the ring; but had not taken his gold watch.

About Good's ring, Robert Anderson (1909:84) remembered that it was a "silver ring." The Lingenfelter Archives (1996) reads that the Lewis family of Deer Creek were in the 1860 and 1870 censuses. Mrs. Lewis died in Oxford, Indiana, on April 16, 1898.

The Lewis Family 1860 Census, Lassen Township, Tehama County

<u>Family Members</u>	<u>Age/Sex</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Place of Birth</u>
Thomas Lewis*	60 / M	Farmer	South Carolina
Elizabeth "Betsy" Lewis	40 / Fe		Adams Co., Ohio
Lewis "	14 / M		Indiana
David Lewis	12 /M		Indiana
"Maddie" Lewis	10 /Fe		Indiana

* Buried: "Sill's Peach Orchard Cemetery at Vina is thought to be the resting place of Thomas Lewis. The cemetery is now abandoned" (Frances Leininger 1986:37).

Jubal Weston Family Received Young Orphan Indian Girl Named “Nellie” From Hi Good

Jubal Weston (Fig. 77) and his wife, Sarah Richardson Weston, accepted a young orphan Indian child from Hi Good in about 1862, and raised her as one of their own. The Weston couple named her “Nellie” (Figures 78). Fortunately, it was Jubal Weston’s son, Joshua Francis “Frank” Weston (Fig. 79) who wrote and published three informative family history accounts (in 1953, 1954, and 1955 issues of the Colusi Historical Society’s *Wagon Wheels*) that preserved for posterity this touching Tehama County family history.

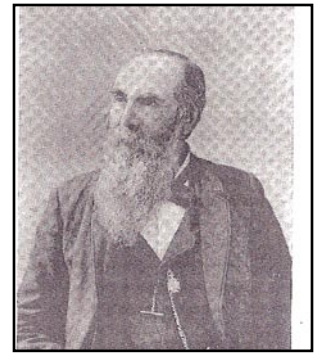


Figure 77.
Jubal Weston
(1824-1910)

This rare never before published photograph (Fig. 78) of little “Nellie,” their adopted Native Indian American child, was provided this researcher courtesy of the Charles B. Weston family members of Flournoy, Tehama County.

It was in about 1862 in Big Meadows (today’s Prattville, Lake Almanor, Plumas County, California), when Jubal and Sarah Weston first saw the little Indian orphan, whose origin and tribal affiliation remains unresolved. It appears that Nellie was Yahí/Yana since they were told by Hi Good that she was “captured on Deer Creek.” But several Indian groups, to save themselves, also were forced to intrude upon Ishi’s traditional territory. Therefore, Nellie could possibly be Maidu, Pit River, Nomlaki, Wintu or from some other tribe.

Joshua Francis “Frank” Weston (Figures 79) was of the next generation, one of eleven children born to Jubal and Sarah Weston. He was born in Monroeville in 1868. Frank Weston (1954:2) wrote, “I used to sit on Hi Good’s lap as a boy, and there were no good Indians for him.” On page 5 of the 1955 issue of *Wagon Wheels*, Frank Weston (1955:5) wrote:

Hi Good captured another little Indian girl on Deer creek. He was passing by my father’s hotel at Prattville and brought her in to the table. My mother pitied her and kept her and raised her like one of the daughters. She took her to the city (Oakland*) when my mother and the children lived there. In her last year of high school she died of quick consumption.

* The Weston family members believe that Nellie was brought to San Francisco rather than to Oakland.



Figure 78. “Nellie” Weston when 2 or 3 years old. Reprinted courtesy of Mike Sanderson and Cheryl Weston Sanderson, 2008.

Frank Weston's (1953:3) earlier and first published account about little Nellie being "given" to his family by Hi Good reads:

During the years of 1861, '62 and '63, which were dreadfully dry years, and because there were too many rebel sympathizers in the county, my father, being a Yankee from Boston, moved up to Prattville in Big Meadows, [Plumas County, ~~not Shasta~~], now known as Lake Almanor. Here he took his beef cattle to sell to the miners and he operated a tavern with the customary bar. He returned in 1863 to Monroeville.

While living at Prattville, my mother was given a young orphan Deer Creek Indian girl by Hi Good, an Indian fighter. This girl, Nellie, took care of me while I was young and she went to public school in San Francisco, where she died in 1875, in her last year of high school.

Nellie Weston's life dates are born circa. 1857 - d. 1875. She lived to be about eighteen years old in San Francisco. The Weston family home is gone now. It was located at 2513 California Street. Nellie Weston place of burial is also unresolved. Charles Martin with the Colusi Historical Society told this author, "It appears Nellie is not buried in Monroeville." San Francisco historian Robert Bowen, hearing this, responded, "Then she probably was buried in the City's Lone Mountain Cemetery. All of these bodies were reinterred in Colma in the 1930s."

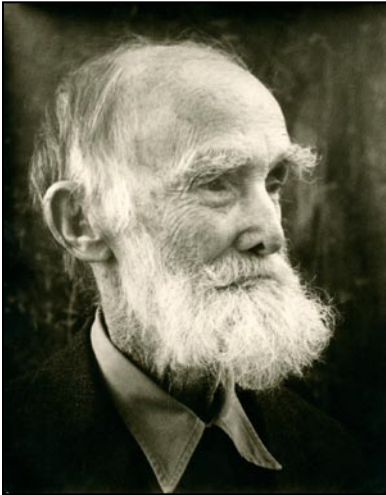


Figure 79. Joshua Francis Weston (1867- 1961] Reprinted courtesy of Jubal Weston family descendants.

Excerpts from Joshua Francis Weston (1954, February) "Nits Breed Lice or Glen County Indians" *Wagon Wheels Vol. IV* (No. 1), pp. 2-3:

- "There's an old army saying, "nits breed lice." In my youth, I often heard that saying applied to the Indians. "Kill 'em, kill 'em all, squaws too."

- "It was the young men who made the trouble, but they killed them all. Sometimes they would save the children if they weren't too young. My mother raised one of these children, a little girl given her by Hi Good.

My uncle Josh* used to say, "A dead Indian is a good Indian." He killed a good many of them, but my father⁴ sympathized with them, and I did too later, but as a boy I was against Indians.

* Joshua Weston (1828 - d. Dec. 13, 1910). According to Frank Weston (1955:5) his Uncle Josh "went with Hi Good to pack over to the mines in Idaho (see Fig. 306 on page 427). He added, "My uncle Josh went along as guard." Hi Good's pack train from Chico to Silver City, Idaho journeyed there in spring and early summer of 1866. Joshua Weston was foreman of the Monroeville Ranch. Monroeville was an early riverboat town, which turned to ghost town; located along the west bank of the Sacramento River, of early Colusi/Colusa County, CA (Monroeville, at the mouth of Stony Creek (formerly called Capay River) is now located in northeastern Glen County).

- "I used to sit on Hi Good's lap as a boy, and there were no good Indians for him. He was an Indian hunter and always led the parties organized to track down marauding Indians. "

- "The Indians were here before the white men came, and all they really wanted was enough to eat --they had that before the white men came --deer, acorns, Indian roots, and clover when they had nothing else. The white men killed off the quail and antelope, and burned the oats. They had to kill an old ox once in a while, my father said. The government should have taken care of them, he believed, and some of them were taken care of in Round Valley.

- "There was a rancheria half a mile above Monroeville where we lived."

- "The Indians who worked for us were called tame, the others at the rancherias wild. The wild ones didn't wear many clothes; the bigger girls wore a G string of tule grass and the women wore mother hubbards, just in front. When the Indians would come into the yard, mother would chase them out with the broom. The tame Indians who worked for us wore overalls or old trousers of some kind, usually no shirt or shirts without sleeves."

- "My mother always took care of the Indians who worked for us when they came in to eat. They'd sit at the end of the table and usually ate with their hands although they were provided a knife, fork and spoon. Mother would cut off a big chunk of roast beef or boiled beef, generally she boiled it for them, enough to feed a hungry dog, potatoes, a big chunk of bread, enough for two men, a big helping of sauerkraut. When they had finished, she'd cut a pie in two, generally wild blackberry, and sweep it off onto their plates--we had big plates in those days. When they finished their pie they'd look all around for something more to eat. She'd say, "Now you get out of here."

James Lawrence Keefer (1820-1907)

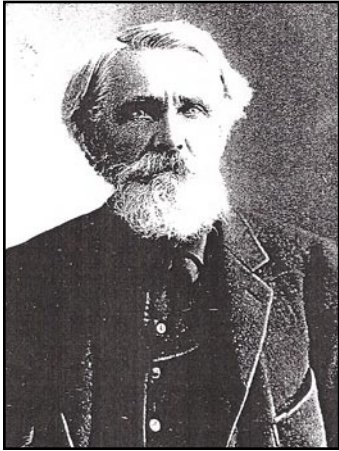


Figure 80.
James L. Keefer
Reprinted from Gabriel
(1981)

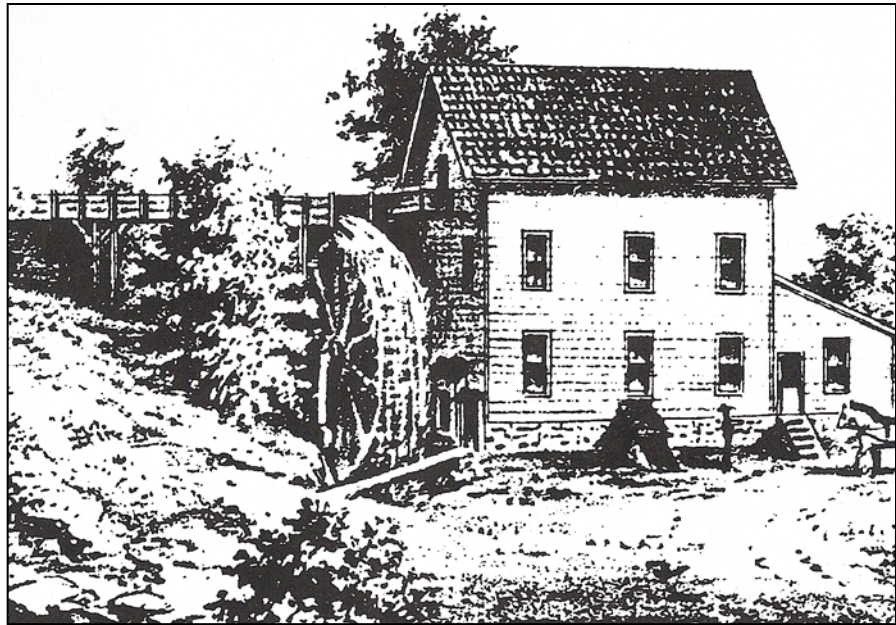


Figure 81. Keefer's Flour Mill built on Rock Creek in 1861. This image comes from Smith & Elliott's *Pictorial History of Butte County*. The picture has been flipped to show the water wheel "properly" on the west side of the building. William Keefer remarked about a painting in his possession of the old mill that it was "correct in every detail, except that the artist painted the water wheel on the east end of the mill," which was wrong. (Paul Roberts "Off the Record." [1950, April 7] *Chico Enterprise Record*).

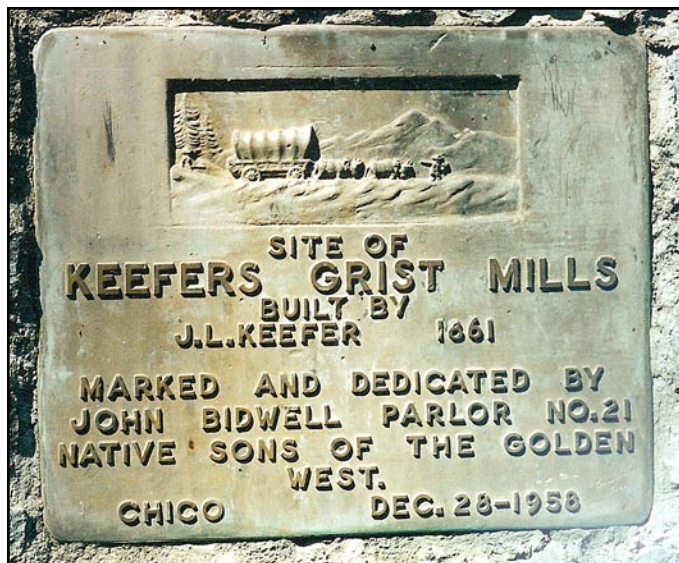


Figure 82. Keefer "Flour" Grist Mill Marker - Built in 1861. Located on the north bank of Rock Creek off Cohasset Road, Butte County, California. Photo by author in April, 2002.

James L. Keefer hailed from Pennsylvania, He came to California in 1849. In 1850, he purchased land eight miles north of Chico (Butte County) on Rock Creek. He constructed an early grist mill (today north off Cohasset Road) and became the local postmaster at Keefer's stage station at the Four Corners, on the Shasta Road. He built also a blacksmith's shop, which was one of the largest in the state at that time, operated in 1859 by John J. Shannon who hailed from Ohio (Gabriel 1981:16). Keefer was involved in two sawmills in Cohasset. He built a third sawmill in early 1870, or 1871 in Tehama County, at the promontory point on Pine Creek with steam engine, planing mill and lumber yard.

Land history - 1863 Oct. 1/Oct. 19 Grantor David Rowles deeded the full title of the Sordorus farm to (D) grantee J. L. Keefer for \$1500. Rock Creek property to wit [T23N, R1W] on the north to the red lands (lava cap) and to the east claimed by Solomon Gore on the south by lands claimed by Horace Cox, and on the west by lands claimed by Overton and formerly known as the Sadorus Farm. Mary Dotta Keefer (1869-1959), wife of William Keefer (1865-1953) deeded the ranch headquarters property to her son-in-law, Mr. Norman Hope.

1853, May 31 - James Keefer married Miss Rebecca Odell (Fig. 83) of Cherokee heritage in Marysville, California. They moved to the Rock Creek area in about '53, and began their ranch with rancheria (see 1860 census). The Keefers had 12 children born between 1854 and 1874 (see list below).

1860 Census, Rock Creek Post Office, Butte County, California

Persons Name	Age/Sex	Occupation	State of Birth
James L. Keefer	40 /M		Penn.
Rebecca Odell Keefer	23 /Fe	(Cherokee)	Ohio / 1860 Mich.
John Odell	-- / M	(Cherokee)	Ohio
Nathaneil Odell	-- / M	(Cherokee)	Ohio
Tho Allen ¹	26 / M		Wisc.
name ?	/ M	(Indian) Laborer	
Sam ²	20 / M	(Indian) Laborer	Cal.
Bill	18 / M	(Indian) Laborer	Cal.
Slick	27 / M	(Indian) Laborer	Cal.
Pete	24 / M	(Indian) Laborer	Cal.
Tom ³	16 / M	(Indian) Laborer	Cal.
Dick	19 / M	(Indian) Laborer	Cal.
John	22 / M	(Indian) Laborer	Cal.
Aleck	24 / M	(Indian) Laborer	Cal.
Tim	27 / M	(Indian) Laborer	Cal.
Polly	20 / Fe	(Indian) Laborer	Cal.
Judah	17 / Fe	(Indian) Laborer	Cal.
Jenny	20 / Fe	(Indian) House Servant	Cal.
Clemma ⁴	16 / Fe	(Indian) " "	Cal.

1) Thomas Allen, a teamster for J. K. Keefer was killed and scalped by Indians. A ranch Indian of Keefer's in company with Allen, was shot and badly wounded in the arm, but escaped and brought the news to the valley. ["Indian Murder and Abduction" (1862, June 28) *Butte Record*]

2) Is this the "Sam" the old chief known as "Big Sam," who D. F. Crowder learned from whom in about 1859, that the Indians "split into two groups because they had been enemies once before" ? [D. F. Crowder (1918, January 22). *Chico Daily Enterprise*.] Evidently, D. F. Crowder was "Doctor Franklin Crowder" (born 1844) of the Chico Township with Pine Creek Post Office.

3) It is probable this is the Tom, who was injured in the arm by the marauding Mill Creeks when with teamster Thomas Allen, who was brutally killed. Tom was also Mrs. Keefer's kitchen helper.

4) "Clemma"? Emma Cooper's mother? Emma Cooper was born in 1877 (see below Fig. 85). Norman Hope wrote that Emma's father was "from the Tigus tribelet on the western ridge of Paradise (Hill 1978:29-30), while "Emma's mother was from Odawi [village] near Hooker Oak."

James L. Keefer and Family

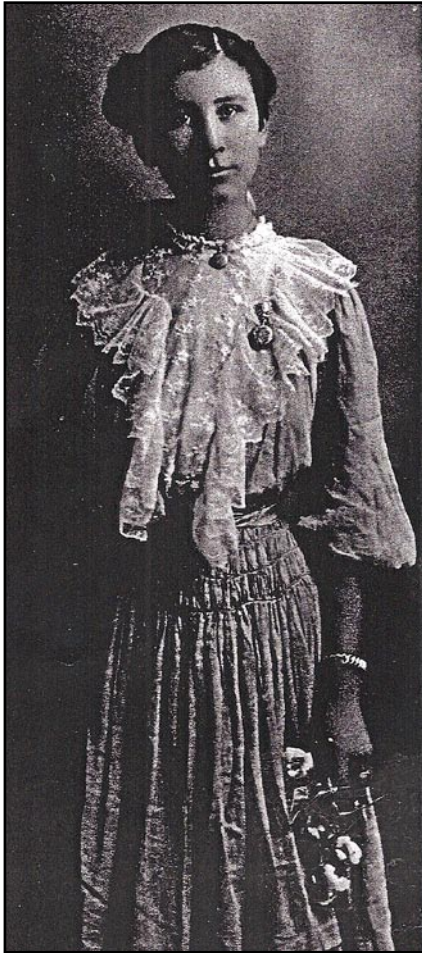


Figure 83. Miss Nelda Keefer, with her Cherokee heritage evident in this picture, was the granddaughter of James and Rebecca Keefer. Nelda's parents were William Keefer (1865-1953) and Mary (Dotta) Keefer (1869-1959). Nelda's mother deeded the ranch headquarters property to Nelda's husband, Norman Hope. Nelda died in August, 1958. Photo reprinted from Gabriel (1981:85).

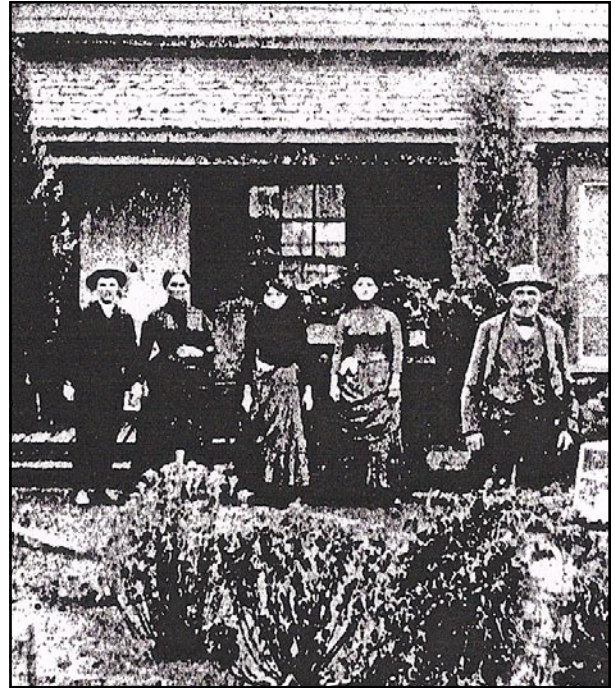


Figure 84. Five of the Keepers photographed at their Rock Creek headquarters ranch. Photo taken in 1888. (Left to right) Claude Keefer, 14 years old, Rebecca Odell Keefer, 56, Blanche, 16, Jessie, 19, and James L. Keefer, 68. Reprinted from Gabriel (1981:80).

Figure 85. Emma M. Cooper (1877 -1960) about 80 years old at Chico Rancheria. In 1957, Emma Cooper was photographed by anthropologist Dorothy Hill of Chico, as the last of the Keefer Rancheria Indians. Emma was born April 3, 1877. She died at the age of 83, on July 22, 1960.

Reprinted by permission Emma Cooper, Chico Rancheria SC31571. Dorothy Morehead Hill Collection, MSS 160 Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico.



Rebecca (Odell) Keefer (1837-1898), Cherokee Indian and wife of James Keefer. She had apparently crossed the plains to California in 1853, with her two Cherokee brothers, John and Nathaniel Odell. Rebecca's brothers are listed living with the Keefers in the 1860 and 1870 census. Keefer biographer Kathleen Faye Gabriel (1981:9), wrote "According to twelve informants who personally knew James and Rebecca's children, grandchildren, or great-grandchildren, Rebecca was either full or half-Cherokee Indian. This author was unable to find a written source, such as a birth certificate, to document Rebecca Keefer's ethnic heritage. The informants, however, insist that it was common knowledge. Rebecca's birthplace in the census for 1860, 1870, and 1880 are listed respectively, Michigan, Iowa and Ohio. William H. Hutchinson (1981) wrote about the 1853 era, "At that time, very little, if any social stigma would have been attached to Mrs. Rebecca Keefer being a Cherokee Indian."

About this, Gabriel (1981:10) wrote, "Rebecca Keefer's two brothers were registered to vote in Butte County, 1866-1877."

"Also, Cherokee John Rollin Ridge ("Yellow Bird") was the respected editor for a Marysville newspaper. Keefer married Rebecca Odell, who was believed to be a Cherokee Indian. Apparently, the children suffered from local prejudice because they were considered "half-breeds" (Gabriel 1981:93).

Insights About the Rancheria Indians at Keefer's

1855/1856 - Pioneer and landowner D. F. Crowder learned how some of the local Indians came to be with the Keefers (Mansfield 1918:195, 927):

"In the summer of 1855 or '56 the Indians were having a customary annual feast-like gathering at Deer Creek, a short distance up the canyon. They killed a steer, and a stock raiser came along and seeing it, reported it to others, who went and killed a few and wounded a number of other Indians. They scattered in different directions, quite a bunch of them crossing to the ranch of Mr. Keefer and were befriended by him. A squaw had a badly lacerated hand, caused by a shot gun. Mr. Keefer cut it off with his pocket knife, and tied it up. Mrs. Keefer took a small boy whom she named Tom, and kept him as a kitchen helper till he was about grown.* The Indians finding Mr. Keefer friendly and disposed to treat them kindly, decided to remain with him. They were not long in getting settled comfortably on his ranch, and in learning to speed the single plow in winter, and doing other work in summer. The squaws also were fairly good at the binding of wheat when cut by cradle or reaper."

* "Mrs. Raney picked the shot from the back of the girl, and kept her as kitchen help 'till grown, when she'd died" (Gabriel 1981:14).

Addendum: This oral history about James and Rebecca Keefer was obtained by this author on June 9, 2005, from Margaret (Whitaker) Riehlman of Paradise, California, that:

"They raised twin Indian girls. One married and left. The other stayed with them throughout their lives.

"James Keefer had been a butcher in Pennsylvania. He was always comfortable with the Indians. The Indians were allowed to stay on their ranch, year-round, a permanent rancheria on the property, and this was what caused them problems. His wife, Rebecca, was Cherokee Indian (Note: Riehlman's grandmother, Edna Maurice Whitacre, recalled about "her" grandparents, James and Rebecca Keefer. Edna's mother, Laura Maude Keefer, was the Keefer's 5th child, born in 1860.).

Chronology of Indian/Non-Indian Relations

1859 - Butte County settler, D. F. Crowder told that "About 1859 these Diggers split into two factions. An old chief known as Big Sam who Crowder had worked with personally told him that, "They had been enemies once before." (D. F. Crowder [1918, January 22] *Chico Daily Enterprise*).

1862 June 25 - Wed. A company of Mountain Indian marauders killed "with arrows" James Keefer's teamster, Thomas Allen and the two Hickok children, Ida Hickok, 16 years old, Minnie Hickok, 13 and abducted their six year old brother, Franklin A. Hickok. The Indian boy named Tom, one of Keefer's Indians, escaped with only an arm injury to give the alarm. He had been with Thomas Allen in the wagon transporting lumber from Morrill's [sic] saw mill, when according to Moak (1923:11), "they came upon the scene" [of the Hickok children being attacked].

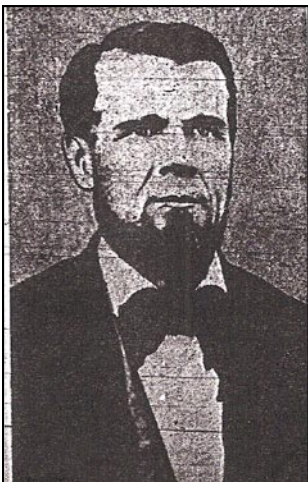
A Telegraphic dispatch from Chico, of the 25th, stated that Allen, "was killed and scalped by Indians on the afternoon of that day" and that "a ranch Indian of Keefer's in company with Allen, was shot and badly wounded in the arm, but escaped and brought the news to the valley ("Indian Murder and Abduction" [1862, June 28] *Butte Record*).

About the Hickok children, Simeon Moak (1923:11) wrote:

The little boy . . . they captured and took with them. A company of about thirty men started after the Indians. They did not know anything about tracking the Indians and went in the hills without provisions and had to come back. This Mr. Keefer had a rancheria on his ranch, a sawmill in the mountains and a grist mill a short distance below the Hickok home. Mr. Keefer sent for Hi Good, who was known to be a great Indian trailer, and Indian fighter. When Good arrived Mr. Keefer said, "Mr. Good, I want you to get the Hickok boy, you can have all the money you want." He then emptied his purse of seven-five dollars and gave it to Good."

1862 July 4 - The date of the sad and painfully heart-rending funeral and burial conducted by Rev. Neal of Chico, at the Chico Cemetery ("Obituary" [1862, July 5] *Butte Democrat*).

1862 July 10 - Word arrived that the body of 6 year, 11 month old Franklin A. Hickok had been found, and that he had been also tortured. His life dates recorded at the Chico Cemetery are: born July 25, 1855 - died June 25, 1862. He was killed about July 8th. Moak (1923:11) wrote that the party who successfully tracked and returned with the Hickok boy's body were: Hi Good, Obe Field, Bill Sublet [sic], and a man named "Bowman."



1863 -1863 -After the Hickok children episode, rage against all Indians grew so agitated that a general clean-up, even of any "friendly" Indians, was seriously entertained; of which there were Indian *rancherias* at: Keefer's (Rock Creek), at John Bidwell's (Chico), at Phillips' (Oak Grove on Pine Creek) and at Dan Sill's (Deer Creek). However, one man's voice, that of Franklin S. Hickok (Fig. 37), the grieving father no less, stopped a general massacre from occurring in the summer of 1862! About killing all the Indians, Robert Anderson (1909:54) wrote, ". . . but Mr. Hickok, the bereaved father, forbade this being done on his behalf, and of course, at such time, his wishes were respected."

Figure 86. Franklin S. Hickok, said "no" to what would have otherwise been a general massacre across Butte County in 1862.

The Names of the 12 Keefer Children: Clarence Delno (b. 1854), Charles Carlos (b. 1855), Eudora Ledonna (b. 1856), Lilly Rose (b. 1858), Laura Maude (b. 1860), James L., Jr. (b. 1861), Lucy May (b. 1864), William (b. 1865), Jessie (b. 1869), Harry Keefer* (b. 1870 - d. 1926), Blanche Jesse (b. 1872), and Claude A. Keefer (b. 1874). Harry Keefer (10th child) was also the one who confiscated Ishi's arrows (see above Fig. 11) from Grizzly Bear's Hiding Place in November, 1908. Today, they are on exhibit inside the California State Indian Museum, Sacramento.

Samuel A. Gyle (b. 1833 died Corning Feb. 28, 1917)

Samuel A. Gyle and his brother, Louis Abraham Gyle (1835 - July 12, 1936) were loan merchants. Their lending firm in downtown Tehama was Gyle & Company stood next door to the Heider House (see below Figures 88 and 89). According to Simeon Moak (1923:31), Sam Gyle had loaned Hi Good \$3,000, which Good paid back upon selling a portion of his sheep for \$7,000.

Sam Gyle came to Tehama in 1852 and Louis arrived by steamer to Tehama in 1858. Sam did not become a Mason, while his brother did join Molino Lodge No. 150 of F. & A. M. Sam Gyle married Miss Rebecca Levensohn (1847 -1880) in San Francisco on Dec 5, 1877. They had two children: Clarence (b. 1879) and Corinne Gyle (who married George Irving). Sam Gyle became a Corning merchant during 1896, 1902, 1908. A footnote is that Sam Gyle also took ownership of Hi Good's ranch in Section 33, after Hi Good was killed.

Louis Gyle married Annie Cohn (whose brother Alexander Cohn ran Mayhew's store). Their daughter Eva Gyle (1857-1911) married Charles Kauffman of Tehama County in 1871 (Lingenfelter Archives 1996; Gerald Brown 1968 "Jews of Tehama County" Red Bluff: Andy Osborne Papers.)

John Simpson II Visited Hi Good's Cabin in about 1865

John Simpson Sr., and his wife Robina, with their son and daughter-in-law (John Simpson II and Janey), converged on Tehama in 1853. They were a Scottish-American family originally from Fifeshire, Scotland. The fourshome arrived in San Francisco in 1852, via the Isthmus from Carbondale, Pennsylvania. The father and son were involved in several businesses. They started a partnership with Charles Harvey's hardware store. The father died, however, in 1858.

The son, John Simpson II (1837-1914) also owned a tinware factory, a feedmill, and water works company that serviced all of Tehama. One day, in about 1865, he apparently took a day off from work and visited Hi Good's cabin in Acorn Hollow (See side bar). In 1875, Simpson II sold his interest in the hardware store to Harvey. He later established another hardware store with plumbing business. He was also one of the local Masons. He served on many committees, was a state assemblyman in Sacramento and Tehama County supervisor in 1884. In 1906, with incorporation, John Simpson II became the first mayor of the City of Tehama.

Scalps Found Inside Hi Good's Cabin

In 1947, 80 year old George C. Simpson Sr. recalled what his father, John Simpson II, had told him about visiting Hi Good's Cabin that: "... his father went out to Hi Good's cabin [ca. 1865] and pulled the latch string and, since Hi seemed to be out, went in. Noticing something peculiar about Hi's bed, he turned back the cover and found the underside of the quilt covered with Indian scalps sewed on."

[George C. Simpson Sr. died the next year, age 81 years, on January 24, 1948. The above account was found in the Judge Herbert South Gans Scrapbook, p. 64, Red Bluff, California: Tehama County Library.]

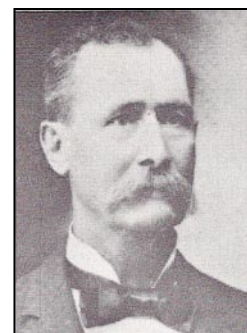


Figure 87.
John Simpson II.

W

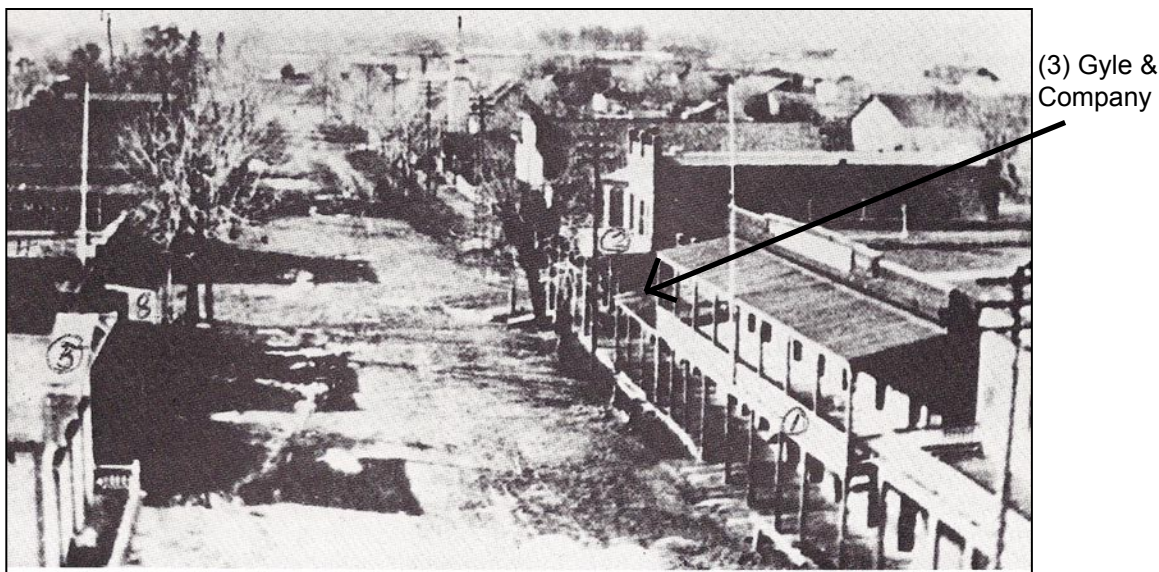
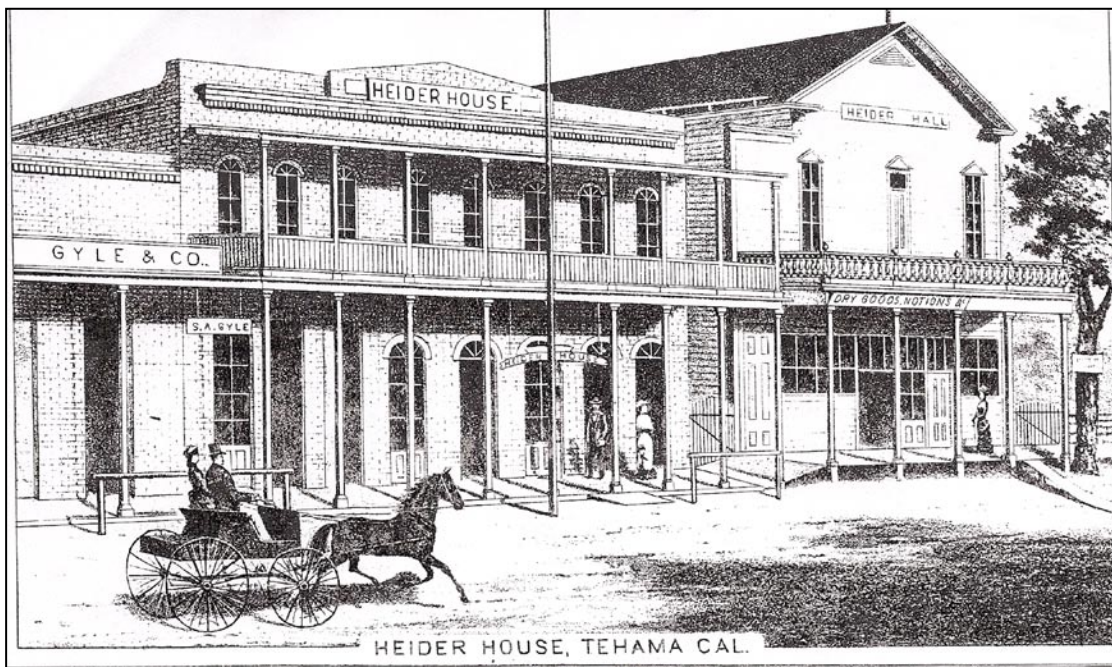


Figure 88. Tehama's Merchant District on "D" Street, looking westward. Photo pre-dates the big 1908 fire. This was the closest urban center for folks living in the Hi Good Cabin site's study area to procure their groceries and ranch supplies.

Lower right foreground: (1) Heider House, (3) Gyle & Company, and (2) Charles Harvey Hardware store and also (6) Presbyterian Church (1878) at corner of Third and "D" Streets.

Lower left foreground: (5) Tait House, and next door (8) Tehama Post Office with flag pole.



W

Figure 89. Gyle & Company loan office and the Heider House on north side of Tehama's "D" Street (main merchants street). Drawing reprinted from Elliott & Moore 1880 *Illustration of Tehama County, California with Historical Sketch*. San Francisco: Elliott & Moore Publishers. The old town was destroyed by the fire of 1908.



Figure 90. Tehama School (downstairs) and Masonic Lodge (upstairs) built during 1859-1860. It is the only early Town of Tehama structure still extant that dates back to Hi Good's era. Its 1859 photo (Fig. 342) is placed in Ch. 6 on page 463. This brick structure has been since expanded and serves as today's Tehama County Museum at 275 "C" Street (corner of 2nd & "C" Streets), City of Tehama, California. Its upstairs was the first lodge used by Mason's Molino Lodge No. 150.

This rare photograph, taken in 1860, shows the students and teachers outside their newly constructed school. Grimes (1983:63) reported that "In 1861 there were 221 students in attendance, including 11 black and 13 Indian children." The school bell was a gift from Irish-American Charles Harvey (1838-1884). She was cast in England by the Naylor Vickers Company and "came around the horn in an old sailing vessel and up the Sacramento to Tehama" (Steffan 2008). Shown above in its original belfry, the bell today can be visited at 650 3rd Street in Tehama (in the middle of the block, on the west side between "G" & "H" Streets).

Early Sheriffs of Tehama County

<u>Name</u>	<u>Years</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
Hosmer C. Copeland	1854-1856	1st Sheriff
Dennis Dun	1857 (Died on steamboat trip to Sacramento)	
Owen R. Johnson	1858 -1859	3rd Sheriff
Thomas Alpaugh*	1859-1861	4th Sheriff
Samuel D. Johns	1861-1863	5th Sheriff
Joseph Smith	1863-1865	6th Sheriff
Samuel D. English	1865-1867	7th Sheriff (See Photo)
Owen R. Johnson	1868 (Resigned)	8th Sheriff
John S. Hale (1817-1891)	1869-1871	9th Sheriff (Appointed & Elected)

*His wife was Jay Salisbury's sister (Lingenfelter Archives 1996).

Town of Tehama Data

Early newspapers - Mary Lee Grimes (1983:26) provided this newspaper history:

The *Tehama Gazette* was started by J. Charlton and H. E. Salsbury in 1857 and lasted about one year. The *Tehama Independent* was established in March of 1872, by Charles Woodman. Woodman sold the paper to C. B. Ashurst, and the paper was moved to Red Bluff and published as the *People's Cause*. Sanford C. Baker, a former employee of the *Red Bluff Independent* started up the *Tehama Observer*, which lasted a little over one year. The *Tehama Tocsin* began in 1875 and was the longest operating newspaper.

Wells Fargo Express office - Charles Harvey became the agent in 1881.

Railroad history - The construction of the California & Oregon RR's "swing span" bridge from Sesma to Tehama began in 1867 and was completed August 28, 1871 (Grimes 1983:25).

Tehama County Museum's Wall Display Panel Data, 2006		
Name	1860 Census	Occupation
H. L. Henderson	X	Constable
Gabriel H. Messersmith	X	Justice of the Peace
John LaFayette Jackman	X	Assistant Marshall
Newell Hall	X	County Judge
Henry L. Baumgartten	X	Wagon maker
George Worthington	X	Saddler
George McFalrane	X	Taylor
John M. Betts	X	Physician
Edward B. Hand	X	Physician
Nicholas Tarter	X	Physician
John Garnet Willis	X	Physician
Louis A. Gyle	X	Merchant
Samuel Alexander Gyle	X	Merchant
E. F. Woodward	X	Brickmason*
Samuel Dewitt Hubbell	X	Poet
Joseph Mathis	X	Ferryman
John Simpson Sr.	X	Variety Store
Charles Harvey	X	Express Agent/Justice of the Peace 1862 1st Tehama Post Master in 1868

* Frances Leininger told this author that George C. Simpson Sr., opened a brick-making firm in the Town of Tehama.

The Local Chinese



Figure 91. The Chinese built rock wall (thin black lines in above photo) runs for approximately 4.2 miles northeasterly to south-westerly (towards Chico in upper right portion). This photo was taken, looking south. Deer Creek flows year-round in the middle.

Tehama County sheep man turned land investor and “Wheat King,” Joseph S. Cone, in the 1880s contracted with the Chinese tongs (guilds) from San Francisco to build this rock wall “corral” for the scanty amount of “15 cents a rod”!

Did not this rock wall serve as one of California’s longest sheep corrals? Sheep may be the only domesticated animal that can successfully browse over acres of angular lava rock pasture. The barrier prevented animals from roaming off into the foothills. At its north end, a small gap in the wall afforded ready access to Deer Creek’s year-round water supply, available during any drought year. At its south end were the slaughterhouses of Chico. Photograph taken on 3/17/2008.

Figure 93. Chinese Food Utility Storage Jar. The brown stone-ware fragment, with black glaze found at the Hi Good Cabin site (CA-TEH-2105H), during the 2003-2004 field work, is likely from a Chinese food jar like this one illustrated here; and “usually made of the gray-brown paste with *“jian-you”* or Tiger glaze”



Figure 92.
ACTUAL SIZE
Specimen 320-126



Town of Tehama's Chinese

The largest Chinese community in Tehama County between 1860 and 1870, was located in the town of Tehama. After 1870, the Chinese population would shift back to Red Bluff having the largest percentage. The Town of Tehama's "Chinatown" was located in the area bordered by "B" and 2nd Streets. Chinatown extended beyond the north side of the railroad track and there along the Sacramento River (Grimes 1983:26; Gaumer 1985; Steffan 2008).

The Chinese were mainly employed as laborers in the orchards, fields, and gardens for the local Euro-American ranchers. Most leased the fertile river soil that they farmed, growing garden vegetables. The dried fruits and peanuts produced were exported commercially. Researcher Bill Gaumer (1985) wrote, "They watered trees by hand with large wooden tubs on the orchards in Tehama County."

Sam Lee was Tehama's vegetable peddler, and thereby, became one of the most widely known of the Chinese people living in the early Tehama. Some Chinese peddlers brought additional vegetables by wagon or by cart out to the ranch families' homes once every week. About Sam Lee, the vegetable peddler, the Lingenfelter Archives (1996) lists him as born in China about 1866. He died in China after 1948. He had married a woman named Susie.

1880s -Rock walls of Tehama County (See Fig. 91 opposite) - Joseph Spencer Cone with ranch east of Red Bluff, employed a number of Chinese The tongs (guilds) in San Francisco provided Cone with the laborers who constructed miles of stone walls there, carrying the rocks in yoked wicker baskets or in wooden cradles with long handles. The cradles required as many as eight Chinese. The stones were individually hand-fitted without the use of any kind of mortar. For the construction the Chinese were paid 15 cents a rod (16 1/2 feet) of completed wall (Gaumer 1985)

Vina's Chinese Community

The Chinatown of Vina, California, formed later than in the Town of Tehama, with its heyday in about 1900.

- "By 1900, there was a large Chinatown situated on the north end of Vina, comprising a population of approximately 1,000 Chinese and Japanese. These "Orientals" were hired by Stanford and other ranchers in the area to do the manual labor on that land and in town." ["Vina, Tehama County, U.S.A. —In This Quiet Little Town's History Is." *Red Bluff Daily News* (1949). Chinatown was on east side of the railroad track.

- Fires that raged-- Vina's Chinatown burned on September 1, 1897 and again on February 14, 1915, and the downtown of Vina burned to the ground in two episodes in the summer of 1920 (on July 11th and August 11). (See 1915, February 16. *Red Bluff Daily News*, when one elderly man died and five dwellings of Chinatown burned.

- William "Pop" Harper (b. 1846 - d. March 27, 1918) Vina blacksmith - Andrea June Clark (1979:202) wrote about "Pop" Harper that, "He was a good friend to the Chinese people." [Note: 1910 photo of Vina's Blacksmith shop with the Harper son, Jim and Refus Harper, with Jim Ellis and Willard Speegle is preserved in the Frances Leininger Collection.]

Stanford - Vina Ranch

1882 - marked the year of Congress's Chinese Exclusion Act and Senator Leland Stanford gave the vineyard project his priority. Just the same, Stanford hired the Chinese, the Japanese, Danes, and the French to work on his massive vineyard (Peninou 1991:35-75). In '82 Stanford began making sizeable land purchases, of which 1,000 acres was set out as a vineyard, and some 800,000 cuttings were planted, comprising the finest varieties of wine, raisin, and table grapes. In 1888, 1,000 more acres of vines were added to the former 75 acres of vineyard set out by the predecessor Henry Gerke, thus aggregating to a total of 3, 575 acres with 2,860,000 vines in one vineyard! This made the Stanford-Vina Ranch, by far, the largest vineyard in the world! (Peninou 1991:53.).

1908 - Stanford- Vina Ranch - "Four hundred men are employed on the ranch throughout the entire year, and two-thirds of them are Japs and Chinese. The white men work in the winery, but the cultivating, pruning and picking is left wholly to the Celestials." [Elizabeth Gregg. 1908 October. "The History of the Famous Stanford Ranch at Vina, California" *Overland Monthly Magazine* Vol. 4 (No. 52), pp. 334-338].
The Chinese Legacy Includes Unique Practices



Figure 94. Rare photo found of Leland Stanford (1824 - 1893) and Jane E. Lanthrop Stanford (1825 - 1905) on their wedding day in 1850, Albany, New York. This 1850 daguerreotype image was found in 1934, behind a picture of St. Christopher in the basement of the old Stanford home in Sacramento, as reported in *The Sacramento Bee* (1934, September 8). (Newspaper image copy, Burrill Collection).

Significant and colorful are the Chinese contributions and traditions to Tehama County and the West, such as:

1852 - Henry Clay Wilson "Cobblestone house" -Located today in Tehama County on the west side of Interstate 5, off Rawson Road and the south side of Thomes Creek. Built by importing Chinese laborers. The house is still standing and has been remarkably preserved (1977) *Wagon Wheels, Vol. XXVIII*, No. 2. Willows, California: Colusi Historical Society.).

1853 - When Citizens and the law, for once, acted on the behalf of the Chinese.

Circa 1853, Bangor, Butte County. At a camp on the South Fork of the Feather River, four men robbed the Chinese shacks and murdered one of the Chinese. Here, for at least once, the law acted on the behalf of the Chinese. The men suspected of the murder were arrested. The constable tried to hide them from the outraged citizens, but early in the morning a band of citizens disguised as Negroes seized the prisoners, extracted a confession from one of them, and promptly hanged the other three. [n. d.] "Early Day Chinese In Butte County" Copy from Mrs. Nancy Kington, Magalia, CA. (Burrill Collection).

1859 - Chinese medicinal recipe - Galls from bears killed in 1859 in the foothills were sold at a premium to the Chinese for their medicines. "We carefully removed their galls, which we knew we could sell to Chinamen. The Chinese use them in preparing some kind of medicine and in those days often paid as high as \$15 apiece for them" (Anderson 1909:13).

1865 - 1869 - Ninety Percent of the Central Pacific Railroad laborers were Chinese - The predominant labor force that cut, chiseled, and "nitroglycerin dynamited" the transcontinental railroad through the Sierra Nevada were the Chinese. Anti-Chinese discrimination had surfaced in California. Leland Stanford, in 1862, became governor largely by playing up that prejudice. In his inaugural address Stanford said:

"To my mind it is clear, that the settlement among us of an inferior race is to be discouraged by every legitimate means. Asia, with her numberless millions, sends to our shores the dregs of her population" (Lisa See 1995:8).

Later that same year, Stanford became the President of the Central Pacific Railroad. And just three years later, in 1865, Charles Crocker of the same Central Pacific Railroad Company hired fifty Chinese men on an experimental basis (Stone 1956:235). The progress made was so impressive — by "Crocker's Pets" — that by 1868, 90% of the 14,000 Central Pacific Railroad workers were Chinese (Lisa See 1996:9). Crocker would later boast, "I built the Central Pacific!" (Ambrose 2001:43).

1866 - Chinese, builders and repair crew for the Humboldt Wagon Road - Today's Hwy 32 that ascends the Southern Cascade Mountain Range was built and maintained largely by the Chinese. The *Chico Daily Courant* (1866, June 2) reported ". . . a working party of two hundred Chinese, employed by the Chico and Idaho Stage Company, had set out to put up new stations and repair others along the Humboldt Road. Heavy use and winter storms made the road in a constant state of disrepair, and much work was done to repair this as well" (Bourdeau 1982:132).

1860-1870s - Chinese females as slaves and prostitutes were brought up river by the steamers. Although the purchase of any human being had been declared illegal, this trade flourished virtually unchecked. Lisa See (1995:17) wrote:

On the days when the steamers chugged the Upper Sacramento River with a new supply of girls, a crowd always turned out for the auctions. Each girl could look forward to a different destiny. A few fortunates were purchased for marriage, just as they would have been in their home villages. . . . The least fortunate . . . would spend the rest of their short lives in tiny rooms called "cribs," with a bed as their only furniture and a barred window as their only light the outside world."

Gleaners of gold - The Chinese who reworked the old mines sometimes removed more gold to the consternation of the original mine owners. About the Chinese accessing gold, Bill Gaumer (1985) described how "Some purchased new 20-dollar gold pieces from the bank and placed them in a sack. When they shook the sack vigorously, a small amount of gold was worn off. They would trade the coins at the bank and sell the gold. Others used small drills to remove a small amount of gold from the rim of the coin. They would fill the holes with a metal of almost equal weight to prevent detection."

1871 -1874 - The Chinese reclaimed the heart of California, the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta. The former swampy lands, today comprised of miles and miles of levees, ditched, canals, and irrigation channels totals 500 million acres, California's bread basket for the world. This was done by the labor of the Chinese. Author/historian Lisa See (1995:31) wrote, "Draft animals couldn't do the work since their hooves sank in the mud and whites wouldn't do the job because it was too hard and unhealthy."

1874 - Chinese worked for the Sierra Flume and Lumber Company to grade and stack lumber for shipment (Hutchinson 1956).

1875 -1880s -Chinese, builders of part of the Hogsback Road. "A man named Lew Myers with Chinese labor for Joseph Cone, built the first part of the present day Belle Mill Road as far as Mud Springs when [Joseph] Cone established his sheep camp (Alma Williams essay in Briggs 1996:81, 86).

1882 - May 6 Chinese Exclusion Act - allowed the U.S. Government to suspend immigration of "skilled" and "unskilled" Chinese laborers into the United States for ten years.

1952- McCarran-Walter Act - "declared that the right of a person to become a naturalized citizen of the United States shall not be denied or abridged because of race or sex or because such person is married." At one stroke the arbitrary category of "aliens ineligible for citizenship," which had consigned Asian nationalities to the inferior status of permanent alien residents, was swept away (Thernstrom, Orlov and Handlin 1980:746)

Obadiah Newman Field (1810 - 1887)

Obadiah Newman Field was born in 1810 in Kentucky (Lingenfelter Archives 1996). His father hailed from Virginia; his mother from Wales (1880 census Ancestry.com). It is believed that Obe never married [For the sake of clarity, Keith Lingenfelter's spelling as "Obe Field" is used in this essay.]

Nothing is known about Obe Field's childhood nor how he arrived in California. Conjectures are that he was invariably reared on a farm in Kentucky or maybe Virginia, where he learned about handling oxen skillfully. Conjectures also include that Obe came to California in about 1849, with the horde bound for the gold fields; and that he teamstered wagon trains pulled by oxen.

The adage that "It is better to say too little than to say too much" pertains to this biographical sketch of the man. Most glimpses of Obe Field remain vague. Obe's relationship with Hi Good is intriguing. Was Obe a surrogate father to Hi Good? Was Obe a master at tracking and knowing Indian warfare and the Indian dialects? Why was there no mention of Obe Field in Robert Anderson's 1909 memoir, *Fighting the Mill Creek Indians*, while Obe was referenced by Daniel Delaney (1872) and Simeon Moak (1923)?

Moak (1923:17) spelled Obe's name "Abe Fields" when writing about the "Hold Up On Chico Road, 1865" [sic], which actually occurred in '66.

Was Obe Field Hi Good's Closest Friend and Mentor Teacher?

Simeon Moak (1923:31) wrote that Obe Field was one of Hi Good's "boon companions," and that Obe was working and living with Hi Good at his sheep camp rude in Acorn Hollow at the time when Hi Good was killed in the spring of 1870. In a similar vein, Tehama County historian Gene Serr of Red Bluff, who has poured over many Tehama County archives, remarked one day that, "Obe Field was Hi Good's best friend." Gene Serr remained unruffled when this investigator challenged that maybe Sandy Young was Good's closest ally. There was no coming down. Apparently, in Tehama County, where Obe Field spent his final years, it was irrefutably understood that Obe Field was Good's closest compatriot, and predictably his mentor about hunting and living on the frontier.

Earliest records of Obe Field in California. The place name, "Obe Fields Spring" is one of the surviving clues which points to the probable fact that Obe Field lived for some time in the mountains along the old Lassen Emigrants trail. An early testimonial for this came from Oscar F. Martin (Fig. 95), the writer of the July-December 1883's *Overland Monthly* Magazine article titled, "Pioneer Sketches —I. The Old Lassen Trail." Mr. Martin, an early resident of the town of Chester (Plumas County) wrote:

"Just within the skirts of the pine timber is the humble abode of an old hunter, one of the companions of Hi Good. The view from the cabin is inspiring."



O. F. Martin

Figure 95. Oscar F. Martin (1848-1907) Reprinted courtesy of the Plumas County Museum, Quincy, CA.

Public Records of Obadiah Newman Field (1810-1887)

1862 June, Obe Field was with Hi Good, a man named Bowman, and William Sublett (Moak 1923: 11-12) when they successfully tracked after the Mill Creek Indians who had abducted and tortured and then killed the six year old Hickok boy, Franklin A. Hickok. They found the lad on the north bank slope above Black Rock of the Mill Creek canyon. The boy's two older sisters had been killed also by several arrows. Simeon Moak (1923:11) wrote:

"They made a litter of their clothing and packed the little fellow out to Good's place in the valley thirty-five miles. It was a trip that none but heroic men could endure. The little boy was buried by the side of his sisters in the Chico Cemetery."

1863 Sage Brush "War" —One of the Plumas County posse members listed with Plumas County Sheriff E. H. Pierce, in Merrill Fairfield's 1916 [2nd Printing 1998] *Fairfield's Pioneers History of Lassen County* was "Ob. Fields."

Sage Brush "War"

About 32 of the Honey Lakers who supported Governor Isaac Roop of the so-called "Nataqua Territory of Honey Lake Valley" (established April 26, 1856, with Peter Lassen its first chairman), defied a California, Plumas County judge's edict. Then they took up arms at Roop's Fort Defiance. On Sunday, February 15, '63, four hours of firearms exchange ensued. No one was killed but three of Roop's "mob" or "freedom fighters" (depending on which side one was on) received flesh wounds. Negotiations in Sacramento and in Nevada resolved the jurisdictional dispute. California's Lassen County became established on April 1, 1864. The Nevada Territory became the 36th state to enter the union on October 31, 1864.

1866 Obe Field, Tracker with others of Idaho-Chico stage robbers (Moak 1923:16-17).

1867 Lassen Township of Tehama County
Lingenfelter Archives (1996) reads:

FIELD, OBADIAH NEWMAN
Born Kentucky 1810 died Red Bluff March 24,
1883 [sic] Lassen hunter 1867

1870 census. Inhabitants of the Seneca Township, with Post Office: Big Meadows, "Field, Obadiah" listed as age "60" and with Occupation, "Farmer."

1880 census. Inhabitant of Lassen County, with Post Office: Susanville, Obadiah, Fields, Age "70". Father's Birthplace: "VA" Mother's Birthplace: "WALES." Occupation, "Hunter," marital Status: "Single."

1885 Directory for Vina, Tehama County listing as only:
"Fields, Obadiah M. [sic], teamster"

1887, March 24. Red Bluff Cemetery District, Oak Hill Cemetery, Undertaker: Fickert & Son, Lot: Pottersfield. (Copy of original typed Internment Record in Burrill Collection.)

Obe Field, Legendary Cow-Puncher

Over time, Obe Field's exploits as teamster have become legendary --making Obe a bigger than life "bull-puncher." One early documentarian of Obe Field's renown was artist Will L. Taylor of San Francisco, who drew the only known image of Obe Field in 1877. History Professor W. H. Hutchinson, of Chico State, included the masterful 1877 drawing in his *Sierra Flume and Lumber Company of California* publication. Artist Will Taylor's original caption for his ink art piece (Fig. 96) was:

"Yarding with seven yoke of bulls (oxen) . . . The bull-puncher is believed to represent one Obe Fields [sic] said to be the only man who could handle seven yoke in the woods."

Professor Hutchinson added to Taylor's caption, "Obe Fields did the logging for the Moscow Mill (Herbert Kraft Free Library)." And in his Introduction* to "Descriptive Material to Accompany the Sierra Flume & Lumber Co. Drawings," dated Nov. 5, 1956, Hutchinson wrote:

The original drawing [sic] from which these photographs were reproduced are contained in a handsome bound volume in the Herbert Kraft Free Library, Red Bluff, California. So far as is known, this volume is the only collection of these drawings in California, or elsewhere, and they have not been reproduced before save for two reproductions in the *Mining and Scientific Press* (San Francisco) in 1877.

* Diamond Match Company historian Kent Stephens informed this researcher by letter (June 9, 2004) about this one of a kind Obe Field image. Its call number in the Special Collections, CSU Chico Meriam Library is: HD9759, S5T3, (NE Cal) Stephens wrote, "Enclosed is a partial photocopy [14 pages] of the Will Taylor drawings of Sierra Flume & Lumber Co., as organized with information text by W. H. Hutchinson. The information text is very important, as it interprets the drawings."

About Moscow Mill, Hutchinson apparently learned from an undisclosed source that Obe Field worked there for a time there. Moscow Mill was located north of Tehama County, "one mile SE of the Defiance Mill, being SE of Viola, in Shasta County" (Special Collections Librarian Bill Jones e-mail received 1/23/2008, Meriam Library, CSU, Chico.).

About artist Taylor, Professor Hutchinson (1956:1-2) wrote:

"The artist, Will L. Taylor, of San Francisco, made his preliminary sketches on the spot, finishing his drawings thereafter at his studio. As nearly as can be deduced, he made two trips to the woods and the sawmills of the Sierra Flume & Lumber Company in the summer of 1876 and again in 1877. The completed drawings were delivered to Norton Parker Chipman, general manager of the firm, who retained them until shortly before his death when they were deposited in the Herbert Kraft Free Library as his gift."



Figure 96. "Yarding with seven yoke of bulls (oxen)" Drawing by Will Taylor, 1877.

Also, the picture caption by artist Will L. Taylor continues with:

"The bull-puncher (far left) is believed to represent one Obe Fields [sic], said to be the only man who could handle seven yoke in the woods.

[And]

"The 'trucks' were built with 5" x 6" timbers, 4" axles, 'block' (solid wood) wheels with 6" iron tires. Note the protective fenders to save the wheels from damage in cross-haul loading." (Hutchinson 1956:9, 18).

Since Obe Field was a very able, if not, legendary teamster, Bruff's (1949:206) depiction of the "Shingle Men" he witnessed in October, 1849, is reprinted here, not to claim that Obe Field mingled among them, but rather for the purpose of reconstructing the situation was like along the Lassen Trail in 1850, when Obe Field invariably appeared on the scene:

The Shingle Men

Oct. 21, 1849: Found a large coral [sic] of wagons, and accumulation of proprty [sic] by a party of men who were ostensibly [sic] engaged in felling timbr [sic] & getting out pine shingles, for Lassen. One of these chaps said that Lassen paid them, (4 men) \$10 per diem each. And to others they said that the they were paid by the thousand, &c. They were exceedingly prompt in visiting the newly arrived wagons, and advise the proprietors to abondon [sic] or leave them in their charge, &c. And were particularly anxious to take stock to recruit, all of which they branded with an eye-bolt, and sent below, in the Mill-Creek gorge, and with some mysterious assistance, were transferred from one gorge to another, and finally *the indians stole them*. These fellows, (whose names and entire history I have) would tell folks, (on arriving here, with weak animal, fagged out themselves with the long & arduous travel, and short of provissions,) that it was 40 or 50 ms. into the Settlements; and over the most rugged and difficult road ever travelled by Christians. The poor emigrants were at once disheartened, and in despair, left wagons, cattle, and all their effects, except such as they could pack on their backs, and pushed on. These men had been emigrants themselves, yet they were determined to prey on the misfortunes of their brethren; and make a harvest of their calamities ---J. G. Bruff

History of the Place Name, "Obe Fields Spring"

Again, it is conjecture that Obe Field came to California in 1849. Because the map place name, Obe Fields Spring, exists, it is assumed Obe Field made regular use of this camp site (T26N, R2E) no earlier than April, 1850, which was when Joseph Goldsborough Bruff finally left his camp, otherwise the hawk-eyed Bruff undoubtedly would have written about him.*

* One teamster that Bruff (1949:288) did write about was Warren G. Clough, the Canadian teamster. It was Clough who, on January 7, 1870, chose to stay and assist Bruff. Otherwise Bruff probably would have perished.

The place name, "Obe Field," shown on maps today [as opposed to the historical figure] is referenced in these two instances in the annotated "notes" in Bruff's *Gold Rush* Journals:

1. "The Roberts families . . . built a cabin where they spent several months (now known as Obe Field)" Bruff (1949:680, P7). The cabin (See Fig. 96 below) was built originally in April, 1849. Mr. William Roberts was a minister with wife and with their son, Robert R. Roberts, and family.

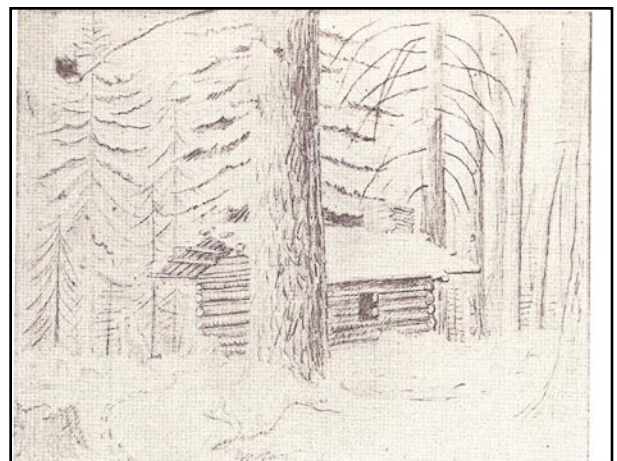


Figure 97. "Roberts Cabin" (1850) illustration by Joseph Goldsborough Bruff (Bruff 1949:543.). "The Roberts families . . . built a cabin where they spent several months (Bruff 1949:680.). This cabin's location today is called "Obe Fields Spring."

2. This second “Obe Field” place name reference, in Bruff (1949:663, H1), was regarding the Forest Service who, in 1939, were expecting to erect a permanent marker along the Lassen Trail, when funds became available with this caption:

“BRUFF’S CAMP” (Winter 1849-50) J. G. Bruff, Captain of the Washington City Company made camp here October 21, 1849. His Company, with the few mules left, pushed on for the Settlements, Bruff remaining to guard the Company goods. At this camp he acted as host to the rear of the emigration, warming, feeding, and clothing many unfortunates. The emigration passed, deep snows came, and still Bruff remained, left by his company. Here and at Obe Field, aided part of the time by two chance acquaintances --William Poyle, a fellow Mason, and an old Missouri hunter named Clough--he passed a winter of exposure and starvation, finally making his way on foot to Lassen’s Rancho early in April, 1850.” (Underscore mine).

The Elusive Obe Field: Legendary Teamster, Tracker, Hunter, and Mentor to Hi Good

In summary, it is a fact that Obe Field was 26 years Hi Good’s senior, skillful as a tracker, and certainly more experienced about life than Hi Good. When and under what circumstances, Obe and Good first met remains unresolved. Maybe when tramping and exploring the rugged plateau foothills in 1855 or 1856, Hi Good, when 18 or 19 years old, came upon Obe Field at the camp named after him? It also remains curious that Robert Anderson (1909:4) wrote that when he first met Hi Good in about 1857, that already Good’s “acquaintance with the hills was extensive.” Hi Good had the requisite physical attributes to tramp great distances and to track the enemy for miles across the roughest of terrains. Robert Anderson (1909:32) who didn’t always agree with Good’s war strategies, also admitted that he was “swift of foot with great powers of endurance.” And Delaney (1872) recalled how Hi Good was “full of vigor and energy.” Good’s physical prowess adds credibility that during 1855 to 1857, Good might have tramped from Deer Creek up to Obe Field Spring where they could have first met. Just the same, as the crow flies one way from Vina to Obe Field Springs, the distance is a good 25 miles!

Or did they meet as a result of Good and/or Anderson purchasing from this colorful “teamster,” the several “work cattle” (oxen) that Good and Anderson kept together in “Good’s rock corral on Deer Creek” (Anderson 1909, 45, 47)? Again, there remain more questions than answers.

A more arguable case can be made that Obe Field may have been the “lead” tracker and mentor for Hi Good. There are two successful tracking episodes with Obe Field present both times, documented by Simeon Moak (1923). William Sublet was also present, however, for both of the episodes referenced by Moak:

- In July, 1862, Obe Fields [sic] was with Hi Good, Bowman (aka “Bully”), and William Sublet [sic] when they successfully found six year-old Franklin Hickok’s body on the north bank grade that drops down to Black Rock on Mill Creek (Moak 1923:11).
- In September, 1866, “Abe Fields” [sic] was with Hi Good, William Sublet, and Sandy Young when they found and apprehended the three Idaho-to-Chico stage robbers (Moak 1923:16-17).

[Additional sources: “Stage Robbery” [1866, September 1]. *Chico Daily Courant*, p. 2/1; Delaney’s (1872) account fails to mention Obe Field but rather Good, Young, and a man named Sam Carey; Fairfield’s (1916:11) account gives no names; Mansfield’s (1918:257) account does not include Obe Field nor William Sublet, but rather states that, “Two of these robbers were arrested by a posse consisting of Hi Good, A. Young, Nath Thomas, Sam McCreary, and Jacke Morris.”]

Besides teamster and tracker, Obe Field's third talent appears to have been as "hunter." This implies one who procures game with firearms. Two times Obe's occupational listing was "hunter," first in 1867 (Lingenfelter Archives 1996) and in the 1880 census, Susanville, Lassen County.

It is romantic to imagine that "hunter" and "woodsman" Obe Field saved the lives of many desperate emigrants by providing them with vitally needed food. As teamster and cowpuncher, it is easy to visualize Obe Field industriously repairing the many derelict wagons strewn along side the old trail near Steep Hollow. No records have survived, however, to tell whether Obe Field helped the emigrants in this capacity.

Nor do we know to what extent, if at all, Obe spied on the Mill Creek Indians for Hi Good from "his" camp overlook that became named for him. About the CA-TEH-2105H study area, Moak (1923:33) described Obe Field working and living at Hi Good's cabin in Acorn Hollow in the spring of 1870, when Hi Good was killed. Did Obe Field remain living at Good's cabin for a time afterwards? This researcher found Obe Field listed locally as teamster in the "1885 Directory for Vina, Tehama County," "Teamster" suggests that he would have been "on the road" for much of his later years. It is unknown whether his teamstering in about 1885, was local work; driving wagons perhaps filled with Vina grown peaches for his orchardist friends? Or hauling the local produce to the nearby railroads depots and town markets?

In early 1886, Herbert Kraft of Red Bluff secured the deed (D) for all 640 acres of Section 21 from the Central Pacific Railroad. Was this when Obe Field relocated to Red Bluff never to return? Without any fanfare, Obe Field died in Red Bluff on May 24, 1887. From the staff at Red Bluff's Oak Hill Cemetery, it was learned that: "Obe Fields [sic] is buried there and his body was placed in the potter's field." Based on a preliminary search of the microfilm newspapers, no obituary nor tribute about this colorful, yet mysterious fellow, has been found.*

* Librarian Scott Sherman of the Tehama County Library (Red Bluff) affirmed such on 8/24/2006, that "The only newspaper we have for March 1887 on microfilm is the *Weekly People's Cause*. Its microfilm spans Jan. 1880 to Dec. 1914 and no obituary is for him could be found."

Post Script:

That Obe Field died in 1887 and not 1883 as listed in the Lingenfelter Archives(1996) is based on the following two references:

1. 1885 Directory for Vina, Tehama County [http://www.calarchives4u.com/directories/tehama/1885tehama2.htm]
2. Copy (Fig. 98 below) on file of the Internment Record for Obe Fields [sic] from the Red Bluff Cemetery District (Burrill Collection).

Also, a phone call response obtained on August 23, 2006, from Ms. Linda S. Benfield, Office Manager with the Oak Hill Cemetery, was that: "There is no tombstone. He was buried in their Potter's Field."

RED BLUFF CEMETERY DISTRICT			INTERMENT RECORD		File No.
Surname Fields		Christian Name Obe		Date of Death Mar. 24, 1887	
Place of Birth		Date of Birth		Sex	Color
Interment Date			Locality of Death		
			City		
Lot	Block	Grave		County	
Pottersfield					
Graveliner Used			Slate		
Cemetery Oak Hill			Undertaker Fickert & Son		
Lot or Grave Owner Red Bluff Cemetery District					
NOV 13 1991					

Figure 98.
Obe Fields
Internment
Record.

“Indian Ned” (born circa 1854 -died May 7, 1870)

Indian Ned was an orphan youth, who at age twelve, became shepherd, camp tender, and general laborer for Hi Good. Although most of Indian Ned’s brief life may never be known, the best supposition is that he was killed on May 7th, 1870, when he was about sixteen years old. Robert Anderson (1909:83, 85) wrote that he was killed by Sandy Young in retaliation for Indian Ned’s probable collusion with the “older Indians” to kill Hi Good.

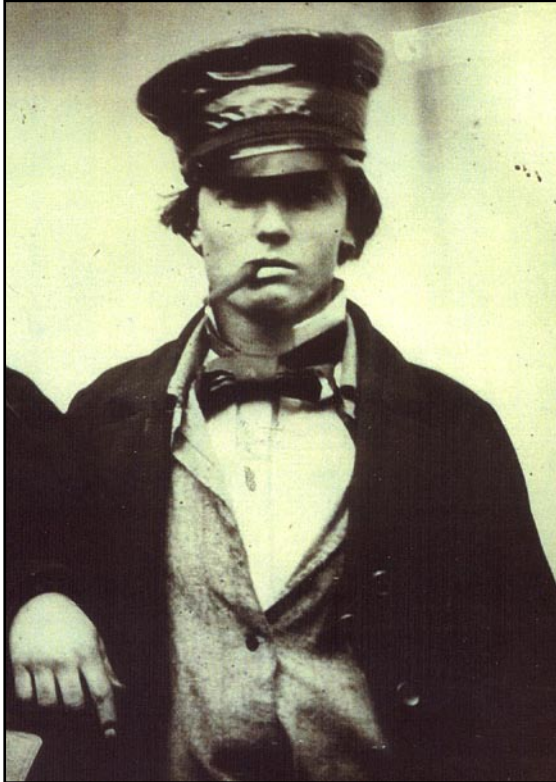


Figure 99. Indian Ned in about 1869.

In late 1866, Hi Good began his new career as sheep operator. Good needed a herder. Hi Good obtained the Indian boy from Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Dicus [pronounced Dyke’-cuss], who were new arrivals that year themselves to Deer Creek. They had Indian Ned with them. He was an orphan. Both of his parents had been killed in a battle involving his Indian tribe and Whites at some undisclosed time and location. Missouri was the place of origin for the Dicus couple, based on letters from Dicus family descendant Reita Marsh of Springfield, Missouri (Frances Leininger Collection). What year and where the Dicuses possibly first settled in California are unknown. Therefore, Indian Ned may well have been of an Indian tribe outside of California.

Several stories of Indian Ned’s origin have been recorded over time. Indian Ned’s presence cannot be found in any census record. The reason he could not be found in the 1860 census for the Lassen Township of Tehama County, was because he was either with his ancestral Indian family somewhere, or his parents had been killed in a skirmish, at which time Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Dicus chose to take the orphan. They did not settle in the Deer Creek vicinity until 1866. Ned was not recorded in the 1870 census because Ned was shot and killed by Sandy Young on about May 7, 1870.

Indian Ned’s year of birth was probably 1854. This is based on Ned’s age of being twelve years old when hired by Hi Good as a sheep herder, and because Ned is reported to have been about sixteen years old when killed.

That Hi Good “obtained” Indian Ned from his neighbor Samuel Dicus appears factual. Corroborative data point to its veracity. Vina historian and author Frances Leininger states that the Dicus family had had an Indian living with them whom they were rearing. Frances noted an obituary newspaper clipping for Charles Dicus, the son of Samuel Dicus. However, there was no mention that the family had an Indian living with them.

Frances later relocated the newspaper account from which she had learned that the Dicus family had harbored an Indian. It was a darkened photo copy of a tattered newspaper, *The Sacramento Bee*, with its date of publication cut off. A successful search of earlier *Bee* newspapers provided its date, as April 26, 1941. Its writer was Mr. Harry Potter Bagley, who titled his article, “Child Martyrs to Indian Vengeance.”

Bagley read and reworked Robert Anderson (1909) and Simeon Moak's (1923) writings into his article. However, Bagley also secured an interview with J. A. "Teddy" Peck, respected Butte County peace officer and manager of the competitive semi-pro Chico baseball team. Butte County journalist George Mansfield (1918:491-492) described that Mr. Peck was a talented detective and who loved the colorful local history. Officer Peck had learned from Obe Field himself, one of Hi Good's closest companions, that Hi Good "obtained" Indian Ned from the Dicus family. Bagley (1941:3) included this statement by law man J. A. "Teddy" Peck that:

"I was just a young fellow when Obe Field told me about it. Good got a young Indian boy from the Dicus family, who had a ranch at Vina. The boy's parents were killed by miners. Mr. Dicus warned Good, however, against taking the lad. But Good took him anyway, and let him help herd [his] sheep."

Peck was born in 1864 and died in 1944.* Obe Field was born in 1810. He died in 1887. For example, if Peck and Field had a conversation in 1879, Peck would have been fifteen years old.

* "J.A. "Teddy" Peck, Butte County Resident For Over 80 Years, Dies" (1944, September 30), *Chico Record*, p. 1/3.

Laborers Who Worked For Hi Good

Indian Ned - shepherd (See his biographical sketch above on pages 152-153).

Jack Brennan possibly aka Bowman? or Bully? - Moak (1923:32) referenced a man named Jack Brennan (herder), which may have been the same person who Anderson (1909:45) wrote about named "Bowman" "but whom we always called 'Bully.'" Is the place name, "Drennan Camp," located about 10 miles NE of the study area on Little Dry Creek, a corruption of "Brennan"?

"Old Man Dean" - Anderson (1909:52) wrote "Old Man Dean' was at this time [1859] living with Good."

George M. Spiers - As listed in Lingenfelter Archives (1996). At Hi Good's camp, Waterman (1918:58) wrote, "George Spiers [sic] takes a sudden notion to weigh himself on a set of steelyards." Hunter with trailing dogs. Possibly the hunter interviewed by Stephen Powers (1877:278) in summer of 1871 or 1872. Old Man Dean" - from Robert Anderson (1909:52) who wrote "Old Man Dean' was at this time [1859] living with Good."

William "Bill" Sublett - Hunter with trailing dog; possibly interviewed by Stephen Powers (1877:278) in summer of 1871 or 1872. On July 10, 1862. Moak (1923:11) wrote that "Sublet" [sic] helped to successfully track for the 6 year old Hickok boy along with Hi Good, Obe Fields [sic] and Bowman. In September 1866, Moat (1923:17) wrote that "Sublet" [sic] helped track after the stage robbers, joined with Hi Good, Abe Fields [sic], and Sandy Young.

Bill Sublett was killed on March 3, 1872, by John Bachman. Sublett lived in Red Bluff and little more is known about this historical figure. According to the Lingenfelter Archives (1996) for Married Vol. 2 of Tehama County, there is:

"SUBLETT, WILLIAM KENOLE. Born Alabama (Kentucky) 1825 (1829) died interstate March 3, 1872 (killed by John Bachman). Probably has heirs in Calhoun Co, Alabama. El Dorado 1850 census. Moon 1860 census, farmer. Antelope 1867."

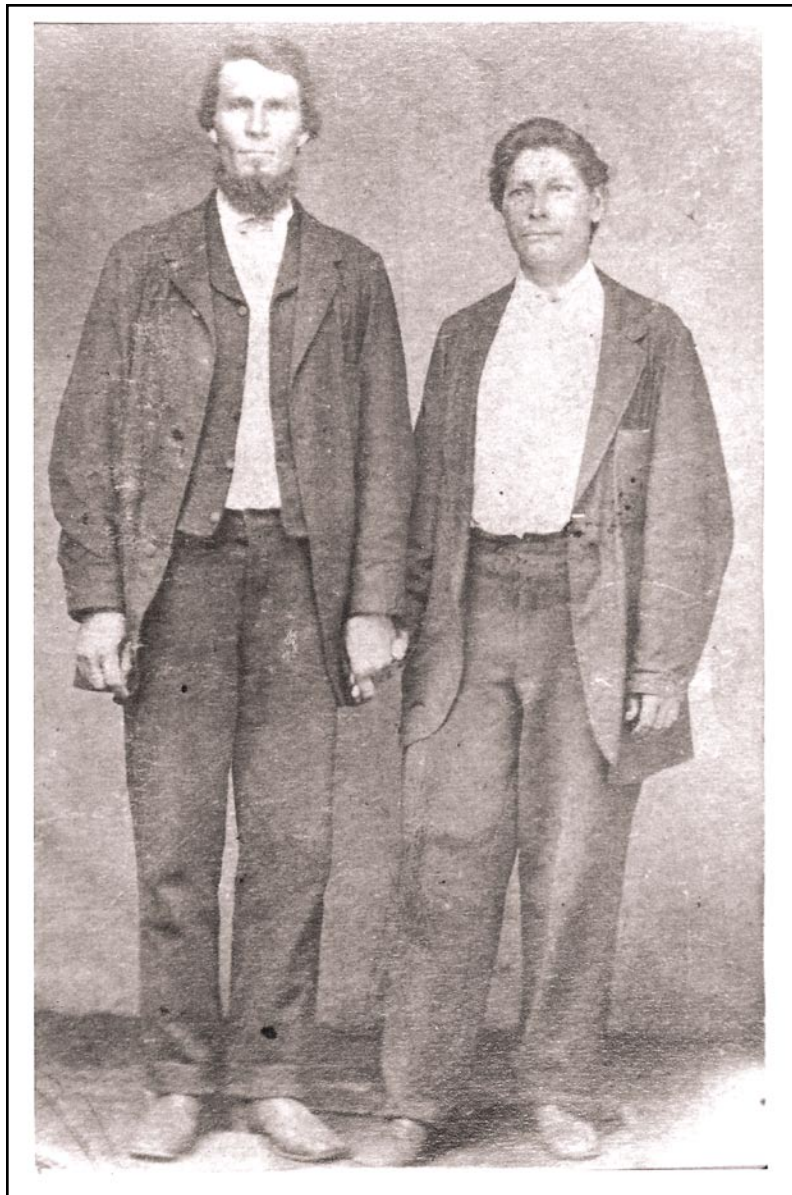


Figure 100. (Left to Right) Hi Good and Sandy Young. This uncropped photo appeared on page 21 in Ch. 5 “Ishi Comes Home” of *We Knew Ishi* (1971) by Eva Marie Apperson (1893-1978). She interviewed several of the locals to write her book. The Larry Richardson photo of the same, which he donated to the Meriam Library’s Special Collections, CSU Chico, has Hi and Sandy’s feet cropped.

There is also an altered photo showing Hi Good and Sandy Young not holding hands. This second one is a glossy copy given this researcher by Philip Rose of Richvale, California. Mr. Rose wrote on its backside: “Hi Good (tall) Smaller (stockman of Bidwell).” Philip’s father was Chester Rose of Chico. His mother was Ruby Priscilla Speegle. His Aunt Ida May Speegle married Jack Apperson (Eva Marie Apperson’s father-in-law.).

Alex Sandy Young
(Born ca. 1834. Died ca. 1886)

Sandy Young's year of birth was likely 1834, based on one early voting record uncovered in April, 2008, by California historian Dale Wangberg. Page 413 of the *Butte County Great Register of Voters*, preserved at the Paradise Genealogical Society in Paradise, CA, documents that Sandy Young registered to vote on the "4th of May 1867," announcing that he was: living in Chico, age 33. New York was his place of birth. Current occupation: in butchery. [Note: This same source also reported that Sandy Young cancelled his voter's registration on the 27th October, 1876; and that he removed to "Humboldt County."].

More early references about Sandy Young:

- His formal first name was Alex. He was called "Sandy" by his friends and those who knew him personally.

- Simeon Moak (1923:33) wrote how along with Obe Field, Sandy Young was Hi Good's other "boon companion."

- Author Eva Marie Apperson of *We Knew Ishi* (1971:7) wrote that Sandy Young was "a half breed Indian." Young's parents' names and cultural heritages remain unknowns.

- Page 7 of Simeon Moak's (1923) *Last of the Mill Creeks* makes mention of the *Memoirs* of Sandy Young that Sam Neal had a large grant of land, where Durham is now. Sandy Young was foreman for Sam Neal. It is also established that Sandy Young worked for several years as "foreman vaquero" for John Bidwell. More about Sandy Young's life are to be found in the original John Bidwell papers preserved in Sacramento at the California State Library.

- Sandy Young was a Mason with the Chico Lodge. Years for such remain unknown.

- Alex Sandy Young was a skilled tracker in the woods, as well as part owner of a butcher's shop in Chico called Kampf & Young. It was said that he knew the easterly mountain territory "as well as a man knows his garden patch." He traveled and kept close rapport with several of the Mountain Maidus of Big Meadows (today's Lake Almanor). One of his major assignments for his employer, John Bidwell, was to protect the Maidu Indians who were helping to construct the Humboldt Wagon Road; along with Chinese laborers who also built and repaired the road (Bourdeau 1982:132).

- Asa M. Fairfield (1916:261) wrote about Willow Creek Valley that "Sandy Young, and perhaps Hy [sic] Good, came into the Valley this year [1862] with about a thousand of General Bidwell's cattle. They built a cabin on the south side of the valley just below where Round Valley opens into it and kept the cattle there until 1864."

- On Aug. 17, 1865, three days after the Three Knolls battle had concluded, Anderson (1909:81-82) wrote that Sandy Young discovered in the sand where a recent campfire had been, one gold coin "English sovereign." The gold coin was attributed as part of the plunder recently taken by Big Foot's band of Mill Creeks on August 7th from the Robert Workman's farm in Concow Valley. It is likely that Sandy Young who was working for Bidwell in Plumas County, read the Quincy newspaper that: "We understand information has been obtained from an Indian Mahalia, who escaped to Big Meadows that . . . Several of the Indians who made their escape [during the Three Knolls fight] . . . had returned two days afterwards [Aug. 16th] and dug up the treasure and carried it off" ("Indian raid" [1855, Sept. 23] Quincy's *Union Record*). Note: The Indian woman who escaped from Big Foot's Mill Creek Indians band to Big Meadows was Mariah Bill who was Marie Potts's grandmother (Potts 1977:40-42; Burrill 2003:25-60).

- In late 1866, Sandy Young traveled to Susanville and purchased cattle for his Chico butchers shop called Kampf & Young. But when returning by stage coach to Chico, his stage was robbed by three bandits. Young lost \$650. Sandy Young recruited Hi Good and Obe Field. Together, they tracked and arrested the three bandits. Moak (1923:17) wrote: "Young killed one of the them when he "tried to run for it. ["Stage Robbery" (1866, September 1) *Chico Daily Courant*, p. 2/1.].

1870 March 15 - May 7 - One day while at work in Chico, Sandy Young received the remarkable news that Hi Good, with Wm. Seagraves, Bill Sublett, George Spiers, with two trailing dogs had tracked after Seagraves' stolen cattle thieves. On the second day after having tracked upstream about 35 miles from the mouth of Mill Creek, they surprised ". . . some fifteen Indians" (Waterman 1918:57-58). Hi Good, with his Henry, killed the one called "the Old Doctor." Three females from this band were taken as prisoners: one old woman, one young woman, and one little girl (See Ch. 3 "Earliest Published Accounts").

1871 - In the dead of winter, 1871, and during a sleeting and windy storm, Sandy Young and an unnamed companion, were in the mountains. They had in their possession and under their control two Indian females, one older "grandmother-to-be" and her daughter, the young mother-to-be, who apparently (see Powers 1877:xxx) had "promised to guide the "after revenge" Young to the "den" of Hi Good's "murderers." But suddenly, the two momentarily are gone in the darkness. They come back with a new family addition, a baby boy! Powers (1877:281) "In memory of the extraordinary circumstances under which it was ushered into this world, Young named it "Snow-flake" and it is living to this day, a wild-eyed lad in Tehama." (Fig. 160 may be viewed on page 276 of the "Snow-flake of former legend, when he is the "assimilated" adult, Tom Cleghorn).

1872 summer - Chambers and Wells (1882:12) relate that "Sandy Young lived in Tehama. "In what year(s), however, he lived in Tehama are not provided. Young was likely interviewed by Stephen Powers (1877:281; T. Kroeber 1961:242). The wild-eyed lad, "Snow-Flake," was living then in Tehama. It is this author's hypothesis that Sandy Young was likely the one who quietly "passed off" these Indians to Tehama County sheep man Peter Morrison Cleghorn. Waterman's (1918:58) informant, William J. Seagraves, believed that the female hostages taken were Ishi's sisters, which, if correct, infers that the old woman was Ishi's mother. Waterman (1918:58), however, warned that "Powers gives this same incident, in highly colored form." Theodora Kroeber (1961:242) wrote in her "Notes" for her book, *Ishi In Two Worlds*, "It was presumably Sandy Young who told Powers that story of Snowdrop's birth." Theodora Kroeber added, "At first reading it seems to be an extravagance and a rationalization, but sense lies embedded within its nonsense."

In about "1880," Sandy Young was purportedly "killed along the Salmon River in Oregon." The source for such came from Hi Sewell in 1888, a jealous husband. Sewell confessed to the murder of Sandy Young, while on his death bed. Sewell's confession was that Young was "treacherously murdered" and his body disposed of in some remote portion of the Klamath River. Sewell told a Magalia friend that he had killed Sandy Young then to avenge Young's seduction of his wife Mrs. Sewell. Sewell also told how he found Young on his own and killed him without witnesses; that he pushed Young's body into the fast, deep waters of the Salmon River. [Sources for the above include: (*Chico's Chronicle Record* [1888, October 20]; Shover 2004c:43-66). Note: Shover credited Jerry Rohde of McKinleyville, for the primary research on Sandy Young's demise in Humboldt, formerly Klamath County, Oregon.]

Addendum: Sandy Young's year of death moves forward six years. Regarding the year "about 1880" for when Hi Sewell supposedly killed Sandy Young, apparently Young was still alive as late as June 12, 1885. The source for this is one newspaper account recently forwarded to this researcher by Butte County historian John Rudderow. Its citation is: "Sandy Young Still Lives" (1885, June 12) *Chico Enterprise*. The newspaper reads:

Sandy Young Still Lives
"Two men down from Oregon with horses bring the intelligence that Sandy Young, who was reported killed on the Klamath river about five years ago, is alive, and is located about sixty miles from the Dalles, Oregon. Sandy's old friends in Chico will be glad to hear this news, as he has been long mourned as the victim of a conspiracy."

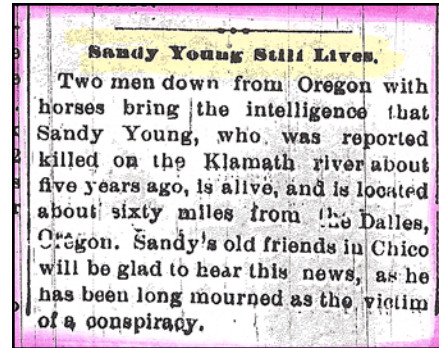


Figure 101. "Sandy Young Still Lives" (1885, June 12) *Chico Enterprise*.

The life dates for Alex Sandy Young, in summary, are: born ca. 1834 and died ca. 1886. If Young was ultimately killed by Hi Sewell, the jealous husband, Young's murder occurred about six years later, in 1886 (not in 1880 as Sewell had stated.).

William Jephy Seagraves (b. 1846 - d. circa 1925?)

William J. Seagraves lived in Twentymile Hollow about four miles north of Hi Good's cabin. In March, 1870, Seagraves recruited Hi Good's help as tracker of possible Indians who had stolen in the night some of his "beeves" from out of his enclosure. The search, ambush, and hostage taking would lead to the Five Bows ceremony.

William Seagraves' date of March of 1870, when he first encountered Ishi remains the earliest year for any non-Indian to have witnessed Ishi. Waterman concluded from Seagraves' 1915 testimony that Ishi was about sixteen years old at the time, which translates that Ishi was born in about 1854; and that Ishi was about 62 years old when he died of tuberculosis in 1916. Seagraves was about 24 years old in 1870. What Seagraves revealed about Ishi's nearly vanquished tribe in 1870, remains both credible and remarkable.

Seagraves was born in 1846. He died in about 1925. He was a pioneer rancher and long time horse trainer in Susanville (Lassen County) where he worked for his brother John's in-laws, the Ride-nour family.

In 1860, William Seagraves crossed the plains from Nativity, Missouri to California. According to the *Lassen County Great Voter Register, 1892-1894*, he stood 5' 11" tall, had a fair complexion, blue colored eyes, and auburn colored hair.

Upon arriving in 1860, Seagraves apparently crossed Fredonyer Pass and until about 1864, lived in Butte County. Seagraves purportedly worked for John Bidwell of Chico, as one of his stockman. Theodora Kroeber (1961:85) wrote that Seagraves, "lived near the head of Butte Creek, also owned a cabin, which he sometimes occupied and used for storage in Twenty Mile Hollow, only a short distance from Hiram [sic] Good's place in Acorn Hollow."

In 1865, Seagraves became foreman and rode herd for Capt. John Byrd's 1,100 head of cattle and 165 horses, traveling from Rabbit Hole to Idaho (Fairfield 1916:372, 374).

In the summer of 1868, "Seagraves went through Dixie Valley, Lassen County, with a prospecting team" (Fairfield 1916:441).

After this endeavor, for 1868-1873, Seagraves started up a small homestead with cattle in Tehama County's Twentymile Hollow, which was when he became involved with Hi Good and the Five Bows (Waterman 1918:57-58).

In 1873, Seagraves permanently relocated to Lassen County where his older brother, John H. Seagraves, was a merchant owner in the downtown of Susanville. John's wife was Isabel Ridenour. It was the Ridenour family for whom Seagraves became "horse trainer" and worked for the Ridenour family for over thirty years!

Location of former Ridenour Ranch: "Much of the former Sebern D. "Sebbie" Ridenour (1883-1951) and Minnie G. Ridenour (1894-1959) Ranch property is now owned by Mr. Jim Nagle of Susanville. The former Ridenour Ranch is on the Richmond Road about 3 to 4 miles after heading south out of Susanville. It is the property on west side of the Richmond Road, after passing Gold Run Road and where the road turns sharply southeast and crosses Gold Run Creek. Susanville local, Harry Weir in 2007, pointed out the old barn and ranch house that was the Ridenours' ranch.

In 1892, William Seagraves was a witness for *The United States v. John Byrd*, involving a claim filed by Mr. John Byrd who sought payment for stock taken by the Indians. Seagraves testified about the livestock lost in 1865. Seagraves asserted it was caused by carelessness and incompetence in handling the stock, which went contrary to Austin Byrd's opinion (Fairfield 1916:372, 374).

In 1913, Seagraves visited Alaska and the Kinnecott Mine with his family. The only known photograph of Mr. Seagraves was taken with his niece, Miss Ellabelle Seagraves (See Burrill 2001:23).

In 1915, Seagraves traveled to Berkeley and was interviewed by anthropology professor Dr. Thomas T. Waterman in the presence of Ishi. Seagraves described in great detail the ambush of the "wild" Indians' Old Doctor, and the Five Bows formality of surrender. These events occurred involving Ishi when he was about sixteen years old. He identified Ishi as the same Indian who he had seen 45 years earlier. Waterman (1918:57-58) was impressed enough with Seagraves' recollections that he published Seagraves' accounting *verbatim*.

On April 29, 1920, it is known that William Seagraves sold his Susanville home. He had remained a single man his entire life. His year of death and place of burial are unknowns.

Addendum: In 1962, the Ridenours sold their Susanville ranch. It is believed that some of the same family now lives in Reno, Nevada. This researcher is attempting to locate the Ridenour family descendants living today to inquiry whether they might have more family pictures and/or more data about William J. Seagraves.

VI. Land History (Sections 21 & 33)

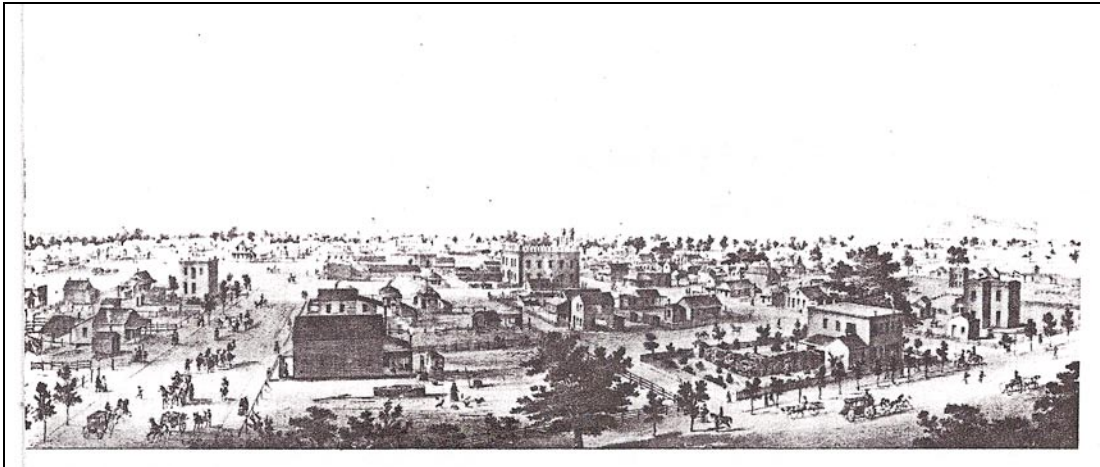


Figure 102. Marysville, 1856, image was made by Douglas S. Watson, editor, *California in the Fifties*, reprinted in Gates (1967). In 1858, U.S. Land Office for the Northern District was located at "south side of Second Street, between D and High," Marysville, Yuba County, California (*Marysville Directory, 1858-'59*. Marysville Public Library, p. 28).

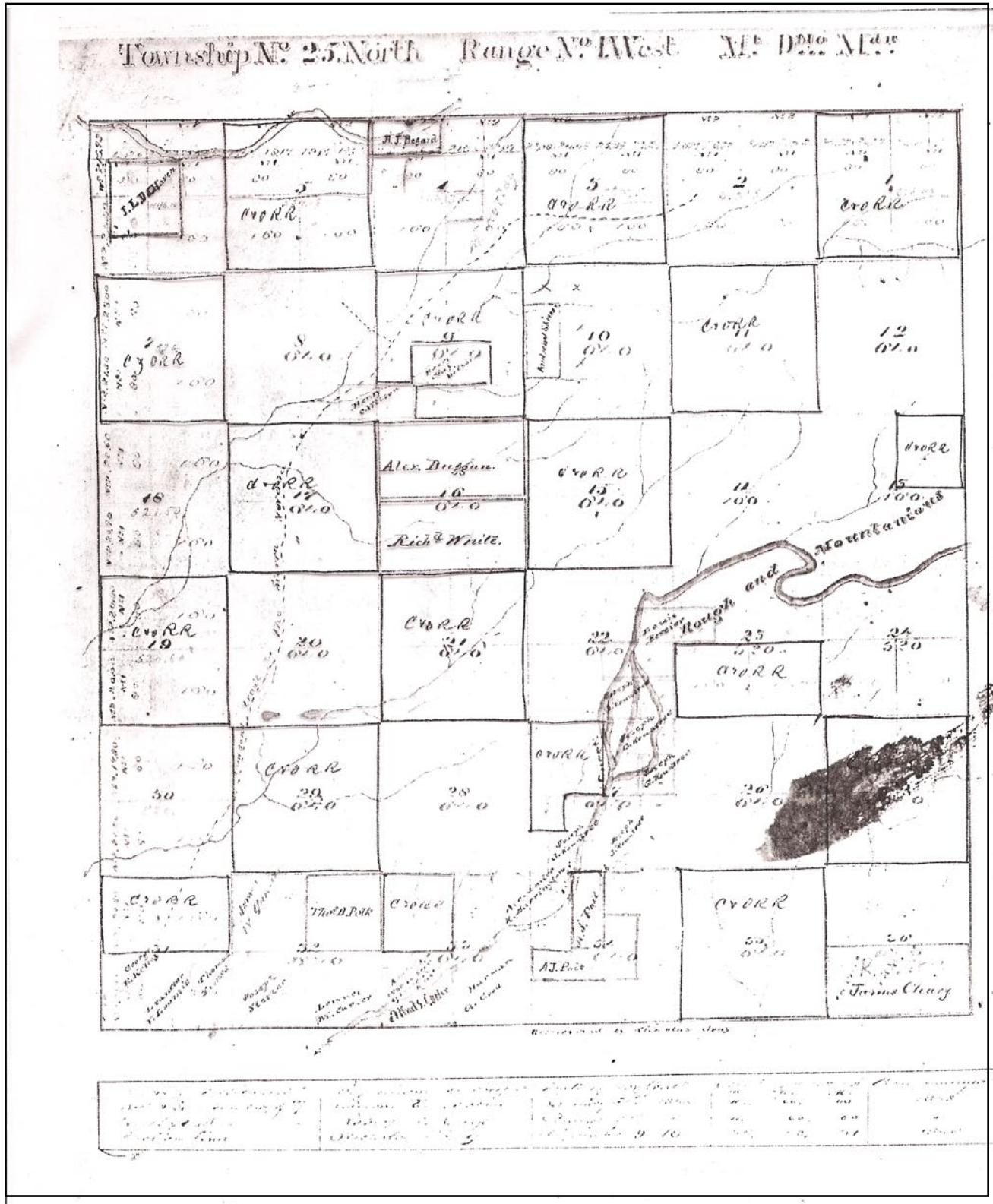


Figure 103. Map: Lassen Township 25N, R1W. Special thanks to Ms. Cee Ann Ransberg-Coombs for bringing this, one-of-a-kind map to light. It is on file in Tehama County Assessor's Office, Red Bluff, California. The official survey plat for this map was approved August 8, 1856, and is on file at the BLM's Survey Records Office, 2800 Cottage Avenue, Suite West 1834, Sacramento, CA 95825.

Land History of Section 21

Of Township 25 North, Range 1 West, Tehama County, California

1853 Pre-emption Act of Congress - Provided that "squatters" who are U.S. citizens and at least 21 years of age may buy public land at \$1.25 per acre for not more than 160 acres, such as existed in the area, and to build a home. After one year of residence a settler could file a homestead application for said 160 acres and receive title and possession.

1853 January 21 - September 9, 1855 - Earliest dates of surveying for Township 25 North, Range 1 West. Plat approved 1856 w/ map handwritten as "Affirmed with Proclamation on June 13, 1859."

1859 June 13 - Map affirmed w/ proclamation (see above Fig. 54).

1862 - Homestead Act of Congress was signed by President Abraham Lincoln, provided: a person could become eligible upon turning age 21 years; a small registration fee was to be paid; claimant had to live on the parcel, and had to cultivate a part of it; the land would be claimant's at the end of 5 years; and, person could purchase the homestead when all was filed, proving that all was in order after the 5 years.

1867 - Approx. year when "checkerboarding" in the West began - These Acts of Congress were approved to aid and encourage railroad companies to extend their roads to various communities. The U.S. Government gave the railroad companies every alternate section of public land not mineral, designated by odd numbers, to the amount of 20 alternate sections, normally 10 miles on each side along a rail corridor. These grants varied in some places, extending 6 to 40 miles from either side of the track, as a form of subsidy to the railroads (Rockoff and Walton 2005:313-314; Dick 1970).

1869 May 10 - The first transcontinental railroad "completion" ceremony was held at Promotory Summit, Utah (More railroad history may be found on page 218).

1875 February 9th; March 17, 1875 - Grantor of Patent was United States Government to grantee, the Central Pacific Railroad Co.* for Sections 21, 33 of Township 25N, R1W Meridian Diablo Mountain (M. D. M.) [Big Book B, p. 300] See also copy of p. 175 mailed from Tehama County Assessor's Office.).

* On July 31, 1885, the Central Pacific Railroad (CPRR) purchased the California and Oregon Railroad. CPRR changed its name to Southern Pacific RR in 1886.

Land History (Section 21) -continued-

1885 January 4; March 10 - Herbert Kraft received the first Deed (D) for all of Section 21, from the Central Pacific Railroad Company [Big Book B, p. 36].

Herbert Kraft (1831-1895)

Herbert Kraft was born in Germany. Immigrated to USA in 1841 and grew up in Kentucky. Kraft arrived in California first in 1852 and started up his tinsmithing's shop in Red Bluff in 1854. This expanded to successful hardware sales inclusive of "For years he [Kraft] was the only merchant on the coast who handled the celebrated sheep-shears of I. H. Sorbey & Sons, and Ward & Payne" (Elliott & Moore 1880:148-149).

In 1861, he returned to Louisville, Kentucky and found a wife whose maiden name was Kraus. He brought her back to Red Bluff. "In 1861, he built "with cobblestones" the lower story of the family home (page 14). In the spring of 1875, Kraft added a brick story. He and his wife raised six children. In 1876, Kraft sold out his hardware business and turned to management of his "vast capital." About Kraft circa 1880, we also learn, "He ranches on an extensive scale, owning several very valuable farms, which he rents or works on shares." He loaned money out, charging 18% interest. Herbert Kraft ran the Red Bluff Ferry with ten year license, 1865. He also built the pontoon bridge (across the Sacramento River). The Kraft home still stands at Rio Street and Pine Street. He died November 30, 1895 (Gerald Brown 1968 "Jews of Tehama County" Red Bluff: Andy Osborne Papers, Ch. 2.).

1886 December 30 - Grantor Herbert Kraft sold his Deed (D) to grantee Samuel Gyle Sections 11, 15 and 21 in T25N, R1W. [Listed in Index to Deeds book No. 3, 1880-1889; Big Book "X" p. 391, 522; B p. 631].

1888 Map Book (Tehama County Library) - Shows "S. A. Gyle & Co" for Section 21.

1894, September 12 - Joseph Spencer Cone (1822-1994) died. His son, Doug Spencer Cone (1868-1905) married Madilyn Louise "Lou" (Lewis) Cone (Lingenfelter Archives 1996)]

1895 February 2 - Grantor Samuel A. Gyle trustees grant Deed (D) to grantee Herbert Kraft [Big Book 13, p. 594].

1895, November 30 - Herbert Kraft died.

1903 Tehama County Map - Shows Cone and Ward owning Section 21.

1911 June 28 - Grantor widow Marie Louise Madeline Cone and Samuel A. Gyle and Louis A. Gyle grant (D) to grantee Cone Rancho Co. [Big Book 65, p. 295].

1926 Map (Tehama County) - Shows "Cone and Ward" for Section 21.

Land History (Section 21) -continued-

1936 April 27 - Grantor Cone and Ward Company grant (D) to grantee Marie L. M. Cone [Big Book 80, p. 411].

1944 July 14 - Grantor Cone and Ward Company grant (D) to grantees Walter A. Foor and Marie L. Foor [Big Book 147, p. 172].

1945 - Doc. #3929 initiated C. Roy Carmichael to acquire the whole Section 21 (Stated in 1-10-07 letter to author from CeeAnn Combs, Tehama County Assessor's Office).

1946 March 1 - Walter A. Foor, Eva M. Foor (wife) and Earl M. Foor (son) and Marie L. Foor (wife) grant (D) to grantees C. Roy Carmichael and Laura Carmichael (wife) for all of Section 21; as well as parts of Sections 8, 9,10, 15, 18, 22, 27; as well as all of Section 16; all of Section 17, south of the center line of Toomes Creek; all in Township 25N, R1W, containing 3,540 acres, more or less [Book 172, page 359].

1980 thereabouts Purge of Tehama County's Records. - In about 1980, the "earlier records" were purged having to do with appraisal records for Tehama County. No span of years for what records were purged was provided this researcher. Apparently, they now have on file only "recent dates" of assessor's records. It was vaguely inferred from the verbal communication that they now have records from about C. Roy Carmichael's time period to the present, that is 1945 to the present. The person who headed the purge was Kenneth Burton, now deceased, when he was Tehama County's Deputy Director of Public Works (Follow-up telephone call on Tuesday, 11-13-2007, with Catherine Ranberg-Coombs, Chief Cadastral Drafting Technician representing Mark E. Colombo, Tehama County Assessor.). About the purging episode, Ranberg-Coombs also conferred with long time staff member Anita (Weston) Gonzalez.

1992 August 21 - Charles Roy Carmichael died.

1993 June 14th - Estate of C. Roy Carmichael transferred all of Section 21, as well as parts of Sections 22, 27, 31 and 36 to Fred W. Hamilton Sr. [Book 1453, p. 14; 10188]. Said land transfers from Mr. Carmichael to Hamilton were for having worked for Carmichael for thirty years" (Mike Hamilton 12/8/2001).

1994 - Fred W. Hamilton Sr. died.

1994 - Fred W. Hamilton Senior's Will bequeathed same 1993 properties to Fred W. Hamilton Jr., Mike Hamilton, and Sue (Hamilton) Junge. "Each of whom own a third interest" (Mike Hamilton interviewed by this author on 12/8/2001).

1996 May 1 - Fred W. Hamilton Family Trust to grantee Susan N. Junge, *et al.* [Book 1649, p. 278].

* * * * *

PRE-EMPTION AFFIDAVIT—CALIFORNIA.

I, *Hamon Augustus Good*, claiming the right of pre-emption under the provisions of the act of Congress entitled "An act to appropriate the proceeds of the sale of the public lands, and to grant pre-emption rights," approved September 4, 1841, and the act of Congress entitled "An act to provide for the survey of the public lands in California, the granting of pre-emption rights therein, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1853, to the *South East* quarter of section number *33*, of township number *25 North*, of range number *1 West*, subject to sale at *Marysville Caln*, do solemnly *swear* that I am not the owner of three hundred and twenty acres of land in any State or Territory of the United States, nor have I settled upon and improved said land to sell the same on speculation, but in good faith to appropriate it to my own exclusive use or benefit; and that I have not, directly or indirectly, made any agreement or contract, in any way or manner, with any person or persons whatsoever, by which the title which I may acquire from the Government of the United States should enure, in whole or in part, to the benefit of any person except myself.

Hamon Augustus Good

J. C. McCastings Register of the LAND OFFICE at *Marysville*
do hereby certify, that the above affidavit was taken and subscribed before me, this
1st day of *Feb'y* A. D. 1859.

J. C. McCastings
Register

Figure 104. "Pre-emption Affidavit dated February 1, 1859, subscribed by Hamon Augustus Good to the U.S. Land Office in Marysville, California (Reprinted courtesy of the National Archives).

Land History of Section 33

Of Township 25 North, Range 1 West, Tehama County, California

Harmon Good and Alexander Robb Barrington lived in Section 33 of TN 25N, R1W (Tehama County, California) on opposite sides of Deer Creek. Moak (1923: 24) wrote, "Good had a partner by the name of Barrington"

1853 January 21 - September 9, 1855 - Earliest dates of surveying for Township 25 North, Range 1 West. Plat approved 1856 w/ map handwritten as "Affirmed with Proclamation on June 13, 1859."

1855 -Harmon A. Good (b. 1836) with partner, Alexander Robb Barrington (b. 1830) decided to settle along Deer Creek, which was still Butte County, California.

1856 February 29 - Earliest known letter by Alexander Robb Barrington to his brother William Barrington living in Ohio. Alexander is described as a "farmer" of "Rio Alto Ranch" [presumably on Deer Creek] which "belonged to him." This is printed on the Contents page vii by editor, Jane Bissell Grabhorn of the fine printed book published in 1934, titled, A Gold Rush Miscellany: The Original Journal of Alexander Barrington, Nine unpublished letters from the Gold Mines, reproductions of early maps and towns from California Lithographs; broadsides Ec., Ec. (San Francisco: Grabhorn Press).

1857 February 4 - Proof of Claim made at U.S. General Land Office in Marysville by Harmon Augustus Good for SE ¼ of Section 33. [Harmon Good had his 21st birthday, and, thereby, became eligible according to the Pre-emption Act to pursue as much as 160 acres.]

1857 May 25 - Alex Robb Barrington applied for Military Bounty Land Warrant No. 80125 issued to Stokely D. Hays, late a corporal in Captain Smithson's Company 3rd Regt. Missouri Volunteers for E 1/2 of NW ¼ of Sect. 33 and W 1/2 NW ¼ of Section 34 of Township 25N, R1W. Warrant No. 80120 was received at U.S. Land Office, Marysville, California on February 1, 1857. Five pages of documents received (Burrill Collection) from Order date 2/13/2007 (National Archives).

1858 April 15 - Grantor A. R. Barrington granted the Deed (D) to grantee Joseph Chapman NE and SE (40 acres) of NE (40 acres) of the NE ¼ [Big Book A, p. 527]. About Hiram [sic] Augustus Good, "Deed to Joseph Chapman April 15, 1858 (Tehama)" from Hitchcock (1980).

1858 November 30 - Patrick Fitzpatrick per #78358 do hereby sell and assign unto Harmon Augustus Good of Tehama County, California,

1859 February 1 - Pre-emption Affidavit dated February 1, 1859, subscribed by Hamon Augustus Good to the U.S. Land Office in Marysville, California. For Patent acceptance (see above Fig. 103) for the SE ¼ of Section 33 in T25N, R1W. It was Land Warrant No. 78359 issued to Patrick Fitzpatrick (National Archives).

1859 June 13 - Map affirmed w/ proclamation (Fig. 102).

Land History (Section 33) -continued-

1860 January 27 - Grantor Harmon A. Good granted Deed (D) to grantee A. R. Barrington, this indenture for one dollar has released all of the SE ¼ of Section 33 in T25N, R1W [Big Book B p. 737].

1860 September 8 - Grantor A. R. Barrington granted a mortgage (M) to Britton Martin of the NE (40 acres) and SE (40 acres) of NE ¼ of Section 33 [Big Book C, p. 31].

1861 February 1 - Patented for E 1/2 of NE ¼ of Section 33 and W 1/2 of NW ¼ of Section 34 of T. 25N, R 1W given to Alex Robb Barrington.

1861 July 23 - Grantor A. R. Barrington granted a mortgage (M) to Britton Martin of the NE (40 acres) and SE (40 acres) of NE ¼ of Section 33 [Big Book C, p. 370].

1860 September 19 - In receipt of \$1,000, Harmon A. Good granted to Martin Britton as quit claim of 1/2 of the two following pieces or parcels of land: the E 1/2 (20 acres) of NE ? of Section 33 and W 1/2 (20 acres) of the NE ? of Section 34. [Big Book B, pp. 756-757].

1861 July 23 - Grantor Britton Martin granted deed (D) to grantee A. R. Barrington the SE ¼ (160 acres) [Big Book C, p. 364].

1866 February 1 - Grantor United States granted patent to grantee Harmon Augustus Good, the SE ¼ of Section 33 [Big Book B, p. 9].

1866 February 1 - Grantor United States granted patent to grantee Alexander Robb Barrington, the NE (40 acres) and SE (40 acres) of ¼ of Section 33 [Big Book B, p. 10].

[Note: According to Sim Moak (1923:24), "Good bought Barrington out" when Barrington's Mexican wife, ". . . wanted to go to her people in Mexico." No evidence for this has been found by this author.]

1867 March 12 - Grantor A. R. Barrington grants deed (D) to Daniel J. Delaney for all of NE ¼ (160 acres) and all of SE ¼ (160 acres). [Big Book F, p. 234].

1867 February 20th - Justice of the Peace D. J. Galvins decreed an "order of sale" against A. R. Barrington of SE ¼ of Section 33 and E 1/2 of NE ¼ of Section 33 and W 1/2 of NW ¼ of Section 34 T25N, R1W for \$25.40 for suit for the recovery for "delinquent taxes" which had attached and become a lien due and unpaid and \$15.61 and all accruing costs which was judgment interest and all costs amounted on the day of the sale total sum of \$73.90. On March 15, 1867 to Feb 20, 1867 sold the lands to A.B.C. Nusbaum for \$73.90. Six months have expired since the day of said sale whereas no redemption has been made of said premises. The above was affirmed by Sheriff Samuel D. English [7th Sheriff] on Oct.15, 1867; filed Oct. 23, 1867; recorded October 24, 1867 by F. J. French County Recorder [Big Book F, p. 390.]

Land History (Section 33) -continued-

1870 May 4 - Harmon A. Good was killed.

1874 December 23 - Samuel Alexander Gyle filed affidavit regarding #78358 under Military Bounty Act of 11th February 1847, in the name of Harmon Augustus Good assignee of Patrick Fitzpatrick to obtain patent from the U.S. General Land Office in Marysville, California, for quarter of Section 33 in Township 25N, R1W.

1878 Map (Tehama County) – Shows S. A. Gyle for Section 33.

1888 Map Book (Tehama County Library) - Shows L. Stanford for SE ¼ of Section 33.

1926 Map - Shows “Bennett & Bell” for SE ¼ of Section 33.

1975 to present - SW ¼ and SE ¼ approx. of Section 33 are owned in name by Ann E. Soske (w/husband Joshua Soske) of Anacortes, Washington [Chicago Title Company.]

Summary - It is a fact that whenever Section 21 was deeded to a new owner, Section 21 was deeded as a whole. The span of years when the railroad company received and kept “checkerboarded” ownership of Section 21 was February 9, 1875-January 3, 1885. On January 4, 1885, Herbert Kraft received the first Deed (D) for all of Section 21 (640 acres).

It appears that the fall of 1866, was about the time Hi Good began grazing his new herd of sheep in Section 21, establishing his sheep “camp” there, and when news arrived that the U.S. Government awarded the “approaching” railroad company local land grants in the form of “checkerboarding” that extended 10 miles from either side of the track that included Section 21. Whether Hi Good had ever planned to purchase Section 21 remains unresolved.

It was written by Simeon Moak (1923:31) that Hi Good sold off a portion of his sheep for \$7,000 in gold coin. Was this not about 1869? Moak added that Good paid off in full the \$3,000 he had borrowed from loan merchant Sam Gyle in Tehama’s downtown, and buried the remaining \$4,000. Apparently where and what Hi Good planned to do with his windfall went with him when Good was killed on May 4, 1870.

On the 1859 map (Fig. 103), it appears that someone with authority sometime after 1866 –and maybe as late as 1870, used a different ink pen and wrote “C&ORR.” (California & Oregon Railroad Company) over every other section of the Township 25N map. The earliest record when the U. S. Government granted a patent to the California Pacific Railroad Company for all 640 acres of Section 21 was February 9, 1875, and filed in 1878. Because 1870, was also when the California & Oregon Railroad Company consolidated with the Central Pacific, (and went under the name, Central Pacific Railroad), this means that the checkerboarding had to have been inked on the 1859 map on or before 1870.

In the 1860s and 1870s, California ranchers practiced open land grazing. The first “No Fence” Law passed in 1868, which stirred dissension amongst the growers. Whether any individuals during 1875 to 1885, leased from the railroad any of the Section 21 acreage, also remains unresolved. As for 1885 to 1945, the Assessor’s Office announced that because documents had been purged in 1980, also no Assessor’s records for Section 21 exist through until 1945.

Before the railroad arrived, the sheep men had to get their flocks sheared and their respective bales of wool transported and sold at the river boat town of Tehama, eight miles distant. The coming of the railroad was optimistically believed to be a future boon to the local property owners and town merchants. Hi Good, in his life time (1836-1870), never saw the railroad cross his locale at Deer Creek. Continuing northward, the Central Pacific Railroad (C.P.R.R.) built from Chico to Sesma during Jan. 11 to August 28, 1871 (Southern Pacific Company 1916).

VII Oral Histories



Figure 105.

Vinea historian Frances Valente Leninger at the Hi Good Cabin site on June 15, 2005. Photo by author.

Mike Hamilton

On December 8, 2001, a sunny winter's day, author Richard Burrill interviewed Mike Hamilton on location at the early Hi Good Cabin flat, located on the Hamilton ranch property in Acorn Hollow, Tehama County, California. At the time of the interview Mike Hamilton enjoyed two occupations: Tehama County rancher and Police Officer for the City of Orland.

Mike Hamilton: When I was a young man, I worked for Clarence Leininger. He was a very formidable and great man. That was Frances Leininger's husband. She's a Valente.

Richard Burrill: Yes, Frances's family is Portuguese-American.

MK: And I cleaned ditches for him. He told me lots of stories about this region. He was raised here. He talked of Hi Good and Robert Anderson and the Moak brothers. You see, where we are at, this is the lower end of the Moak trail. The Moak trail goes right up through Acorn Hollow and up onto a ridge top between Acorn Hollow and little Dry Creek and travels up into the upper end of Digger Pine Flat on the north side of Deer Creek.

For Ishi's camping trip in 1914, when Ishi took the anthropologists back into his country, they first went into Deer Creek. Then they would have come out from the draw at the base of Iron Mountain and come up to the ridge in the narrows and off into Mill Creek.

RB: How many acres of property is this [ranch]?

MH: There are over four full sections of what we own out here, some 3,700 acres.

RB: Now whose "we"?

MH: My brother, Fred Jr. and I and my sister, Sue (Hamilton) Junge. We all have a third interest in it. It was inherited, this property from Roy Carmichael by my father, Fred Hamilton Senior. He passed in '94. My father worked for Roy for well over thirty years.

RB: You also said something, that there was another Hi Good location?

MH: Yes, with a garden and closer to Deer Creek.

RB: How do you know that?

MH: Well, that was one of many stories that was related to me, not only by Clarence Leininger, but by the late Jerry Stephens, because Hi Good and the other old timers would walk from here to their gardens sites on Deer Creek, due south of here because in the summer time, there was no water here. There's a big dry draw that runs right in towards Deer Creek. Good flats for putting a garden in.

I read about Hi Good that he shot a .56/46 Spencer, --a rifle he carried. Well, I collect gun cartridges and an old friend of mine who long since passed away, had a metal detector and one day we were working along the base of this oak tree here and I found a case, now in my collection (See Figures 281, 284 and 285 in Ch. 5 C). It kind of solidified the fact that the .56/46 cartridge was a rare cartridge in this respect. There just weren't very many weapons made in that caliber.



Figure 106. Vina rancher Mike Hamilton on his horse named Sassy, during branding on December 8, 2001. Photo by author.

RB: Yeh right. This was the one made for shooting Indians.

MH: Recall the part in *Ishi In Two Worlds** about caliber size and that the Spencer was tearing them up too bad? So he set it aside and used a 32 rim fire loaned by another Indian killer to finish the job?

*From Theodora Kroeber's (1961:84-85) book:

In this remote and seemingly safe spot were gathered more than thirty Yahi including young children and babies, well supplied with food, even to fresh and dried meat. They were helpless against the four armed men who forthwith killed them all. Norman Kingsley, as he explained afterwards, changed guns during the slaughter, exchanging his .56-calibre Spencer rifle for a .38-caliber Smith and Wesson revolver, because the rifle "tore them up so bad," particularly the babies.

RB: Yes, it's the description given for the Kingsley Cove massacre [above] Mill Creek, reported to have occurred in 1871.

MH: Yes, that's it.

RB: But hold on. In 1870, one year before the Kingsley Cave massacre, Hi Good had already died. I've even photographed Good's tombstone in Tehama cemetery and it says May 1870 (see Fig. 123 on page 242).

MH: I'm still not so sure. How sure are you that 1871, is a reliable date?

RB: It's what Waterman* was told by the several Tehama County informants he interviewed.

* Waterman (1918:59) wrote "April 1871" for the purported Kingsley Cave massacre. Also Theodora Kroeber (1961:84) wrote, "Neither Robert Anderson, Hiram Good [sic] nor any of the guards participated in the final mass massacre* of Yahi." Theodora Kroeber (1961:84) named the four killers specifically as, "J. J. Bogart, Jim Baker, Scott Williams, and Norman Kingsley."

MH: Sorry, but I'm still suspicious. I've found the hard evidence, I think. Hi Good used the same rare ammo at his cabin site that was used at Kingsley Cave.

RB: Thank you. You've made me curious, however, I abstain for now 'till I have more evidence (See below sidebar with new findings).

MH: The cabin site is just strewn with not so old square nails, pieces of red brick, and gun shot shells.

About the windmill:

MH: Its gears blew up on it in 1973. For stock water. There was a well dug their for ground water. We'd turn it on in April to keep water here for the cattle before we'd pull off the plains for the summer. And in early fall we'd have enough for wind in the fall. We can hook this up for the sucker rod and put a gas motor on it and be able to use it without wind. Holding tank first and then into the trough.

Campo Seco, Not Kingsley Cave, Presumably the Last Massacre

New old data found points to the “last” massacre of the so-called Mill Creeks was the Campo Seco massacre in about 1868 or 1869, not Kingsley Cave. Theodora Kroeber (1961:84) inferred that she had a primary source with, “as he [Norman Kingsley] explained afterwards.” But Norman Kingsley, most likely, wasn’t even in Tehama County in “April 1871,” which is the date surmised for the massacre by Waterman (1918:59). George Kingsley was Norman Kingsley’s younger brother and a prominent business man in Red Bluff who operated a glove factory and gunsmith store in town. It was his older brother Norman Kingsley who was found demented (insane), and taken away to the sanitarium in Stockton, California, in 1867, four years earlier (“Insane.” [1867, February 13]. *Red Bluff Independent*, p. 3/2), reads, “Deputy Sheriff Brown took departure for Stockton on the boat yesterday having in charge an insane man, the brother of one of our leading citizens. We withhold his name in case he should ever be cured. In such a case the public record of his insanity would remain as a cloud on his prospects in life.” [Note: The Victor steamer is advertised in the same early paper.]

Additional facts which also argue against any massacre having occurred at Kingsley Cave is the archaeological evidence. UC Berkeley’s Martin A. Baumhoff published this paper, March 15, 1955, titled, “Excavation of Teh-I (Kingsley Cave).” University of California Archaeological Survey No. 30, Berkeley, California. Baumhoff’s first excavation was in the fall of 1951. A second season was in 1953, led by crew chief James Bennyhoff. They excavated approximately half of the site. The report relates that they found nothing definite to corroborate a massacre:

- Baumhoff (1955:42): “In the excavation several infant burials were discovered, but none of these exhibit any bullet holes. However, most of the skeletons were in such poor condition that a bullet hole might not be detected if present. A sternum (bread bone) of an adult was discovered which has a hole through the center of it. This hole looks as though it may have been caused by a bullet because it is much larger in diameter on one side than on the other. This is the only bit of positive evidence discovered and it is inconclusive.”

- Roughly thirty burials, mostly disturbed, six children; 231 projectile points, 98 pointed fragments, 17 manos, 13 pestles, 48 mortars, 36 metates, 20 bone awls, 109 shell beads, 17 shell ornaments, 21 pieces of historical material.]

- Baumhoff (1955:56) reported under the subheading “Material of Caucasian Manufacture” that, “Objects that have come to the site during historic times are glass trade beads, glass fragments, and one piece of metal.”

Addendum About Kingsley Cave Purported Event and Findings

- Part of Leo Adrian McCoy (1886-1970) interview by unnamed interviewer in Jan. 2 - May 31, 1962, and preserved in Judge Herbert South Gans Scrapbook (n. d.). Tehama County Library, Red Bluff, California, described the brothers, George and Norman Kingsley in these terms:

“His [George’s] trips were constantly taking place. Every two or three weeks he would outfit another hunting party and return with from six to twenty deer that had fallen victim to his and his friends’ unerring rifles. On all his hunting trips, Kingsley was accompanied by his older brother Norman. Unfortunately, Norman Kingsley was slightly demented and as time progressed his condition became worse. At one time he cornered 30 or 40 Indians in Kingsley Cave and shot them all. Later white scavengers stripped the bodies of what few valuable the Indians might have possessed.”

Leo A. McCoy added, “Immediately after this announcement, Norman Kingsley failed to accompany his brother on hunting trips and was never seen again until his funeral. He died August 14, 1893, and was buried above his brother in a plot in the old Masonic portion of the Oak Hill Cemetery.

- On October 11 & 12, 1958, Chico historian John Nopel was invited by Chico State College sponsored popular television series hosts, Dr. Kenneth Clarke and Dr. Hector Lee of “There is a Telling,” to drive in on “back country vehicles” (Jeeps) to the Kingsley Cave site. The later group retrieved “a few mementos,” for they used screen boxes to sift through the dirt. Veteran archaeologist Francis A. Riddell shared with this researcher that back in 1953, crews then excavated, using only the “spade and shovel” method, so they missed a lot.”

- Found in this 1958 trip, according to participant Ethel Baker in her essay (1967: 37-40), “The Cave At Kingsley Cove.” *Wagon Wheels*, 37, at a depth of about three feet were a “. . . bone awl, an arrow point flaked from the green glass of the white man, and a beautifully incised charm stone, were probably the finest artifacts recovered from Kingsley Cave.”

About Campo Seco, Eva Marie Apperson (1963) wrote that in 1916 [when she was about 23], she was one of a party led by Frank D. Norvell (1854-1929) to the spot “on the north side of the bluff in Dye Creek canyon, Tehama County,” where Norvell told that when he was yet a little boy himself, he “came upon 33 skeletons lying scattered over the scene of the massacre.” Next she added, “He also took us to the cave where the Indians were found in hiding, also some of the markers made by the white men’s bullets were still visible. Mr. Norvell informed us that was the last major killing of Indians and that he came upon the scene quite by accident. Mr. Norvell’s word was sufficient.”

About the early Hi Good Cabin structure:

RB: How big do you think the cabin was?

MH: I really wouldn't know. They didn't like to build palaces because they'd have to use a lot of wood to heat them up in the winter time. Small places now on Dry Creek, the old Steffon's place, I've seen it. It was probably 8 x 10.

Also about the line cabins, most storms came in from the south in this region, so all through the Vina plain [Section 22], they put a front door in the northeast corner. That way they didn't get a direct beat on the doorway itself then. It was more protected.

* * * * *

This interviewer next pointed northwest and asked about the local place name relationships to the study area:

RB: So, if we think about the history of it all, J. W. Seagraves comes from Twentymile Hollow. There by those power line towers, maybe?

MH: Okay we're looking at Acorn Hollow that comes right on through? The next one is Little Dry Creek. Then there is Big Dry Creek and then Mill Creek. And Twenty Mile Hollow is on the north side of [Big Dry] Creek.* In the back there, is Jim Gaumer's property. He's out of Chico [that is, he live's today Chico].

* Big Dry, not Mill Creek, is the correct relationship on maps .

RB: So Seagraves [in 1870], who was somehow trusted by Ishi's band, could tell right away that the Indians came to him wanting to surrender. Five of their best bows, five male warriors had strung and set up vertically in the ground; their sign for wanting to make peace. Hopefully, they would get three of their females back who had recently been captured and taken to Hi Good's place. So, right away, old man Seagraves leads the Indian peace-makers to Good's place right here.

MH: Yep, this is where it all happened. And there is more.

* * * * *

RB: Have you found any Indian artifacts in this area?

MH: Right here in this area, yes I have. In fact, I can take you less than 150 yards from here and show you some.

Mike Hamilton led this writer down along the dry river rocks.

RB: A portable mortar? [correct description here is "milling stone"]

MH: There's one right in front of us.

RB: Ah yes. I'll take a picture of that (See Ch. 5, Fig. 170, page 316).

MH: Every year the bank gets worn away and more show up. I think this is probably an encampment area right in here. If Archie Brown was with us, he could find arrow points and he could pick out an Indian rock or grinding stone by just looking at it, even if it was upside down. He would know it had a cup in it. There usually upside down. They would tip them over.

* Archie Brown died in 1975. He married Romaine Kelly (Lingenfelter 1996).

RB: [The above described prehistoric milling stones], gun shot shells, spent cartridge shells, red bricks you've found.

You've heard that Hi Good had a girl friend killed in the Plains coming out here by the Plains Indians? Do you believe Hi Good had a vendetta against Indians when he got here?

MH: Any good Indian in his mind was a dead one. A lot of the stories I've always heard, because the Plains Indians were so savage, very vicious kind of Indians, that when those people got here, those who survived and got here, any good Indian in their mind was a dead Indian.

I followed along with the writings when they started getting Ishi's brain back so they could collect everything and put him [back] as a whole. It was interesting with me, 'cause I was raised here since I was three years old. And I've walked Deer Creek and all the regions that Ishi walked, so I have walked in his Ishi's steps.

RB: Yes, I can see what you mean. Absolutely, you have Mike. So in [August] of 2000, you know, too, that the brain was put with the other remains from the Olivet Memorial Cemetery and it was all put back in there [the Ishi Wilderness].

MH: Yeh, to make him whole again. Yeh, it's just a neat piece of history. I know it's history but I think that's part of the problem with this world today, is that the school kids don't look back. They don't learn from history. They don't derive respect from history any more. We did things as Caucasians to this country what we can be really proud of. It's history. It did happen. About the bad things, we can't take it back, so we learn from it.

RB: It's important to you guys here in Vina, in rural California, the history?

MH: Yes. In a rural setting for a majority of the people, history is important because that's where you come from. But in an urban setting, for the most part, it's not. Like I say, they don't even know the name of their own capital of their own state. Or who their U.S. Representatives are. Or who anybody is. History is a real lost thing in certain settings. I mean, when you are a country boy, there's no buttons to push, living in the country. There is no screen that pops up and tells us what to do.

And so they, the city people, are lost.

And I love it. I'm not a real knowledgeable person. I like to refer to myself as a simplistic person. The more complex you become, the more complex life is, and you lose sight of the simple things. The simple things that have built this country.

Mike Hamilton's brother Fred Hamilton and ranch hand Joe Aggi arrived in their truck and joined the interview session. Aggi introduced this researcher to "Lamb fries." They are procured from the castration of lambs, lamb testicles! Joe described how he prepares them. "You clean 'em. You put them in flour, salt and pepper and garlic and deep fry 'em." Bull calf testicles are called "Rocky Mountain oysters."

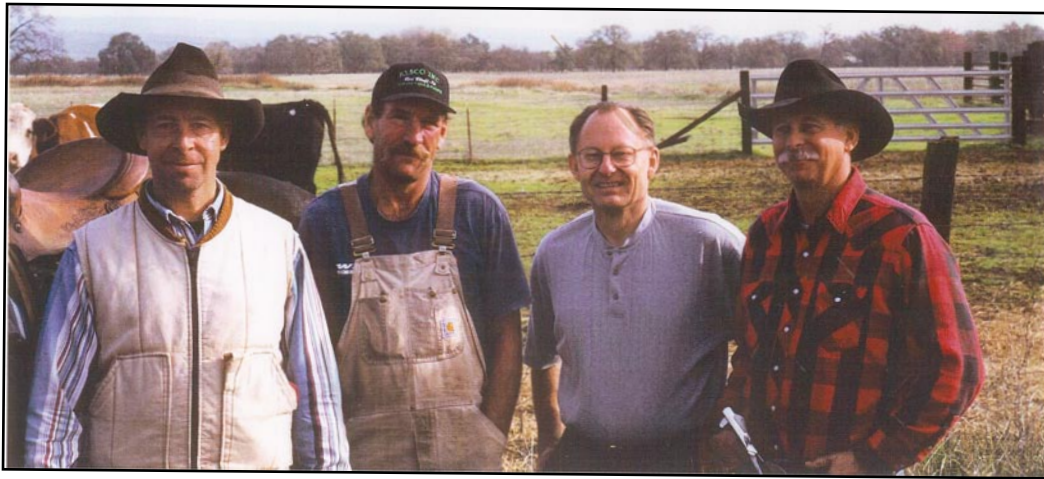


Figure 107. Mike Hamilton, Joe Aggi, Richard Burrill, and Fred Hamilton during branding in Vina, California. Photo by Frances Leininger on December 8, 2001.

Fred Hamilton: It's just like I was reading about a month ago. And they did a study of the population of the United States, and the portion of people who are still in ranching and farming. It's 1.3% of us that are still on ranches and farms of this entire nation who are feeding this nation.

RB: Where has respect and good manners gone?

MH: I learned a long time ago when I was just a young man. We were sitting around together. I'll never forget it. There was a bunch of old time cowboys, my father, and Charlie Grider. I was sitt'n right next to Charlie and somebody was telling a story and talking any how. And I had made the fatal mistake of interrupting. To this day I don't remember what I had said. I wound up picking myself up from out of the dirt because Charlie hauled up and back-handed me the side of the head. I remember getting up and dad looking at me. And Charlie leans over and says, "You don't speak till it's your turn, and you've been spoken to."

So I was a very quiet child for a long, long time after that. The older adults, young people [today] need to return to respecting them better.

* * * * *

I never did know [who] either of my grandpas were. I heard just enough stories though from my uncles and my father. I learned that my grandfather Frederick William Hamilton, worked for General John Bidwell. In fact, he helped build the Bidwell Mansion [in Chico].

[Fred Hamilton added during this part of the interview]:

Fred Hamilton: Fred Hamilton would tell from what his dad said that the Indians were a sport. They were shot like vermin. They were hunted like vermin. And that was the Appersons and all of them. They hunted them.

Mike Hamilton: And dad would tell stories of grandpa going up, checking the cattle up through Chico Creek canyon and into that region, and [also] taking the bags of food and hanging them in a tree. It was a salt bag, made out of white canvas. He'd put a side of bacon in it, and flour, and stuff, just simple staples stuff in it. But when he'd make the loop and as he would come back through, that bag would be hanging there and would be empty.

RB: So, that would be John Bidwell's food that helped Ishi's band survive? So was John Bidwell condoning that?

MH: I doubt sincerely that Bidwell even knew about that. That the ranchers and cowboys . . . it was just common knowledge that they knew the Indians were in there and it was just a common thing to do back then.

About Eva Marie Apperson:

MH: I can remember Eva. She was a very interesting individual. It was during my high school years when I was really old enough to listen and get her to talk about Ishi. She was very adamant about the fact that the book *Ishi In Two Worlds* was poorly done. "There was a lot of misrepresentation and miswording," she said. This sparked me to read her book, *We Knew Ishi*. Eva said, "My book is accurate. My book tells the true stories. *Ishi In Two Worlds* is only half-truths."

The one thing that really interested me that I can remember was that her husband, Albert Apperson [in November 1908], was the one who knew where Ishi was at, and led the survey party around him to leave him alone. One of her claims was that he knew that Ishi was there, and he did not want to let the [Oro Light & Power Company] survey party in on top of Ishi so he led them around. He took them the long way around, the survey crew that he had with him that particular day.

Frances V. Leininger

Frances (Valente) Leininger was born with her twin brother, Albert Valente, in Sacramento on February 14, 1925, the first of six children to be born to Italian and Portuguese-Americans, Joseph Valente and Eugenia De Faria.* The Valente family operated a dairy for a time in Delavan, near Maxwell, Colusa County, California. In 1938, the family relocated to Vina (on the Hanna Ranch property near the Rumiano place). One day Frances' twin was visited by Clarence Leininger who wanted sell Albert his '36 Ford coup. Albert did not buy his car, but what was most significant in this writer's judgment was that Albert introduced Frances to Clarence. The two became sweethearts. They married on August 4, 1943. Together they made a life with family as ranchers of both cattle and sheep. They had two daughters, Barbara (b. in 1944) and Diana (b. 1946). The German-American Leininger family's patriarch was John Leininger (b. 1812) who hailed from Pennsylvania. In 1859, John and his wife Barbara (Wilt) Leininger brought their family from Illinois by wagon train to California. They settled in Nord, Butte County. Their fourth of nine children, Obadiah Leininger (1844-1896), became known as a colorful gold miner and storyteller. He wrote beguiling accounts about how to find Peter Lassen's gold (see page 72 with references). Obadiah married Annie Laura Grobe who gave him two sons and one daughter. Their second son, Ephraim "Eph" Leininger (b. 1889), became one of the more successful sheep operators in eastern Tehama County. A second remembered Vina sheep man and close friend of "Eph," was Gorham Cone Ward.** In 1918, "Eph" married Minnie Brown who also was a school teacher. Their three sons were Clarence (b. 1919), Norman (b. 1922) and Wesley Leininger (b. 1924).

Clarence and Frances Leininger also both grew to love the local history and genealogy. Over time they amassed a significant collection of accounts and photographs. Clarence's best friend was Fred Wikoff who also is steeped in local history. Frances became a widow in 1981. At this writing (2009), she has her one brother, Richard "Ritchie" Valente of Martinez still living, her two daughters, seven grand children, and lots of "greats"!

* Italian Joseph Valente came to California in 1915. Eugenia De Faria came from Lisbon, Portugal to New York's Ellis Island in 1913. Their children were: Frances and Albert, Joseph, Manuel, Richard, and David Valente.

** Apperson (1971:94-95) recalled that in May 1914, Gorham Cone Ward (1885-1966) trailed his sheep up into the foothills and, by serendipity, stumbled upon Ishi and party on Ishi's "return" camping trip. See account Ch. 6, Feature 5, page 488.

Thanks to Frances Leininger's generosity and contacts, this author was introduced to Mike and Fred Hamilton, property owners of the study area. Also interviewed by this researcher were: Norman Leininger, Ed Little, John Aulabaugh of Vina, Bob Aulabaugh now in Olympia, Washington, and Fred Wikoff. Others, whose oral history contributions are appreciated, include: Jerry Stephens Sr., Joseph Golonka, Joe Aggi, Jeff Lerch, Lew Brockman, as well as Moak extended family members, Lyman "Pete" Moak, Wyatt Moak, Ida (Moak) Wangberg, Dale Wangberg and Robert Wangberg.

On June 15, 2005, this researcher, as a kind of test, was able to coax Frances Leininger into his vehicle's passenger seat. Frances led this researcher to the Hi Good Cabin's location, independent of any directions whatsoever on how to get there. Figure 105 shows Frances at the site that day. In the picture, Frances holds the studded T-fence steel post that marks the datum of the CA-TEH-2105H site. Lastly, the three key Frances Leininger Collection photographs, around which much of the oral history is based, were graciously received on January 26, 2002. They are: (1) the one-of-a-kind Figure 108 "Hi Good Cabin" taken circa 1920 by Minnie (Brown) Leininger, the mother-in-law of Frances (2) Figure 109 titled, "Threesome with Bricks at the Hi Good Cabin Flat," taken in the spring of 1959, and (3) Figure 110 "Ned's Hanging Tree" taken in the spring of 1970 with Frances Leininger and author Eva Marie Apperson, standing at Ned's Draw (Section 28) located about 1/4 mile SE of the study area.



Figure 108. "Hi Good Cabin." This is the only known photograph of the purported Hi Good cabin with brick chimney, located at Good's sheep camp in Acorn Hollow, where the CA-TEH-2105H archaeological dig continues. Frances Leininger wrote on the verso of the photo print provided: "Hi Good Cabin taken by Minnie Brown Leininger taken about 1920. Standing by Cabin is Mr. [and] Mrs. J. Stark of Corning. Mr. Stark (1871-1968) was school teacher many years in Vina. He taught different schools during 1900 to 1921. Hi Good Cabin is on C. Roy Carmichael [sic]. Cabin is gone now. Wife on the far left with white dress is Emma Ford Snodderly Stark (1865-1944). Middle lady? [unknown]. Have no negative to this." Photos courtesy of Frances Leininger.



Figure 109. "Threesome with Bricks at the Hi Good Cabin Flat" in the spring of 1959 "(Left to right) daughters Barbara Leininger and Diana Leininger with their mother Frances Leininger. Each holds a red brick from the flat. Frances' photo caption reads, "Acorn Hollow. From Frances Leininger, Vina Historian. I still have 5 bricks left." –FL 2002 (Frances Leininger Collection). -178-

1970



The identical
lava strata
protrusion
is visible in
both photos.

2004



Figure 110. "Ned's Hanging Tree, 1970" Photo by Heidi Jo Bailey, granddaughter to Clarence and Frances Leining. Frances Leining (left) recalled, "In 1970 it was Eva Marie Apperson's idea (right) to go visit the place where Hi Good on May 4, 1870, and Indian Ned on May 7, 1870 were killed, because she was in the process of writing her book, *We Knew Ishi*, which was published in 1971." Photo courtesy of Frances Leining.

Figure 111. "Ned's Hanging Tree, 2004." This researcher found the same felled oak on May 13, 2004. Photo by Roger Anderson. Notice in the upper left in both pictures, the rounded lava cap protrusion.

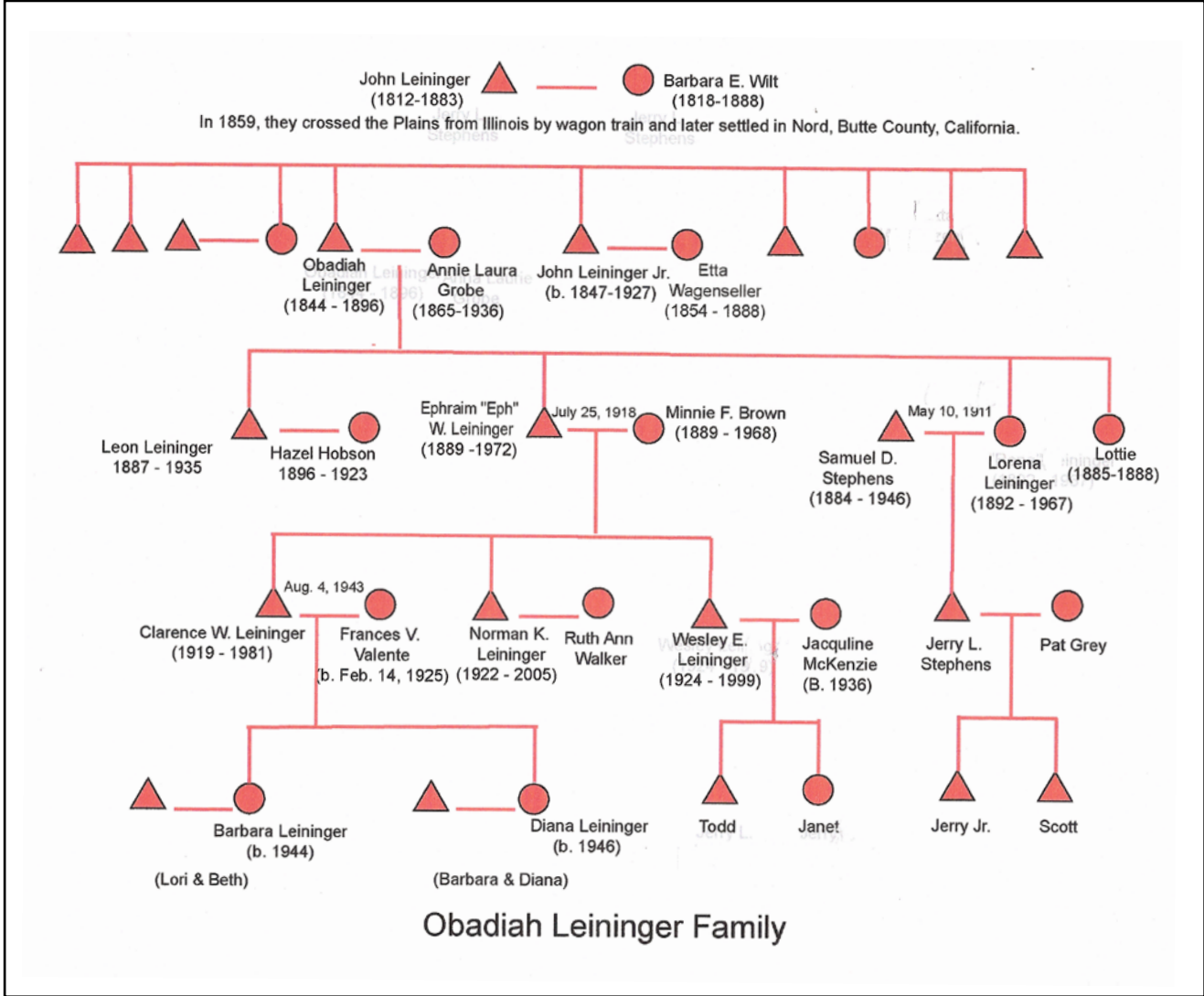


Figure 112.

Norman Kenneth Leininger

Interviewed by Richard Burrill and Chris Leininger

Norman Leininger (Fig. 1) was born in 1922, the middle son of the three sons, Clarence, Norman, and Wesley Leininger. Norman's parents were Ephraim Leininger and Minnie (Brown) Leininger. He married Ruth Ann Walker in 1968 but they had no children. He said he remembered "a good life out there" on the Vina Plain and held fond memories of Chester, Plumas County. Present at the taped interview session on December 20, 2003 at the Chico Creek Care and Rehab at 587 Rio Lindo, Chico, California, was Chris (Slapneck) Leininger who had married Wesley's son, Todd Leininger. Securing an oral history interview of Mr. Leininger became increasingly important to secure since Norman Leininger was the last of the brothers still living. In 1974, Mr. Norman Leininger suffered a stroke. This author had met Norman three years prior, but only briefly. On both occasions Norman was alert, told jokes, and his long-term memory was in tact.

Chris Leininger: Normie, remember that big draw that comes down through that place? Is that where that hanging tree is, up in that draw?

Norman Leininger: Yes, up in that draw.

CL: Is it up at the top of the draw?

NL: No, in the bottom of that end of the draw.

[Later in the same interview Norman gave these more precise directions, "You would go south of Acorn Hollow. Where the Leininger house is, that's Section 32. Go north and cross the second cattle guard and then take the road to the right. Up the draw; closer to its south side. There should still be evidence of where the tree used to be. The dam is right there. The one that broke south side."

CL: Is the tree still there or is the tree gone?

NL: No, the tree died. My dad said it died right after the Indian was hung.

CL: Really? Do you remember where it's at?

NL: Yea.

CL: Okay, this spring we'll take you up there, and you can show me where it's at, okay?

NL: I don't think there's anything left by now.

CL: It is above the reservoir that Bill Monamon ? made? He tried to make a reservoir up there.

NL: Yea, just below that.

CL: There's a tree just below the reservoir. Was it by that tree?

NL: It was that big oak tree. That's where the Indian was hung. Right in that same area in the draw.

CL: I know where it's at.

RB. Norman, the last time I had a chance to talk with you was December three years ago. December 2000. I'm going to repeat a little story that you had told me; that there was evidence that there were Indians on Mill Creek after Ishi was captured. Jackie's father, Willard Speegle?

NL: Yes, Jackie Speegle* had told me that.

* Sylvia Irene "Jackie" Speegle (1906-1981) was the third daughter of Willard Speegle (1856-1931) and great niece of Isaac Mead Speegle (1839-1914).

RB: Yes, and they had cattle up on Mill Creek?

NL: Yes, they had put out salt one day. He was riding the horse with the dog. The dog barked at something. He got down to see what the dog was barking at. There was a cave there. He said he had to crawl to get into the cave. When he got in, he could stand up. There was evidence there had been a fire there and tracks in the sand. So she knew that the Indians were there after Ishi was captured. So Ishi wasn't the last of the wild Indians.

RB: Normie, have you ever seen that cave?

NL: No, I have never been to that part of Mill Creek.

RB: You are saying this would have been some time after 1911. What year about do you think it was?

NL: I don't know. She didn't say but it was after his capture three miles east of Oroville at the Ward Slaughterhouse.

RB: Did your father, Ephraim Leininger, take you out to show you where Indian Ned was killed?

NL: Yea.

RB: These are pictures that Frances Leininger shared with me. And that's with her, Eva Marie Apperson. You remember Eva Marie?

NL: Yea. I knew all of the Appersons.

RB: This is the hanging tree? Do you remember seeing it upright? Do you remember seeing the tree alive?

NL: Yea, I remember seeing it.

RB: Well this [photo] was taken about 1970, so you would have seen it about 1950 or 1940 yah?

NL: Yea, probably.

RB: Mike Hamilton said that either his dad or Roy Carmichael knew where the hole, the stump, where the tree, would have been.

CL: Do you remember going out there Normie? Did you put salt out there?

NL: Yea, I was out there. Drove around out there in the jeep around the fence and right pass it with that steep hill out there close to the tree, going around and checking the fences.

CL: Yes, I know where that's at. This spring we will take you out there, okay?

NL: All right.

RB: I look forward to this too. We're doing a dig out at the Hi Good cabin site.

CL: Where was that cabin Norm? Over there at Ann Soske's place. Where was it at?

NL: I don't know if the cabin is there or not. Wes and I used to play there together. We were out there and a wire was going under the floor. And we followed it that day and we said we will and see what it is, and see where the gold is hidden

We were going to come back later to check it out but we never did get back to it. We don't know why the wire was out there.

CL: Where was it from Slim's cabin?

NL: Wasn't at Slim's. This was out in Acorn Hollow. It was Hi Good's cabin.

CL: Do you remember a place on Soske's that was Hi Good's cabin?

NL: No. I didn't know Hi Good Cabin had any cabin on Soske's place. I knew he had a garden over on Deer Creek because he was at the garden when he got shot. When he was coming back over the hill, he was leading his horse, he shot him.

RB: That would be where Ned was killed?

CL: Which hill was that Norm?

NL: Well it would be just that way from where the tree is, on the way to Acorn Hollow. In the draw on the way to Acorn Hollow.

CL: On our place? On your place?

NL: Jackie Speegle said she didn't think Ned killed him but somebody else did. They put Hi Good's watch on him just so they could hang him.

RB: That Ned was framed maybe? You think that maybe some of his white friends killed Hi Good to get the money? That's a possible interpretation all right.

NL: Whites robbed Hi Good's cabin too, and blamed the Indians for it and then they went up and shot the Indians.

CL: Well who had the gold in the cabin?

NL: Don't know, never found it that I know of.

CL: Well who said they had gold in the cabin?

NL: Well that's what I always heard. Dad said he had sold his sheep and that was all how they paid for it. Back then all they had was gold.

RB: They didn't have a bank. They had to bury their gold coins.

(I showed Norman Leininger the 1920 photograph of the Hi Good Cabin site from the Frances Leininger collection.)

RB: Do you remember this place? Did you ever see that?

NL: That looks bigger than the cabin out there that I saw.

RB: Well this is board and batten. It is in Acorn Hollow and some of the red bricks were from that chimney. Frances has the picture. Can you see the picture okay?

NL: Yea.

RB: You were born in 1922. When you were about ten years old, it might be possible that this was still up; it was still there? They didn't burn it down yet?

NL: Never was burnt that I know of. It just rotted away in time.

RB: Do you remember the chimney?

NL: I think I do.

RB: Minnie (Brown) Leininger, your mother, took this picture. Did you ever know that school teacher [in the photo], Mr. Stark of Corning.

NL: Yes, he was my sixth grade teacher.

RB: Your sixth grade teacher? Aha!

Did you know any relatives of Mr. Stark? Where he was living? Was it in Corning?

NL: No, I think he was living in Corning. But I don't know whether he had any relatives.

RB: See, if Minnie Brown [Leininger] took these photo with the Starks there, either your family, the Leiningers have more pictures of this building. Or Mr. Stark the school teacher might have it. We don't know what happened.

Well, interesting, he was your sixth grade school teacher.

NL: James Stark.

RB: Oh look! [in the Fig. 108 photo caption]. There is a "J" there! [Laughter]. I never knew what the "J" was. James.*

*Whereas Norman recalled his teacher's name was "James," according to Lingenfelter (1996) the teacher's name was Johathan Mallory Stark (1871-1968) and the name of Mr. Stark's wife (also in Fig. 108) was Mary Emma Ford Snodderly (1865-1944). Lingenfelter added, "Red Bank school teacher in 1896." Stark taught at the old "Lassen" school (which became "Vina") during 1906-1909 and returned as principal during 1923 through 1934 (Frances Leininger Collection).

Norman K. Leininger passed away on September 2, 2005.

Ed Hamilton Little

Ed Little was born in 1951 and reared in eastern Tehama County. He verified that the “Hi Good” place name’s locale is the CA-TEH-2105H excavation site, one and the same. He remarked:

“I remember since I was very small Uncle Fred Hamilton Senior and Roy Carmichael communicating to each other, time and time again. ‘We’ll met at the Hi Good.’ Our families meet there for cattle gathering and sometimes simply for a family picnic. ‘At the Hi Good’ was how my elders said it. It was the place by the windmill in Section 21, right where your field excavation was done. Only recently upon reading your book, *Ishi Rediscovered*, did I finally learn that “Hi Good” was an historical figure; the resolute Indian fighter of Northern California legend.”

John Aulabaugh (b. 1933)

John Aulabaugh, age 74, revisited the Hi Good site on February 17, 2007. He has lived in Vina almost his entire life. He lives in Vina’s downtown. He grew up where Mike Hamilton lives today, the former Scott Pritchett Place. His father, Charlie Aulabaugh, operated the former slaughter house (now gone), which was located northeast of Vina and west of the Leininger Road where the pavement ends and turns to gravel.

John Aulabaugh was interviewed on tape and said he could definitely remember seeing one cabin structure. He associated the cabin’s location as, “near this old oak” that also he recalled had a rope hanging from one of its limbs. John Aulabaugh was clearly talking about the old and weathered blue oak that is by the site’s Feature 1 “Depression” and on the east side of the ranch road/ Moak Trail that traverses the flat where the excavation has been taking place. However, when shown the 1920 Hi Good Cabin photo, Mr. Aulabaugh did not recognize it at all. He vaguely recalled that the structure he saw had two doors, one on each side of it, but added in about the same breath that he just could not recall because it was so long ago. He did not remember a brick chimney nor what it looked like inside.



John Aulabaugh: “When I was about six years old I would come out here with my dad, Charlie Aulabaugh. See that limb on that tree that way? [It] used to hang that way; had a rope hanging on it. Now whether that was a swing for kids or something else, I don’t know. It had a rope hanging on it” (Part of 2007 taped interview; See same tree in Fig. 356 on page 485).

Figure 113. Vina’s long time resident, John Aulabaugh, visited the site and uncovered a flattened tin roof-jack with bullet holes. Photo by author on February 17, 2007.

Dr. Louis Charles Olker Jr. MD., (1908 - d. 12/30/1990)

Dr. Louis Olker was interviewed in Chico, CA, on April 14, 1959 by Adele (Olker) Aisthorpe (1937 - d. 11/21/1997) probably his daughter. The topic was Harmon 'Hi' Goode [sic]. Adele described her father as, "50 years old when interviewed." As for reliability, "Born and raised in Chico; has great interest in history and very reliable memory." (Document from the Hector Lee Collection, Document Vol. 16, Part II, pp. 270-274, preserved by Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico. The entire interview transcript is five typed, double-spaced pages, of which approximately one page is here reprinted).

Dr. L. C. Olker: "The boy was known around Vina and the surrounding areas as 'the kid Goode raised' [sic]. One day when the boy was about fifteen or sixteen he came into Vina with a very boastful and braggardly air. He had with him Goode's rifle and watch. He said Goode gave them to him. Some of the people became suspicious and took him back to Good's cabin to check on his story. On the way, they found Goode's body. It has been shot half a dozen times in the back and hurriedly covered with stones.

"Now I've heard two endings to this story. One was that they shot the Indian boy right there in Acorn Hollow and covered his body with the rocks that had been used for Goode.

"The other was that they took him back to Goode's cabin and hung him from a tree next to the building. When I was a small boy, this tree with a part of the same rope (so I was told) still hanging from it was pointed out to me. Beneath the tree were some human bones, said to be the Indian's" (Said same tree referred to is Fig. 356 on page 485).

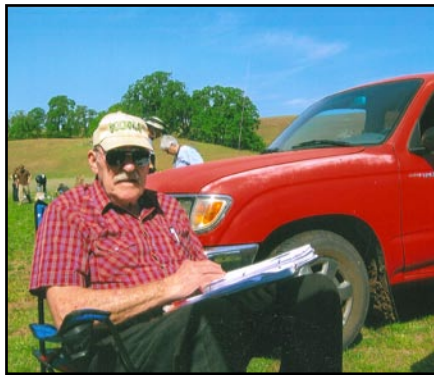


Figure 114. Fred Wikoff. Photo by author on April 5, 2008.

Fred B. Wikoff

At Frances Leininger's urging, this researcher introduced himself to Fred Wikoff who now lives in retirement in Cohasset, Butte County, California. He wrote a return letter of introduction and visited the study area on April 5, 2007. Fred Wikoff shared that he was a long time, close friend of Clarence Leininger. He was born in 1932 and first came to Vina in 1939 and lived in Vina/Los Molinos through 1950. His main trade was carpenter. He helped build part of Archie and Romayne Brown's home in Vina. Fred knew Albert and Merle Apperson and Jack Apperson's widow, Ida Mae (Speegle) Apperson Black. He graduated from Los Molinos High School. In marriage, he had three daughters.

About the study area, Fred Wikoff recalled:

"One day Clarence Leininger got himself a metal detector and we went out together to the Hi Good cabin flat because Clarence had heard stories that gold was there somewhere. I saw the cabin there. It was still there until I was in my thirties --yes in the 1960s thereabouts. I went inside it. It was about 12' x 16' I remember the door faced north. I believe there was a wood floor and a bedstead. It was long ago abandoned. The cabin that I went inside of was between the windmill tower and the Acorn Hollow wash. I also know about Indian Ned's 'hanging tree.' I recall that it was somewhere south of the Hi Good cabin site."

VIII. CALIFORNIA TRAILS' HISTORY

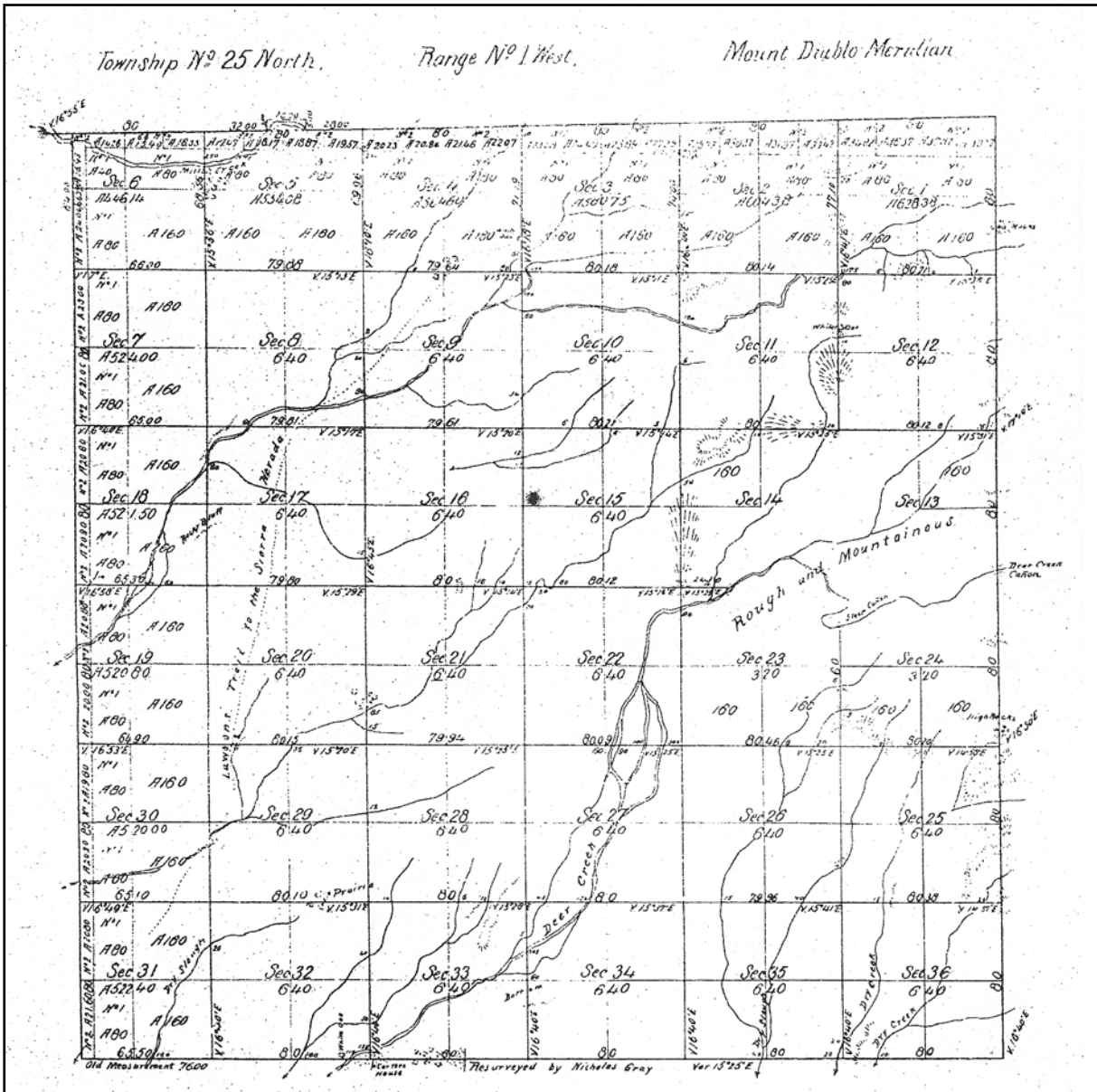


Figure 115. Map: "Lawson's Trail to the Sierra Nevada" appears on this copy of this original and official Survey Plat of T25N, R1W, approved August 8, 1856. The Peter Lassen Emigrants' Trail is shown (above left) skirting about one mile west of the study area, Section 21. This plat is filed in Sacramento at the Bureau of Land Management's Survey Records Office of the Geographic Services Branch, located at 2800 Cottage Way, Suite 1834, Sacramento, CA 95825.



Figure 116.

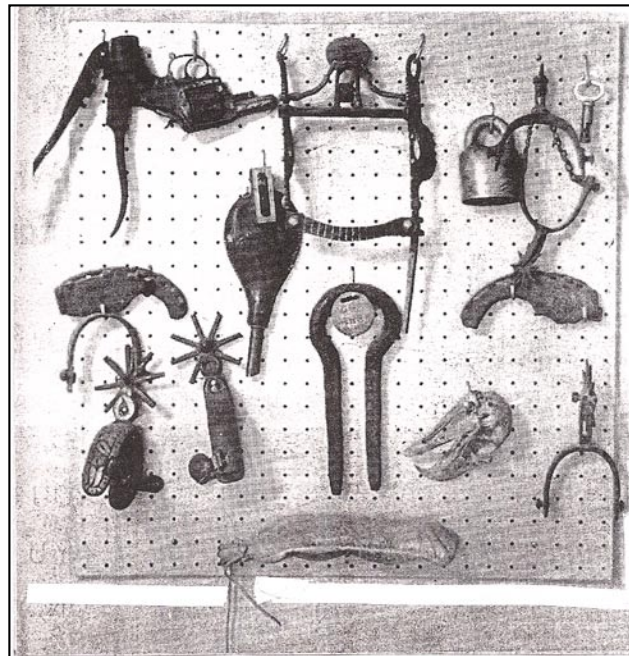


Figure 117.

Vina's Archie Brown points to a portable stone mortar that he claimed has "lettering on it and a design." He added that "This type is very hard to come by since there were not too many as far as he knows." These photos appeared in the *Red Bluff Daily News* on July 8, 1967. Addendum: On Jan. 22, 2004, eighteen or more of these bowls were stolen from widow Romaine Brown's drive way!

This second photograph shows items that Archie Brown said that he found along the Lassen Trail. (Top row left-to-right) Rifle lead ball maker with hand pistol, an early Spanish spade bit. A solid brass lock off the old Vina jail (called "The Old Bloody Eater"). A spur, and a skeleton key that likely does not fit the brass lock. (Middle row) Oxen shoe piece, gun black powder pouch, oxen yoke pin, and oxen shoe piece. (Bottom row): Pair of Spanish spurs, skull of an eagle, and spur. At very bottom and according to Archie Brown it is a [gold] dust bag with Chinese writing on it from the last 1800's, that his father gave to him. Another interpretation is that the cloth bag is a "possibilities bag" for keeping thread, cord, line, hooks, and things of that nature.

News Flash! Lassen Trail Marker Numbers Have Been Changed --At this writing, the organization, Trails West Inc., is close to publishing their "revised" interpretations for the Lassen Trail and its set of markers. The four markers that approach and include the trail's *terminus* are: L-63, L-64, L-65, and L-66. In 1984, these markers were L-53, L-54, L-55 and trail's *terminus* L-56. See also Fig. 56 (above) in this report with data that hypothesizes that the Lassen Trail's ford or crossing of Deer Creek was about 0.6 mile upstream (east) of today's Hwy 99E Deer Creek bridge crossing.

Place name history and spelling for Lassen Trail/Lassen Peak - The likely starting point for the "Lawson" spelling appeared on the 1849 "Derby Map" by Lieut. George Horatio Derby, showing "Emigrants' Road Lawson's Route." This map is catalog #c912, C15, 1849 in the California State Library, Sacramento. Apparently, when the Dane Peter Lassen attempted to pronounce his own name in his "acquired" American-English, listeners heard "Lawson" and spelled it accordingly. Add to this McNamar's (1992:224) finding that on July 9, 1854, *The Shasta Courier* spelled Lassen Peak, as "Lossen Peak." McNamar added, "This name and spelling followed the 'Peak' until well toward the close of the 19th century. School children pronouncing it thus were not corrected in 1900." In 1851, Peter Lassen and G. K. Godfrey were recorded as the first "non-Indians" to climb to the summit (1992:224).

The irony to all of this, however, is that "Lassen," itself, is a misspelling! Peter's family name in Denmark was "Larsen," which IS close in sound to "Lawson." His father was Lars Nielsen. By tradition on Danish farms back then, Danish families took their family name in honor of their father's FIRST name. Hence "Lars' son" (Lassen 1990:10). However, in America, Peter Larsen finally had had enough of the "name-game." He chose to spell his name "Lassen" on all his personal and official documents! Lastly, this researcher also had the privilege of meeting author René Weybye Lassen of *Uncle Peter, Life of Peter Lassen Pioneer of California* (1990), who IS nephew of Peter Lassen, four times removed. René pronounces his last name, "Lassen" as in "pretty lass + son." A-ha!

VIII. California Trails' History

A web of connections by the trails and the Marysville-to-Shasta City Wagon Road (see above, pages 103-111 about the California Stage Company's daily lines) linked the study area to other destinations in Tehama, Shasta, and Plumas counties. Discussed in this section are relationships of the Lassen Emigrants' Trail and the Moak Trail.

Lassen Emigrants' Trail (circa 1848-1850; 1866-1935):

In 1848, Peter Lassen entered California, leading his small wagon train. They had taken the Applegate Trail as far as Goose Lake. From today's Alturas (Modoc County) area, Lassen's party continued west to the Pit River, intending to reach his Rancho Bosquejo renamed "Benton City" (today's Vina). After struggling through forested areas, Lassen's party ran out of food. At that point, two parties that were headed for the gold fields from Oregon, caught up with Lassen's demoralized group. Peter H. Burnett, who, in 1850, became California's first governor, led one of these parties. They provided the necessary aid and vital food supplies so that Peter Lassen did finish blazing the remainder of his trail to his rancho, thereby opening up the Lassen Trail. Historian Ruby Swatzlow (1964:70) wrote that Lassen's Trail was most used in 1849, "with 8,000 persons." She added that, "Most authorities agree that the Lassen Trail was used infrequently after 1850 because the emigrants learned of its severe hardships."

Then Beckwourth Pass (1851) and Nobles Trail (1852) were introduced and became the preferred, alternative routes into California. Journalist Victoria Metcalf (2007) cited the *Plumas County History of the Feather River Region* that "Between 1851 and 1854, 1,200 emigrants used the Beckwourth Trail, leading 12,000 head of cattle, 700 sheep and 500 horses." Purdy (2002:207) wrote, that in 1852, "the Nobles Trail became more favorable for emigrants, replacing the Lassen Trail route."

Lassen Trail Became a Cattle Trail - By about 1866, livestock herds owned by the ranchers grew significantly, while, at the same time, agriculturalists in the Sacramento Valley also increased. The growers who felt threatened began fencing their fields. This led to ranchers utilizing the virtually abandoned Lassen Emigrants' Trail, this time to trail their livestock to the mountain meadows for open range grazing during the spring and summer months. About 1935 was the transition year when transporting livestock by motorized-trucks began to replace the traditional herding of livestock up and down the trails.

Regarding Research Design theme question #8 (Q. Can we find items from the Lassen Emigrants' Trail along the road that passes through our site in Section 21?), the data collected had no correlation. The road that traverses the study area flat is a segment of the Moak Trail (see below). The Lassen Emigrants' Trail skirted the study area, curving from the north and the west about one mile distant, as its closest locus (See Fig. 115 Map). No emigrant trails' oxen shoes, for example, were found in the course of the site excavation. But even if some oxen shoes had been recovered, it would be difficult to assign them as exclusively from the Lassen Trail's traffic, for Robert Anderson (1909:45) wrote that Hi Good also kept "work cattle" (oxen). Anderson added that these oxen were kept in Good's "rock corral on Deer Creek" and that the oxen "belonged to Good and me." Good could have easily brought their oxen north to his sheep camp, situated due north about 1 ½ miles distant.

Archie Brown, Vina cattleman and collector of both prehistoric and historic relics, displayed several items on a board in his living room wall, inclusive of a set of oxen shoes, that he said came "from the Lassen Trail." In 1967, several of these trails artifacts were photographed by Ken Kitcher and published in the *Red Bluff Daily News* (see Figures 116 and 117). The unnamed newspaper writer did report about Brown that, ". . . most of his collection was found within a 15 mile radius of Vina, Mill Creek and Deer Creek." Brown gave no specific mention that any of his finds came from the study area.

Moak Trail: Projected Prehistoric and Historic Uses

Regarding Research Design theme question #9 Q. Can we draw any tentative conclusions about the Moak Trail and its significance in history based on what is found in Section 21?

A brief introduction is appropriate here. The present ranch road that runs directly across the CA-TEH-2105H study area is the Moak Trail. Inasmuch as a portion of the Moak Trail “road” impacts the study area, and for collecting purposes, this trail portion was assigned as Feature 4. This report’s Feature 4 “Road Segments” interpretations may be read below in Ch. 6, pages 473-484.

Nothing found at the site study area itself helped to flesh out the place name history for today’s fairly familiar “Moak Trail.” For possible resolution, this researcher turned to collecting archival records and interviewing Vina locals, as well as Moak family descendants. Fortunately for this researcher, several Moak family members are already personal friends.

Regarding its earliest, prehistoric era uses, it is hypothesized that prior to about 1854, the Moak Trail was part of a network of foot trails used almost exclusively by California Indians, as well illustrated by Ishi’s 1913 place names map (see Fig. 15 on page 32). Regarding pre-contact use, one possible Yahi name pronounced by Ishi for the foot trail under discussion (Moak Trail) was *cunkena* (Baumhoff 1957:49-54; reprinted by Heizer and T. Kroeber 1979:217). A preliminary review of the Yana Dictionary by Sapir and Swadesh (1960) by this researcher as to the Yana meaning for *cunkena* remains undetermined.

Earliest archival dates for the Moak Trail found begins in 1909 in Robert Anderson’s *Fighting the Mill Creek Indians*. On page 12, Anderson (1909) wrote:

The rest of us, with provisions enough to last two days, crossed Deer Creek near the mouth of Sulphur Creek, climbed the north wall of the canyon, and so on across Digger Pine Flat and to the pinery about in the region of the Moak Trail.

That the foothill trails along Deer Creek and from Mill Creek, that run down the ridge lines mostly east to west, to Hi Good’s place were used by the Indians in the hills appears in two places in Anderson (1909:63) who wrote: “A squaw coming from the hills reported that the wounded Indian had succumbed . . . after a few days” [and] Anderson (1909:70) that: “He said a squaw had come to his [Good’s] place from Mill Creek, a few days after . . . and told him that there were seven killed and two badly wounded in that battle.”



Figure 118. The Moak Trail, at this segment, is classified as a 4WD Jeep Road. Acorn Hollow w/ study area, can be seen in far distance, about three miles to the west. Photo by author, October 17, 2005.

In 1914 the "Moak's Trail" place name was found used by Alfred L. Kroeber during the Ishi *et al* "return" camping trip, May 14 - June 2, 1914. Kroeber's photo title description for his set of four panoramic photographs (taken probably when he or Waterman were standing on the south cliff face or bank of Deer Creek). Phoebe A. Hearst M of Anthropology's respective catalog numbers are: 15-5784 +e, 5784, 5786, and 5787. The original Kroeber caption, repeated four times, reads: "Section of panoramic view taken looking northeast and south from near Moak trail in vicinity of head of Little Dry Creek, upstream from Dillon's Cove."

Moak Trail on maps - The year, 1953, remains the earliest year found on a quadrangle map that shows "Moak's Trail" (See Fig. 353 on page 480). The 1969 map, the Mineral District Almanor District Lassen National Forest California Region U.S. Forest Service map shows Moak's Trail and Moak's Cove (lower left) whose eastern most trail head is located on the Ponderosa Road (See Fig. 122). In contrast, the official oversized maps of Tehama County, 1878, 1887, 1903 and 1926, show only the route of the "Old Lassen Emigrants' Trail."

"Bill Bible Trail" - A second, and lesser known, place name used for this same trail, is the "Bible Trail." In 2007, this researcher heard Vina local John Aulabaugh (born in 1933) call the Moak's Trail, the "Bible Trail." The likely origin for this second name is because the trail also went to and passed where the former Billie Bible Cabin once stood, and now destroyed (see Figures 351 and 352 in Ch. 6).

Place Name Oral History from Moak family descendants:

Interviewed on February 17, 2007, was Dale Wangberg, whose mother is Ida (Moak) Wangberg. Their part of the Moak clan extends back to Simeon Moak. Simeon Moak is Dale's great-great-grandfather. Dale Wangberg shared that:

"About 1970, my grandpa Harris Moak said Moak's Cove had that name because his Uncle Charles Lemm Moak ran his winter fur trapping line in that area along Deer Creek in the 1920's and 1930s."

Dale Wangberg added that:

"The Moak brothers were dairymen. They sold a lot of their property along Little Chico Creek and transitioned into the dairy business in Big Meadows (Lake Almanor). My great great grandfather was Simeon Moak. There were three other brothers in the area. They had property in Big Meadows. One named Levi left in 1875 for the State of Washington. John died in 1886, crushed by a horse.

"Deer Creek was their winter range. They kept cattle here [at the study area] for late winter spring feed until the snows were off and then they went up to Big Meadows.

"The Moak Trail is an historical trail. I recall my mother, Ida (Moak) Wangberg and my grandfather, Harris Moak, talking about a sign on Hwy 32 where it crossed there, and I still cannot figure out how they did that.

"Up until the late teens (1918, 1919), Jacob was still ranging cattle out here along Deer Creek. I've seen letters from his daughter Harriet "Hattie" Moak (1866-1928) to cousins back east. So that was why I asked about the turquoise broach [see Fig. 257 of specimen 320-476 in Ch. 5] because they stayed up here somewhere I think about 1912. Hattie stayed the whole season with Jacob and rode horseback up to Big



Figure 119. Moak's Cove (middle) with its flat tongue-shaped mesa, is likely where Jake and Simeon Moak last battled the Mill Creek Indians, with eight other men, in April, 1866. The vast chasm of Deer Creek Canyon is partially hidden from view. Deer Creek Flat looms (top right). Photo looks southward, taken by author on October 16, 2005.

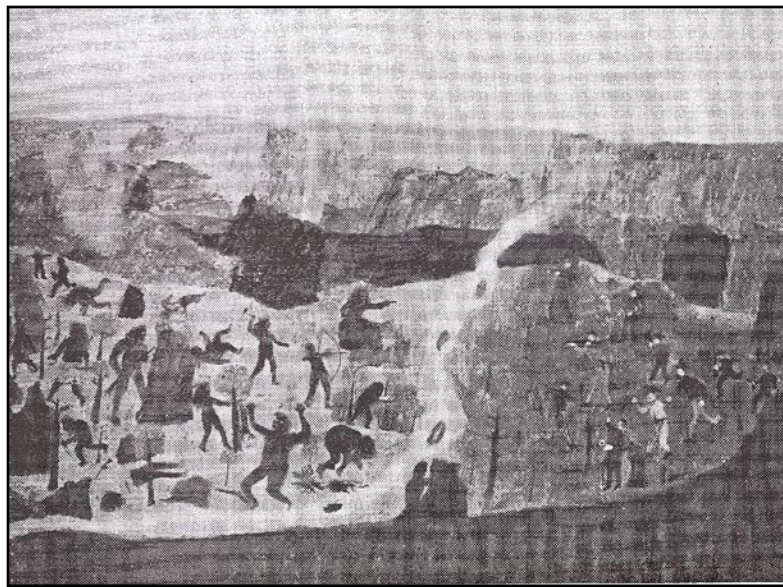


Figure 120. "Last Battle of the Mill Creeks" painting by Jake Moak made in about 1912. A white waterfall traverses the tongue shaped mesa that cascades into Deer Creek Canyon (far side). The dark shaded areas depict the red rim-rock. This 1866 battle may explain why Moak's Cove and the Moak Trail received their place names.

Meadows. She was commenting about having ridden about 700 miles on horseback in one year; up a trail that wagons could not go up. Everything was pack animals. I would suspect they were in this area somewhere. *

* From copy of original, April 28, 1913, letter courtesy of Dale Wangberg written by Hattie E. Moak to her cousin Willis Johnson in Jerusalem, New York (Wangberg Collection).

April 1866

The Moak Brothers' Last Battle Against the Mill Creeks Fought at Moak's Cove

This researcher offers an even earlier, likely explanation, for how both the Moak Trail and Moak's Cove received their place names. In early April, 1866, the Moak brothers (Simeon and Jacob) fought side-by-side in their remembered "last battle" against the troublesome Mill Creek Indians. Eight other men fought with them (Anderson 1909:57-58; Moak 1923:24-27). One related archival newspaper retrieved was, "Indian Depredations" (1866 April 14) *Chico Weekly Courant*, p. 3/1. It reports that the Mill Creeks had raided R. B. McKee's house on Mud Creek and Albert Silva's house [on Little Chico Creek], so a posse of volunteers was formed. They hunted and killed at least three Indians, two of whom were a woman and her baby, while all of the volunteers remained unscathed.

Another source is #32 letter (Wangberg 2007:69-70) by Levi R. Moak in Chico, Butte Co., dated May 21, 1866 to his sister Fanny (Moak) Johnson, which reads in part:

"Jake and Sim and a lot of others went some thirty miles on horseback and then they took it on foot on their track they came up to them on Tuesday they had camped on the top of a high hill that was full of small trees and brush"

This researcher has pieced together new old data that points to the Moak's last battle site was probably fought on top or near Moak's Cove. The prominence called Moak's Cove is flat on top, and comprises a westerly portion of the more expansive "Digger Pine Flat." In memory of their last battle, it so happened that Jake Moak in about 1912, painted a primitive art painting of the battle scene and of what transpired (Fig. 120). The title of his painting reads, "Last Battle of the Mill Creeks." Jake's brother, Simeon Moak (1923:27), wrote in his book, *The Last of the Mill Creeks*, why it was so titled: "This was the last time we had to punish those Indians."

The dark shades of color painted in the foreground and middle appear to be the artist's depiction of Moak's Cove's dark red rim-rock wall surface and the south side wall "across the chasm" of Deer Creek Canyon. A memorable, windy, overnight camping trip with Tehama County Museum curator Darrell Mullins on October 16 and 17, 2005, on Digger Pine Flat, afforded this author the opportunity to take photo Fig. 119 of Moak's Cove. Permissions granted from several private property owners, who maintain hunting cabins along the Moak Trail, made this possible.



Figure 121. "Grand View of the Deer Creek Canyon." Photo taken by author on May 2, 1997, looking northwesterly. The study area is out of view, approximately twenty-two miles distant below in the northern Sacramento Valley. The Moak Trail follows Deer Creek's north bank ridge line (right side in photo). The red rimrock bluffs (right side) include Dillon's Butte (closest) with Digger Pine Flat and Moak's Cove in the (farthest) backside.

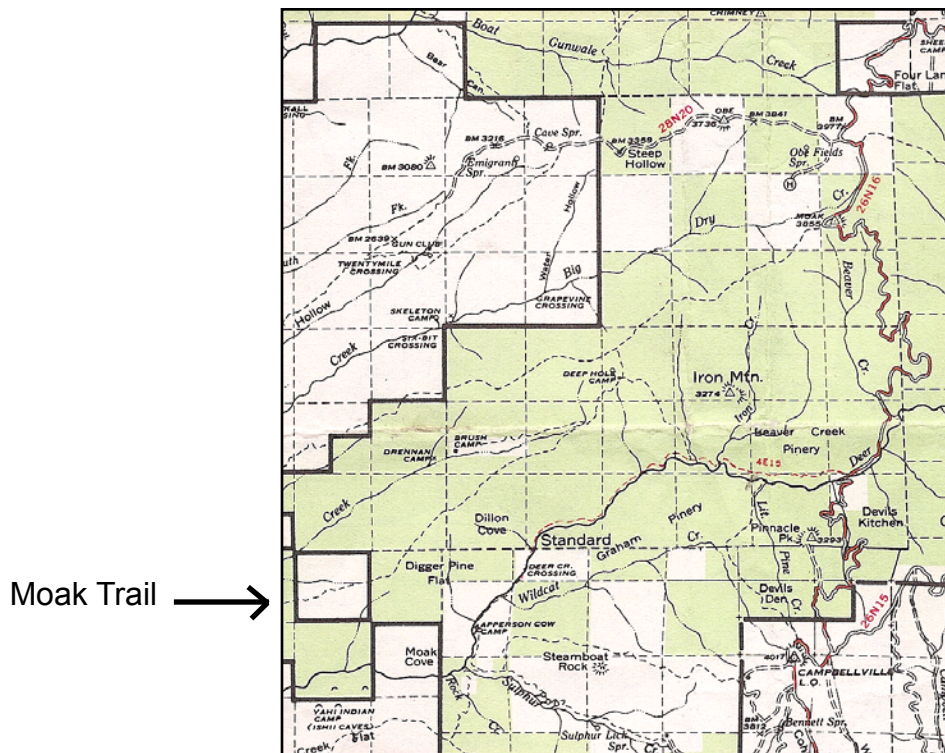


Figure 122. Map: Mineral District Alamanor District Lassen National Forest California Region, 1969, U.S. Forest Service, showing Moak's Cove (lower left) and the Moak Trail's route to its easterly trail head at the Ponderosa Road (upper right).

Geographical Profile of Moak's Trail as It Is Known Today

The Moak Trail on maps today follows a course that is mostly west-to-northeast. Its total length is not quite twenty miles as the crow flies. Its westerly trail head appears to be at the north end of today's Leininger Road where the pavement ends and the unpaved Rock Quarry Road begins. Frances Leininger, on June 15, 2005, stated that, "One name for the Rock Quarry Road was the Moak Trail." Where the Rock Quarry Road approaches the study area site, the Moak Trail/ranch road turns northward. It crosses the Acorn Hollow wash and traverses the site (see Fig. 350 and John Aulbaugh's contention on page 476 that the ranch road earlier crossed the wash farther downstream). When standing on the flat of the study area, property owner Mike Hamilton explained on December 8, 2001 that:

You see, where we are at, this is the lower end of the Moak trail. The Moak trail goes right up through Acorn Hollow and up onto a ridge top between Acorn Hollow and little Dry Creek and travels up into the upper end of Digger Pine Flat on the north side of Deer Creek.

For Ishi's camping trip in 1914, when Ishi took the anthropologists back into his country, they first went into Deer Creek [following the Moak Trail]. Then they would have come out from the draw at the base of Iron Mountain and come up to the ridge in the narrows and off into Mill Creek.

Figure 118 helps to convey why the Moak Trail along this motor vehicle segment, is today rightly classified as a 4WD Jeep trail. At about twelve miles distant and east from the study area, the motorized road trail ends. It turns into a footpath, which most probably was part of the Yana Indians foot trail network (see Ishi's 1913 map Fig. 15 of Yana foot trails network).

From Moak's Cove and continuing eastward for a little less than five miles, Moak's foot trail crosses Digger Pine Flat (of which Moak's Cove is a smaller tongue-shaped extension) and goes to the base of the pyramid-shaped sentinel, Iron Mountain. There, the Moak Trail heads north, through Deep Hole Camp, and merges with the Buena Vista Trail (see Fig. 122). Continuing eastward for 3 ¼ miles farther, the Moak Trail's east *terminus* is at Ponderosa Road, which was built during the 1930s as a Civilian Conservation Corps project. At this Moak's trail head the elevation above sea level is 3,855 feet. Today this point is a designated "parking" (P) area, on the U.S. Forest Service map. At this point, the trail head is only about one mile south of the Lassen Emigrants' Trail that follows the higher ridge top. Obe Field's Spring is close by at this convergence point, by heading west. It is on the south side of the Lassen Trail, less than one mile distant.

IX. EARLY SHEEP OPERATIONS

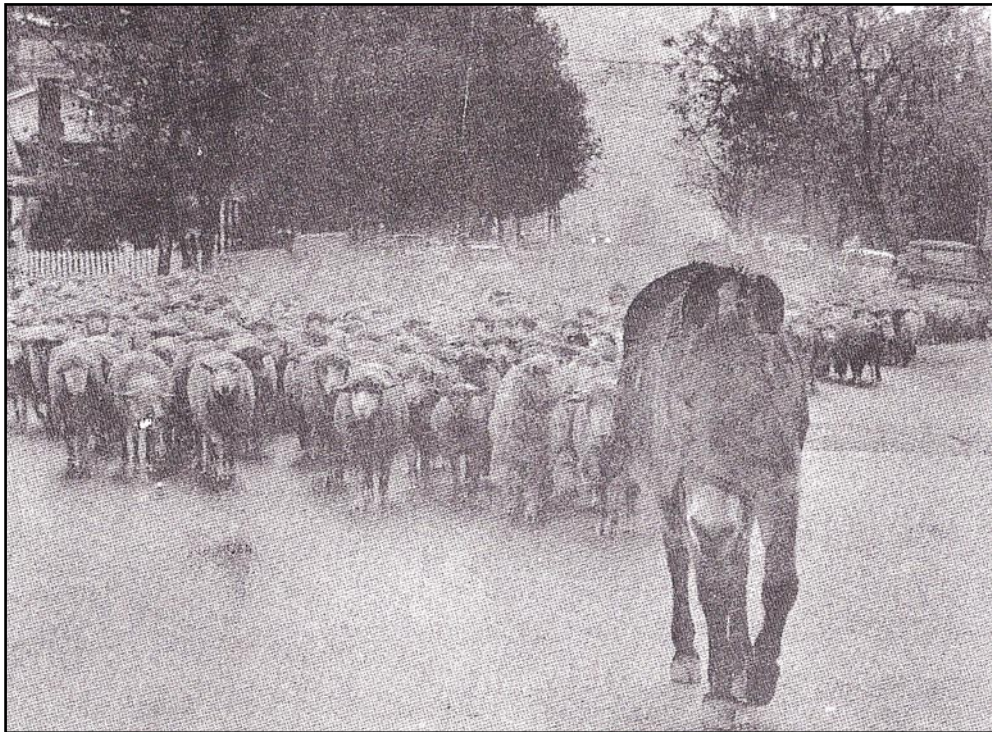


Figure 123. “John” was this “old hand” donkey’s name, who belonged to sheep man Tony Lourence and family, photographed (above) in Red Bluff’s downtown (“Home for the Winter” [1966, November 30] Red Bluff Daily News, Vol. 84). Copy courtesy of Vina historian, Frances Leininger Collection.]

“Yes, we kept a bell on John,” confirmed both Gary Lourence and JoAnn Lourence Larzbal, whose father was Tony Lourence (1907-1984), as confirmed by this researcher by telephone.

IX. Early Sheep Operations

The scientific excavation of the Hi Good Cabin afforded lessons about early frontier sheep ranching operations and strategies. The authentic data, herein assembled, presupposes that similar sheep and cattle operation strategies, cycles, and tools-of the trade were invariably experienced and used by Hi Good's 19th century sheep business, whose ephemeral appearance in northern California was 1866 to 1870. Consulted were: Vina historian Mrs. Frances Leininger (born 1925), cattle rancher George Roney (born 1923), sheep man Jack Haslem (born 1932), as well as members of the Basque Urrutia family of Susaville's Idaho Grocery (2007). Their interviews are joined with earlier data secured by Edward N. Wentworth, Director of the Armour Livestock Bureau, from consultants such as: Leo L. McCoy, J. T. Hollenbeck, and others.

I. Sheep Operation Types/ Economics

By about 1860, a surplus number of sheep had been trailed to ranches in the Sacramento Valley (See Lassen's First Sheep Chronology on pages 51-52 below), plus marketing standards were formalized (Briggs 1996:46-47), such that two fundamental "types" of sheep operations evolved, referred here as "short season" and "long season" operations.

(1) Short Season --This group has their ewes lamb in February and March and take their ewes with newborn "crop" (of lambs) to the mountains in May and June. Thereby they usually get away before the feed dries up in the Sacramento Valley, thus avoiding weeds and stickers which are extremely troublesome for the lambs. These sheep men keep their herds in the foothills and mountains, but stay fairly close to transportation facilities. They return and ship their animals off usually in July and August.

(2) Long Season --The second type operation also lambs in February/March. They then run their smaller herds up to the extremely rough and mountainous districts. They do not come out with their sheep until the fall. Sheep man Jack Haslem calls the long season type the "hobo migratory outfits."

Hi Good's type of sheep operation - Jack Haslem believes that Hi Good's operation was more of the small homesteader's "long season" type whereby the sheep man owned no more than 160 acres (quarter section) and had a smaller herd." Haslem added, "Had Good's sheep operation been later [in history], the big sheep operators would have surely called Good, "One of those "nestors" [small homesteader]. Haslem contends that, "It was the big rancher operations who later became resistant to change."

Sheep Breeds - Sheep man Jack Haslem (2007) stated that "The range sheep breeds are the Merino, Rambouillet, and Suffolk, for the main breeds in the United States." Haslem added, "For the wool, the Merino and Rambouillet produce the higher quality. The Suffolk are used as a meat and for terminal sires, with their wool quality being of a coarser quality.

Size of Sheep Herds Trailed

- Joseph Spencer Cone (1822-1894) came to California in 1850. He rivals in history as one of the shrewdest and most powerful businessman, livestock owner, and property owner of Tehama County. Originally a cattle rancher, when the enterprise failed, Cone turned to raising sheep. "It took nine days for Cone's outfit to herd some 20,000 head of sheep from Paynes Creek (Hwy 36), Tehama County, to Harvey Valley (N. of Hwy. 44), Lassen County." At the year of Cone's death (1894), he owned nearly 100,000 acres of land (Purdy 2002:27, 59, 83, 254, 266).

- Estimated size of Hi Good's Sheep Herd is 750 head--The closest reference to how many sheep Hi Good had, comes from Moak (1923:31) who wrote, "Good sold a portion of his sheep for \$7000. He had borrowed \$3000 from Gyle of Tehama." Since Gyle was a proficient in loans and investments, it can be surmised that the loan "straight across" that Gyle provided Good was "in sheep" from someone. Smaller operators often began their sheep businesses based "on shares." This was the case with E. H. Ward, for instance, in 1871, who, in 1884, entered into a copartnership in the sheep business with Joseph S. Cone (Briggs 1990:50).

Earning a Living (Statistics)

1860 was apparently a benchmark year when standards began to be established for settlers to begin to earn a respectable living with sheep regarding "length of wool i.e., weight of fleece, fineness of staple and purity of breed" (Briggs 1990:46). Hi Good would benefit starting in about 1866, because of these pre-established standards.

Jack Haslem explained that when looking at sheep income across the United States inclusive of all the possible breeds. His best guess is that 70% of the sheep industry income involves the selling of lambs, while 30% stems from the selling of wool. Easter Sunday's leg of lamb has been the biggest market day profit maker. Today, specialization has become the way of farming and ranching, and this trend has not been all for the better (See below VI Environmental Problems).

Jack and Pat Haslem's income in Susanville today provides comparisons for some of what Hi Good might have also been doing back in 1866-1870. The Haslems' income, for instance, is basically (100%) based on lambs sold for shows and for meat.

He explained his goal as a business man. "In one year I hope I get sixty lambs. I'll end up with 170% lamb crop this year --a good year! I'll keep on the property about 10% of them for replacements. My Suffolk sheep I raised for ram lambs as 'terminal sires' [lambs for meat]. Suffolk sheep grow a coarse wool that brings 30 cents per pound. Merino and Rambouillet (white faced) ewes grow the finest wool, which are made into dresses and shirts. The Merino wool is the world's finest. Both bring \$1.50 per pound.

Hi Good earning a living. --Good's income was perhaps 70% selling of lambs for their meat, and 30% from the selling of wool fleece sheared from his animals every April. Good seems to have fared well in the short time he was a sheep operator.

II. Crews

- Sheep historian Edward Wentworth (1954:52-53) learned from sheep man Leo L. McCoy of Red Bluff (and others), that "From Red Bluff to Susanville or Alturas, sheep men always used to figure one man and one dog per thousand head." (Underscore mine). In partnership with Gorham Gates Kimball were four other men, namely: John W. Burgess, George Hoag, Indian shepherd "Dick" and Indian shepherd "Buck." These five men had the critical help, moreover, of two dogs (named "Jim" and "Flora"); plus they had six riding horses that the five men shared. Thus, five herders with the two dogs, working 3,700 sheep all total, meant that, when divided evenly, each of the five "hands" successfully trailed 740 sheep.

- Col. Edward N. Wentworth (1951b:1-6) interviewed Mr. J. T. Hollenbeck about his experiences back in 1882, when he helped trail sheep for his sister-in-law's husband, Frank Owens, from Red Bluff, all the way to Wyoming. Mr. Hollenbeck explained that a typical crew for about a thousand head of sheep was: Captain (owner) of the sheep operation, three or four drivers, and the cook (a Chinese sometimes) with wagon; the dogs, the goats. About "goats," Hollenbeck added, "We had 25 black sheep for markers, also three or four goats."

Accounts of the Non-human Animal “Crew Members”

Non-human animals, namely, dogs, goats, and even donkeys and burros, round out the crew of successful sheep operations. Without these animals herding the sheep in the rougher terrain, trailing sheep to the distant, higher elevation camps, would be near impossible.

Working Dogs and Guard Dogs

- Leo McCoy stressed that “a dog for each man is important. A man without a dog over those mountains is very nearly helpless” (Wentworth 1954:53).
- This researcher asked Jack Haslem about the one Border collie that he kept in a separate cage at the time of my interview session while ewes and their lambs paraded all around us. Mr. Haslem introduced me, “Sass here, is my 100% Border collie. She is a working dog.” When I asked Mr. Haslem if he would led the dog out of the cage for a photograph, he winced, “I’d rather not.”
- Hi Good had Shepherd Dogs --According to Simeon Moak (1923:23), Hi Good apparently had two sheep dogs at his “place” in August, 1865, who also served him in the following as his guard dogs:

We got to Good’s place after dark and we were so tired we lay down without any supper. The Indians had a large white dog that had disappeared in the fight. Just as we lay down the shepherd dogs began to fight so I struck a light and here was that Indian dog.

What is a Judas Goat?

Goats help better than dogs or donkeys, in getting sheep to cross narrow bridges and leading them across streams. Note: Hollenbeck in 1882, said they had “three or four goats” (Wentworth 1951b:5). Vina historian Frances Leininger recalled a swinging bridge just upstream on Deer Creek (by Baker Field and across from the rock wall), that the sheep crossed, undoubtedly by the work of a lead judas goat. The swinging bridge is gone now, and no photograph of it has apparently survived (Frances Leininger phone conversation on March 19, 2007).

Judas goats each wear a bell. The sheep follow the sound. Bells are put on a lead donkey. Bells are also put on sheep, too, but not everyone of them. Bells were put on some of the sheep if they were in brushy areas. Ignacio Urrutia was directed to every night “count the black and count the bells and that way you know if you lose them” (Mallea-Olaetxe 2000:61). Hence “markers” can be the black sheep, those with bells, or of both.

Donkeys/Burros

- One impressive account about the use of the donkey as a vital part of the crew for a sheep outfit is the “old hand” donkey named John that belonged to rancher Tony Lourence (See Fig. 123). A lead animal usually wears a bell, which the sheep hear and will faithfully follow. The Lourence’s donkey had repeated the trip yearly during the past 40 years, 1926 to 1966. “Old Hand” led 1,200 sheep on the long trek from the Lourence’s ranch near Susanville and over the mountains down and through the downtown of Red Bluff where the trail ended at their home ranch twelve miles to the southwest of Red Bluff.

Jack Haslem explained that “The donkey needs to be led only one time by its owner and will remember the route. To train a donkey to be a lead, just get out there and lead him ahead of them for a while. Goats can be trained to be a lead as well, just as cattle drivers train one of their longhorns steers as a lead.”

- Jack Haslem is very proud of Black Jack, his donkey, who turned fourteen years old in 2007 (Fig. 124). Jack and Pat obtained Black Jack from their former nearby neighbor. “Black Jack is worth one million dollars to us. “He is very protective,” Jack explained, “Dogs stay away from his flock of ewes about which Black Jack is very possessive. That is one major reason I keep him in the pastures with the ewes. Black Jack helps guard against predator dogs.”



Figure 124. “Black Jack” on Jack Haslem’s lambing ranch, is guard, protector and peace-keeper of his flock in Lassen County. Photo by author on March 14, 2007.

- The burro is also a donkey, only a smaller variety. Burros are used as a pack animal, especially in arid country. But this account by Lyle A. William is testimony how burros can also serve as “part of the crew” of a sheep operation. About the burro, Mr. Williams (Briggs 1990:66) wrote,

“In the days when sheep were trailed to and from the mountains, there would always be a burro with a bell on in the lead of the band. Sometime he would be lazy and drop back to the tail end so the herder would have to throw rocks at him to get him back in the lead again.

“Wherever the burro went the sheep would follow him. Many Basque herders kept their bed and supplies on the burro at all times, and when night came they made camp on the summer range.”

Estimate of Hi Good’s crew size that included two “shepherd dogs” -- Jack Haslem was also familiar with sheep operations in the Vina area. After I showed him photographs of the Tehama County landscape and described for him how Hi Good’s headquarters ranch with garden was south in Section 33, and that his purported sheep “camp” was located, about 1 1/2 miles north in Section 21 from 1866 to 1870, Mr. Haslem readily reconstructed what Hi Good’s sheep operation would have involved. Haslem said, “For that type of operation, I would say you would have maybe two men, especially with the size of the cabin out there, 14’ x 14’. One is shepherd. He has a gun, looking for

predators, counts his markers every day. One black sheep for every 50 or for every 100; one is a camp tender --who does the cooking, washing the dishes, laundry." Addition roles of the camp tender are these accounts:

"The camp tender," according to Tehama County historian, Lyle A. Williams, "would come every week with supplies for the herder and his dogs" (Briggs 1990:66). Similarly, Urrutia related to his biographer that, "The camp tender came about every one or two weeks, bringing the mail and the provisions. It was an important visit, because he not only brought news from the outside world but moved the shepherd's camp as well." (Mallea-Olaetze 2000:67).

III. Strategies

Early uses and the various strategies to produce the next "crop" of sheep are introduced in this section. One thinks of New Spain's earliest uses of sheep imported to the New World from Spain. Along with the modern horse, Hernando Cortés' colonizing expeditions in 1519 to 1521, invariably introduced the first sheep. Besides the "leg of lamb" Easter tradition meal promoted by the Catholic Church, the Navajo Indians were taught how to work the big framed weaver's loom. The Indians of the southwest continue to apply their artistic ways with the coarse wool of the churros sheep. Beautifully designed woven wool blankets are the result.

A flock of sheep were [sic] driven along the trail to supply food. Referenced was Mr. Albert Toomes of the Workman-Rowland Party. Sheep man and historian, Jack Haslem, also said, "Both George Washington and Thomas Jefferson were both shepherds." He added, "Sheep have always been a significant part of the American way."

Moving sheep to different pastures involved several intriguing strategies. Designated camps with line cabins, according to Jack Haslem were usually never farther than twenty miles apart, taking into account how far sheep could be moved in either direction in one day, which was ten miles. J. T. Hollenbeck told Mr. Wentworth (1951b) that in 1882, "We made excellent daily drives, averaging 10 miles per day" on their way to summer pastures.

Use of black sheep as markers --They are "markers." One black sheep for every fifty or for every 100 of one's herd. The number of black sheep one starts out with were counted daily to account for all of their sheep from the day before. Urrutia was told, "Count the black and count the bells. And that way you know if you lose them. Count them every day. If you miss one black, that means a bunch of sheep are missing."(Mallea-Olaetze 2000:61)

Jack Haslem explained how counting black sheep works for accountability, putting it this way: "It is all based on the fact that sheep herd. They naturally stay together. It is of their nature [genes] to stay together unless something unseemly happened at night. Jack Haslem added, "Usually you won't find one or two sheep going off by themselves. It will be a little bunch. If fifty were gone in the night, you had a good chance that a black would be in them."

IV. Cycles

Seasonal activities include: breeding, lambing, shearing for the wool, trailing sheep to higher pastures, trailing them back down, butchering for the meat, and shipping off to markets. Proper attention to these same cycles were part of what Hi Good was dealing with back in 1860s.

Breeding season -- Jack Haslem explained that "the gestation period for ewes is five months. This means ewes would be brought around sire rams on October 1 in Idaho; and respectively in Tehama, in early November."

Lambing season - Lambing season varies by location but happens from February to April; May 1. Jack Haslem explained, "If I was in the range sheep business, I would not lamb until April because the weather is better, the grass is greener. You have to feed the ewes well. In April, there is better feed when they are lactating, and its better for the new lambs. You want to give them good food for 1 1/2 months (six weeks) during their last part of gestation so when they do drop their lambs they have lots of adequate milk for the babies."

Regarding the Hi Good site during the 1990s decade, its Acorn Hollow foothill area becomes rich with green grasses usually by mid April and is the richest in green grasses around May 5th. The same area starts to yellow and dry out, however, by mid June. In contrast, Urrutia told his biographer how in Idaho in April 1 - April 10, the Idaho sheep "were taken into the sagebrush country, where tender green grasses were sprouting" (Mallea-Olaetze 2000:60).

Sheep Gone to the Mountains

1915 newspaper reported: "Tehama County has 270,000 head of sheep, two-thirds of which go east and north on forest reserve land and one-third go west to the Coast range. About 70% of the lambs were saved this year, three-fourths of which will be sold for slaughter between August and October." (1915, May 22). *Los Molinos River Rambler* (Reprinted in Briggs 1996:76).

The Shearing Season --After April 10th in Idaho, Urrutia said "Then they were moved higher to the corrals, where shearing took place, and the male lambs were docked or castrated. The shearers were professionals, and they might take a week or more to complete the job."(Mallea-Olaetze 2000:60)

V. Dwellings/Structures

Sheep outfits include the owner's "headquarters" place or ranch, with ranch house. Adjacent or close by is kept the herd during the "off season" winter months, usually in an open fenced meadow. Jack Haslem's headquarters ranch is on the easterly outskirts of Susanville, Lassen County, CA. On his acreage he has his ranch house, as well as his series of lambing sheds and feeding sheds. His prize sire rams he keeps in a separate corral, away from his flock of ewes and their new lambs, along with several wethers.

The line cabin of sheep operations are not found on a sheep rancher's headquarters place, but rather are up in the plateau and mountain country where one's herds are trailed. Line cabins today are far and few to be seen (see Fig. 360 in Ch. 6). Traditionally "line cabins" are small sheds, that the bigger "short season" outfits maintain as places where their ranch "hands" can stay the night inside, as opposed to sleeping outside on the ground. Many of today's modern line cabins are "portables." They are made of prefabricated fiberglass or plastic and come "with wheels" so that they can be transported along the trail and placed "in a line" (for which line cabins get their name), along the route that the sheepherders will be trailing their herds.

* * * * *

This researcher asked Mr. Haslem about what possible functions Good's cabin had out there at the sheep camp where our excavation took place." He answered with, "There were two reasons that the cabin served. One as a shelter; a place to stay; a place to store goods."

A related question posed for Jack Haslem was about the possibility of lambing shed structures being part of Good's sheep camp. Jack Haslem felt that most of the smaller sheep outfits like Good's did not have lambing sheds. Haslem said, "Lambing happened out on the range. During the night,

they would bring them in. During the day, they kind of tended to the ewes and lambs." Jack alluded to the fact that he had done lambing out on the range himself. "If a mother ewe was not letting its baby suck on its mother," he added, "we tied the mother ewe to a bush."

Another possible use for the Hi Good Cabin with brick chimney, was realized upon rereading one part of Ignacio Urrutia's biography (Mallea-Olaetxe 2000:59) that described his lambing experiences in February in Idaho and how it was very cold. The biography read,

"... and when the lambs were born, they were wet, and they could freeze in just a few minutes. As soon as the lambs gave birth, the mothers with their lambs were taken inside a heated shed and put in individual pens" (underscore author's).

The mention of using a "heated shed" called to mind the heretofore seemingly incongruous bricked chimney of the Hi Good cabin. Indeed, the Feature 2 "brick collection" named at the site corroborated what the 1920 Leininger family photo showed that large brick chimney. While buttons and suspender slides etc. (domestic debris) found at the cabin area affirms that adult males lived there, was not another function of the cabin that it was used as a "contingency lambing shed" during the unusually cold winds and/or freezing rains of winter? Did not Hi Good purposefully have the large fire place constructed out at his rural sheep camp to help guarantee the success of his lambing seasons?

Also, Hi Good neighbor and Indian "hunter" associate, Robert Anderson (1909:4) recalled how, "In 1861, snow fell in the valley to the depth of six inches and lay on for two weeks. That snow put me out of the cattle business." Anderson's history lesson about the harsh snows of 1861, had no doubt put fear into the hearts and minds of future ranchers. Hi Good's answer to possible snow storms was to include a brick fire place out in his isolated sheep camp. It was a kind of insurance to guarantee successful lambing. Dry logs kindled in such a fire place, would produce a tremendous warmth in just a couple of minutes! This heat generated this way occurs much faster than does a wood-burning iron stove. All of this made good sense to Jack Haslem upon this researcher repeating all the above to him.

VI. Wagons, Tools and Supplies

- J. T. Hollenbeck, when reminiscing to Edward Wentworth about his 1882 sheep trailing days (Wentworth 1951b:2), Hollenbeck said, "Our camp equipment was old-style, as the sheep wagon we use today was not yet invented. We had a regular old fashioned two-horse covered wagon. There was a water barrel on each side and a sheet iron stove which we lifted out when we camped."

- Canteens - About the "canteen" Kimball's diary entrees for both June 10 and June 11, 1865 referenced the importance of the canteen. "I rode 2 1/2 miles and filled Canteens for boys all very thirsty." (Wentworth 1954:55) And, "I sent Dick 1 1/2 miles today to fill Canteens" (Wentworth 1954:56) Kimball also wrote, "After dark I took 3 men and the water bucket . . . (Wentworth 1954:57). Jack Haslem, when asked about what early canteens were like, responded with, "They were canvas sacks that held 1 1/2 quarts of water. Sometimes made of pewter or steel. An improvised canteen that was made of sheep hide and sealed with pitch."

- About sheep wagons - During the interview session with Jack Haslem, he spoke fondly of the old original sheep wagon. This led to asking him to describe what a classic sheep wagon looks like. He gave this description:

“The Ideal Traditional Sheep Wagon Defined”

“It would have a round top, canvas, not tin, with a 10 foot bed wagon box and 4 feet wide. It is a little bigger than the standard 6 to 8’ long buckboard. At the front of the wagon is the door. As you approached it the door is always on the left side. There are a couple of wooden steps for entering. On the right side, is the sheep wagon stove. Your bed is in the far end. The mess boxes (chuck boxes) are on the right side behind the stove, as you went in between the stove and the bed. The table pulls out of the bottom of the bed made of wood. It has one bracing leg that supports it. It has benches about this wide always kept inside.”

Frankly, Jack Haslem surprised this researcher about what he conjectured Hi Good’s sheep outfit did about sheep wagons. “In the early days,” he began, “they didn’t use much in the way of wagons. They used tents and pack animals.”

At CA-TEH-2105H, many wagon parts were found. But, Haslem’s words created a new caution and reservation about all of this. The deposition of the wagon pieces collected along the Moak’s Trail and around the cabin site, could well have occurred after Hi Good’s ephemeral existence.

Surmising about Hi Good’s Tools and Equipment -- Jack Haslem surmised about Good’s sheep camp in Section 21 (CA-TEH-2105H) that “Good may have made it a second sheep headquarters” [in addition to his base headquarters ranch to the south 1 1/2 miles in Section 33.]. Haslem asserted, “Up there would be more tools: old hand clippers, pliers, something to repair stuff with. You should find bridal bits for horses, pieces of guns [from guns used for protection against predators] after the sheep etc. Other things you might find are horse shoes. You especially had to shoe in that [rocky rugged] country.

Glossary

“borrowing” - Living and using the resources of a particular land parcel without filing ownership on said acreage with the county, state, or federal government.

billy - The male goat

bums or bummers - Any orphan lambs. Made such because the mother has possibly died or the mother has rejected them. Hopefully, they are then artificially reared.

Burgon and Ball - Company name for the preferred brand of early day sheep hand shears.

burro - A small donkey, used largely as a pack animal.

ewe - The female sheep; also the jenny

FFA - Future Farmers of America.

fleece-weight --The finer the wool , the higher the value.

heifer calf --A young cow, especially one that has not had more than one calf.

“in the pod” - Referring to an animal still being in the mother’s womb during gestation.

insemination - Related by the phrase, “The ram seats the ewes.”

judas goat - Refers to a billy (male goat) trained sometimes as the lead animal and wears a bell, the sound from which the sheep will follow. The billy also has an outstanding set of horns that are useful in defense.

kid - An immature goat

lambled - Past predicate meaning that a mother ewe gave birth, as in "she lambled last night."

lambing shed - Warm place where lambs are born and mothers are allowed to bond with their baby. Lambing barns are often an alley with curtains. Cages and weight scales. Lights for working at night.

lambs -Immature sheep, the offspring of ram and ewe.

lead ewe - Usually bells are put on them, head of the pecking order of the herd that all the rest will follow.

line cabins - Small shelters to stay in at night used by sheepherders.

"main lined" - As in, "That ewe got main-lined." --Description that rattlesnake's venom has got into the animal's main artery and is potentially lethal.

milling - As in, "Those animals are milling." What herd animals do when they no longer have a lead cow or lead ewe to follow.

"Mormon buckskin" - Refers to common baling wire; used "to hold an outfit together" and having many a purpose.

mule --Offspring of a jack (male donkey) and a mare (female horse)

nanny - A female goat

"nestors" --Big rancher's derogatory term for small homesteaders who were looked upon as intruders or trespassers.

"No Fence" laws - First passed in 1866; again in 1872, due to influential stockmen lobbying, relieving them of the burden of building fences. Primarily, the idea of fences came from the homesteaders who were farmers. To protect their grains and hay fields from herds passing through, they began putting up the fences.

"off season" - Refers to the winter lambing season of the year, normally March to May; dependent upon where one is and the weather.

ram -- The male sheep

sheep - *Ovis aries* (Genus species)

squatting - Today, usually means unlawfully occupying and making use of land (See "borrowing" and "squatters' rights").

steelyard - For weighing livestock primarily to determine their value before shipping them to the slaughterhouse. It is a balance, consisting of a scaled arm suspended off center, with a hook at the shorter end on which to hang on object being weighed, and a counterbalance at the longer end so it can be moved to find the weight.

steers - Castrated bull calves

terminal sires - Modern day term for "lambs for meat"

wether - A castrated ram; usually reared for the wool and for the meat.

X. TECHNOLOGIES

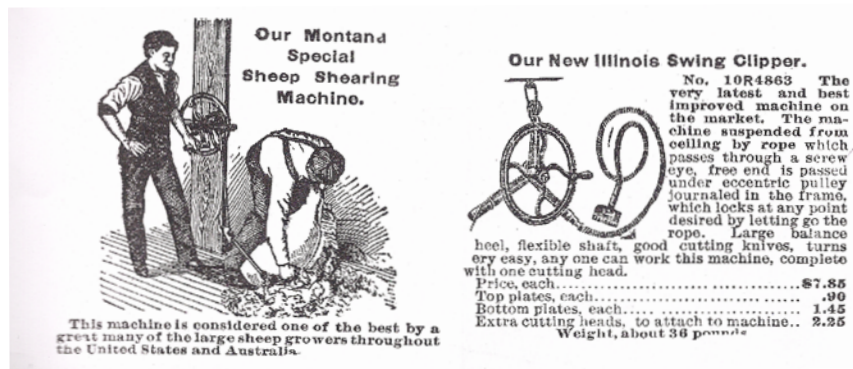


Figure 125. Sheep Shearing Machine models for sale, as advertised on page 412 of the 1902 edition of *Sears, Roebuck & Co. Catalog*. (Left) Montana Special Sheep Shearing Machine. (Right) Illinois Swing Clipper. These machines consisted of “a large wheel which is perfectly true and gear is enclosed in a stationary frame and drives a hardened steel cut pinion. The pinion shaft is even with a small turn balance wheel. The number of sheep, this machine will cut without sharpening the knives depends much on the condition the sheep are in and how much grit or sand there may be in the fleece. Weight boxed 70 pounds. No. 10R4844 Price of the machine with three pair of sheep knives, and one pair horse knives . . . \$14.70. Add extra for belt wheel, which you can attach to the machine on the crank bar and run the machine by power. The 8-inch pulley is substituted for the crank handle. You can run the machine with any kind of power with a 1-inch flat belt to transmit the power to the machine. Price of belt wheel, extra . . . \$1.50.

X. Technologies

In the course of conducting the background history about the artifacts recovered and/or the personalities with connections to the study area, several stories involving technological change have surfaced. Due to space limitations, this author settled on five such accounts.

New technologies for making and doing things are a big part of the human story. Better technologies in use by Culture A for building that better mousetrap are usually the first things borrowed (acculturated) by Culture B. An overview offered by the study of changing technologies can help researchers trace the direction of human endeavors, and to predict and assess their trends into the future.

1. The New Bicycle Sheep Shearing Machine

Veteran sheep man Jack Haslem said, "The best thing that happened to the sheep industry was when they came up with the bicycle shear." He explained that this new technology involved, "The hand shear you have now, but with a chain drive and a guy would sits and pedals the bicycle to power the shear."

Two of the latest models of this machine advertised back in the (1902:412) edition of the *Sears, Roebuck & Company Catalog* are illustrated (Fig. 125), respectively: "Our Montana Special" and "Our New Illinois Swing Clipper." It is noteworthy that Anne Willard McNabb (1983:22-28) of Tehama County, California, evidently refers to the bicycle shear device as the "machine clippers" or "ranglers."

The earliest year found for the first invention of a mechanical energy driven sheep shear machine is 1887, by Irishman Frederick York Wolseley in Sydney, Australia. In 1889, Wolseley went to London and established the Berbert Austin Company in Birmingham, England (Australian Dictionary Online Edition. Retrieved in 2008 from <<http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs>>).

Most sheep operations today shear with electrics, such as the "E-B" electric, which stands for "Easy Baker." It is a hand piece, which is hooked up to a shaft with electric motor. In 1953 thereabouts was when sheep shearing "electrics" equipment were first on the market, made by the Sunbeam Corporation ("State Sheep School" [1953, January 30] *Michigan's Cass City Chronicle*, p. 10).

That the activity of sheep shearing probably occurred at the study area has been affirmed by finding one blade to a sheep hand shear (320-434). From the artifacts recovered at CA-TEH-2105H, however, it remains undetermined whether any of the metal fragments, pulley wheel pieces et cetera, are parts to one of these "bicycle" model sheep shearing machines.

2. Innovations in Firearms Superiority in U.S. History

Greater clarity about the sequential evolution of war weapons superiority surfaced during historical background research involving the armament types recovered at the site. These types found during 2003-2004 were one lead rifle ball, used by the muzzle-loader weapon, twenty-one spent .44 Henry flat brass cartridge casing fragments, and four total .56-.46 Spencer repeating rifle armament pieces (see Fig. 277 in Ch. 5).

Question: What was the evolutionary turn in gun power versus the bow and arrow?

Answer: The Plains Indians' bow and arrows attacks from their mobile horses out-fought the muzzle-loading rifle bearing frontiersmen. But the new repeating revolver followed by the repeating rifle technologies, it is argued, turned the tide against the Native Indian Americans.

Author and primitive bow hunter Jim Hamm, of Goldwaite, Texas, described the balance of power shift that occurred in U.S. history, vis-a-vis the above weapons. Hamm (1991:20) wrote:

“To the Eastern Indians, single-shot muzzle loading firearms proved superior to bows because they were more accurate with greater range. On the wide-open Plains, however, where travel and fighting were usually done from horseback, the white frontiersmen suffered a distinct disadvantage with their single shot weapons, since a muzzle loader was virtually impossible to reload from the back of a running horse. Any time white settlers were caught in the open and could not get to cover, they delivered one shot apiece and then were generally cut to pieces by the rapid-fire arrows. In fact, until the introduction of the repeating Walker revolver by Samuel Colt in 1839, the Plains Indians were much better armed for mobile combat than the white frontiersmen. The revolvers, and later the repeating Spencer and Henry rifles from the Civil War, finally swung the tide of firepower away from the Indians.”

Hamm (1991:20) added,

“The Plains bows were not used in stand-up, long distance archery tournaments, but rather from the back of a running horse. It was this combination of horse and bow that helped make the Plains Indians so formidable in warfare.”

From Repeater Hand Guns to Repeater Rifles - With the advent of the American Civil War, those Union soldiers who had the new Henry Repeating Rifle in their possession also had the superior advantage. Probably no better Civil War testimony for this exists than what the Northern Yankees' military officer Major William Ludlow recalled about the Battle of Altoona, as retrieved from the Henry Repeating Arms' web site <<http://www.henryrepeating.com/history.cfm>>.

Major Ludlow recalled:

“What saved us that day was the fact that we had a number of Henry rifles. This company of 16 shooters* sprang to the parapet and poured out such a multiplied, rapid and deadly fire, that no men could stand in front of it and no serious effort was made thereafter to take the fort by assault.”

* “16 shooters” depicts the fact that when counting one bullet placed in the chamber, the Henry Repeating Rifle's leverage action fire power totaled “16” rounds.

A second testimony from this same web site is:

“After an encounter with the 7th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, which had the good fortune to be armed with Henrys, one Confederate officer is credited with the phrase, “It’s a rifle that you could load on Sunday and shoot all week long.”

The Henry Repeating Rifle would go on to play a significant, if not dominant role in the frontier days of California’s Tehama and Shasta counties. For instance, shortly after Marie Dersch of Shasta County was killed by renegade Indians on August 22, 1866, apparently concerned residents of Tehama County armed George “Fred” Schuler, John Boyes, Robert Boyes, C. C. Dixon, Tom Anderson, and Tom Lofton each with a new mint condition Henry Rifle to go after the troublesome Indians (“Indian hunters” [1866, September 22] *The Shasta Courier*).

Also, according to a nondescript newspaper clipping titled “Story of a Rifle,” preserved in the Judge Herbert South Gans Scrapbook (n. d.), preserved in the Tehama County Library (Red Bluff, California), the six men “took the trail, found the Indians, engaged them in battle and slew them all.” The same account also read, “There were days of trailing before the Redskins were found in the rough Mill Creek country, east of Red Bluff, and it is said that every member of the band, except one squaw, was slain.” Related references for the above include (Schuler 1962; Smith 1995:115, 192).

What was the Henry / Winchester Connection in U.S. History?

The inventor who, in 1860, patented the first repeating lever-action rifle, was Benjamin Tyler Henry. From 1860, and during the U.S. Civil War years Henry improved upon his new and infamous weapon. Toward the close of the Civil War, 1864-1865, numerous rifles were in service. In 1865, Oliver F. Winchester had the foresight to recruit Henry to work for him at his Volcanic Arms Company. Together they expanded the business at Winchester's New Haven, Connecticut, plant. Also in 1865, a new company, the Henry Repeating Arms Company, was chartered. The company's name was changed in 1866 to the Winchester Repeating Arms Company. The company's Model '66 Winchester was successfully sold worldwide. By 1872, its factory had grown until it covered an area of two acres. The company stepped into the manufacture of metallic cartridges. Retrieved online from:

<<http://www.thck.org/winchester-hist.html>>

The Henry Rifle and Abraham Lincoln Connection

Anthony Imperato, President of the Henry Repeating Arms Company, located at 59 East 1st Street, Bayonne, NJ 07002, responded by phone on 7/29/2007 to this researcher's query. Question: What details can be provided about Benjamin Tyler Henry showing Abraham Lincoln his new weapon, the Henry Repeating Rifle?

Anthony Imperato: "Yes, it happened. The Secretary of the Navy received Henry rifles, No. 1 and 2. Abraham Lincoln was given a Henry rifle engraved with his name on it. It is the Henry rifle No. 6, and it is on exhibit today at the Smithsonian Institution."

"For you to best learn the date, place, and historical context and what took place about Lincoln receiving the engraved Henry rifle, I recommend three things: (1) Contacting Winchester Collectors Association in Brownsville, Texas (2) Reading author Wiley Sword's book, *The Historic Henry Rifle*, and (3) Also reading author George Mathis's book, *Winchester*.

Also, Anthony Imperato shared, "The original rifles cost a then-princely \$45. Today's models retail for anywhere between \$250 and \$2,000."

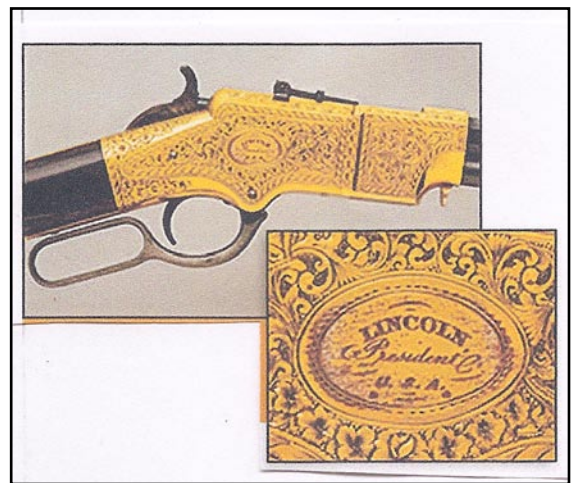


Figure 126. Henry Rifle No. 6, engraved "Lincoln President U.S.A." This rifle is on exhibit today in the Smithsonian Institution.

3. Early Ferries Closest to the Study Area.

Early residents of the study area who wished to get to the riverboat town of Tehama for supplies, located north eight miles but on the west bank of the Sacramento River, needed to be plan how to safely cross the river. “[Albert G.] Toomes, seeing the need for transportation across the river, built a “boat” and began operation of the first ferry service at Tehama” (Grimes et al., 2007:167). 1852 is the earliest year that this researcher could find for Toomes’s “ferry at Tehama.” The source is from Myrtle McNamar’s book, *Way Back When*, in her section, “Stages, Drivers, Pony Express.” McNamar (1992:41) wrote:

“In June 1852 an opposition line [to the transportation company, Baxter and Monroe] was established by a company known as Hall and Crandall, says C. F. Shurtcliff, in the same [Special] edition of the [Shasta Courier] Free Press. These stages came up the east side of the river from Marysville, crossed at Tehama, thence to Cottonwood and over the upper road to Shasta (Underscore author’s).

In contrast, Roberta (Dietz) Martin of Corning, California, shared with this researcher on October 15, 2006, that “The Squaw Hill area was the local crossing since the Gold Rush Days.” The history of the Squaw Hill vicinity, at the west end of today’s Woodson’s Bridge that crosses the Sacramento River, is also the history of the William C. Moon House* and Hall’s Tavern.** Hi Good would have used the direct route in 1859 using the Squaw Hill Ferry and passing Hall’s Tavern when force-marching Indians to the Nome Lackee Indian Reservation at Paskenta and/or visiting Henleyville or Monroeville.

* The famous old Moon House site is behind the two-story stucco house at 25611 Ohio Avenue, approx. 1 ½ miles south of today’s Woodson Bridge. Its all milled timber structure with twin brick chimney towers, according to Dietz (1985) was hauled down to the valley from the early lumber mill that “was a going business at Weaverville.”

** Hall’s Tavern (Miner’s Rest) was seven miles south of Tehama and west about two miles on the Southeast Road from Woodson’s Bridge (to Hall Road intersection). Site is also on the old Indian trail, the California-Oregon Trail used to reach Colusa and Sacramento City, and 1851 stage line stop (Grimes et al., 2007:214). Its site was verified for this researcher in 2006 by Frank Martin (b. 1930) and Roberta Dietz Martin, as “where the ancient fig tree survives today, on the east side of the corner of Hall Road and Million Road, Tehama County.

In 1849, Mrs. Hall, a widow lady, with two grown sons, Newton Hall (b. 1818) and Allen Hall (b. 1823) and three daughters emigrated from Mississippi, purchased the tract. Newell Hall served as the first Justice of the Peace for the riverboat town of Tehama.

J. Goldsborough Bruff’s (1949:447) Oct. 20, 1850 journal entry included: “The brothers keep a well-known house of entertainment, called the “MINER’S REST” on the great thoroughfare from Sacramento City to Redding’s [sic] Diggins [Reading’s Diggins] and other neighboring mines.”

Grimes et al., (2007:211) provide that, “In 1845 he [Moon] constructed one [ferry] at a good location near his home, and it was called ‘Moon’s Ferry.’” Later, and farther upstream from Moon’s Ferry, Christian Gardiner established a toll ferry, where the Woodson Bridge now spans the Sacramento River. The Gardiner’s Ferry also known as the ‘Squaw Hill Ferry’ (Fig. 127), was the first ferry to be permanent” (Grimes et al 2007:211).

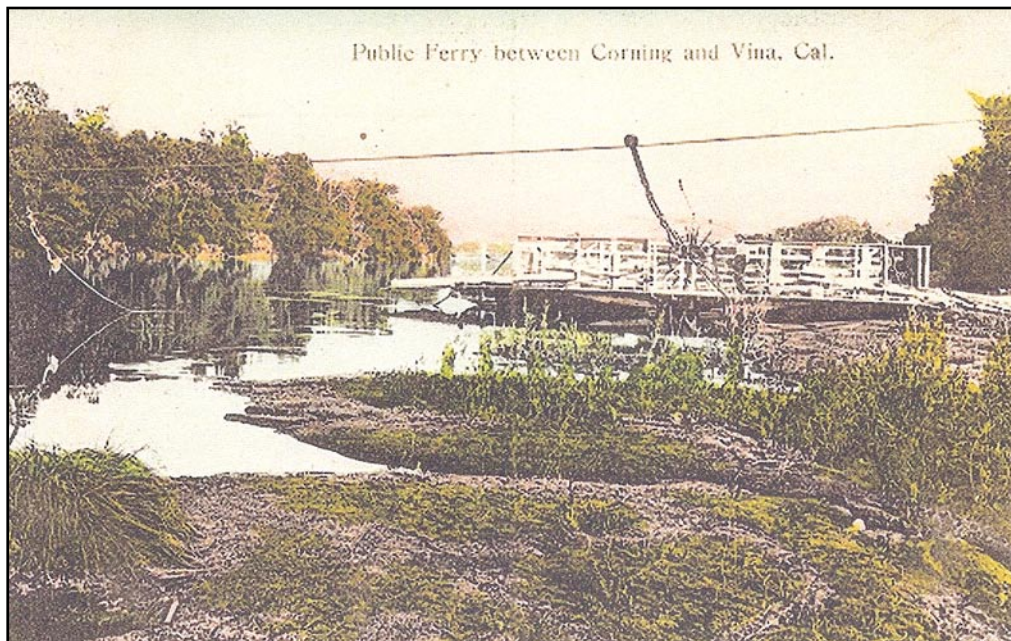


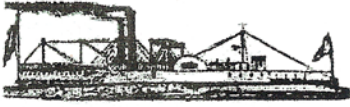
Figure 127. "Public Ferry between Corning and Vina, Cal."

This post card is likely the Squaw Hill Ferry. Curious is the kind of "flywheel" (with spokes?) pictured next to where the ferryman stand in the image. A second line ascends and attaches to the "cordelle," the heavy line, that would be temporarily fastened to moorings on opposite shores. However, "When riverboats neared the ferry, the ferryman would lower the ferry cables to the bottom of the river so the boats could pass" (Grimes et al., 2007:211).

With the early ferries, the cordelle would be hauled forward by laborers or draft animals on shore, called "cordelling." In some watercraft situations, the boatman on board hauled or pulled on the cordelle from bow to stern, repeating the operation as many times as was necessary to get the craft with its cargo across. This process was called "warping." (Recommended is Linda Lee "A Ferry Tale: A Factual Account of Old-Fashioned Ferries" with drawings by Kyle Burke, *Bittersweet* Volume VII, No. 1, Fall 1979. Available online:

< <http://thelibrary.springfield.missouri.org/lochist/periodicals/bittersweet/fa79k.htm>>

**CALIFORNIA
STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY.**



Departure From Red Bluff.

Steamer **SAM SOULE,**
Capt. WM PIERCE.

Steamer **GEM,**
Capt. THOS. SRINSON.

From and after this date the above boats
will make, each, one trip per week, leaving
Red Bluff Tuesdays and Saturdays.

PASSAGE \$10.


Tickets can be had at the Office of the
California Stage Co., Shasta.
JAMES S. JOHNSTON, Agent.
Office Cal. S. N. Co.,
Red Bluff, June 29, 1859.--no 15

**SUMMER
ARRANGEMENT.**

CALIFORNIA STAGE COMPANY.

SPEED INCREASED—FARE REDUCED.

Only 24 Miles Mule Travel to Yreka
---Less than any other route---
---Through in 36 hours.



Stages for Shasta, French Gulch, Trinity and Scott's Valleys, Callaghan's Ranch, Yreka, and Jacksonville, O. T., Weaverville and Trinity River, leave RED BLUFF, daily, at 3 o'clock, A. M.

Stages for Tehama, Oroville, and Marysville, and Sacramento leave RED BLUFF, daily.

Figure 128. The steamer *Samuel Soule* was somewhat similar to the stock engraving (left) for steamers of that era. However, she was a stern-wheeler type, not a side-wheeler as illustrated. This ad was found in the *Red Bluff Beacon*, August 24, 1859, for the California Steam Navigation Company and California Stage Company (bottom).

Besides being a stern-wheeler type, she was built in 1855 and disposed of in 1868. Her tonnage was 87 (MacMullen 1944:140). By comparisons, her estimated hull length was about a 90-foot and beam about 30 feet.

Indian Wars History - On December 10, 1859, the *Sam Soule* docked in Red Bluff. Some 400 California Indian prisoners, men, women and children, were forced on board. Original orders were to take the prisoners south to the Tejon Reservation in San Bernardino, California. This was the climax of Gen. William Kibbe's austere campaign. During 1858-1859, Kibbe's Rangers "scoured the country," killing and gathering up "some 700 of both sexes and all ages," having effected a general surrender of mostly Pitt River Indians, inclusive of Chief Shavehead and Hat Creek Lize of the Hat Creeks. Included also were captives from other tribes but in smaller numbers (Smith 1995:91, 95,124-125; Schoonover 1999:49)

On Dec. 14th the steamer arrived in San Francisco. On the sand at the foot of Powell Street, a roped prison camp, with armed guards, was set up, where city folks were afforded the opportunity to observe and gawk at them. On Dec. 16th, the group was boarded onto the sailing brig *Jannett* to the Mendocino Reservation, and arrived there at Fort Bragg "before the year ended."

Keeping with technologies - Samuel W. Soule, along with Christopher Sholes and Carlos Glidden, invented the first practical typewriter at a machine shop located in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Their patent was finally secured in about 1869. Rights were sold to E. Remington and Sons of Ilion, N.Y. (Retrieved Online: <<http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/dictionary/index>>

4. Steamer Riverboats Near the Study Area.

“Early Upriver Steamers of the Sacramento River” Early Movers of Passengers and Freight

“Kit Carson, upon taking the steamer from St. Louis in April, 1842, for the upper Missouri, thought the steamboat the most remarkable invention he had ever seen. The West, he realized would soon be conquered by ships and he was even willing to concede the possibility that some day railroad tracks might be built across the wilderness.”

--Noel B. Gerson (1964:101)

According to Jerry MacMullen’s (1944:3) classic, *Paddle-wheel Days in California*, the new traffic of steamers up the upper Sacramento River was “a going business as far back as 1850, when the stern-wheelers established a *terminus* at Moon House, near Corning, and then pushed on to Red Bluff, the head of navigation.”

1849 August 9 to February 1850 - Peter Lassen was the first to navigate a steamer, The Lady Washington, above the mouth of the American River (see sidebar below)

The impetus for Red Bluff to become the Head of Navigation was irrevocably set in place when the Town of Shasta burned in 1853. Just the same, the argument over where the northernmost *terminus* for steamers would end up raged for several decades. Was it to be Colusa? Monroeville? Moon’s? Squaw Hill Landing? Lassen’s? Tehama? Reading’s Clear Creek?

1850 May - Major P. B. Reading’s “Clear Creek” paper town had been laid out at its mouth to the Sacramento River just before the daring visit on May 14, 1850 by Capt. E. C. M. Chadwick piloting his 87-foot long Jack Hays side-wheeler steamer (Shaw 1964:19).

STEAMBOAT TRAVEL DISTANCES

San Francisco to Sacramento 125 miles
Sacramento to Moon’s 232 miles
Sacramento to Mayhew’s 240 miles
Sacramento to Tehama 248 miles
Sacramento to Red Bluff 270 miles
San Francisco to Red Bluff, 395 miles
MacMullen’s (1944:144-145)

By 1870, Red Bluff had become the “Wool Capital of California.” Then came the arrival of the railroad to Red Bluff in 1871, that started the big squeeze on future freighting by steamboats. At first, the railroads worked in tandem with the steamboating businesses. Some of the railroad and steamer travel schedules were synchronized. In 1871, the Central Pacific Railroad purchased for \$620,000 the holdings of the California Steam Navigation Company.

Steamers' Final Demise

The end of steamers became evident in the early 1930s. California highways that crisscrossed the state made motorized cars and trucks ubiquitous. "The final blow," according to Grimes et al., (2007:214), "came on August 28, 1932, when a large fire in Sacramento destroyed most of the docked steamboats, which were on the west bank of the Sacramento River." Indeed, the 1936 visit by the last riverboat *Josie Lane* to the riverboat City of Tehama, is recalled as the last hurrah! (Grimes et al., 2007:214).

Obscure Data About the Steamer The *Lady Washington*

Jerry McMullen (1944:11-12, 138) provides no length nor weight, only that The *Lady Washington* was a flat-bottom, stern-wheeler. Presumably, it was built in New York. Brought to California reassembled at Benecia and/or Sutter's Embarcadero. Disposal Date of 1868.

McMullen (1944:11-12) added verbatim: "She took the Sacramento waters on August 9, 1849. The *Lady Washington* . . . in due time chugged bravely up the Sacramento and American rivers to Coloma, started back, struck a snag, and went to the bottom. But she was raised, using the crude salvage equipment of the time, and lived to run again as The *Ohio*." [That she ever reached gold-discovery site Coloma is suspect; as far as Folsom on the South Fork of the American is more probable].

The arrival date for the *Lady Washington* steamer to Lassen's Landing in "February, 1850," was discovered on page 303 of the *Gold Rush* journals by J. Goldsborough Bruff (1949). To wit:

[Feb.] 12 "Last night Robert Roberts, one of the sons, arrived; he had been in the settlements and down the valley, some time" [and] "Young R. R. came up the Sacramento river in a steam boat, from Sacramento City."

Bancroft's *History of California, Vol. VI*, p. 450 states:

The inauguration, in August [1849], of steam service by *The George Washington* [sic] at Sacramento City. "On the 15th of August a scow was launched, and two days later *The George Washington* [sic] the first river steamboat of California, arrived from Benecia" (*ibid.*).

However, *Hutchings' Illustrated Magazine Vol. IV*, p. 4, contains an interesting statement in connection with this "little steamer *Washington* that she:

". . . was built at Sutter's embarcadero in Sept., 1849, that it ran on the upper waters, being the first to ascend above the mouth of the American River. According to this account, the little steamer struck a snag, sank, was later raised and renamed the "*Ohio*." If Peter Lassen purchased the "*Lady Washington*," and if, as *Hutchings' Magazine* states, it struck a snag, this might explain why Peter's steamboat venture was unlucky."

Warren N. Woodson's (1935:24) history book, *The Trail of the Trail Blazers*, includes this accounting about Lassen and The Lady Washington steamer that:

"Lassen resolved to capitalize on the opportunity of feeding the milling miners. . . . he conceived the ideal that he could more economically purchase his merchandise in San Francisco and transport it by boat . . . rather than hauling freight by mule teams from Sacramento to his home. . . . So, he sold his teams, went to San Francisco and bought *The Lady Washington*, a small steamer which had just arrived from around the Horn.

"He purchased a cargo of merchandise, manned his boat with a Kanaka crew and headed for Benton City.

Six Months On Trip North - "All went well until he passed the confluence of the Sacramento and Feather rivers From that point north the Lady Washington was the first craft to ply the waters of the Sacramento. He found the river foul with snags and bars, with the result that some six months time were consumed before tying up his boat at the mouth of Deer Creek. Meanwhile his crew had consumed the major portion of his cargo. Unpaid wages had accumulated, and poor old Peter found himself financially stranded —land poor, and no bank in sight to borrow from.

5. Railroad History Pertaining to the Study Area:

1855, April 17th - The first Sacramento Valley Railroad's first trial run made the news of the day. "With an eighteen-ton locomotive and two small flat cars that came around Cape Horn. Theodore Judah took a San Francisco delegation for a ride northward through the valley" from Sacramento City to the town of Folsom (Stone 1956:199).

1864, February 15th - The second railroad line, the California Northern Railroad, was completed between Marysville and Oroville. Standard gauge was 4 feet 8 1/2 inches (1,435 mm).

1869, May 10 - The celebration over the "completion" of the first transcontinental railroad was held in Promontory Summit, Utah (Locomotives Central Pacific No. 60 (*Jupiter*) and Union Pacific No. 119 were drawn up face-to-face). The final section for "uninterrupted" travel was September 8, 1869, when the first train crossed the San Joaquin River Mossdale Bridge, near Tracy, California (California State Historical Landmark NO. 780-1).

Regarding the CA-TEH-2105H site study area vicinity, two railroad companies were involved in bringing the first railroad through Tehama County. In 1870, the California-Oregon Railroad and Central Pacific Railroad were consolidated, and, under the name Central Pacific, their gandy dancer crews started building northward up the east side of the Sacramento River. North from Yuba City the C & O. R. R. Co. built to Nelson (Butte County) by May 31, 1870, and to Chico by July 2, 1870. Continuing northward, the C. P. R. R. Co. built from Chico to Sesma during Jan. 11 to August 28, 1871 (Southern Pacific Company 1916).

1871, August 12 - The first railroad cars arrived in Tehama on this date (Gans Scrapbook). The first Tehama Railroad Bridge that crossed the Sacramento at Sesma to Town of Tehama was completed on August 28, 1871 (Grimes 1983:25).

1871, December 9 - The first railroad reached Red Bluff on this date (Gans Scrapbook).

1872, September 1 - The first railroad reached Redding on this date (Wells Fargo Bank exhibit in Redding, California).

1881 - The checkerboarded odd sections owned by the railroad became available for private purchase.

1885, July 31, the Central Pacific Railroad purchased the California & Oregon Railroad, and by 1886, the name was changed to the Southern Pacific Railroad.



Figure 129. Union Pacific locomotive passes through Vina, heading south. In the foreground is "1915" embossed into a cement footing, part of a former water tower structure for the steam locomotives of an earlier era. Ishi disembarked here on May 14, 1914, for his return, nineteen day, camping trip to Deer Creek, Mill Creek and Antelope Creek. Photo by author taken February 17, 2003.

XI. ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

- “He knew nature which is always true”
--Dr. Saxton Pope in T. Kroeber (1961:237)

- “The Indians’ relationship to the environment was guided by certain basic beliefs. Man shared his existence with plants and animals and felt responsible for them.”
--Robert Heizer (1978:650)

- “Salmon is the magical traveler that binds this all together.”
--Gary Synder, March 2, 2007, Laxson Auditorium, Chico



Figure 130. Mouth of Lower Deer Creek that empties into *Daa-xa*, "Big water," the Sacramento River, Tehama County. Photo looks upstream taken by author on May 10, 2008.



Figure 131. Fish Ladder at lower Deer Creek Dam, Vina, California, part of the Stanford- Vina Irrigation District, Tehama County, to accommodate the anadromous Fall-run of Chinook Salmon and Spring-run Chinook Salmon and Steelhead Trout. Photo taken by author on April 5, 2008.

XI. Environmental Issues

The land use issue of overgrazing and water availability issue were two of the Project Research Design questions (themes) for testing. The discussion provided is a work in progress.

The steady, whole year flow of the Deer Creek water from the snow on the mountains continues to be the vital resource that “all” the residents have relied upon over time for their diverse and interdependent purposes. Take away Deer Creek’s cold and clear water and the foothill-living Yahi would have never had the *nooyi*, the pounded and dried salmon flesh that helped sustain them through the late winter/early spring months when food resources become scanty. “Salmon is the magical traveler that binds this all together” (Snyder 2007). Take away Deer Creek’s water, and the commercial ranching and agricultural pursuits in the region would be non-existent. Today’s land and water use concerns address the interdependence of the region.

Yana Glossary (Sapir and Swadesh 1960)

daasi - Salmon

nayi - Salmon’s flesh pounded red

nooyi - Salmon flesh, pounded and dried

Daa-xa [pronounced Da’-ha] - “Big water” / Sacramento River

Bohema-mem - River Nomaki (Wintu) name for the “Great water”

The Hamilton Family’ Sense of Place

On their approximate 3,800 acre “working cattle ranch” in the Vina area, property owners Fred, Michael and Susan (Junge) Hamilton graze and rotate their 100 to 140 head of Herford and Herford-Angus cross cattle year round. Their cattle forage along the fringe and bottom land of Acorn Hollow, where the study area is located. Their livestock also graze on the flat pasture lands on both sides of Vina’s Leininger Road. Their cattle forage to maturity. When fat enough, they are sold. The motorized trucking of livestock to the mountains for summer grazing, which began in the late 1930s/early 1940s, is not part of the Hamiltons’ ranching tradition. The last year when their father, Fred Hamilton Sr., worked the cattle for C. Roy Carmichael in the Sierra Nevada in Portola, Plumas County, was about 1958. The trailing of livestock to the mountain meadows along the two local cattle trails, the Lassen Trail and Campbell Trail, ended in about 1940, save for a few exceptions.*

* Exceptions include the Baccala cattle drive in the spring of 1996, “the first in several years,” which surprised the residents of Jonesville and Butte Creek (Adams, Dennison *et al.*, 1998:38); Sheep man Tony Lourence (1907-1984) with his trusted lead donkey named “John,” trailed his 1,200 sheep every fall from 1945 to 1967 from the Willard Ranch in Lassen County over the summits to Red Bluff in Tehama County. (“Home for the Winter” [1966, November 30] *Red Bluff Daily News*, Vol. 84).

Two main reasons why trailing sheep into the mountains is not prominent any more, were expressed to this author by northern California's retired veterinarian, Dr. "Dick" Tangeman, on 7/19/2007. Dr. Tangeman said,

"Between the coyotes and the government, they are pretty well pinched out. With coyotes, you cannot use poison now. You cannot trap them. You have to see to shoot them. This takes a lot of your time. As for the government, it's harder now to get grazing permits on BLM and U.S. Forest Service land."

Since 2001, this researcher has known and observed from a distance, Fred Hamilton and Mike Hamilton and their family members in their close-knit small community of Vina. For almost 50 years, the family has raised cattle, and kept their horses on their ranch. They love the local history. Mike, especially, collects early gun shells he continues to find. Fred likes working on the range, including trips to Eagleville. Both brothers have taken "outside" jobs to supplement their first love, which is vested in their ranch lands. It is a fact that they both have their land in their souls. It is about loyalty, sacrificing, keeping up the fence lines, tending their animals and monitoring the conditions of the pastures that demonstrate that they have a sense of place and keep working hard to better it.

Chico's Epick Homes proposed a preserve for Hamiltons' Ranch acreage – In May of 2007, the Hamilton family went on record in favor of a proposal by Pete and Chris Giampaoli, the local father and son development team of Epick Homes, that 400 acres of the Hamilton's working cattle ranch become a "preservation" conservation easement "forever" (Klein 2007). About 80 acres of the 400 acres is wetlands proposed to offset (mitigate) Epick Homes' proposed development of a 178-acre development in northeast Chico called Mountain Vista/Sycamore Glen. (This is near Pleasant Valley High School). At this writing, however, due largely to the economic flux, this project is still in the proposal stage.

The 400 acres also include 95 acres of wetland habitat. When finalized, the agreement shall provide that the wetlands cannot be filled. At the same time, the proposed land management plan allows the Hamiltons to still keep ownership of their land. It limits cattle grazing to where it is already taking place.

Epick Homes contracted with the staff of Foothill Associates who provide environmental consulting, landscape architecture, and planning services. Biologist and Senior Project Manager Kevin Derby told *Enterprise-Record* reporter Jenn Klein (2007) that the Hamilton ranch is one of the nicest he's seen for vernal pool habitats. The "Langier Lakes" vernal pools on the ranch property are exceptionally large ones. [Note: They are northwest of the study area.]

Derby went on record (Klein 2007) saying that the Hamiltons were already following good ranching practices that preserved the land. He said, "The cattle grazing is actually good for the wetlands because the cattle eat the non-native grasses that could otherwise clog up the pools."

Brian Mayerle is a senior biologist with Foothill Associates, which this researcher interviewed by phone on December 17 and 19, 2008. Mayerle affirmed that "The Hamilton ranch is home to four rare invertebrate species and three rare plants" (see list opposite page).

Invertebrates

Conservancy fairy shrimp (*Brachinecta conservatio*) – federally endangered

Vernal pool fairy shrimp (*Branchinecta lynchi*) – federally threatened

Vernal pool tadpole shrimp (*Lepidurus packardii*) – federally endangered

California linderiella (*Linderiella occidentalis*) – not listed, but fairly uncommon due to habitat loss.

Plants

Green's tuctoria (*Tuctoria greenii*) – federally endangered

Hoover's spurge (*Chamaesyce hooveri*) – federally threatened

Slender Orcutt grass (*Orcuttia tenuis*) federally endangered

Land Use (Project Research Design Theme #19)

Question: Has earlier overgrazing by sheep men in Sections 15 and 21 killed off the native vegetation, leaving the greater area today excessively weedy?

[Note: Section 15 is adjacent and northeast of the Section 21 study area (see Figures 132 and 133). On October 3, 2003, Mike Hamilton lead this researcher to observe in their Section 15 property, a rather curious early "cabin" site that they had always heard from family and neighbors was simply called "Sheep Camp." Who were its original occupants remain unknowns for the Hamiltons and for this researcher. Upon surveying said Sheep Camp, this researcher noted some weediness. Observed were four types of sticker weeds, namely: clot-burs, xanthium, (i.e., carrot weed), goathead burs (i.e., puncture vines), and star thistles or star stickers. There may have also been Sheep's head weed and Medusa-head grass present.]

* * * * *

Theme question #19, as it reads, remains unresolved for lack of enough data. To begin to test this question, it presupposes securing solid data that address at least four subjects: (1) What sheep operations, not cattle, were there? In what years? And, most important, how did they manage their sheep? (2) What were the prior endemic or native flora of yesteryear in the study area? (3) What are the factors that cause and define "overgrazing"? and (4) What factors cause weediness in the first place? Also a standard that defines "excessive" weediness would have to be defined for making an evaluation or judgment. Brief discussions of these four "environmentally significant" questions are provided.

(1) What former sheep operations were there in Sections 15 and 21? When? How large were their flocks? Most important, how did they manage their sheep?

Based on archival data, nothing more has surfaced to date about Section 15's "Sheep Camp." Its place name speaks to the fact that someone kept sheep one mile northwest of the Hi Good study area. Its location suggests that Sheep Camp may have been part of Hi Good's sheep operation. In

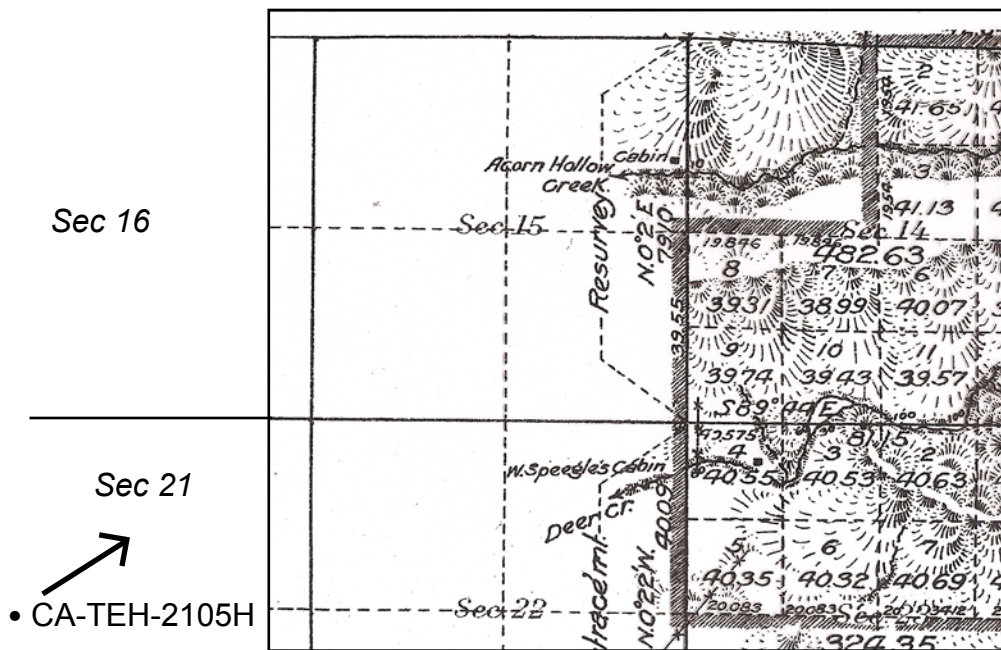


Figure 132. Map: Section 15 “Cabin” (“Sheep Camp”) and Section 23 “W. Speegle Cabin.” Map lines (above) exhibited in 1912 on plat of Lassen Township 25N, R1W, Tehama County, approved August 8, 1856. Surveyed by Nicholas Gray. Willard Speegle’s Cabin is at Baker’s Field, situated along the north bank of Deer Creek.



Figure 133. “Sheep Camp’s” former “cabin” site in Section 15, adjacent Acorn Hollow Creek, is located about one mile northeast of CA-TEH-2105H. October 4, 2003 visitation (left-to-right). Mike Hamilton, Pat Haver, and Janice Newton. Photo by author looks easterly. Who built and occupied this cabin, when, and for how long remain unknown. This author observed that this location was excessively weedy, which led to the formation of test (theme) question #19.

Section 23 (see map Fig. 132), "W. Speegle" was Willard Speegle* with his homestead on "Baker's Field" in about 1912. Frances Leininger remains unsure but seemed to recall that Willard had both sheep and cattle.

* Willard Speegle * (1856-1931) was the son of Jasper Speegle and Elizabeth Delaney Speegle.* Willard married Martha Ann Mulkey from Oregon in 1903. They had two daughters who survived to adult age. One granddaughter of theirs is Bernidean Boring Kelly (b.1927). Bernidean Kelly's personal letter to this researcher, dated September 30, 2005, states, in part, "The old timers knew there were wild Indians back in the hills who sometimes came pretty close. They did not seem to bother Grandma [Maddie Speegle living at Baker's Field]. I remember her talking to Mama [Ruth Speegle Boring] about some white people she thought were doing some of the stealing the Indians got the blame for. They kept away. You say Ishi was afraid of the other Indians. That might be because they were exiled as Mama was told, not wanted by their own kind."

Hi Good in late 1866, was probably among the first to start up a sheep camp in Section 21. Section 21's land history (see Section VI) points to these 640 acres as being open range before 1866 and likely invited "borrowing"* by the local ranchers during the years, 1875-1886, when Section 21 was owned by the railroad. Section 21, as open range, invariably ended in 1886 when the Jewish-American land speculators, Herbert Kraft and S. A. Gyle, took turns owning Section 21 (see Brown 1968 and Land History, Section VI). Unfortunately, due largely to the purging of records ca. 1980, the few Tehama County Assessors' records that remain about Section 21, begin in about 1945 (Follow-up telephone call on 11-13-2007).

* "Borrowing" – Living and using the resources of a particular land parcel without securing the property owner's permission and/or not filing ownership on said acreage with the county, state, or federal government. Also "squatting."

Frances Leininger told this author (by phone interview on November 4, 2003), that her husband, Clarence Leininger and his father Ephraim Leininger, never ran their sheep in Section 21. Early on, she explained the Leiningers trailed their sheep all the way up to Butte Meadows and back. Earl Foor took ownership of Section 21 in 1944, preceding C. Roy Carmichael. Frances Leininger also said "Earl Foor was always a cattleman." This has also been true for C. Roy Carmichael, of Fred Hamilton Senior, and his sons, Fred and Mike Hamilton.

For the record, the estimated size of Hi Good's sheep herd about 1869 was probably about 750 head. This estimate is derived from Simeon Moak (1923:31) who wrote, "Good sold a portion of his sheep for \$7000. He had borrowed \$3000 from Gyle of Tehama." Assuming Hi Good began his sheep business with only the \$3000 amount in about 1866, Good likely paid for them about \$4.00* per head (Briggs 1996:61). At that rate per head, 750 sheep was Good's projected band of sheep size.

* The earlier "\$4 per head" rate comes from Tehama County's former sheriff and local historian, Lyle A. Williams (Briggs 1996:61). Also, new sheep men who were attempting to break into the business often obtained their loans based "on shares" (a percentage of their profits promised to their lender). For example, this was the case with E. H. Ward in 1871, who, in 1884, entered into a co-partnership in the sheep business with Joseph S. Cone (Briggs 1990:50).

(2) What constituted the Native flora in the study area? How much of it was destroyed and when?

Sources investigated concur that native species and habitat types that once flourished in California have “. . . changed so drastically” (Anderson and Blackburn 1993:19). Professor Carolyn M. Malmstrom (1998:153) with the Department of Plant Biology, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, who studies native California grasses and disease incidences, co-wrote that:

In California valley grasslands, [wild oats] *Avena fatua* L. and other exotic annual grasses have largely displaced native perennial bunch grasses such as [Blue wildrye] *Elymus glaucus* Buckley and [purple needlegrass] *Nassella pulchra* (A. Hitchc.) Barkworth. The invasion success and continued dominance of the exotics has been generally attributed to changes in disturbance regimes and the outcome of direct competition between species.

(3) What factors involving sheep/livestock cause and define “overgrazing”?

Overgrazing --Eleanor Simpson Briggs (1990:67) reported that,

“Tehama County’s sheep industry grew steadily until the 1930’s when the result of overgrazing plus new restrictions on public land use for livestock and periodic burning of brush lands prompted the sharp decline in sheep numbers. Between 1873 and 1930, 200,000 to 300,000 sheep and goats grazed in the valley, foothills and mountains of Tehama County.”

A related question that provides a partial answer is do sheep overgraze the land?

The data from interviews with sheep man Jack Haslem (2007) concludes with sheep will not overgraze the land if managed effectively (see below)

It can be said with confidence that, cattle, not sheep, have been grazing on the study area flat ever since Earl Foor took ownership of Section 21 in 1944 (see “Land History,” page 163).

What constitutes overgrazing according to US Forest Service and BLM standards?

The ratio of number of animals per acre over specified number of days varies and remains, therefore, subjective.

Answer: Keeping with sheep, Jack Haslem also worked for years in BLM range management. Haslem cited how sheep were used in northern California as effective grazers to help eliminate the noxious weed called white top (*Lepidium latifolium*), also known as perennial pepper weed.

Haslem said that White top will take over in an area. Jack Haslem (2007) told this researcher, “My weed eaters on my side of the creek [in Lassen County] keep them away. I don’t have a white top problem?”

* In Lassen County it has become widely established in native (unplanted) hay meadows, reducing the value of the hay crop (Young, pers. comm.). Available online:

<<http://ucce.ucdavis.edu/datastore/detailreport.cfm?usernumber=58&surveynumber=182>>

Haslem also added that, "Spurge weed* had taken over some of the counties [out of state] in Montana. For a percentage fee depending on the amount of land a landowner had, local sheep owners brought their herds of sheep onto the overgrown areas just to eat the damn spurge to keep it from spreading."

* "Although spotted spurge is the major spurge weed in California, there are six other species of spurges that appear regularly as weeds in the state" Retrieved Online: < <http://www.ipm.ucdavis.edu/PMG/PESTNOTES/pn7445.html>>.

In summary, what constitutes overgrazing of livestock varies. The fact of the matter, it is conceivable to overgraze with only one animal. Any one who wants to witness overgrazing at its worst, needs only to briefly visit one of the cattle feed lots where the butchery is undertaken south of Stockton and in the Manteca area. If properly managed, then grazing on the land even has some environmental benefits. A recommended prevention formula is: (1) Rotate animals in harmony with forage growth, (2) Allow regrowth in grasses to rest and replenish themselves, and (3) calculate one's "stocking rate," inclusive of the animal unit month (AUM) concept.* Unmanaged and non-rotated animals are the precursors of deterioration, the omen of overgrazing (Burcham 1981; Price 1999).

* Calculating the animal unit month -University Extensions across much of the United States, such as the Utah State Extension, provide range management fact sheets for calculating one's "Stocking rate" (i.e., how many animals one's land will support) in relation to how long (time durations). For determining one's stocking rate, see Pratt and Rasmussen 2001).

(4) What factors with sheep cause weediness, let alone excessive weediness in places?

Weeds and stickers --Avoiding weeds and stickers was noted "as extremely troublesome for the lambs." Resolution of this problem by the sheep men was usually accomplished by "getting away to the mountains with their herds in May and June " before the feed dries up in the Valley." In other words, dryness and weediness go hand in hand ["From Tehama County In Pictures and Prose." 1928. *The Republican* newspaper (Corning, CA: Corning Chamber of Commerce Museum files).

Kevin Derby explained that "Sheep will eat the roots, while cattle clip, such that it is sheep who can readily cause erosion. When animals eat even the roots, removed are the established vegetation. This, with erosion, opens up the area to opportunistic plants. And weeds are especially opportunistic!"

Jack Haslem defined the major source for weediness today. He said:

"For forty years my folks had some sheep to keep the weeds down. (Also donkeys eat the thistles.) We didn't have the noxious weed problems like farms have today because the early farms were diversified, and you had the weed eaters, and they worked the ditch banks. Now you are specialized. You are all into grain. You are all into haying or soybeans or something else. The rough areas don't get the seeds consumed, so there is more seed for noxious weeds. The soils are depleted and the farmer has to buy fertilizes for just that one king of crop." (Personal interview by Richard Burrill on January 30, 2007).

Jack Haslem: "About grazing, sheep are browsers. Bitter brush and cheatgrass [*Bromus secalinus*] they eat lots of. Cows are strong on bunch grass and rye grasses.

Water Availability versus Droughts (Project Research Design Theme #20)

Question: What was the water availability and accessibility in 1867? How do conditions compare with today? How have droughts affected Tehama County life over time?

As prefaced in this section, the steady, year-round flow of the Deer Creek surface water, today and of yesteryear, continues to be the vital mainstay resource for human, animal, fish, and plant livelihoods in the study area. As early as 1856, Alex Robb Barrington alluded to the Deer Creek drainage that passed along his new "Rio Alto Rancho location as "running the whole season, from the snow on the mountains" and that it would "be necessary to irrigate, which is very easily done" (Grabhorn 1934:43-44).

Deer Creek water gauges have been in place and monitoring its flow since about 1900. The (upper) Deer Creek Irrigation District and (lower) Stanford Vina Irrigation District should have the respective data.

To further assess water availability for ranching in the study area in 1867 versus today, ground water table levels and annual average rainfall amounts were also investigated.

Ground Water Levels Data – A preliminary search found one "1915" source for Tehama County. It is Miller and Phillips (1915). They reported that:

"During recent years a number of wells have been sunk and it has been ascertained that at depths ranging from 20 to 250 feet, a bountiful supply of pure water is to be had."

Upon contacting April Scholzen (530/ 529-7300) staff in the Ground Water Section at the Red Bluff Office [2440 Main St. Red Bluff 96080] of California's Department of Water Resources (DWR), it was learned that "some" ground water level data, with tables from their DWR's "Water Data Library" is available Online: <<http://wdl.water.ca.gov>>

Web site Directions: When going to this web site, type in" Township 25N" R1W. Select "Mt. Diablo Meridian" and select "search" [Do not put in Section 21]. An overview can be surmised.

However, this researcher was further advised that DWR has not been collecting "static water level data" from the area inclusive of Section 21. Drillers of "completed wells" have been required to submit their reports, which include: drillers' log depth, production by gallons per minute ("usually"), and lithology. Moreover, "There might be records as far back as the 1930's. But, well logs are confidential in California, so to view one, permissions from both DWR and the respective property owner are required."

For future research:

- Land & Water : Agriculture Department's Agricultural Commissioner for Tehama County, 1760 Walnut Road, Red Bluff. (530/527-4504). They furnish information about land and water resource history.
- At the federal government level: Conservation: Soil and Water Resources, Reclamation Bureau of USGS National Water Information Center (800/426-9000).
- Early publication to research is: Tehama County, California: Geography, Topography, Soil, Climate, Productions, etc., San Francisco: McAfee Brothers, 1884, 32 pp. (from [California State Library search](http://quarriesandbeyond.org/states/ca/quarry_photo/ca-tehama_photos.html)) Available (Online): <http://quarriesandbeyond.org/states/ca/quarry_photo/ca-tehama_photos.html>

Figure 134. "It is raining." Saturday, February 24, 2007. Photo at study area by author, looking south at Acorn Hollow's seasonal wash.



Annual Average Rainfall Data - For 1867, the best "estimated" rainfall for "northern California" was 21.61 Inches* (Elliott & Moore 1880:67), while in 2007, the annual average rainfall at Red Bluff was 24.07 Inches (Retrieved on 12/20/2008 Online: <www.idcide.com/weather/ca/red-bluff.htm>

Two early rainfall tables were found by this researcher worth mentioning. One is the "Logan and Hatch" Table, readily found in Elliott & Moore (1880:67). The second table, the C. A. Luning Table, was secured some time ago from Bob and Bee Grootveld of 306 Washington Street, Red Bluff, California. When taken together, the two rainfall tables span 140 years (1849-1944).

* This figure, 21.61 Inches, was calculated from Elliott and Moore (1880:67) by taking the average of 1866-1867 (17.92") and 1867-1868 (25.30). These amounts were recorded at Sacramento. As stated in Elliott and Moore (1880:67), "These tables are generally taken as representative of the whole State."

Data Findings from Review of Two Early Rainfall Tables

"Logan and Hatch" Annual Rainfall Table Observed and recorded at Sacramento, California but "generally taken as representative of the whole State." This table spans the 30 years, beginning with the year "1849-1850" and ending with the year "1878-1879" (Elliott & Moore 1880:67).

Findings: 19.39 Inches of annual average rainfall occurred during the 30 year period. This was determined by adding up all 30 annual rainfall amounts (Total 581.84 & divided by 30).

C. A. Luning Annual Rainfall Table (Luning 1944). Observed and recorded in Red Bluff, CA. This table spans the 66 years, beginning with "1878" and ending "1944."

Findings: 24.53 Inches of annual average rainfall during the 66 year period, determined by adding together all 66 yearly rainfall amounts (Total 1,618.87 & divided by 66).

Rainiest months at study area, December through April:

Regarding the study area, Mike Hamilton (2004) said: that "The annual rainfall during the rainy season, from December to April, has been about 12-14 inches." This researcher confirms having witnessed in February 2004 and February 2007, the Acorn Hollow wash quickly filled up with storm rain water. Yet, by one week's time, the wash was already dried up (see Fig. 134).

By mid June, the grasses at the site area already begin to turn brown.

By surveying the data regarding "bad weather" in the northern Sacramento Valley, droughts (1861-1864, 1876, 1928-1934) appear to have been the most detrimental to sheep and cattle, more so than harsh winter snows (1861, 1873-1874) or major floods (1862, 1907, 1937, 1955, 1962, 1986).

Worst Drought Years Remembered

1861-1864 - "The years of 1861, 1862 and 1863 . . . were dreadfully dry years . . . in the county" wrote Frank Weston (1953:3). These drought years led to many ranchers converting from cattle numbers to sheep. It was also what caused the Valley ranchers to seek summer rangelands for grazing in the high mountain meadows. In short order, trailing to the mountains' for the summer range became vital, with the winter's range being in the Sacramento Valley.

Kenneth Wentworth (1954:75) wrote, "Because of the drought in the winter of 1863-1864, livestock were dying off in the Sacramento Valley, so many owners offered half of their surviving animals to bold souls who would take them up in the mountains."

Gabriel (1981:27, 31) wrote, "From 1862 to 1864, CA experienced two years of disastrous drought that nearly wiped out the cattle industry."

Margaret Bauer (1970) wrote, "The disastrous drought of 1863-1864 dealt the livestock business of California a stunning blow."

1876 --"In 1876, a severe drought in Los Angeles wiped out the sheep industry (Stone 1956:374).

1882 --J. T. Hollenbeck recalled to Wentworth (1951b:1) that "There was considerable drought in Tehama County in 1882, and a lot of sheep men had to sell off part of their herds.

The Man Who Went From Cattle to Sheep to Wheat King

Joseph Spencer Cone, in 1853 trailed a big herd of cattle to California, making a \$7,000 profit on his venture. He next ventured with sheep. Soon he had 50,000 sheep, and in a single "good year" he doubled his initial investments! But by 1868, Cone found that he preferred not to deal with the problems of stock raising, particularly after the 1863-1864 drought. It seemed to him that wheat on a grand scale was the fastest way to wealth. 1868 was when Cone set about acquiring the properties that would result in the famous "100,000 acre Cone Ranch. Cone and others learned how." The long hot summers of the Sacramento Valley produced a hard, dry wheat that could withstand the months of sea transport to Europe without damage. This quality was most important in view of the world market open to wheat and the length of time required by sailing ships to reach foreign ports. In addition, no irrigation was required to raise wheat; no rain fell at harvest time, and consequently, no provisions had to be made for immediate storage. There was no wheat country in the world like the Sacramento Valley lands. Conditions were, indeed, "right" for the era of the Wheat Kings" (Bauer 1970).

1928-1934 - The most severe hydrologic drought that affected the watersheds of the Sacramento River and tributaries in northern California during the 75-year period 1906-1980 (Turner 1996:47-55).

Three Worst Snow Storm Disasters

Overall, snow storms take a close second place to the havoc and death wrought by droughts.

1861 -About 1861, this year was both a drought year joined by one of the worst snow storms ever experienced. Six months had no rain. Then on October 4th, hard winds stirred up dust storms. Then came one of the severest ever snow storms. The deep snow froze and lay on the ground for weeks, with "Ice an inch thick was not uncommon" (McNabb 1983:22-28).

Robert Anderson (1909:4) personally remembered how, "In 1861, snow fell in the valley to the depth of six inches and lay on for two weeks. That snow put me out of the cattle business." McNabb (1983:22-28) added, "Anderson's cattle losses were part of "30,000 head of livestock" that died, according to the Tehama County Assessor's report.

1872-1873 -"Heavy snows remained on the ground for weeks," practically a repeat of the 1861-'62 winter. "Many sheep growers losing their entire flocks" (McNabb 1983:22-28).

1873-1874 – Heaviest winter ever known in the Section with Salt Creek, south side of Tuscan Buttes when 5,000 sheep died, Leo L. McCoy (Judge Gans Scrapbook [RC q979.427] Red Bluff: Tehama County Library).

1920 -- Freak Killer Snow Storm, in May 1920 - In May 1920, sheep man Allen Moore from the Corning area tried to get over Yolla Bolly when a blizzard storm came up and he could not get his sheep to move off of the south side of Yolla Bolly. Consequently, he lost 1,400 head of sheep.(Note: Mr. Moore, like all sheep men, sheared sheep in April, before going to the mountains, so the sheep were without their normal body's insulation!). (Source: Burrill Collection notes copied on March 1, '07 from one of the published documents about the Henry Clay cobblestone house preserved in the private files of Chuck Schwarze, Corning, CA.)

Following are three descriptions about early California:

- Simeon Moak (who first came to California in 1863) wrote to his other family members back in New York about what he had seen so far, that, "It was a great place to raise cattle because you never had to buy feed, and they just followed the grasses up to the higher country as the seasons progressed."

- Tehama County historian, Anne McNabb (1983), wrote that, "Those first settlers told of what appeared almost an endless meadow of wild oats, bunch grasses and clovers. They made no mention of winter --just refreshing rainy seasons greening hills and valleys."

- Then came the drought and, right behind it, the meanest of freezing winter snow storms in 1861-1862! A severe drought occurred in 1863-64, which led to an entirely different appraisal of what experiencing the land of California involved. One unnamed pioneer expressed this later interpretation:

"The world you know, is composed generally of three classes --good, bad, and indifferent. But California is an exception to the rule. I haven't made up my mind whether it always formed a component part of the earth, or whether, it is an affront of some comet that dropped into this spot by the gravitation. California is either very good or very bad. The soil is very wet or very dry, the land is very high or very low, the people very good or very bad" --A Pioneer (Olson and Olson 1971).

Keywords/numbers Interdependence, anadromous species, redds, 57 degrees F. (13.8 C.), threatened, endangered, endemics versus exotics, invasive species, annuals, perennials, overgrazing, stocking rate, animal unit month, and paleoecology: The study of the relationship of extinct organisms or groups of organisms to their environments.

CHAPTER THREE
EARLIEST PUBLISHED ACCOUNTS
about
Harmon Augustus Good

List of Documents

- 1 Letter from Alexander R. Barrington to William Barrington
Feb. 29, 1856
- 2 Letter from Harmon A. Good to Governor Leland Stanford
August 8, 1862
- 3 Harmon Good's Newspaper Obituaries (6)
May 7, 14 and May 27, 1870
- 4 "The Adventures of Captain Hi Good"
by Dan Delaney, June 7, 1872
- 5 "The Kom'-bo" by Stephen Powers, 1877
- 6 "Indian Difficulties" by Harry L. Wells and W. L. Chambers, 1882
- 7 *Fighting the Mill Creek Indians*, Ch. XV, by Robert Anderson, 1909
- 8 "The Yana Indians" by Thomas Waterman, 1918, with informants
William J. Seagraves (1915) & Almira (Brown) Williams (1912)
- 9 "The Murder of Hi Good" from *The Last of the Mill Creeks*
by Simeon Moak, 1923
- 10 "The Long Concealment" from *Ishi In Two Worlds*
by Theodora Kroeber, 1961

Document #1



Figure 135. Lower Deer Creek where she divides into channels for about a one stretch mile before reuniting, while veering through Sections 22 and 27 of Tehama County's Lassen Township 25N, R1W (See also Fig.152 map of the same on page 266). In the far middle distance, Deer Creek can be barely seen heading to the right, in a westerly direction to empty into the Sacramento River. Photo by author taken March 17, 2007.

Hi Good's former ranch location (SE ¼ of Section 33), is in the distance (far left), Alexander Robb Barrington's former "Rio Alto Ranch" (160 acres) is in the distant middle, while Good's sheep camp (study area, CA-TEH-2105H) is out of view in this photo, to the north (far right) about 1 ½ miles distant.

Bibliographical Reference:

Grabhorn, Jane Bissell

1934 *A Gold Rush Miscellany*. San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, pp. 43-45.

Disposition of Original Document: Unknown. Although Grabhorn Press editor Jane Bissell stated that “. . . we must acknowledge our indebtedness to Mr. Harold C. Holmes who has been instrumental in supplying us with most of the original material used, a query response (early October, 2008) from Librarian Trish Richards with the Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections, University Library, University of the Pacific, Stockton, California, was that “I looked but could not find any original Alex Barrington letters in the Harold C. Holmes Papers on file in this library.”

Abstract: Alexander Robb Barrington, born in 1830 in Piqua, Ohio, writes this personal letter to his brother, William Barrington, living in Ohio. Alex had first come to California for eight months in 1849-1850, and made out fairly well, finding some gold and also kept his health. In St. Marys, Ohio, Alex successfully recruited Hi Good to return with him to California in 1854. They chose to settle along Lower Deer Creek in 1855. Barrington was Irish American, while Good was German/English American. They were both dandies, who were in pursuit of adventure, fortune, and invariably happiness in promising California. It was learned that Alex Barrington died in Mexico on December 17, 1879.

Contributor: Alex R. Barrington. His biographical sketch in on pages 116-117 of this report.

Letter No. 9

from ALEXANDER BARRINGTON, to his

brother William, dated, “Rio Alto Ranch,”¹

February 29, 1856

DEAR BILL:

It would be hard for me to say whether I am really indebted to you one letter or you to me; for my part I have been more negligent than I should have been and my only apology is damn bad luck of which I have had my share in the last year, and of course one does not feel like exposing their own misfortunes. Sometimes I think I never will write to my friends until I make a good raise; let it be as long as it will, but I find if I do not write that I receive none from you. I recd Mary's² 3rd last month, dated St. M.³ Nov. 4th, being the only word I have had from home (except a few dutch ones⁴) since July last, and would have answered it immediately had ever an opportunity offered, or had I anything to write. We had just arrived in Shasta⁵ after 300 or 400 miles of a hunting and prospecting tramp through Coast Range mountains from Sac. City to Shasta.⁶ I have neither time nor space, (as the printers say) to give you anything of a description of the country we passed through, our hunting, sports, hard times &c, but you may depend we seen a little of all--I think I could find location for a ranch in some of the small valleys of these mountains, where I would be content to spend my days, were it not quite so far from civilization; the soil will raise anything from white beans to the very best corn; but to bring corn and vegetables it would be necessary to irrigate, which is very easily done from the thousand of mountain streams, running the whole season, from the snow on the mountains. There are wild oats growing in these valleys as high as a man's arms for thousands of acres, but they don't cut it this far up on account of hauling so far--hay is now worth in the valley \$50 per ton--at Shasta forty miles from here \$100, and every season there is more demand. Barley is worth from 4 to 6c --potatoes 5c (a man can raise as many per acre of potatoes as he wishes) wheat grows to perfection, --it is nothing uncommon to see fields of from 200 to 3000 acres wheat under good fence.

mountains. There are wild oats growing in these valleys as high as a man's arms for thousands of acres, but they don't cut it this far up on account of hauling so far--hay is now worth in the valley \$50 per ton--at Shasta forty miles from here \$100, and every season there is more demand. Barley is worth from 4 to 6c --potatoes 5c (a man can raise as many per acre of potatoes as he wishes) wheat grows to perfection, --it is nothing uncommon to see fields of from 200 to 3000 acres wheat under good fence. Young James Ide⁷ (by the way Sam McT. is going to marry his sister⁸ shortly--or rather marry \$50,000) a few miles above this is now making a fence which is eight miles long on the sides and 3 at ends.⁹

Sam, John & Isaac McT. are mining at Cold Springs, Eldorado Co.[sic] I was down last week, John has been blown up twice this last summer, blasting rock. Harry Barrington was among the first of Walker's Expedition¹⁰ --he died in November last in Niguara,[sic] I sent you the paper containing his death --poor fellow has had hard luck. He got in difficulty with a "Shoulder Striker," who was drunk and struck Harry knocking him down. Harry returned this by shooting him, the first shot killed him dead, he was then imprisoned for murder, finally bailed out (\$20,000) well by the time old Foote's lawyer fees &c were paid up it left him nothing --so he got the blews [sic] and took to hard drink, and from there to Niguara[sic]--Harry had been mining since '50 his claim was worth \$6000 at the time of the difficulty. I wrote the particulars long ago, but I don't know whether they were recd [received] or not. Times are about as usual in this country--something up and again down as the old saying, 00 by chance, I intend hanging it out if it takes me a quarter of a century. I am glad to hear your prospects are good, and hope you may soon come out of the Kinks. So you have named your boy Alex, have you? Well you must "Train him up and away he'll go." Maggie McT. has a half doz or so, I cant[sic] keep the amt as every time I hear from there she has another boy and in fact I disremember now how often I have heard from there. Just tell young Alex as soon as he is big enough I will send him a pair of boots and a plug of tobacco, and that will be sufficient outfit for over the plains, and then he can make the trip to see his uncle.

With my love to all I remain truly

ALEX

Direct to Cold Springs, Eldorado Co. and John Mc will send to me.

Footnoted annotations: They may be found at the back of this chapter.

Document #2

Bibliographical Reference:

Good, Harmon A.

1862 Letter from Harmon Good to Governor Leland Stanford.

Subject: Deer Creek, H. A. Good [Folder F3753:608]

Disposition of Original Document: California Secretary of State - Archives, 1020 "O" Street, Sacramento.

Abstract: The aftermath of the June 25, 1862 murders of the Hickok children, Ida, 16, Minnie, 13, and Franklin A. Hickok, 6 years old, along Rock Creek by hostile Indians, led to swift pursuit by Harmon Good with fifteen other men. This August 8th, 1862 letter by Harmon A. Good and transmitted to Governor Leland Stanford on Aug. 15/62, was written upon returning from their July 24-August 6th retaliatory "campaign." Reported are the killing of many Indians and the capture of the children made orphans. Good also wanted to know why his July 22nd letter asking for a commission and a "muster in" had gone "unheeded."

Contributor: Harmon A. Good. His biographical sketch in on pages 75-98 of this report.

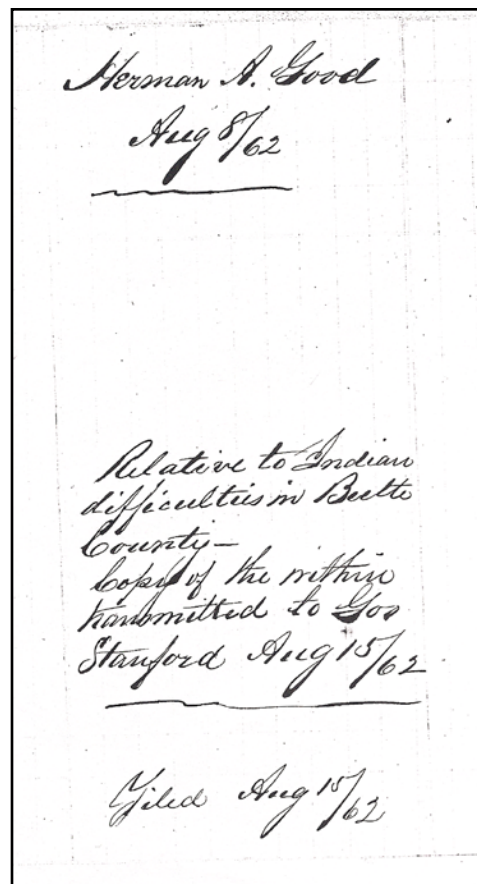


Figure 136a.

(copy)

Rock Creek, August 8, 1862.

Dear Sir,

Being without a Commission or instructions and unused to the forms of law, I am at a loss to know to whom I should report, therefore trusting that if you are not the proper person you will do me and those whom I represent the favor humanity demands by forwarding this to the proper authorities, who will no doubt forward forthwith some instructions at least respecting prisoners of whom I shall continue to respect until a reasonable time for an answer. One more favor I crave is to know why our citizens petition for a Commission was unheeded, and what became of it?

Report- July 24th I left Deer Creek with fifteen others - travelled nearly North, scoured the country from the foot hills as high as cattle range, which are the Indians forage.

August 2^d Intercepted an Indian on Antelope Creek, east of Tuscon Springs, 3 miles laden with beef - first took his scalp and then his trail running South East.

August 3^d At break of day surprised a camp of about 100 large and small, killed 17 and wounded many more, and captured six children, three boys and three girls, ranging from 1 to 8 years old. We numbered eleven men, five being in camp 12 miles distant. We found but two guns, one of which was stolen from Deer Creek when passing with the young Hickok a prisoner. We returned to camp same day, packing the children on our backs.

Figure 136b.

(Copy)

Rock Creek Aug 8th of 1862

Dear Sir

Being without a Commission or instructions and unused to the forms of law, I am at a loss to know to whom I should report; therefore trusting that if you are not the proper person you will do me and those whom I represent the favor humanity demands by forwarding this to the proper authorities, who will no doubt forthwith some instructions at least respecting prisoners of whom I shall continue to respect until a reasonable time for an answer. One more favor I crave is to know why our citizens' petition for a Commission was unheeded, and what became of it?

Report - July 24th I left Deer Creek with fifteen others traveled nearly North; scoured the country from the foot hills as high as cattle range which are the Indians' forage.

August 2^d Intercepted an Indian on Antelope Creek, east of Tuscon Springs, 3 miles laden with Beef first took his scalp and then his trail running South East.

August 3^d At break of day surprised a camp of about one hundred large and small, killed seventeen and wounded many more and captured six children, three boys and three girls, ranging from 1 to 8 years old We numbered eleven five being in camp 12 miles distant. We found but two guns, one of which was stolen from Deer Creek when passing with the young Hickok a prisoner. We returned to camp same day, packing the children on our backs

Figure 136c.

August 4th. Travelled 25 miles, and arrived in the valley of the Sacramento opposite Red Bluff

August 5th + 6th. Returned to main rendezvous on Deer Creek for supplies.

August 6th. Engaged the prisoners quarters with Dr. W. Pratt, (acting Quarter Master,) except two, one boy and one girl, which were left in families who wish to adopt them, but I left them subject to my order, when I should receive further instructions. I would also observe that applicants are numerous who would take all I have or expect to bring in hereafter, and raise them in their families. If such a course should meet your approbation, but none of the boys should be left on this side of the river, or where they ever could discover from whence they came. I shall start out again on Monday the 11th, and shall most likely bring in more or less squaws, which should be sent to some distant reservation. There is about 200 Indians directly responsible for the murders in this vicinity. They move in two bodies. The remnants of one is now on the head of Mill Creek, and the other on the head of Cow and Antelope Creeks all of which I will account for if (sustained) I shall return in from 10 to 12 days, when I hope to hear from you. Please direct to the care of Dr. W. Pratt, Rock Creek, Butte Co

Respectfully Yours

Harmon A. Good

*August 4th Travelled 25 miles and arrived
in the valley of the Sacramento opposite Red Bluff.*

*August 5th & 6th, Returned to main rendez-
-vous on Deer Creek for supplies.*

*August 6th, Engaged the prisoners quarters
with Dr. W. Pratt (acting Quarter Master) except
two one boy and one girl, which were left in
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Indians directly responsible for the murders
in this vicinity. They move in two
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the head of Mill Creek, and the other
on the head of Cow and Antelope Creeks
all which I will account to if (sustained.) I shall return
in from 10 to 12 days, when I hope to hear
from you. Please direct to the care
of Dr W. Pratt, Rock Creek, Butte Co*

Respectfully Yours,

Harmon A. Good

[CA Archives. F3753:608.]

Documents #3

OBITUARIES OF H. A. GOOD

(Killed May 4, 1870)

Bibliographical References: Newspaper sources are placed at the bottom of each account.

Disposition of Original Document: Obtained from the microfilm collection, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico, California.

Abstract: The settler's hero was killed.

Contributors: Unnamed newspaper editors



Figure 137. Hi Good's Tombstone
at the Tehama Cemetery.

H. A. Good

Died May 4, 1870

Aged 34 Yrs.

Photograph by author in 2006.

1. FROM TEHAMA. Captain H. A. Good, an old and esteemed citizen of Tehama county, was brutally murdered by Indians on Wednesday at or near his residence in Deer Creek. The body was found today, pierced with twelve bullets and his head smashed with rocks. His brother* was killed some years ago by Indians, and ever since Captain Good has devoted his time to hunting and killing Indians, known as Mill Creek Indians, to whom he has been a source of great terror.

- *Sacramento Daily Union* (May 7, 1870).

2. MURDER IN TEHAMA. Capt. H. A. Good, an old and esteemed citizen of Tehama county was brutally murdered by Indians on Wednesday, at or near his residence on Deer Creek. The body was found today, pierced with 10 or 12 bullets, and his head mashed with rocks. His brother was killed some years ago by Indians, and ever since Capt. Good has devoted his time to hunting and killing Indians, known as the Mill Creek Indians, to whom he has been a source of great terror.

- *Marysville Daily Appeal* (May 7, 1870).

3. KILLED BY INDIANS. Capt. H.A. Good, known as Hi Good, a pioneer Indian fighter, was recently killed by the Indians on Deer Creek. His body was riddled with bullets, and his head mashed to jelly with stones. His brother was murdered by the Indians some years ago since he has been their terror and scourge. He will be remembered as the leader of the party that arrested the Magalia robbers of Wood's stage some two or three years since.

- *The Weekly Butte Record* (May 14, 1870).

4. CAPT. H. A. GOOD-The man, whose name heads this item is no more, he was murdered on his ranch on Deer creek by an Indian boy who had lived with him for some years, was as near as we can learn, raised by him. The boy when he was questioned in regard to the matter, the cause of his committing the act etc. Confessed to the killing, and treated the whole as a funny matter, a joke, laughing as he talked he did not know why he done it, said he was out hunting when he saw Captain Good coming, and thought he would try the gun. Captain Good was an old resident of Tehama county, and was much esteemed by all who knew him. The Indian boy has in all probability, gone to the happy hunting ground, as he has not been seen since he made the confession.

- *Red Bluff Sentinel* (May 14, 1870).

5. KILLED BY AN INDIAN - Captain H. A. Good, was murdered by an Indian boy, who lived on his premises, about twenty miles Southeast of Red Bluff in Tehama County on Wednesday of last week.

- *Yreka Weekly Union* (May 27, 1870), p. 4/1.

6. THE KILLING OF HI GOOD – It becomes our painful duty to announce the murder of Harmon A. Good, more familiarly known to our people by the name of Hi Good. On Wednesday the 4th day of May, he was killed within a few hundred yards of his cabin, on Deer Creek, in Tehama county. By confession of the murderer we are able to establish the brutal crime as being committed by an Indian boy, about 19 years old, whom Mr. Good had raised. The deed was done with the view to obtain money known to be in possession of the deceased. Mr. Good was returning from a trip to Deer Creek, and when shot was walking and leading his horse. He was shot five times, and then dragged by his own horse one and a half mile distant to a ravine, and the body covered with stones. The possession by the Indian of money and the ring worn by Mr. Good led to the suspicion that caused his arrest -and by his subsequent confession all uncertainty was dissipated. Mr. Good was one of the most distinguished personages in this section. Years since, when the savages brought mourning into several of our families by murder and rapine, Mr. Good gallantly led the little band who avenged the wrongs inflicted and ever since he has been a terror to the savages and a protector to homes of hundreds of defenseless women and children. He was a noble-hearted man, and while the public regret his loss, "Sandy Young," his true friend and partner, will mourn with a grief that suffers no comforting.

--*Northern Enterprise* (May 14, 1870) p. 1/2.



Figure 138. Juniper Gulch, pictured here, fits the *Northern Enterprise* newspaper account (above) as the approximate likely spot where Hi Good was killed. The distance from Juniper Gulch in the SE corner of Section 28 to "Ned's Draw," is about one and one-half miles (see below Figures 152, 153 and 154). Photo by author looks north, taken on December 21, 2003.

Document #4

Bibliographical Reference:

Delaney, Dan.

1872, June 7 "The Adventures of Captain Hi Good. *Northern Enterprise*, p. 1/3.

Disposition of Original Document: Obtained from the microfilm collection, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico, California. In this researcher's opinion, it is inextricably grand that the microfilm for this newspaper is preserved and discernible,

Abstract: Deer Creek farmer and neighbor, Daniel Delaney, first met Hi Good in about 1855, when Good was 19 years old. Delaney became a big admirer of Good. Delaney's name appears in Simeon Moak (1923:32) referenced Delaney as one of those who found Good's body. Delaney's biographical sketch is the earliest one known. It contains 2,563 words, set in twenty-one paragraphs. His sketch provides objective depictions of Good's "odd and peculiar" personality traits. Good's use of the war whoop when launching into battle is recalled, probably a replay of what Good heard from war veterans reminiscing about Ohio's former frontier. Delaney described the hostage taking and that Indian Ned was posted as guard. Delaney, like Anderson (1909:83) clearly believed that "Indians" recruited Indian Ned to help them kill Hi Good. Delaney's closing remark about Indian Ned that, "That Indian boy is missing, no trace of him may be found," smacks of a cover up of Indian's Ned demise. Delaney was likely an accomplice "at the scene" when Sandy Young shot and killed the Indian boy. The lay public would have to wait thirty-seven years until Robert Anderson's (1909:85) memoir revealed that Young killed Indian Ned. Also, and conspicuous by its absence in Delaney's sketch is no mention of the Three Knolls battle in 1865.

Lastly, Delaney's dates, chronological sequences, locations, and name spellings, are not without errors. Corrections are those set in [brackets] adjacent to Delaney's.

Contributor: Daniel J. Delaney. His biographical sketch in on page 102 of this report.

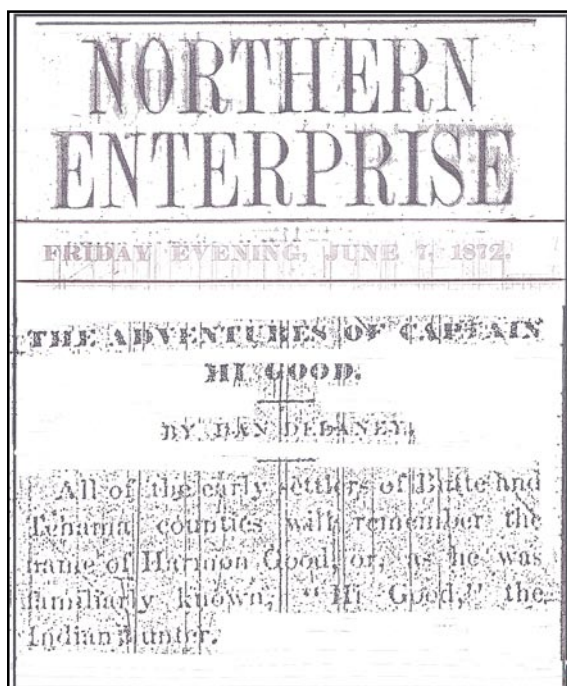


Figure 139. Dan Delaney (1872, June 7) "The Adventures of Captain Hi Good." *Northern Enterprise*, p. 1/3."

All of the early settlers of Butte and Tehama counties will remember the name of Harmon Good, or, as he was familiarly known, "Hi Good," the Indian hunter.

But little is known of his early history by the people of the State, but many here were familiar with his manhood, and have a lively recollection of his daring deeds. His noble and self-sacrificing defense of the lives of the people in Butte and Tehama counties, and the protection he afforded their property against the ravages and depredations of savage Indians, will form a bright page in the history of these counties, and will be read with interest by all who are capable of admiring good and noble traits of character in man, or who can appreciate gallant bearing and unshrinking courage.

Harmon Good was born in the State of Ohio¹ [PA] and was a descendant of an ancient and honorable family. In appearance he was a most remarkable man. He was tall and muscular, with black piercing eyes, long shining black hair, regular and exceedingly handsome features, and a carriage so erect and commanding to impress the belief that he was born to lead. When the author of this sketch first knew him he was about nineteen years old [in about 1855], full of vigor

and energy, and in all matters touching the interests of the section in which he lived² taking a decided and distinguished leadership. No one approached him without discovering his peculiar fitness to guide and direct, and all acquiesced in [sic] his leadership. The companions of his Indian fights and hunting excursions attest the fact that a more daring or trusty captain could not be found.

In 1857 there existed a band of savage Indians³ in the neighborhood of Good's ranch in Tehama county, who were making frequent raids upon the section. Finding a number of them one day engaged in stealing his corn and having no weapons, he charged upon them with stones and put them to flight.⁴

A few days after, he in company with myself and two others, went to the adjacent mountain in pursuit of a large bear that was disturbing the herds and flocks of the neighborhood.⁵ We found the den from distinct signs. It covered about three acres of ground, and was situated at the base of a tall and overhanging bluff, and surrounded with a dense thicket. Good asked of his companions who would venture to enter the den with him. But one could be found whose courage was equal to the task. Robert Anderson, now living in the county, bade him lead and he would follow. After two hours of absence, and of anxiety to those who were waiting without, employed in scouring the thicket and searching the den, Good and Anderson returned to us, not having found the bear. The evidence of bravery was as great as if they had captured the bear.

In the Spring of 1858 a family living on Antelope creek,⁶ Tehama county, was murdered and considerable stock driving away by the Indians. Good, with five others, started in pursuit. After thirty-six hours' tramp the company came upon the trail, and for some considerable length of time followed the same. They discovered at dark, by the gleam of the camp firelight, their resting place. At dawn of day the small force surrounded the encampment. Good fired the first shot, and with savage yell rushed within the camp, his trusty rifle dealing death at every volley. The rash daring of the man struck terror to these

savages, and so confused them that they could not fight with any judgment or success. Not one of the Indian hunters was touched, whilst every dusky devil that had occupied the camp was a ghastly corpse.

In 1861, [June 25, 1862), the Indians attacked one Thomas Allen near Keefer's Mill, Butte county, and killed him, and within one mile of the same place and on the same day they murdered two of Mr. Hickock's daughters, fourteen and sixteen, years old, and captured and carried off their son, nine year old.⁷ Captain Good on receiving news of the massacre, immediately raised a company of six men, and started in pursuit. Following some forty or fifty miles, they found the boy most brutally murdered and his body covered with stones. Captain Good returned in person to the valley, secured a coffin, and went and brought the corpse to Chico.⁸ The men, with Good as their leader, again, started in pursuit. After fifteen days' travel, by day and night, an Indian camp was discovered. Waiting for the nightfall, the company quietly surrounded the camp, and when the morning broke the fight began. The savage yell of Capt. Good at each crack of his rifle, drowned the shrieks of the dying. Twenty Indians were killed and seventeen captured.⁹ Capt. Good brought his prisoners to his home, and there kept guard of them, feeding them at his own expense, until he was able to send them off to the Reservation.

In the Summer of 1863 the Indians killed, near to Dogtown, two of Mr. Louis's [Lewis's] sons, aged respectively seven¹⁰ and eleven years,¹¹ and took away with them a little girl of about nine years of age.¹² Making quick flight, they pressed the tender child to travel forty miles in one day, but notwithstanding the fatigue of such a march, she effected her escape through the night, and made good her entrance to the town of Chico. That girl was a heroine. Good was again the avenger. He never ceased until he slew the last Indian connected with the horrible tragedy.¹³

In the fall of 1861 [No! March 18, 1865], Mrs. Moore, an elderly lady about seventy years old, and mother of Mr. Thomas Moore, at present living near Chico, was killed by the Indians on Singer Creek, near to Oak Grove, Butte county. Good with his trusty Indian hunters, pursued for a number of days, and killed eight of them and found in their company things stolen from the residence of Mrs. Moore.¹⁴

In 1863 [1859] a party of Indians stole from the ranch of A. J. [G.] Carter on Deer Creek, four horses, and set fire to the barn.¹⁵ Robert Anderson, one of Good's companions, discovered the fire, and at once divining the cause, went to Good's ranch to inform him. The two followed the Indians to a deep cut, and there surprising them they killed three of them.

In the year 1865 [probably in about 1863] the Indians stole and drove off from Good's ranch a number of cattle.¹⁶ Missing the cattle, Good took two men and went after them. They found them drying the beef they had killed. Not many lived to enjoy the fruits of their labor. It was a desperate fight. Twenty-seven Red skins --all well armed with guns, some of them Spencer's rifles --against one man and two boys. In this encounter Capt. Good was wounded in the thigh. Disregarding his wound, he still plied his rifle, and every bullet discharged from its muzzle dealt death to some dusky victim. His companions were Charles Boreman, twenty years old, and a boy named George W. Carter. Boreman, discovering the growing weakness of Good, proposed a retreat. His reply was, "Give it to them, give it to them, boys," and continued himself to fire more rapidly than ever, resting his gun upon his knee, upon which he had sunk of sheer weakness from loss of blood. The fight was not given up until the foe had fled in disorder, leaving upon the field many a dead one. Capt. Good was conveyed home, and for weeks was disabled by his wound.¹⁷

In 1866, as Good was returning home from a visit to Deer Creek Meadows, he was surprised, without weapons, by a band of Indians in Steep Hollow and forced to retreat, abandoning a lame horse he was leading. Hastening to the valley, he summoned three of his followers, and chase was given. Ten victims bit the dust, and Good returned with his own horse and another one, and with several guns and considerable ammunition as trophies.¹⁸

Capt. Good had studied the arts of Indian warfare and was skilled in all its intricacies. He was as fierce and unrelenting in fight as his savage foe, neither asking nor giving quarter. Once upon the trail and there was no rest. All the day was spent in pursuit, and when the night came, by the light of the moon, or in the darkness of the night; he would follow on, his keen judgment and quick sight discovering any sign of the enemy's presence. He has gone into caverns under cover of night, and discovered the number of his foes, and when the morning light disturbed an Indian's slumber, he but awoke to enjoy a deeper sleep.

His yell was as familiar to the Indians as their own war whoop,¹⁹ and whenever heard struck terror to the heart. They believed he bore a charmed life --that no bullet sped from rifle could strike him.²⁰ When danger was near, he needed no warning, he was always the first to see it, and ever and always he sought the hottest of the fray. He was always ready to respond to the call for help, and was in "harness" when others were preparing.

The Mill creek Indians were a wild predatory and bad tribe. They had raised the tomahawk, and "War to the death" against the settlers was their watchword. There was nothing noble in their nature, and only under great advantages did they dare attack. Helpless women and children were their prey, and no appeal for mercy met a response in their hearts. They spared none, but murdered all. Capt. Good and his brave followers waged war of extermination against them and he lived to see a large band of them melt into almost nonentity. Of all the numerous tribe of Mill Creek Indians but six are left --four males and two females, and they, like the wandering Jew, have no fixed abiding place. Never secure in any locality, they continually roam from place to place, over a distance of hundreds of miles.²¹

Notwithstanding the bold and warlike nature of Capt. Good, few men possessed more of the milk of human kindness than he. Among those of his own race he was mild, pleasant and courteous. Prompt in the discharge of all duties, as a man and citizen he possessed the confidence and respect of all who knew him. He was odd and eccentric. Odd in his dress, which, though scrupulously neat, was composed of many colors, differing from the prevailing fashions, and well adapted to the showing of his well developed and symmetrical proportion; odd in his associations, preferring as companions those whose boldness of character were like to his own, fond of adventure, and possessed of the bravery to stand "toe to toe" with the enemy; odd in his selection of a home, locating it where nature assumed her simplest character, amid hill and plain, free from culture, unvarnished and unimproved, existing in native simplicity and grandeur.²²

In the year 1865 [1866 is the correct year] the stage coach running upon the Dogtown road was robbed of a large sum of money. The robbers sought shelter near to Captain Good's camp. Having heard of the exploit, Good in company with Sandy Young and Sam Carey commenced the search for the missing treasure and the escaped villains. Following their trail for more than one day, they found the three desperadoes, resting from their travel upon the summit of a mountain., "well heeled," and provided wit an abundance of scrip. They had in their possession two heavy shot guns, one rifle and four Colt's revolvers. Good's company came upon them unaware. Without hesitation, Capt. Good advanced and asked if they were hunters, and received the answer that they were hunting. Declaring his object to be the same, he entered into familiar conversation, confident from appearances that he had found his game. A proper opportunity occurring, he commanded his force "to bear down upon the foe," and when Sandy and Sam presented full in the face of the robbers, those rifle muzzles, they looked to them like twelve-pounders well directed. Surrendering without a murmur, Good searched their pouches, where he found greenbacks and gold dust in abundance. The leader of the band sought safety in flight, but the unerring shot from Good's rifle soon brought him to halt, and wounded and dying he lay upon the sod. The other robbers were placed in charge of the authority, and the money returned to Wells, Fargo & Co., from whom it was stolen. Capt. Good accepted no reward, but defraying expenses from his own means, he acted only from a sense of justice to offended law, and from a love of adventure, whose charms divested the rash attempt of all fear or care for consequences.²³

In the spring of 1869 [1870]²⁴ the Indians robbed some sheep herders, and killed some cattle, on or near to Deer Creek. Capt. Good, with two followers,²⁵ were soon in hot pursuit. On the evening of the sixth day, they overtook the thieves, and as usual, surrounded the camp. They killed several and took two prisoners, two mahalas.²⁶ These females were held as hostages at Good's camp²⁷ for weeks, guarded by the Captain's Indian boy, whom he had raised, and who, for years, acted as his herder, and boy of all business. No evidence of treachery had ever shown itself, but such was the seeming devotion of the boy to Good, in his person, and faithful discharge of all duties, that Capt. Good reposed in him implicit confidence. Yet this villainous, treacherous Indian was true to his savage instincts, and murdered his kind and indulgent master. Capt. Good had required the Indians who claimed the squaws in custody, to bring in all the guns and ammunition of the tribe,²⁸ and when such service was performed he promised to deliver up the wives to their legitimate husbands.

This brought the Indians frequently to the house,²⁹ and frequent communications with the Indian boy, corrupted him. Promises after promises were made by the treacherous devils to bring in arms and capitulate for peace, but never complied with. Still Capt. Good held the hostages. The Indians sought, as a last resort of treachery, his protection against hostile foes, and begged, the privilege to camp near the house, where no wild Indian dare venture without permission. Intending to kill him, upon one occasion they early in the morning commenced a noise of battle as if attacked by a numerous foe. Capt. Good was too wary to be taken by surprise, and would not venture out.³⁰ Finding they had failed in their designs, and being confident that the renowned hunter had conceived their intentions, and fearing consequences which would surely come, the tribe decamped.³¹ Capt. Good finding the coast clear, made a trip to the mountains,³² reconnoitering and returning home in the evening, when within three hundred yards of the house, he was shot and killed. Investigation made by Sandy Young, and other friends, established the fact, beyond the peradventure of a doubt, that the Indian boy had proved a traitor, and committed the horrid murder. That Indian boy is missing, no trace of him may be found, but we opine there are those living who know where his putrid corpse lies mouldering, to the day of judgment.³³

Thus died one of God's noble men. Years of bitter warfare, in which was involved the evil temper and designs of the Indian nature, at length accomplished, the revenge so much desired, and so long sought. It was obtained at a terrible sacrifice, the death of more than a hundred warriors, the total annihilation of a whole tribe, or but six have escaped, they wander in utter insecurity, outcasts, and refugees, fleeing the face of the white man, and certain when seen, to meet the fate of those who have gone before them, for in all the country the oath of extinction has been recorded, and will surely, sooner or later, be accomplished.³⁴

To the memory of Capt. Good, all pay respect. He was a tower of strength to the whole country. Feared by the savage, he used his power and prowess, to ward the danger of massacre, and destruction of property from the community in which he lived. When nearby helpless women and children layed down in security, and prayed for the safety of the daring chieftain, who risked his life continually in their behalf. Let his memory be graven upon the hearts of his countrymen, and suffer his noble, daring deeds to be written upon the page of history as monuments of glory, and when, in after ages, the reader shall learn of his exploits, his noble attributes of character, and the great good he accomplished in his day, may he be actuated by the same noble impulses, and strive to emulate his glorious example.

Footnoted annotations: They may be found at the back of this chapter.

Document #5

Bibliographical Reference:

Powers, Stephen

1874 "The California Indians" [inclusive of the Mill Creek Indians]
The Overland Monthly Vol. XII (No. 2). San Francisco, California:
John H. Carmany & Company, Publishers, pp. 417-420).

1877 *Tribes Of California*. Contributions to North American Ethnology,
Vol. III. Washington, D.C.:
U.S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain
Region, Department of the Interior (Reprinting. Berkeley, California:
University of California Press, 1976).
Reprinted is "Kom'-bo" in Ch. XXIX "The No'zi, Etc. pages 277-281. "

Disposition of Original Document: A preliminary search could not find any one repository. Scattered material are on file at the Bancroft Library and Library of Congress (Librarian Bill Jones, California State University, Chico, telephoned response received January 7, 2009).

Contributor: Stephen Powers. His biographical sketch may be found at the back of this Chapter 3.

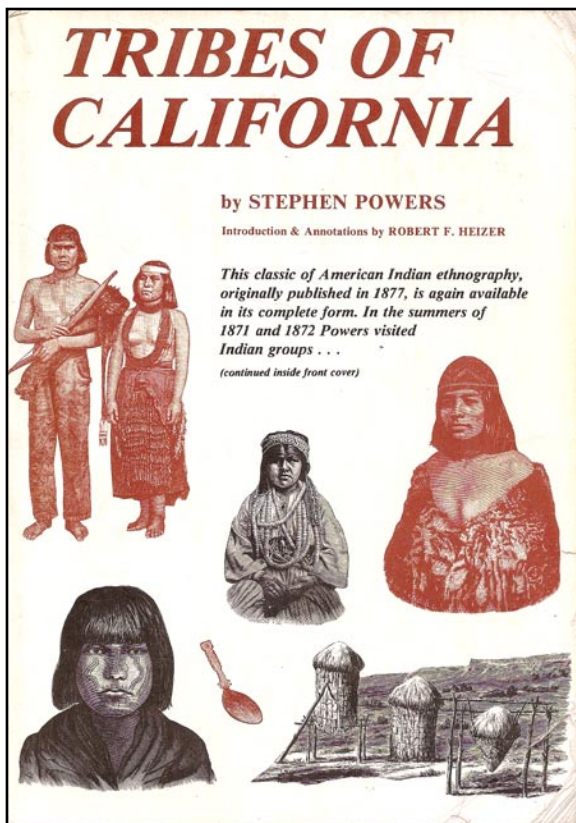


Figure 140. *Tribes of California* Front Cover Design made in 1976 by University of California Press, for the reprinting of Stephen Powers' 1877 published ethnographic data regarding two-thirds of the northern California tribes.

Abstract: Reprinted here is Stephen Powers 1877 essay about the *Kom'-bo* [Yahi]. Robert Heizer (1976:451) affirmed in his Editor's Notes of Powers' seminal work that, "The *Kom'-bo* are the Yahi." *Kom'-bo* is the traditional Mountain Maidus' name for their westerly neighbor. This almost identical essay by Stephen Powers first appeared in 1874 in the *Overland Monthly Vol. XII* magazine, on pages 417-420. Its one noteworthy difference is that Powers called the *Kom'bo*, the "Mill Creek Indians." In all of six paragraphs, Powers described this tribe as reduced in number to but five holdouts, who before 1858 "lived at peace" but ever since continue to wage "unrelenting, and ceaseless war." There was one exception to this when in February 1870, they "opened communication," a kind of truce or "promise to abandon hostilities." [This truce was later called the Five Bows [T. Kroeber 1961:88-90]. Powers was Powers tells how the *Kom'bo* have kept remote and elusive not unlike ghosts. The account ends with the extraordinary birth in the winter of 1871, of the infant baby boy christened "Snow-flake." Again, this all was first published in 1874.

Who did Stephen Powers interview? In the summer of 1872¹ and maybe again in early 1874,² Powers interviewed two or more informants in the Town of Tehama about the so-called "Mill Creek Indians." The data points assuredly to Sandy Young³ in 1872 as one of Powers' informants; and likely George Spiers⁴ as Powers' second informant.

1 About the year, "1872," Theodora Kroeber (1961:241) wrote in her "Notes" in the back of her *Ishi In Two Worlds* book that, "Snowdrop (or Snow-flake) was born the following winter, and was pointed out to Powers in Tehama in 1872." Her reference with subsequent findings about the historical figure, Snow-flake, may be found in this report on pages 271-277 below.

2 Regarding the year, "1874" Powers published in May 1874, "There is now wanting only a month of four years since they have ever been seen together so that their number could be certainly known. In February, 1870, some hunters had succeeded in capturing the two remaining squaws." [Note: Also, the following sentences written and published by Powers in 1874 make no sense as to what year? "Down to 1858 they lived at peace with the whites" And Powers continued two sentences later with, "All seventeen years they have warred against the world and against fate"??? because 1858 + 17 years = 1875].

3 The notion that Stephen Powers interviewed Sandy Young comes from Theodora Kroeber (1961:242) who, in her "Notes," wrote "It was probably Sandy Young who told Powers the story of Snowdrop's birth." Powers also referenced Sandy Young, by name, in two places in his 1874 "Mill Creek Indians" and reprinted the same in Powers 1877 "Kom'-bo" reprinting. They are:

- "Several years ago this tribe committed a massacre near Chico, and Sandy Young, a renowned hunter of that country, with a companion, captured two squaws, a mother and a daughter, who promised to guide them to the camp of the murderers" (1877:280).

- "In memory of the extraordinary circumstances under which it was ushered into this world, Young named it "Snow-flake," and it is living to this day, a wild-eyed lad in Tehama" (1877:281).

Corroborative data that Sandy Young was living at least for a while in Tehama, not Chico, but left in 1874 are: Wells and Chambers (1882:221): "Sandy Young lived in Tehama." Also, whereas Sandy Young's year and cause of death in Oregon remained muddled for years, recent findings related that Sandy Young did not leave for the Klamath and Salmon River country of Oregon "until 1874" (Shover 2004c:62).

4 "Spiers" is this author's corrected spelling for "Spires," based on a review of the Lingenfelter Archives 1996). The notion that Stephen Powers likely also interviewed George Spiers in 1872 and not Bill Sublett, is based on the names of the two "hunters" that Waterman (1918:57-58) secured from informant William J. Seagraves. The two named "hunters" were: George Spires [sic] and Bill Sublett. Also, Seagraves recalled for Waterman that it was George Spires [sic] who suddenly had the whim to weigh himself using a steelyard over the tree limb, which, rightly so, scared the five warrior who fled to save themselves. Powers (1874:418 and 1877:278) had reported, "It was the intention of the hunters, as one of them candidly avowed to me, to have seized them and secretly put the whole five out of existence." Lastly, from the Lingenfelter Archives (1996), it is reported that Sublett died on March 3, 1872. Sublett was killed by a man named John Bachman.

Stephen Powers (1877:275-276) depicted the mental and physical qualities of the *No'-zi* [Yana] tribe this way:

Though living at a little higher altitude than the Wintun they are not quite so tall as they, but are several shades lighter-colored. They are rather undersized, even for California Indians, and are quite a delicate, small limbed, handsome race. With their hazel complexions; smooth, polished skins; smallish, ovoid faces; and lithe, well-knit frames, they present a race-type different from any other to be seen in California.

CHAPTER XXIX. "THE NO'ZI, ETC".

THE KOM'-BO

In writing of this tribe, I am compelled for once to forego the name employed by themselves. It is not known to any man living save themselves, and probably it will not be until the grave gives up its dead.¹ The above is the name given to them by their neighbors of Indian Valley,² a tribe of the Maidu Nation.³

If the Nozi⁴ are a peculiar people these are extraordinary; if the Nozi appear to be foreign to California, these are doubly foreign. They seem to present a spectacle which is without a parallel in human history -- that of a barbaric race resisting civilization with arms⁵ in their hands, to the last man, and the last squaw, and the last pappoose. They were once a numerous and thrifty tribe.⁶ Now there are only five of them left --two men, two women, and a child.⁷ No human eye ever beholds them, except now and then some lonely hunter, perhaps, prowling and crouching for days over the volcanic wastes and scraggly forests which they inhabit. Just at nightfall he may catch a glimpse of a faint camp-fire, with figures flitting about it; but before he can creep within rifle-range of it the figures have disappeared, the flame wastes slowly out, and he arrives only to find that the objects of his search have indeed been there before him, but are gone. They cooked there their hasty evening repast, but they will sleep somewhere else, with no camp-fire to guide a lurking enemy within reach. For days and weeks together they never touch the earth, stepping always from one volcanic stone to another. They never leave a broken twig or a disturbed leaf behind them. Probably no day of the year ever passes over their heads but some one of this doomed nation of five sits crouching on a hillock or in a tree-top, within easy eye-shot of his fellows; and not a hare can move upon the earth beneath without its motions being heeded and recorded by the watcher's eye. There are men in and around Chico who have sworn a great oath of vengeance that these five Indians shall die a bloody death;⁸ but weeks, months, and years have passed away, and brought for their oaths no fulfillment. There is now wanting only a month of four years since they have ever been seen together so that their number could be certainly known.⁹ In February, 1870, some hunters had succeeded in capturing the two remaining squaws,¹⁰ whereupon they opened communication with the men, and promised them a safe-conduct and the release of their squaws if they would come in and promise to abandon hostilities. The two men came in, bringing the child.¹¹ It was the intention of the hunters, as one of them candidly avowed to me, to have seized them and secretly put the whole five out of existence.¹² While they were in camp, one of the hunters conceived an absurd whim to weigh himself, and threw a rope over a limb for that purpose, at which the wily savages took fright, and they all bounded away like

frightened deer and escaped.¹³ But they had remained long enough for an American, as eagle-eyed as themselves, to observe that one of the two [sic] warriors¹⁴ had a gunshot wound in one hand, and many others on his arm, forming an almost unbroken cicatrix from hand to elbow. Probably no white man's eyes will ever again behold them all together alive.

When they were more numerous than now, they occupied both Mill Creek and Deer Creek; but nowadays they live wholly in the great volcanic terraces and low mountains west of Mill Creek Meadows.¹⁵ Down to 1858 they lived at peace with the whites, but since that time they have waged unrelenting and ceaseless war--ceaseless except for a casual truce like that above described. Their hostilities have been characterized by so many and such awful atrocities that there are men, as above-mentioned, who have sworn an oath that they shall die.¹⁶ All these seventeen years they have warred against the world and against fate.¹⁷ Expelled from the rich and teeming meadows which were their chosen home; hemmed in on these great, hot, volcanic tale-lands where nothing can live but a few stunted trees, and so destitute of water that this forms at once a security against civilized foes and their own constant menace of death--a region accursed of Heaven and spewed out even by the earth--they have seen one after another of the craven tribes bow the knee and make terms with the enemy; but still their voice has been stern and steady for war; still they have crouched and hovered in their almost disembodied life over the arid plains until all are gone but five. Despite all their bloody and hellish treacheries, there is something sublime in this.

So far as their customs have been observed, they have some which are Californian, but more which are decidedly foreign. They burn the dead,¹⁸ and are remarkably fond of bathing.

On the other hands, the customs which are foreign to California are numerous and significant. First, they have no assembly chamber and consequently no indoor dances, but only circular dances in the open air.¹⁹ The assembly chamber is the one capital shibboleth of the California Indians. Second, they did not erect the warm and heavily-earthed lodges which the Indians of this State are so fond of, but mere brush-wood shelters, and often they had no refuge but caves and dens.²⁰ Third, they inflicted cruel and awful tortures on their captives, like the Algonkin races. Whatever abominations the indigenous races may have perpetrated on the dead, the torture of the living was essentially foreign to California. Fourth, they had a mode of capturing deer which no other California tribe employed, as far as known.²¹ Taking the antlers of a buck when they were green and velvety, they split them open on the underside and removed the pith, which rendered them so light that an Indian could carry them on his head. Then he would dress himself in the skin and go to meet the herd, or rather thrust his head out from the bushes, taking care not to expose himself too much, and imitate the peculiar habit which a buck has of constantly groping about with his head, lifting it up and down, nibbling a little here and a little there. At a proper time he would shoot an arrow into one of them, and the stupid things would stare and step softly about, in their peering and inquisitive way, until a number of them were knocked over. Fifth, their unconquerable and undying determination to fight it out to the bitter end is not a California Indian trait.²² Sixth, their aboriginal habit of singeing or cropping off their hair within an inch of their heads contrasts strongly with the long locks of the Californians.²³

Several years ago this tribe committed a massacre near Chico, and Sandy Young, a renowned hunter of that country, with a companion, captured two squaws, a mother and a daughter, who promised to guide them to the camp of the murderers.²⁴ They set out at night fall in the dead of winter. It was sleeting, raining, and blowing that night as if "the de'il had business on his hands." But they passed rapidly on without halt or hesitation, for the squaws led the way boldly. From nightfall until long after midnight they held on their dreary trail, stumbling and floundering occasionally but speaking scarcely a word; nor was there a moment's cessation in the execrable, bitter sleep and rain. At length they came to a creek which was swollen and booming. In the pitch darkness it was

manifestly impassable. They sounded it in various places, and could find no crossing. While the hunters were groping hither and thither, and shouting to each other above the raging of the torrent, the squaws disappeared. No hallooing could elicit a response from them. The two men considered themselves betrayed, and prepared for treachery. Suddenly there came floating out on the storm and the roaring a thin young squeal. The party had been re-enforced by one. The hunters then grasped the situation, and, laughing, set about collecting some dry stuff and making a fire. They were benumbed and half-frozen themselves, and supposed of course the women would come in as soon as they observed the fire. But no, they wanted no fire, or, if they did, their aboriginal modesty would not allow them to resort to it under these circumstances. The grandmother took the new-born babe, amid the almost palpable blackness, the sleeting, and the yelling winds, and dipped it in the ice-cold creek. Again and again she dipped it, while now and then the hunters could hear its stout-lunged protest above the roaring. Not only did the infant survive this unparalleled treatment, but it grew excellently well. In memory of the extraordinary circumstances under which it was ushered into this world, Young named it "Snow-flake," and it is living to this day, a wild-eyed lad in Tehama.²⁵

Footnoted annotations: They may be found at the back of this chapter.

Document #6

Bibliographical Reference:

Wells, Harry L. and W. L. Chambers
1882 [1973] *History of Butte County*.
History of Butte County From its Earliest Settlement to the Present time. Volume II.
San Francisco [Reprinted] Berkeley, CA: Howell-North Books. Berkeley, pp. 221-222.

Disposition of Original Document: Butte County Public Library Collection, Oroville and Chico, California.

Abstract: N/P

Contributors: W. L. Chambers and Harry L. Wells. Their biographical sketches may be found at the back of this of this Chapter 3.

“Indian Difficulties”

In response to the murders at the Workman farm in Concow Valley, H. A. Goode [sic] with a party of seventeen men, including Sandy Young, killed nine Indians.

All the raids for a number of years had been led by an Indian who could boast the possession of a ponderous peddle extremity--a big foot. So large was this member that he received the title of Big Foot. His presence of any affair of crime was always indicated by the extraordinary mark he left on the ground his track. He was very skillful at eluding pursuit and he was never captured but after this fight his trail was never found.

The subsequent fate of two who engaged in this fight may be a matter of interest here. Sandy Young, a year or two afterwards, was found dead in Trinity County, and his death supposed to have been caused by Indians. Some years subsequently, Captain Goode met a similar fate at the hands of a young Indian boy, not more than eight years of age, whom he had adopted and raised. Good had come home from a day's hunt after game, and, before alighting from his horse, gave his rifle to the boy. The treacherous young rascal immediately shot his friend and benefactor dead, and concealed his body under a pile of rocks and rubbish, where it was found by some of Goodes' friends, who were searching for him. The captain's watch, jewelry and money being found on the person of the Indian boy, he confessed having committed the crime and hidden the body. The precocious fiend met a deserved fate for his hideous crime.

Since these occurrences, Indian troubles have ceased to agitate the citizens of Butte County, and but few natives are now within her limits. On the ranch of General Bidwell is a small rancheria of Indians who work about the premises, being both docile and harmless. Here and there about the county can be found one or two, but none collected in bands or rancherias.

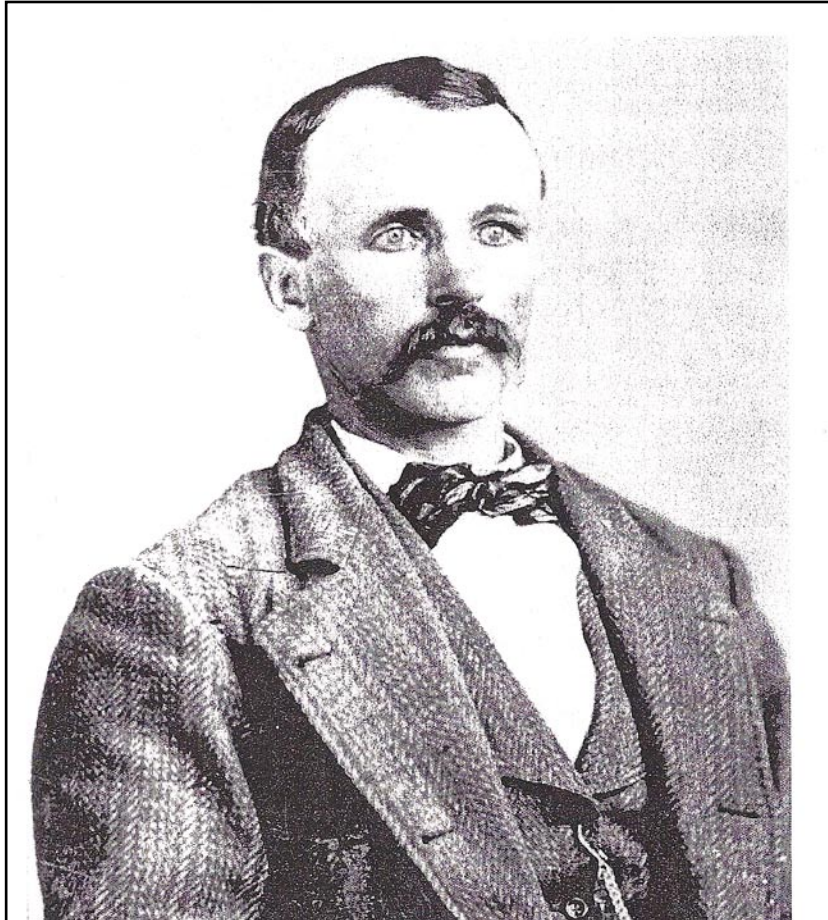


Figure 141. Robert A. Anderson (1840-1915), pioneer Indian fighter, who, in 1909, published *Fighting the Mill Creeks*. Reprinted courtesy of Special Collections, Meriam Library, CSU Chico.

Document #7

Bibliographical Reference:

Anderson, Robert A.

1909 *Fighting The Mill Creeks* Chico, CA: Chico Record Press, 83-86.

Disposition of Original Document: *Chico Enterprise Record* newspaper archives.

Abstract: This is the last chapter of Robert Anderson's Indian hunter memoir that first mentions in about 1870, the call for a truce or surrender by the remnant band of "Mill Creeks." Three Indian females with a number of children and two Indian men negotiated before Hi Good who then was living on "Dry Creek" [Acorn Hollow wash] in the eastern Tehama County study area. Anderson admits that he "has never had a doubt" that the Indian boy raised by Hi Good "was influenced by the older Indians to turn traitor against the man who had given him a home." Hi Good's murder by the Indians is described. Upon completing the act, the "older Indians at once fled to the hills," while the Indian boy remained. Suspicions grow about the Indian boy that leads to his confession. Anderson was the first to reveal in writing that Sandy Young killed the boy in retaliation. Anderson ends his book by recalling what became of those other Indian adversaries he had fought with "through so many hard days." Lastly, he gives a frank admittance that "The first act of injustice, the first spilling of blood, must be laid at the white man's door."

Contributor: Robert A. Anderson. His biographical sketch may be found on page 124 of this report.

CHAPTER XV.

By Robert Anderson

It was well known that several bucks and a number of squaws and children escaped during that last fight at the three knolls.¹ They remained hidden² away in the depth of the canyons, sallying out occasionally to plunder foothill cabins, but dealing no more death to the white man. Their reign of mischief-making seemed to be at an end, and yet were they to be heard from, at least indirectly once more.³

After many months a number of squaws humbly presented themselves to Hi Good and told him that the entire remnant of the tribe would surrender if assured of his protection.⁴ Hi was then living on Dry Creek.⁵ Negotiations were carried on for some time, and at length two bucks⁶ and three squaws, with a number of children, moved down to Good's place and told him that they were ready to be taken to the Reservation.⁷

However, reduced as they were to this pitiful handful, their innate treachery had not been beaten out of them. Living with Good was an Indian boy⁸ whom he had raised from childhood. This boy was now about sixteen, and I have never had a doubt that he was influenced by the older Indians to turn traitor against the man who had given him a home.⁹

With genuine Indian patience he watched and waited for his opportunity. It came one day when Good rode over to the Carter place on Deer Creek for vegetables.¹⁰ After he was gone, the Indian boy took Hi's rifle¹¹ and slipped after him. He met Good returning near Acorn Hollow, a brush-sided ravine that puts out from the hills less than a mile north of Deer Creek.¹²

Hi was walking and leading his horse by means of the bridle-rein, the animal carrying a sack of garden stuff. The Indian permitted his victim to get within easy range, when, from his hidden lair, he took deliberate aim and fired. Good fell, but rose again and started toward his assailant. The Indian, being uninjured, easily kept out of his grasp, and a second and a third bullet¹³ he drove into the white man's body before the latter sank down dead.

The murderer then tried to dispose of the body. He placed a rope around the dead man, and looping it to the saddle-horn, dragged the body some distance up the hollow, rolled it over a steep bank, the, climbing down, piled stones up it.

The older Indians at once fled to the hills, but the boy, if he went with them, soon returned to Dry Creek.¹⁴ Inquiries for Good were soon made and the conduct of the Indian boy excited suspicion. He had an unusual amount of money in his possession, and was found to be wearing a large silver ring of Hi's upon his finger. Furthermore, he boastfully carried Hi's rifle¹⁵ about with him.

Friends instituted a search and the body as soon found.¹⁶ The Indian boy was taken to Acorn Hollow by Sandy Young and a number of others. When shown the dead body, he at first denied all knowledge of the crime; but soon his manner altered and he calmly made a full confession, and even led the whites to the spot where the fatal shots had been fired, and explained every step of the tragedy.

After all had been told, Sandy significantly picked up his rifle, and his companions slipped away, knowing that an act of retributive justice was about to be enacted. Soon the sharp crack of the rifle rang out¹⁷ above the chaparral and the last chapter in the tragic death of Hi Good had been written.

A word as to the other members of our party who trailed and fought the Indians through so many hard days. [John] Breckenridge¹⁸ went to the lower country, where he met his death in a campaign against the Indians of Arizona. [William] Simmons, [John] Martin, and [Ad] Williams.] drifted to other regions, where I lost all trace of them. "Bully"¹⁹ went to Nevada, where he secured employment as hunter for a force of soldiers. While so employed, he one day met a group of Piute [sic] Indians. They exchanged cordial greetings as they rode past, but after riding a few rods²⁰ they suddenly whirled and shot him in the back, killing him instantly.

Sandy Young lived in Chico for a number of years after most of the others had passed away. Finally, in company with Dan Sutherland, he went to the Klamath River [circa 1880] and engaged in mining. There he mysteriously disappeared. His body was never found, but it generally believed that he was treacherously murdered and his body disposed of in some remote portion of that wild country.²¹

It is but just that I should mention, in closing, the circumstances which raised the hand of the Mill Creek forever against the white. As in almost every similar instance in American history, the first act of injustice, the first spilling of blood, must be laid at the white man's door. (Underscore editor's)

A party of the Indians [1857]²² were encamped at the Carter place on Deer Creek, being employed as workmen by the Carter brothers. Some among them killed a cow brute belonging to the white men. The Carters got a small party together, followed the Indians up to a foothill camp, and attacked them without giving the latter a chance to explain their action, or make good the loss of the slaughtered animal. Several Indians and one white man were killed,²³ and the fires of hatred kindled in the heart of the savage were such as could be quenched only in the one way.

A remnant of the Indians who caused so much uneasiness in those early days still remains hidden away in the dark caverns of the hills. They haunt that stretch of country from Deer Creek to Mill Creek, making stealthy descents upon the cabin of the white man, but committing no serious crimes. They have developed the art of hiding to a perfection greater than that of the beasts of the woods, and, while in no wise [sic] dangerous, they are probably today the wildest people in America.²⁴

Footnoted annotations: They may be found at the back of this chapter.

Robert Anderson Visited "Ishi" in Oroville in 1911

In 1911, Ishi "came in" to Oroville, Butte County, which invited a lot of press coverage. Robert Anderson, curious as ever, went to the Butte County Jail on September 2, 1911, and claimed he recognized the Indian as the same "lank Indian boy" he had surprised back in the summer of about 1864 when battling the Mill Creeks ("Ex-sheriff Sees Indian" [1911, September 2) *Chico Daily Enterprise*, p. 3). More about this may be found in Burrill 2004:247-251.

The fact that Anderson recognized Ishi in '64 as being "about 12 years of age" further corroborates that Ishi was probably about sixteen years old in 1870 during the Five Bows, as William Seagraves testified was the case.



Figure 142. Professor Thomas Waterman stands in front of the "Tin Building" at the original Anthropology Department building on the UC Berkeley Campus. This is probably where Ishi and Waterman were visited in 1915 by William J. Seagraves from Susanville. Photo reprinted courtesy of Miss Helen M. Waterman.



Figure 143. Thomas Talbot Waterman (1885 - 1936). About this photograph, Waterman's only daughter, Helen Maria Waterman (born 1913) wrote, "I would guess that he was in his early 20s, taken in 1905-1910." Reprinted courtesy of the Bainbridge Island Historical Society, Washington.

Document #8

Bibliographical Reference:

Waterman, Thomas T.

1918 "Yana Indians" *University of California Publications In American Archaeology and Ethnology*, Vol. 13 (2):57-59.

Disposition of Original Document: Papers, photographs by Thomas Waterman, inclusive of artifacts found, are preserved by the Bancroft Library and/or the Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley. Some Waterman photographs are also preserved by the Bainbridge Historical Society, Bainbridge Island, Washington. Correspondence and family photographs gifted by Helen Maria Waterman are also preserved in the Burrill Collection.

Abstract: Pages 57-58 from Waterman (1918) monograph, are seven concisely written paragraphs that detail the intense strife from March to early May 1870, that befalls the remote band of about seventeen surviving Yahi Indians. Hi Good's party (consisting of three others: William Seagraves, Bill Sublett, and George Spires) surprise the Indians along the upper Mill Creek drainage. Their "Old Doctor" is killed. Three of their females are captured, and taken away as hostages to Hi Good's cabin [camp]. The captives comprise one old woman, one young woman (who about this time becomes pregnant) and one little girl. Two weeks later, five warriors with the rest of the tribe behind them, make a formal ceremony before Seagraves called the Five Bows. It appears to be a call for a truce to somehow win the release of their three prisoners. Because the hostages are with Good, Seagraves leads the Indians to Good's. Weeks of prolonged negotiations suddenly end when, secretly, the female captives are relocated to a man named Carter, on the south side of Deer Creek. The disappearance of their three, was likely viewed as a violation of Good's word, that gave the Yahi motive to kill Hi Good.

Almira (Brown) Williams and William J. Seagraves were Waterman's two informants about Hi Good. Seagraves, in 1915, traveled to the University of California campus, probably in Berkeley, to the Anthropology Department's "Tin Building" (Fig. 142), where he introduced himself to Waterman and apparently asked to be shown "the Indian," whose command of English had been increasing since 1911. Seagraves positively identified Ishi as one of the five warriors who had presented their bows that memorable night back in 1870. Seagraves said Ishi "was lighter in complexion" and was "about sixteen years old" at the time. It remains unknown whether Ishi conversed with Seagraves in any manner. Waterman noted on his index card (Fig. 146), that Seagraves was a "Very old man in 1915. Fairly active. Speaks with some freedom. Evidence probably better than old [Robert] Anderson's." Waterman published Seagraves' telling *verbatim*.

Contributors: Thomas T. Waterman and his two informants about Hi Good, William J. Seagraves and Almira (Brown) Williams. Waterman's biographical sketch may be found at the back of this of this Chapter 3. Seagraves' biographical sketch may be found on pages 157-158, while the same for Almira (Brown) Williams may be found on pages 108-109.

Thomas T. Waterman (1918:57-59) wrote:

March, 1870. --"Mr. W. J. Seagraves[sic]¹ loses some beeves, which are "run off" at night. Having been warned against Indians, he sent for Hi Good, and the two, accompanied by George Spires² and Bill Sublett,³ trail the Indians with dogs.⁴ Some difficulty is encountered, as the dogs sometimes follow the trail freely, and sometimes refuse to follow it at all. They finally lead the party into an Indian village or "campoodie." There are several huts in a sort of round meadow, hidden away in a clump of pepperwood (laurel). The village is near F-8 on the map, on Mill Creek, about 25 miles from its mouth.⁵ The huts themselves are round or oval, and made of pepperwood boughs. In the village the only live animal is a dog,⁶ who is not friendly but makes no noise, and soon vacates. Here Seagraves finds the bones of his beeves.⁷ There is nothing of much interest in the camp. The Indians seem to have most of their property with them.

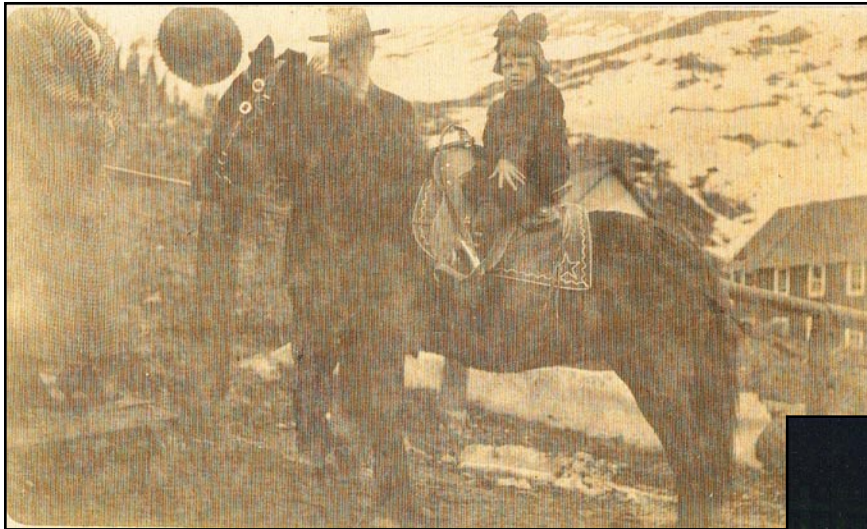


Figure 144. The only known photograph of "Uncle" William Jephthy Seagraves circa 1913, with his three year-old niece Ellabelle Seagraves on horseback, at the Kennecott Copper Mine, Alaska. Seagraves visited Ishi at the University in 1915, and positively identified him as the same person he had seen in 1870. Thomas Waterman published Seagraves' accounting of the Five Bows *verbatim*. Reprinted courtesy of Ellabelle Seagraves Wall.



Figure 145. Dr. Garton E. Wall and Ellabelle (Seagraves) Wall of Millville, Shasta County. Photo by author on May 22, 1999.

Seagraves, W. J. Susanville, Calif.
 Very old man in 1915 fairly active. Speaks with some freedom. Evidence probably better than old Anderson's.

Figure 146 and 147.

March, 1870 27-35

Seagraves says;
 Himself, Bill Seblett, Hi Good, George Spires, shot Old Doctor (one hand)
 2 women, child captured, Ishi and old man seen, later bring in 4 men, 8 women
 Spires weighed himself, Indians scared ran away. Women given to Carter on Deer Creek. Snowdrcp.

"A few years before 1875"
 Powers p 280:
 Committed massacre near Chico. Sandy (sic) Young & Companion capture 2 squaws, Snow-flake story.

Two Thomas T. Waterman Index cards about William J. Seagraves, and one about Stephen Powers. Photocopies of cards (3" x 5") Ethnological Documents Collection of the Department and Museum of Anthropology BANC FILM 2216, Reels 1221 Index Cards, pp. 3 and 25.

The next day as the party is following the trail of the Indians further up the creek, they suddenly see a considerable band, some fifteen in all, returning. Good and Segraves hide behind a tree. Several Indians leave the main party, and when they finally approach the white ambush, only six or seven women, along with the old man, are left. This man is described by Segraves as "the Old Doctor."⁸ He was very old and had only one hand. I quote [what participant Segraves told] the rest *verbatim*:

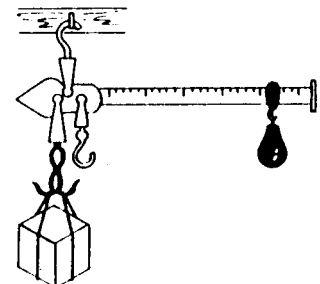
"As the Indians came abreast of us, we motioned to the squaws to squat down, so as not to be in the line of fire. One old woman, when she saw that the group was covered, immediately did so. A young woman, next in line, freed herself of her pack in a flash and started to run. The old woman grabbed her by the dress and prevented her, evidently thinking that she would be shot if she tried to escape. A little girl was also with the old woman, and was held by the hand. The Old Doctor, however, tried to get away. Good did the shooting, while I 'called' the shots. The first two missed. At the third I called 'distance!' (meaning that the range was exactly right). At the fourth shot, the Old Doctor collapsed. The weapons we used were sixteen-shot Henry repeaters, a new weapon at the time.⁹ The Indians in this party were loaded down with acorns and similar truck."¹⁰

The only Indians actually captured at this time are the two women just mentioned, and the small girl who was with them.¹¹ The rest fly into the brush and disappear. A short time later an old man¹² comes in. He evidently has failed to hear the shooting. A young fellow, said to be Ishi,¹³ is with him, but is too wild to approach closer than two hundred yards. Being unarmed, they are not fired upon. That night the party camps at the "campoodie." Next day the old man offers to bring in his relatives, and is taken back to the scene of the Old Doctor's death. The Indian, loudly calling on his people, asks permission to mount a boulder in order to look about. He seizes the opportunity to jump down on the other side of the boulder, and gets clear away.

Two weeks later the old man comes in the night-time to Segraves' cabin¹⁴ with eleven other people, four men and seven women. The fourth man is Ishi. He is at this time about sixteen years old and is lighter in complexion than the rest (Segraves visited Ishi at the University¹⁵ and positively identified him as the same person. This would make him sixty-two years old at the time of his death¹⁶). The old man is thought to be Ishi's father.¹⁷ They make a formality of surrendering their bows to the number of five.¹⁸ These are about five feet long, and so strong that Segraves cannot unbend them.¹⁹ The whole party are taken down to Good's cabin; but he is away in Tehama.²⁰

While waiting around for him to return, George Spires takes a sudden notion to weigh himself on a set of steelyards.²¹ He throws a rope over a limb to suspend the steelyards by, when the Indians take a notion that they are to be hanged.²² So they all run away and are never seen again. (This episode is described in Powers, but not accurately.) The only ones finally remaining in captivity are the two women and the little girl who were taken at the time of the Doctor's death.

Figure 148. Steelyard-- A "rod bar" used mainly for weighing livestock for sale. A balance or scale consisting of a metal arm suspended off center from above; the object to be weighed is hung from the shorter end, and a sliding weight is moved along the graduated longer end until the whole arm balances. Then the weight can be read.



These three are handed over to a white man named Carter,²³ living about a mile from Acorn Hollow (map D-10) on Deer Creek. The young woman about this time gives birth to a baby, who is called Snowdrop²⁴ (Powers gives this same incident, in highly colored form²⁵). The white man was not her father, but one of the wild Indians.²⁶ The little girl who was captured with the old woman is called "Muchacha."²⁷ Both she and the mother of Snowdrop are thought by Segraves to be Ishi's sisters.²⁸ Nothing is known of the final disposition of these people.²⁹ (Information obtained from Mr. W. J. Segraves [sic] of Susanville, in 1915.)

1870.---An Indian boy living with Good "hooks" his cache of money. Good is very angry and threatens to "settle" with him. Shortly after that the boy murders Good with a rifle. The body he drags by the feet with a lasso from his pony, and buries it under some rocks. A Mr. Brown³⁰ (who had a stage stable at the ford one mile northeast of Vina), Andy Post, and Sandy Young, previously mentioned, found the body by the odor four days later. The murdered man's hair was also sticking out between the rocks. Possibly this Indian boy is the one described above as having six toes.³¹ He was executed by Young. (Anderson, p. 83); private information from Mrs. G. W. Williams³² at Tehama; Wells also refers to this incident).³³

Footnoted annotations: They may be found at the back of this Chapter 3.

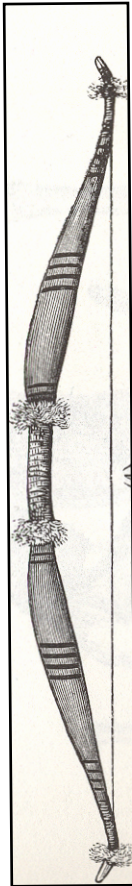


Figure 149.

California Sinew-backed
flat bow.

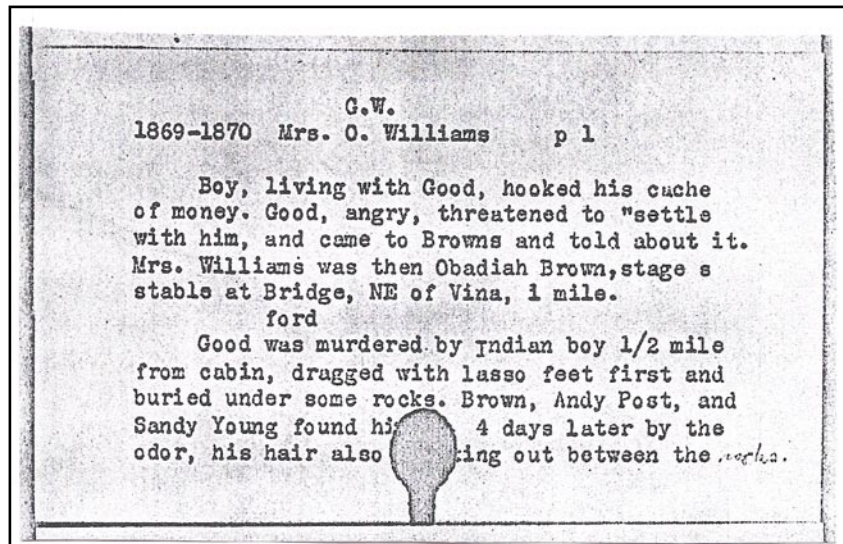


Figure 150.

"Mrs. G. W. Williams"
(Almira [Brown] Williams)
Index card by Thomas T.
Waterman Photocopy of
cards (3" x 5") Ethnological
Documents Collection
of the Department and
Museum of Anthropology
BANC FILM 2216, Reels
1221 Index Cards, page 25.

Document #9

Bibliographical Reference:

Moak, Simeon

1923 *The Last Of The Mill Creeks And Early Life in Northern California*.
Chico, California, pp. 30-33.

Disposition of Original Document and Artifacts: Original manuscript, Moak family letters and photographs are preserved by Marilyn Beadle of Schenectady, New York. Transcribing, editing and annotations of some of the Moak family letters have been recently completed by Dale Wangberg of Nelson, California.

Abstract: Document #9 is a seventeen paragraph telling of the dramatic events that led up to the murder of Hi Good by Hi Good's Indian shepherd and cook named Indian Ned, who, purportedly, acted alone. The storyteller, Simeon Moak, who also fought along side Hi Good at the Three Knolls battle, introduces Hi Good's "boon companions" Sandy Young and Obe Fields [sic]. Moak emphasizes the growing struggle that ensued between Good and Indian Ned. The boy purportedly coveted Hi Good's buried gold. Sandy Young takes his vengeance out on the Indian boy who had killed his best friend three days prior .

Contributor: Simeon Moak. His biographical sketch may be found at the back of this of this Chapter 3.

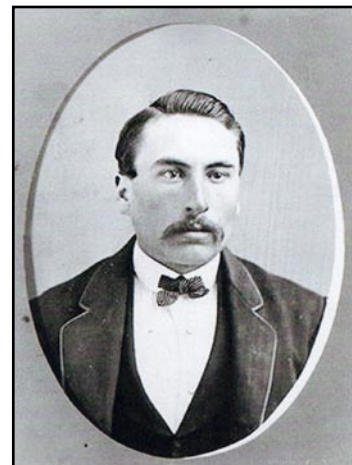


Figure 151. Simeon Moak
(1845-1928) Reprinted courtesy
of Dale Wangberg.

"The Murder of Hi Good"

By Simeon Moak

When I first met Hi. Good and R. A. Anderson, they were in the prime of life.¹ Good at that time was twenty-nine years old and as handsome a man as I ever saw. I often heard it said that the Indians killed the girl he was going to marry while crossing the plains.² Anderson was twenty-five years old and as fine a specimen of manhood as one would wish to see. They were large men, shrewd and fearless. They were leaders of men. Anderson was elected sheriff of Butte county, two terms³ and if Good had lived he could have had any office in Tehama county he wanted. If it had not been for them, more white people living in Butte and Tehama counties would have been murdered by the barbarous Mill Creeks. Their business was never so urgent or time so precious they could not leave all to go forth to avenge the wrongs of the white settlers, committed by the red men. When a party of us settlers would start to clean up the Indians, we would elect a captain and it would always be Good or Anderson. The captain always was entitled to the scalps. At one time Good had forty hanging in the poplar tree by his house.⁴

In the early history of this state, when the law of the land was just at the stage where the right belonged to the strongest, and the Mill Creek Indians were a thorn in the side of the settlers, on account of their depredations, which at times amounted to murder, Hi. Good was one of the active leaders of the white men in their raids upon the Indians' strongholds. A great deal of interesting local history clings to this early day character, a strong fearless man and a leader of men.

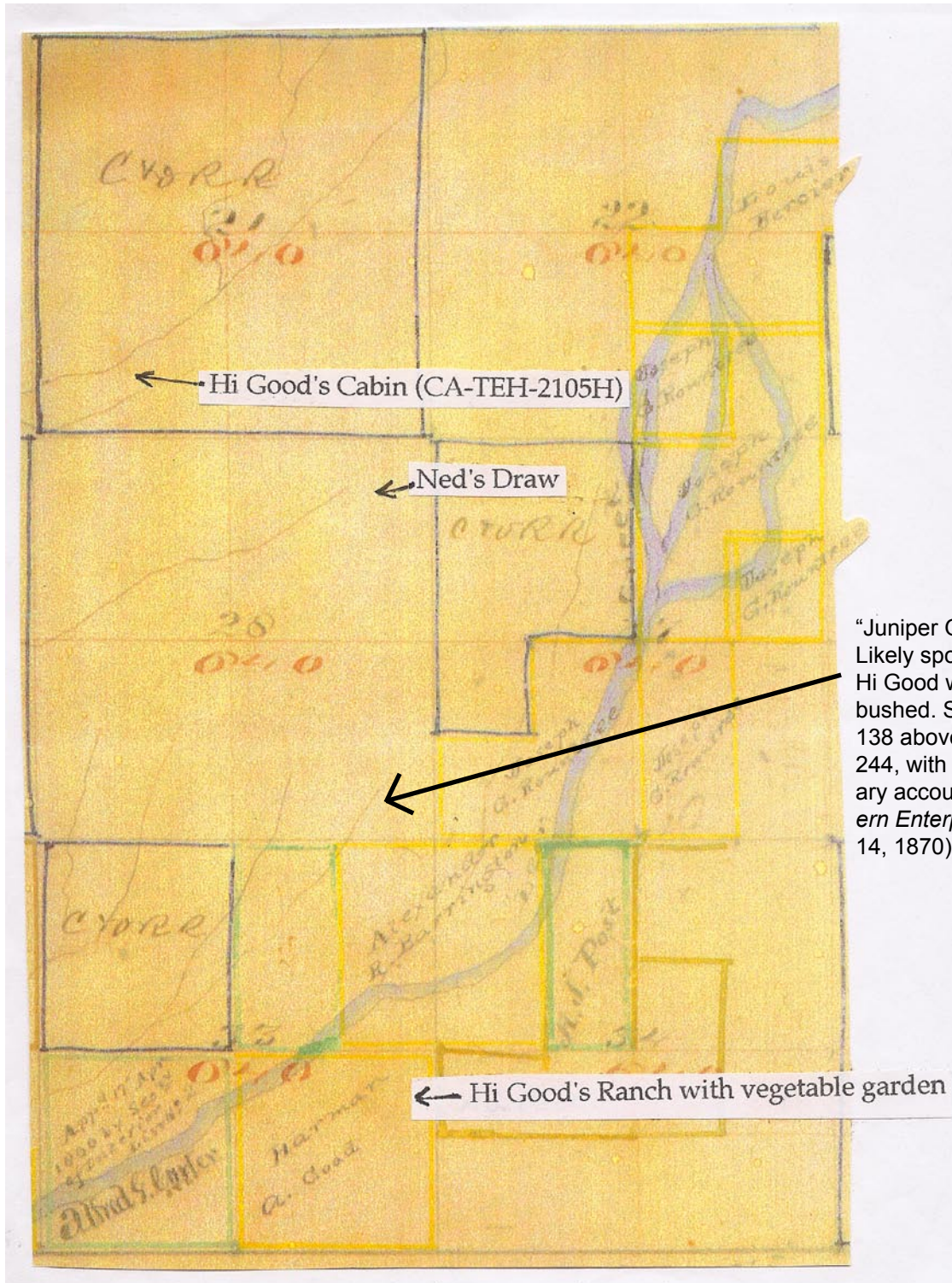


Figure 152. Sections 21, 22, 28, 27, 33 & 34 of T25N, R1W, Tehama County, California from 1859 Map. Deer Creek drainage is shown, as it flows south and west. On file in Tehama County Assessor's Office, Red Bluff. In the lower left (above) showing Hi Good's neighbor and ally, "Alfred G. Carter" on the south side of Deer Creek to whose place the three Indian female hostages were relocated (Waterman 1918:58).

Good was born in Ohio.⁵ His age I did not know, but when I first knew him he seemed to be about thirty-one or thirty-two years of age. He was a tall, athletic fellow and very handsome, straight as an arrow and brave as a lion. It was to him and R. A. Anderson that the people living in Butte and Tehama counties confided in when they wished their wrongs avenged, wrongs that had been committed by the Mill Creek Indians. Good was one of the best Indian trailers in Northern California and a dead shot.

Good's dramatic death and events which led up to it were as follows:

Good was in the sheep business and in need of a herder at the time I speak of. Dan Sill, a friend of Good's had an Indian boy living with him in Tehama.⁶ Good asked for the boy but Sill told him he had better not employ the Indian because he was a bad one and as sure as fate some day he would kill him. Good laughed and said that he and the Indian would get along all right.

All went well until the spring of 1870. Good sold a portion of his sheep for seven thousand dollars. He had borrowed three thousand from Sam Gyle⁷ of Tehama. This sum he paid after the sale and buried the four thousand dollars. On the 27th of April Good and his boon companions, Sandy Young and Obe Fields, left on a prospecting trip. They left with the purpose in view of finding the Mill Creeks and getting their booty as it was generally known that they had two or three thousand dollars.⁸ When they started, Good told the Indian that he did not need to herd the sheep as Jack Brennan, the other herder could do all the work in caring for the sheep and for him to stay about the camp and do the cooking.

The Indian knew Good had money buried and as soon as Good was gone he began hunting for it. In his efforts to find it he tore up the cobble stone hearth in front of the fireplace and dug several places where he thought it might be. He tore up some of the wood floor. When Good returned on the 29th of April, he determined immediately from the condition of the house what had been going on.⁹ The Indian had taken the ashes from the fireplace and given the hearth an floor a good scrubbing. "What has been going on here, Ned?" asked Good.

"The place got so dirty I thought I would clean it up a bit," said the Indian. Good lived in Acorn Hollow at this time and had a fine ranch and garden on Deer Creek about one mile and a half south.¹⁰

"I will go to the garden and get some vegetables," said Good.

Young¹¹ came [sic] to Chico as soon as Good left. The Indian said to Obe, "I will take his gun and see if I can kill some squirrels."¹² Obe being an elderly man¹³ sought the comfort of one of the beds and went to sleep. He said he did not hear the Indian shoot and if he did he would not have remembered it as the Indian boy was always doing more or less shooting about the place. Soon after the Indian came back and got supper. Good, however, did not come. After breakfast the next morning, Obe said, "I will saddle Bally¹⁴ and see why he did not come home." Instead of going the trail that led out of the hollow he led the horse up the steep hill back of the house to the rocky plain. If he had gone the trail he would have probably found Good.¹⁵ On reaching the garden, Obe inquired for Good and was told that he had left before sundown. Obe returned the same way he had gone. When he got back the Indian was on hand and had Good's horse, saying he found it back up the hollow tied to a tree. Obe said that he would go to the picnic being held on Deer Creek. Here he found Dan Delany¹⁶ [sic] and George [sic] Carter¹⁷ and a number of Good's best friends and they all started back. In crossing the rocky plain, one of the party said, "Hold on something has been dragged here." Obe looked and said, "That is Buck's track." They followed the direction of the shoe marks indicated and in a desolate ravine against a small tree¹⁸ they found the body of the stalwart, athletic Good, practically covered with rocks.



Figure 153. “Jim Ellis’ Gulch” (also known as “Ned’s Draw”) in Section 28, located due south of the study area less than 1/4 mile distant. Photo looks eastward. Photo by author on May 13, 2004. Access to this private property requires permission from the owners.

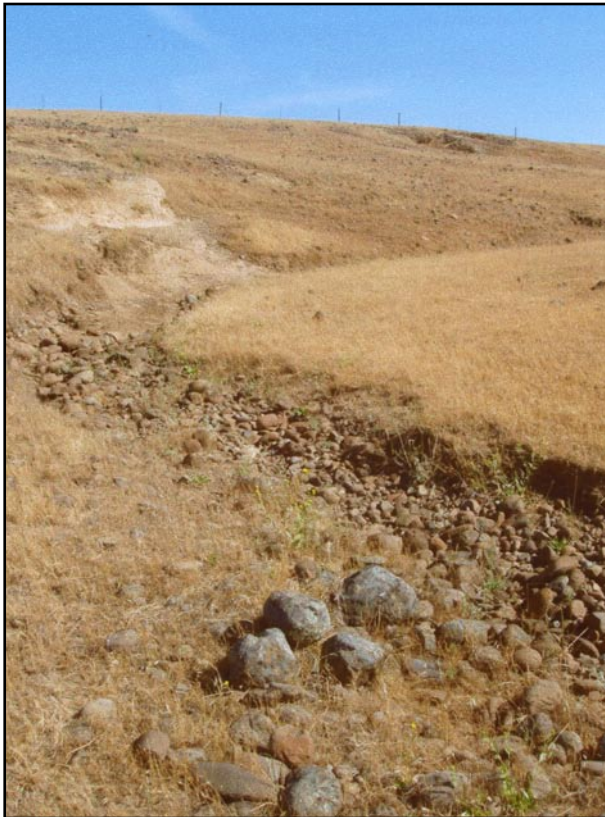


Figure 154. “Desolate Ravine Filled with Stones” in Jim Ellis’ Gulch (see Fig. 153 above). This is the probable vicinity to where Hi Good’s body was dragged from Juniper Gulch where Hi Good was ambushed and killed (see Fig. 136). Anderson (1909:84) wrote that “The older Indians at once fled to the hills, but the boy, if he went with them, soon returned to Dry Creek” (i.e., Acorn Hollow Creek at Hi Good’s Cabin). Thomas Waterman (1918:58) learned from Obadiah and Almira Brown that, “Mr. Brown, Andy Post, and Sandy Young . . . found the body by the odor four days later.” Photo by Roger Anderson, May 13, 2004.

After leaving Good there the Indian went down to the Widow Lewis' place¹⁹ on Deer Creek. Mrs. Lewis and her daughter were in the yard. The Indian rode up and took a twenty dollar piece out of his pocket and said, "I will give this to see Hi Good's boots." Mrs. Lewis said, "What 's the matter with Hi Good?"

The Indian said, "He is missing." In showing the money they noticed Good's gold ring on his finger.

The Indian said, "He is missing." In showing the money. They noticed Good's gold ring on his finger. He had robbed Good his money and taken the ring; but had not taken his gold watch.²⁰



Figure 155a. Widow Elizebeth "Betsy" Lewis. Photos courtesy of Frances Leininger.

Figure 155b. Daughter Martha "Maddie" Lewis.

As soon as Good's body was found, one of the party went to Tehama to notify the coroner,²¹ while another came to Chico to notify Sandy Young. Some of the party went to the camp²² and some stayed with the corps.[sic]

Finally the Indian came to camp. They asked him about Hi. He said he did not know anything about him and went outside and sat down on a bench and placed his head in his hands. Obe went out and sat down along side of the Indian. Finally Obe asked the Indian where the first shot hit Hi. The Indian said, "Through the hips," and then jumped up and caught Obe around the neck and said, "Don't tell them, or they will kill me." Obe then went to the cabin door, where he met Young, who had arrived from Chico. He said, "Ned killed Hi."

"How do you know?" asked Young.

"He told me," was the answer.

“Tell him to come in. The Indian was asked by Sandy why he killed Hi. The Indian replied that he didn’t know, but he guessed to see how he would act. Thereupon, Sandy began to cry. Then the Indian told how he had hid behind the big oak tree and as Hi came down the trail leading his horse²³ by the long bridle reins and singing, he shot him and as he staggered down the hill he shot him twice,²⁴ all three bullets going true, as the Indian was a good shot. Then Sandy said, “Take the Indian up the trail and we will see how he will act.” They tied the Indian’s hands behind him, took him up the trail and tied him to the limb of an oak tree. Sandy went about sixty feet away and turned and fired, the bullet struck the Indian in the back of the neck, he fell and quivered. They cut him loose and he died. His bones lay there for two years. Brother Jake and I used to drive the cattle by them. Two young students from Colusa came and took the skeleton away.²⁵

Good is buried in the Tehama cemetery. Sandy sent Good’s gold watch to his father in Ohio.²⁶ Good always buried his money, as there were no banks in Northern California. There are, I think, five hundreds [sic] holes dug around the cabin and corral by different parties, searching for the money. It may have been found, but not that I know of.²⁷

My brother and I could not find out if there was a monument at Good’s grave, so we went to Tehama three years ago. We found the grave and a marble slab stating that he died, May 4th, 1870, aged 34 years (See Fig. 137 above). This closes the chapter of one of California’s Grand Men.

Footnoted annotations: They may be found at the back of this chapter.

DOCUMENT #10

Bibliographical Reference:

Kroeber, Theodora
1961 *Ishi In Two Worlds* Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 85-96.

Disposition of Original Document: Theodora Kroeber papers are preserved by the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Abstract: Document #10 provides parts of her nine pages that pertain to the Five Bows and the beginning of the Long Concealment. Conspicuous by their absence is no mention of Hi Good nor Indian Ned's murders. Page 87 includes Mrs. Kroeber's disagreement with William J. Seagraves' testimony as published verbatim by Thomas Waterman. About Seagraves, she wrote: "He was mistaken. Ishi was a little boy in 1870."

Contributor: Theodora Kroeber. Her biographical sketch may be found at the back of this of this Chapter 3.



Figure 156. Theodora (Kracaw) Kroeber in her Berkeley home, 1970. Photo by G. Paul Bishop.

Theodora Kroeber (1961:85-96):

A pioneer rancher, W. S. Seagraves [sic], who lived near the head of Butte Creek, also owned a cabin, which he sometimes occupied and used for storage, in Twenty Mile Hollow only a short distance from Hiram [sic] Good's place in Acorn Hollow. One morning, Seagraves missed several head of cattle. Suspecting that it was Yahi who had stolen them, he got Good, whose last raid this would be, and two other men¹ to go with him to try to recover his stock. The four of them with dogs to help track the Indians, went directly up Mill Creek to a Yahi village about twenty-five miles from the mouth of the creek which they reached in the late afternoon. The village comprised a dozen or so small Yana houses set in a ring in a meadow shaded by overhanging bay trees. It was deserted except for an Indian dog, but showed ample evidence of having been the scene of recent cattle slaughtering operations. Seagraves says simply that he and his party made camp there for the night. This

village, shown on the map on page 44 as Bay Tree village, was the farthest downstream of the larger Yahi settlements.² That it should be deserted and that four white men should occupy it for the night without special precaution indicates how the Yahi situation had deteriorated even in a few months.³ The next morning, Segraves and his companions continued up Mill Creek. After some hours, they saw a group of fifteen or more Indians coming downstream loaded with baskets of freshly gathered foodstuffs, several women and one man whom Segraves called the Old Doctor ahead of the others. The posse, undiscovered to the Indians, took positions behind trees with their guns cocked. What happened follows as Segraves told it to Waterman:

As the Indians came abreast of us, we motioned to the squaws to squat down so as not to be in the line of fire. . . . The old doctor tried to get away. . . . At the fourth the Old Doctor collapsed. The weapons we used were sixteen-shot Henry repeaters, a new weapon at the time.

Page 87: The old woman, the young woman, and the little girl were taken captive. The others got away. Much behind the first party two stragglers came in, but halted before they were within firing range, and disappeared into the brush. One of them was a middle-aged man, the other a young man or well-grown boy. Segraves liked to think that they were father and son and that the young man was Ishi. Forty years later when he saw Ishi in San Francisco he “positively” identified him as the sixteen- or seventeen-year-old whom he had seen on Mill Creek. He was mistaken. Ishi was a little boy in 1870.⁴

But to go back to Segraves’ account, his party, taking their captives with them, returned to Bay Tree village where they again spent the night. In the morning, while they were still in camp, the older of the Indians whom they had seen at a distance the afternoon before, appeared before Segraves with some sort of an offer. The question will occur to the reader as it did to Waterman: why did none of the posse shoot this man as they had shot the Old Doctor? Segraves’ answer to Waterman’s question was that the man was unarmed. This was scarcely the full explanation, since none of the Indians were “armed.” The Old Doctor may possibly have had a bow or a sling with him, but even so, he could not have resisted men with guns, nor did he try to do so. However, it was, Segraves listened to what the man said, and although neither he nor Good understood him, they gathered that he was offering to bring all his people to them. To this seeming end, he led the posse back upstream to the scene of the Old Doctor’s death and there mounted a boulder from which he called loudly up and down the cañon. Segraves did not of course know what he was saying but the commanding voice would have been heard by anyone there to hear. Then quick and quiet as the flick of a released bowstring, he leaped from the boulder on the side away from the white men and was lost to them in the chaparral. There were no Indians to be seen, and Segraves and Good made no further attempt to pursue them, returning home with their one scalp and their three captives.

Page 88: The episode remains a somewhat curious one. Segraves had set out to try to recover his cattle. When he found that they were already slaughtered, the old punitive program reasserted itself: there followed a pursuit, a murder, and a taking of captives. The pattern unfolded expectably but there clings about it a sense of wayward half-heartedness. Segraves was not an “Indian killer” at all,⁵ and Good was too experienced a one not to know that what would once have been a contest, unequal but somehow worthy of a man of action and courage, had become no contest at all.

....

Pages 88-89: Two weeks later there occurred a probable sequel to this first abortive effort at diplomacy, and a most curious one it was. The same Yahi was again spokesman, coming this time to Segraves' own cabin, after dark, and bringing with him several women and four other men, the men carrying properly strung Yahi bows in good condition. With much formality, they lined up while the leader made a speech at the end of which each man presented Segraves with his bow. Segraves did not know what was said, but he knew he was being offered some sort of an exchange, perhaps five bows for the three captives. He could not be sure, and in any case the captives were with Good, not with him.⁶ Thoroughly puzzled about what to do, Segraves motioned the twelve Yahi along with him to Good's cabin, meaning to leave the decision to Good. Good was not at home, and the party settled down to await his return. There were some of "Good's men" there, that is, some of the guards, and while they all waited together, an incident occurred which put an end of another sort that either Segraves or the Indians could have foreseen to the remarkable vigil. One of the guards, as Segraves told it, "Took a notion to weigh himself on a set of steelyards. He throws a rope over a limb to suspend the steelyards by, when the Indians take a notion that they are to be hanged. So they all run away and are never seen again."

In reporting the same incident in the May, 1874, issue of the *Overland Monthly*,⁷ Stephen Powers, who spent some time in northern California in the 'seventies as a magazine correspondent, wrote, "It was the intention of the hunters, [guards], as one of them candidly avowed to me, to have seized them and secretly put the whole five out of existence [the five Yahi men]. While they were in camp [at Good's cabin] one of the hunters conceived an absurd whim to weigh himself, at which the wily savages took fright, and they all bounded away like frightened deer and escaped." . . .

Page 89-90: The three captives remained with Good; the twelve emissaries from the hills faded into the covering brush, to be seen no more. The time of the concealment had come.⁸ . . .

Page 90: The presentation of the five bows was the climactic last act in Yahi history, determinative of the whole of its further course. . . .

Page 90: As recounted, the one Yahi effort to negotiate with the white man came to nothing. Segraves was left with five bows which he had neither the skill nor the strength to unbend; the captives perforce remained with Hiram [sic] Good; the twelve Yahi melted into a night from which so far as the rest of the world was concerned, they never emerged. . . .

Page 96: What became of the captives who were left behind in Good's cabin is relevant to the matter of possible survivors. But the trail of their identify peters out almost before it is found. Good "gave" the three captives to a man living near him in Acorn Hollow.⁹ The young woman had a boy born to her who was named or nicknamed "Snowflake" or "Snowdrop." This child was pointed out to Powers in Tehama. The variant accounts of the baby's birth, Powers' and Segraves', are given in full in the Notes, page 240f [see below]. They are of interest in themselves and as an example of some of the difficulties inherent in hearsay evidence when used as source material.¹⁰ But with the episode of Snowflake's birth, the history of the last three Yahi to be taken captive comes to a close. Whatever their later fortunes may have been, they were blended indistinguishably into that of the white frontier.¹¹

Page 240 of "Notes": About two of the three hostages possibly being Ishi's sisters, Theodora Kroeber wrote: "These are not relationships confirmed by Ishi and must be disregarded." Yet on pages 241-242 of her "Notes," Theodora Kroeber also wrote this summary:

"To sum up: the two women and the little girl were taken by Segraves and Good in March, 1870 (date from Segraves). There followed the Five Bows incident two weeks later. Snowdrop (or Snowflake) was born the following winter, and was pointed out to Powers in Tehama in 1872 (Powers). Beyond that, nothing more is known of them. It was presumably Sandy Young who told Powers the story of Snowflake's birth. At first reading it seems to be an extravagance and a rationalization, but sense lies embedded within its nonsense."¹²

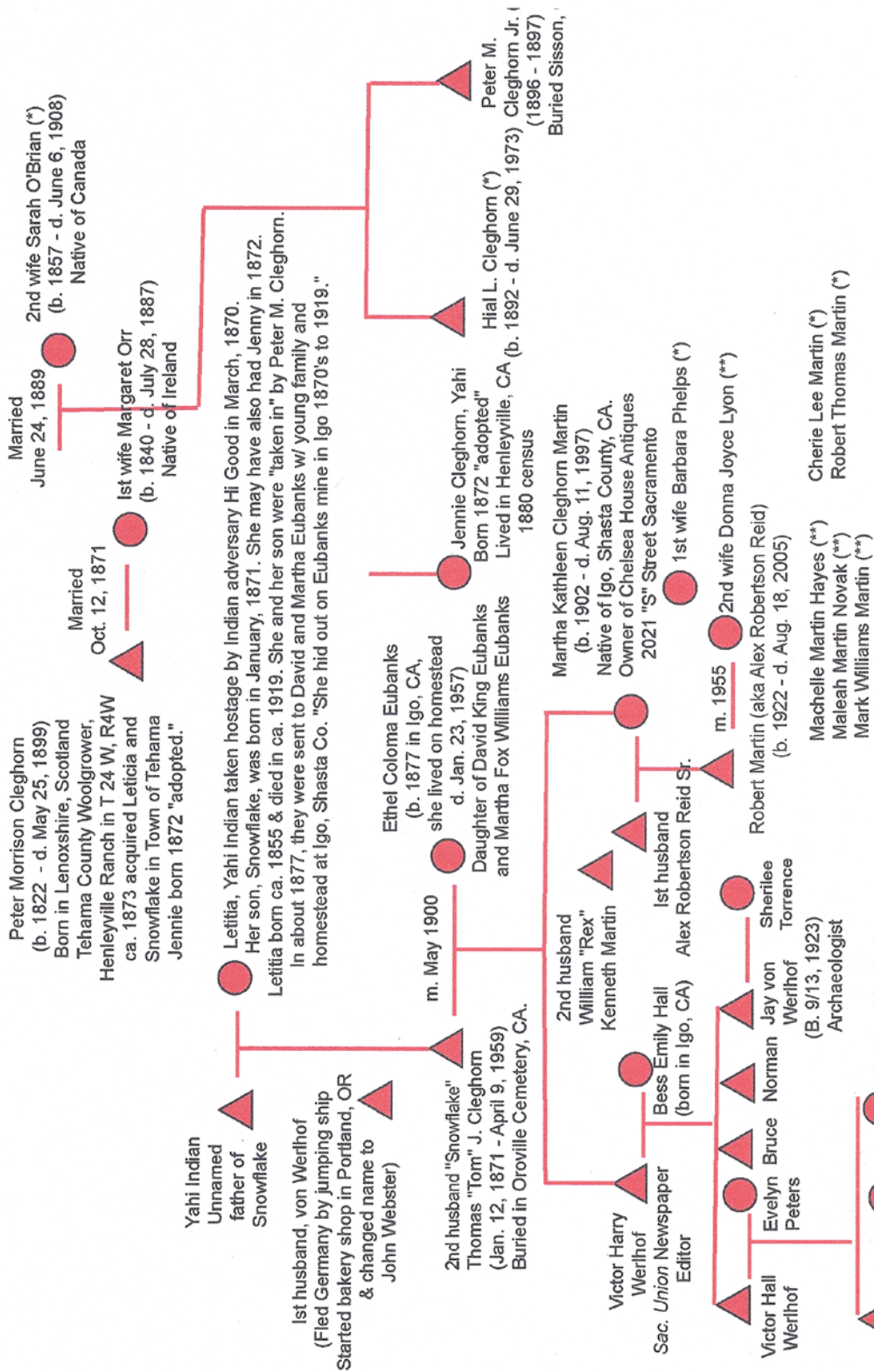
Footnoted annotations: They may be found at the back of this chapter.

Addendum: "Snow-Flake" and His Mother, "Letitia," Rediscovered

New old data found and reviewed by this author points to what became of the "wild-eyed lad" Snow-flake and his young mother, "Letitia"(See also Notes below on page 298).



Figures 157a & 157b. Grave site of "Snow-flake" (Thomas J. Cleghorn with his wife Ethel Coloma [Eubanks] Cleghorn) was discovered by this author in the "Old" Oroville Cemetery, located at 2600 Feather River Blvd. The grave marker location is Row 34 13, which is along side the cemetery's southernmost wall. Photo taken by Janice Newton on September 7, 2006.



SNOWFLAKE/CLEGHORN FAMILY GENEALOGY CHART

Robert Martin repeatedly said, "Snowflake was my grandfather.
He was the last 100% Yahi to live. I'm sure of that."

Figure 158.

SNOW-FLAKE REDISCOVERED

Robert Martin in Sacramento repeatedly said, "Snowflake was my grandfather. He was the last 100% Yahi to live. I'm sure of that." Snow-flake's mother was the young woman captured by Hi Good's party in March of 1870.

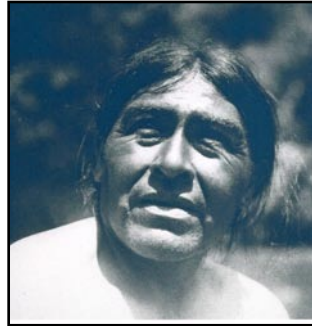


Figure 159.

Ishi photo taken on Deer Creek in 1914.

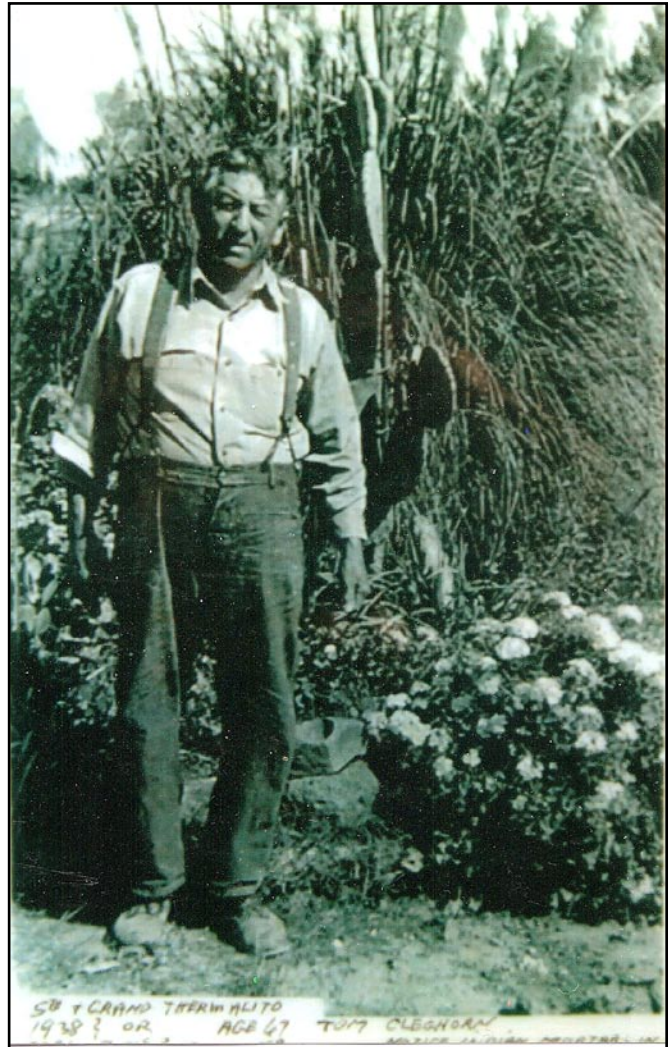


Figure 160. Thomas James Cleghorn (1871-1959) at 5th and Grand, Thermalito, Butte County, California. Notice Indian mortars in back. Reprinted from the Martin Family Collection.

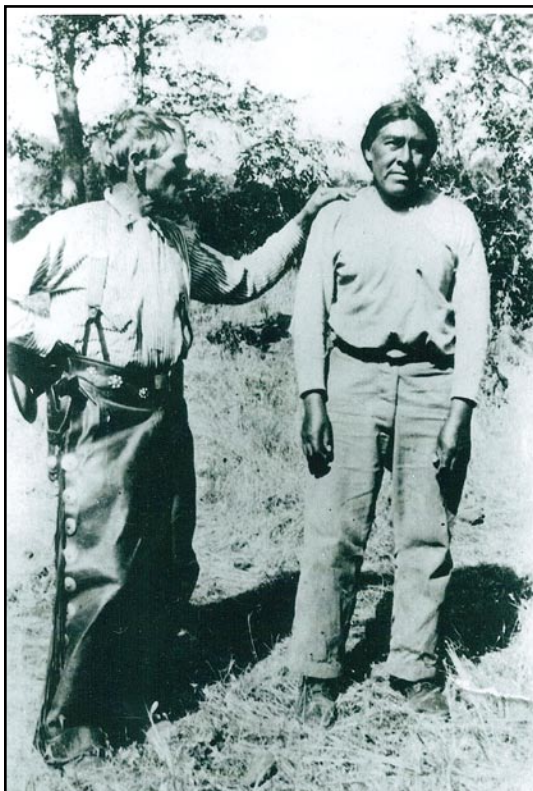


Figure 161. Jack Apperson with Ishi, 1914. Note Tom Cleghorn's posture and rounded arms in the photo above (Fig. 160), in which some people see a strong resemblance to Ishi. This photo (left) has been flipped horizontally. Photo courtesy of Ernie Tamagni of Gridley, California.

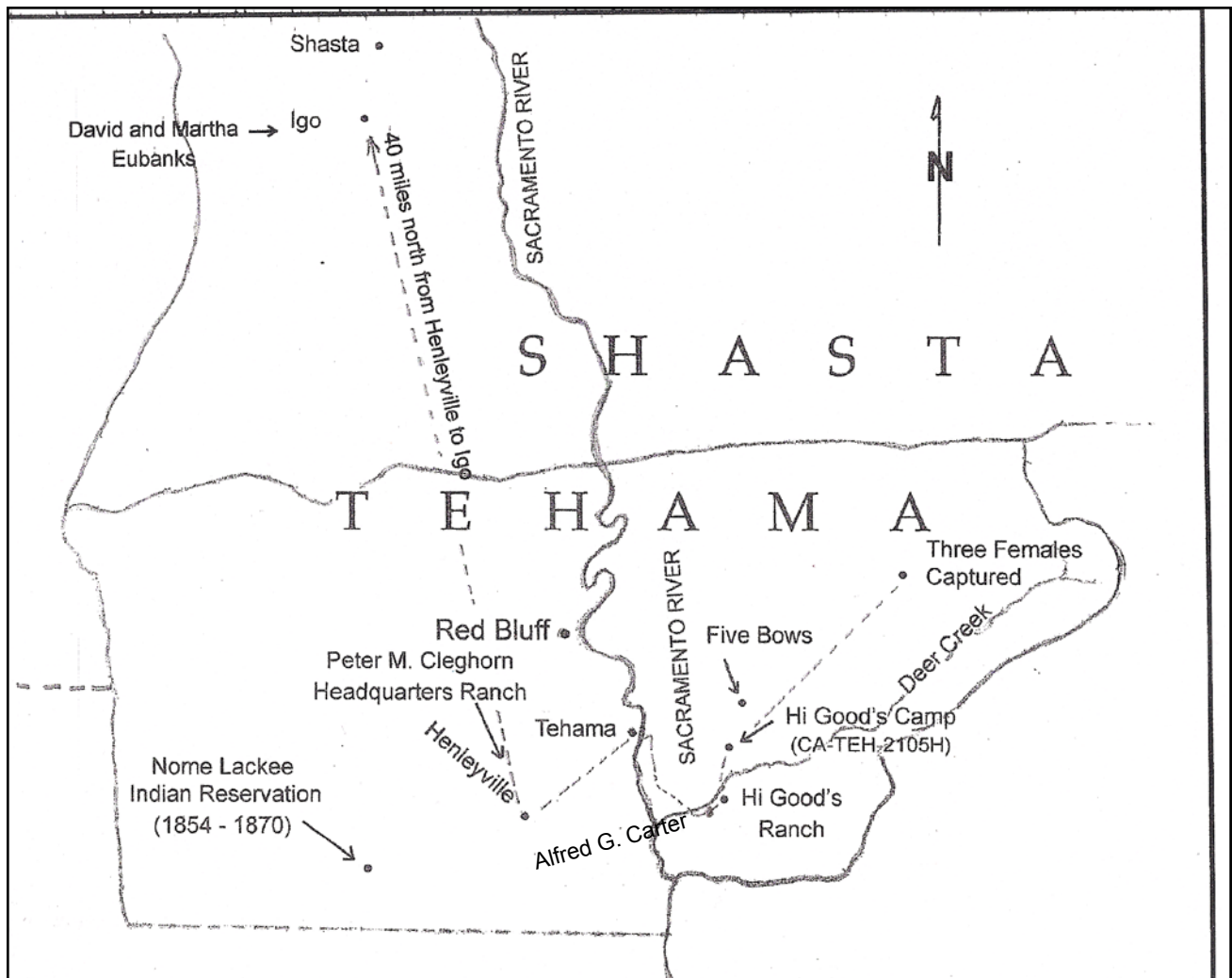


Figure 162.

Map. Purported Disposition of the Three Female Captives in Relation to the Study Area, CA-TEH-2105H.

In the winter of 1871, the young woman captive, whose American name is now known to have been "Letitia," gave birth to the baby boy named "Snow-flake," while under the control and possession of Sandy Young (Powers 1874:419; 1877:280-281 and Waterman 1918:57-58). The new found data indicates that in about 1877, and for unbeknownst reasons, Letitia and Snow-flake were sent from Peter Morrison Cleghorn's Tehama County Ranch to the David Eubanks family in Igo, Shasta County. Letitia "hid out on the Eubanks' mine in Igo 1870's to 1919" (Robert Martin Chart titled, "Follow R. Martin's Bloodline"). This author is in concurrence with others who conjecture that perhaps Letitia was kept hidden away in the Pillchuck Lode because she wore the vertical, "one eleven" tattoo on her chin. Otherwise, because of discrimination, her son Tom Cleghorn, would have had problems in his assimilation.

CONTRIBUTORS

1856 – Alexander Robb Barrington

His biographical sketch may be found on pages 116-117 of this report.

1862 –Harmon A. Good

His biographical sketch may be found on pages 75-98 of this report.

1870 – Unnamed newspaper editors

1872 – Daniel J. Delaney

His biographical sketch may be found on pages 102.

1877 – Stephen Powers

(See below)

1882 – Harry Laurenz Wells and W. L. Chambers

(See below)

1909 – Robert A. Anderson

His biographical sketch may be found on pages 124.

1918 – Thomas T. Waterman

(See below)

1923 – Simeon Moak

(See below)

1961 – Theodora (Kracaw) Kroeber

(See below)

STEPHEN POWERS (1840-1904) was “a pioneering anthropologist” and journalist from Waterford, Ohio, with keen observation skills, love for distant travels. During the Civil War years, Powers honed his interviewing skills as an “army correspondent” for the Cincinnati Commercial newspaper. He graduated from the University of Michigan (Class of ‘63). He lived and wrote from Europe during the 1866 to 1867. Back in America, Powers’ wanderlust grew. He tramped for ten months across the United States, meeting diverse peoples and writing about his adventures, titled *Afoot and Alone: a Walk from Sea to Sea*. Powers reached San Francisco in November, 1869. He made Sheridan, Placer Company, his 160-acre home base. He selected the California Indians in the northern two-thirds of the State, as his next writing subjects. He began to study them during the summer of 1871 and 1872. Robert Heizer (1976:2) wrote that, “No record has survived to inform us of Powers’ itinerary and travel schedule.”

Powers would publish thirteen articles for the *Overland Monthly* from 1872 to 1876. About accuracy, it is well established that the editors of the *Overland Monthly* maintained a long standing practice of editing and embellishing their writers’ article submissions for the purpose of making the magazine “more palpable” for their particular kind of patron-subscribers.

In about 1874, Powers won the endorsement from the respected Major John Wesley Powell* in Washington, D. C., that his interviews be published as a book. In 1877, *Tribes of California* was published by the U.S. Government. In 1976, it was reprinted by the University of California Press, Berkeley.

* J. W. Powell (1834-1902) was a Civil War hero at the Battle of Shiloh, naturalist, geologist, and explorer/surveyor of the West. In 1872 Powell quit his teaching job and moved to Washington, D. C., where he helped set up US Geological and Geographical Survey. He became its director in 1881, serving until 1894. Powell was also the director of the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of Ethnology. In 1888, he and 32 other men founded the National Geographic Society.

CAPT. HARRY LAURENZ WELLS, of Portland, Secretary of the Republican League of Oregon, was born in Geneva, Illinois, March 28, 1854. He early engaged in newspaper work and attended the Chicago writing in California, Nevada, Oregon and Washington for three years, becoming editor of the *West Shore*, an illustrated journal, in Portland, in March 1883. (Retrieved from Oregon Republican League: Republican League Register of Oregon, The Register Publishing Company, 1896, page 278. Posted Online by TonyLarson541 Online: <http://boards.ancestry.com/surnames.wells/4559/mb.ashx?pnt=1>

W. L. CHAMBERS. His name and sketch remain uncertain. Possibly his first name was "William" from Brookville, Indiana, who wrote to "Chambers" genealogist William D. Chambers. Visit Online: Chambers History: Trails of the Centuries, Ch.1 <http://family-articles.pcsaurus.com/trails/ch3.html>

THOMAS TALBOT WATERMAN (1885-1936).

Thomas Waterman was born in 1885. He was quick-witted, a pioneer, and leader in his free thinking. He liked it when any of his students posed a good question!

He graduated from Fowler High School, Fresno County (Class of 1901). Because he originally planned to be a minister like his father, in 1907, he earned his B. A. degree at UC Berkeley in Hebrew Studies. But his field trip to Hupa under the direction of Pliney E. Goddard inspired Waterman to become an anthropologist. He became a UC instructor in 1910. It would be 1914, that he completed his doctorate work under the tutelage of Franz Boas of Columbia University. As things played out, Waterman would quit UC Berkeley in 1918 and again in 1921, due to disagreements. His career as teacher took him to the University of Washington, University of Arizona, Fresno State, and the University of Hawaii.

In August, 1911, an aboriginal Indian, maybe the last of the Deer Creeks had been "captured" on the outskirts of Oroville. This discovery would prove pivotal for Waterman's career. He travelled to Oroville, and was able to open communication with the stranger. The man was elusive about stating his name, so Waterman wrote on his original file folder tabs "Ici," which is short for i'citi ("man" in his Yana dialect). On September 5th in San Francisco, Alfred Kroeber formally announced to the reporters, "He shall be known as Ishi" (Burrill 2006:57, 323-324).

In about 1912, the challenge that Waterman set for himself was to write, and publish a monograph (paper) that summarized the history of Ishi's Yahi tribe of Indians in northeastern California. Upon looking for the elusive Deer Creek Indians in 1909 and 1910, whose camp (Grizzly Bear's Hiding Place) had been discovered in 1908, Waterman began to learn the geography of the region. He also sought out and interviewed individuals who knew eastern Tehama County history. He returned to these "informants" and asked them many questions. Waterman kept collecting, reading, and making index cards for his growing manuscript. Archival publications available at his time were: Robert Anderson, Thankful Lewis Carson, Jeremiah Curtin, Roland Dixon, John

Wesley Powell, Stephen Powers, Edward Sapir, the U.S. Office of Indian Affairs, U.S. War Department documents, and early newspapers. Significant to the discussion on hand, Waterman also read and studied Stephen Powers' Tribes of California (1877).

In the spring of 1914, Waterman (and the others) benefited enormously from the "Ishi led," nineteen day "return" camping trip.

By 1915, Waterman was well on his way to completing the first comprehensive Ishi biography. Then a horse trainer by profession, William J. Seagraves of Susanville, Lassen County, introduced himself, probably inside the "Tin Building, which was the University of California campus's Anthropology Department structure used at the time. Waterman prepared two index cards (Figures x and x) right after Seagraves' visit.

WILLIAM J. SEAGRAVES' Visit in 1915

Seagraves spoke about what befell Ishi's band with remorse in his heart and a call for justice that the whole story be told. His knowledge and command of the series of events that befell Ishi's tribe in 1870, with insights about Snowflake, about the little one called "Muchacha," and about the two named "hunters" (George Spires [sic] and Bill Sublett), enabled Waterman to better sort out and assess Stephen Powers' "Kom'bo" document. About George Spires' sudden whim to weigh himself using the steelyard, Waterman (1918:58) wrote, "This episode is described in Powers, but not accurately." About the birth and circumstances of Snowflake, Waterman (1919:58) wrote, "Powers gives this same incident, in highly colored form."

Seagraves' rough cabin with enclosure for his "beeves," was somewhere along Twenty Mile Hollow and about four miles north of Hi Good's camp in Acorn Hollow. This meant for Seagraves, as true for those living and working at the sheep camp, that the town of Tehama was the closest center for food and general merchandise. This is why it can be inferred that Seagraves likely witnessed in Tehama the little boy, Snowflake, with his young mother, as well as "Muchacha." Enough was learned that Seagraves believed that the young mother and little Muchacha were "Ishi's sisters" (Waterman 1918:58).

Seagraves relocated permanently to Susanville in 1873.

Waterman's (1918) monograph was published at last in 1918. Some of Seagraves' accounting Waterman placed into his finished paper *verbatim*. The second Waterman informant to provide more about Hi Good was Almira (Brown) Williams (Note: The biographical sketches for Williams and Seagraves may be found respectively in this report on pages 108-109 and 157-158).

Author Theodora Kroeber (1961:57) wrote that "Waterman's monograph, The Yana Indians (1918), is the principal single coordinating source for all the miscellaneous materials and must remain so." And Theodora Kroeber (1961:251) wrote, "Waterman's "The Yana Indians" is the skeleton and most of the meat of the history of the Yana; its complexity requires that other source material be interpolated to keep at least a calendric order and, when possible, a geographic one,"

Yet, for inexplicable reasons, Mrs. Kroeber challenged what William J. Seagraves told Waterman about Ishi's age as being about sixteen years in March, 1870, when the Five Bows Incident occurred. Theodora Kroeber (1961:87) wrote about Seagraves, "He was mistaken. Ishi was a little boy in 1870." Mrs. Kroeber's conclusion, however, may have been in error.

SIMEON MOAK (1845 -1928) was one of the Indian hunters from Butte County. He fought along side Hi Good and Robert Anderson at the Three Knolls battle in August of 1865.

The two oldest Moak brothers, Levi and John Moak, had first come from Albany, New York, to the Golden State in 1853. Brothers Simeon and Jacob Moak (1834 - 1927) journeyed from Albany to California in 1863, with a third brother, Levi Moak. Levi had returned east to Albany in 1856 and successfully recruited them with his glowing descriptions of California.

The Moaks' headquarters ranch was east of Chico in Little Chico Canyon, also called Stilson Canyon. There was open range back in the late 1860s, such that the Moak brothers took turns in the winter months, running their cattle north across the Vina Plain and then east to the Moak Trail Head that begins at the Acorn Hollow wash at the Hi Good cabin location. The Moaks also bought acreage in Big Meadows (Lake Almanor), part of Plumas County. The Moaks operated their dairy there until about 1887. Dale Wangberg who serves on the Butte County Historical Society's Ishi Committee is a great great grandson of Simeon Moak.

THEODORA (KRACAW) KROEBER-QUINN (1897 -1979). Theodora Kracaw was born on March 20, 1897 in Denver, Colorado to Emmett and Phebe Kracaw. Her family moved to Orland, California. As a co-ed attending University of California, Berkeley, Theodora met the widower Alfred L. Kroeber who she eventually married. In 1915, Theodora took a summer school course from Thomas Waterman. A field trip was planned to visit Ishi, but he became sick again, so the field trip was cancelled. She never got to meet Ishi personally who died on March 12, 1916. Yet, her 1961 publication, *Ishi In Two World*, has been widely read. In 1999, her book was declared #12 "Best in the West" non-fiction book of 100 titles submitted by readers of the *San Francisco Sunday Examiner & Chronicle*.

Theodora obtained her Master's Degree in 1920 in Clinical Psychology from UC Berkeley. She was married to three different men; Clifton Brown, Alfred Kroeber and John Harrison Quinn, two of which preceded her in death. She had four children: Clifton and Theodore both history professors; English professor Karl Kroeber and science fiction writer Ursula K. LeGuin.. Whenever she was able, she accompanied Alfred Kroeber in the field, from which several books were produced.

Some of her other books were: *The Inland Whale* (1959), *An Anthropologist Looks At History* (1963), *Ishi: Last of his Tribe* (1964). In 1970, she published her late husband's definitive biography, *Alfred Kroeber: A Personal Configuration*. She served as a University of California's Board of Regents. She received the Silver Medal from the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco in 1961 for her *Ishi in Two Worlds: A Biography of the Last Wild Indian in North America*. The same year of her death she co-edited with Robert Heizer, *Ishi the Last Yahi A Documentary History* (1979). She reflected about Ishi, "Howsoever one touches on Ishi, the touch rewards. It illuminates the way."

FOOTNOTES

Document #1 Footnotes (Alexander Barrington, 1856)

- 1 Barrington apparently christened his 180 acre property, "Rio Alto Rancho" (see Figures 53, 54, 56).
- 2 "Mary" likely was Alex Barrington's oldest sister, Mary Agnes (Barrington) Hunter (McBride 1973:426-428).
- 3 "St. M." is abbreviation for St. Marys, Auglaise County, of west, central Ohio.
- 4 "Except a few dutch ones" [slang in Old British] likely inferred here to "lady friends," coming from "dutchess" or "wife. A second possibility [among German friends] translates, "benevolent, firm advice received from a Dutch Uncle." (Oxford Dictionary and Thesaurus [1996: 448]).
- 5 Shasta --Their "tramp" of searching for the best place possible to settle, evidently ended at old "Shasta" Town (aka Horsetown or Reading's Spring), which, as early as 1851, was the terminus of the Nobles' Emigrant Trail.
- 6 Whether Barrington and Good came to California by the land route or by sea remains unresolved. Because their California "tramp" started from the inland "port city" of Sacramento, best guess is that the twosome took the sea route to California. That they traveled by land is only hinted by Alexander Barrington's remark regarding his new little nephew, named Alex after him. Uncle Barrington wrote how his young nephew might "make the trip to see his uncle," by coming "over the plains."
- 7 According to Lingenfelter Archives (1996), "young James Ide" was James M. Ide (1822-1878), the son of Tehama County pioneer, William B. Ide (1796 -1852). On January 8, 1857, James married Lydia Cranson Holly, widow of Isaac Holly (Lydia's 3rd marriage).
- 8 About "Sam McT." This was likely another Irish-American family acquaintance, and probably from Ohio as well.
- 9 The first settlers who began "putting up fences," like the Ides, were the growers who wanted to protect their wheat and crops from the livestock herds being trailed on the open range in the Valley. This led to a "war" by the big outfits versus the smaller homesteaders. The big outfits successfully lobbied the California legislature for "No Fence Laws."
- 10 Harry Barrington with the first of Walker's Expedition, died in Nicaragua in 1852.

"William Walker (b. 1824 - d. September 12, 1860) was a U.S. physician, lawyer, journalist, adventurer, and soldier of fortune who attempted to conquer several Latin American countries in the mid-19th century. He held the presidency of the Republic of Nicaragua from 1856 to 1857 and was executed by the government of Honduras in 1860.

"A civil war was then raging in the Central American republic of Nicaragua, and the rebel faction hired Walker as a mercenary. Evading the federal U.S. authorities charged with preventing his departure, Walker sailed from San Francisco on May 4, 1855 with 57 men, to be reinforced by 170 locals and about 100 Americans upon landing. On September 1, he defeated the Nicaraguan national army at La Virgen and, a month later, conquered the capital of Granada and took control of the country. Initially, as commander of the army, Walker controlled Nicaragua through puppet president Patricio Rivas. Despite the obvious illegality of his expedition, U.S. President Franklin Pierce recognized Walker's regime as the legitimate government of Nicaragua on May 20, 1856. Walker's agents recruited American and European men to sail to the region and fight for the conquest of the other four Central American nations: Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Costa Rica. He was able to recruit over a thousand American mercenaries, transported free by the Accessory Transit Company controlled by Wall Street tycoon Cornelius Vanderbilt." [Retrieved Online from www. Wikipedia.]

Document #2 Footnotes (Harmon Good, 1862)

Retrieved from Online Archive of California (OAR), California State Archives

Address: <<http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf4779n694>>

Subject: Deer Creek, H. A. Good

[Folder F3753:608] Letter from Harmon Good to Governor Leland Stanford - asks for commission and muster in for his party of 17. Reports killing of many Indians at Deer Creek and capture of children, some of whom he gave to people. Says will get many more to fill all requests. Asks for instructions. Written at Rock Creek Butte County, August 8, 1862. 2 pages 2 sides

Also, the originals of three more Harmon Good related documents are preserved in Sacramento at the California State Archives: [Folder F3753:607] Letter from H.A. Good to Brigadier General Kibbe, Adjutant General, saying he was elected to Captaincy of company volunteers and has two letters but needs a commissioner or finance officer as he doesn't know rules. Recommends Dr. W. Pratt for job. Says bad time to go after Indians will take 4-6 months at least. Written at Deer Creek, July 13, 1862. 2 pages 3 side

[Folder F3753:609] Letter from Harmon Good to Governor Stanford in which he states he doesn't have state commission as requested but is operating anyway against Indians. Wants to know what to do with prisoners as many families want to adopt the children (enslave). Is going out against Indians again - will return with more POW's. What to do - needs orders. Written at Rock Creek, August 8, 1862. 1 page 2 sides

[Folder F3753:610] Letter from Brigadier General Kibbe, Adjutant General, to Governor Leland Stanford enclosing a report from a Harmon Good and 16 men in Tehama County (Deer Creek) who are hunting Indians. Kibbe says report is attempt to legitimize expedition and make state responsible for expenses and pay. Says General Wright is sending men to Tehama County. Suggests Governor might want to give men authority to act. Written in Sacramento, August 15, 1862. 1 page 2 sides

Document #4 Footnotes (Dan Delaney, 1872)

1 Hi Good's place of birth was Pennsylvania, not Ohio. Good may have hailed from Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, for Lehigh County, PA is where Good's older sister, Maria Good McLain, was born, as reported in the Maria McLain's obituary (1920, April 10) *The Auglaize Republican*, Wapakoneta, Ohio.

2 On February 4, 1857, Harmon Augustus Good, who had just turned 21 years old, made his initial Proof of Claim for 1/4 SE quarter of Section 33 at the Federal Lands Office in Marysville. He obtained his U.S. Patent for such on February 1, 1866 [Tehama County Records Office, Big Book B, p. 9].

3 1857 appears to have been the pivotal year with increased aggression by the outlaw Indians in Tehama County. Anderson (1909:3) referenced "1857" as the starting time of "much uneasiness." The "fires of hatred kindled" (1909:86). In Butte County, troubles grew in 1855 and 1856 on James Keefer's rancheria (see page 133 of this report).

4 This researcher contends that this unusual day was pivotal for Hi Good by defining his stance and destiny as ruthless Indian adversary (see page 89-90 of this report). Bleyhl's (1979:153) abstract of "Indian Hunters"(1858, August 27) *Marysville Daily National Democrat*, p. 3/3 reads "A party of Mill Creek Indians came into the valley and stole fifteen sacks of wheat and a large amount of vegetables and committed depredations. A party of forty citizens pursued them . . . near Antelope Mills" (located on the south side of today's Hwy 36; southeast from Inskip Hill and today's Payne Creek store. Antelope Mills is southwest of Lyonsville; where Job Dye built and operated his saw mill in the late 1850s along the south bank of North Antelope Creek, just below (downstream) from where Judd Creek joins North Antelope Creek).

5 Was the large bear a grizzly? Tehama County Sheriff Lyle Williams (Briggs 1996:165) wrote that because the predator [Grizzly] bears in the Coast Range mountains were a danger to the sheep men, "so they killed them all off." Williams reported, "The last [Grizzly] bear killed was killed by Ike Raglin on Elder Creek around 1900."

6 1858, March-April – "Cold Spring Valley Correspondence" (1858, March 10) *Red Bluff Sentinel*, E. W. Inskip reports that Mr. Benjamin Allen and son, on headwaters of Paynes Creek, 4 miles n. of Antelope Mill were killed."

7 Delaney listed the childrens' ages incorrectly. Based on the Chico Cemetery Association records, the established ages of death for the three Hickok children killed by Indians are: Ida A. Hickok, age 16, Minnie S. Hickok, age 13, and Franklin A. Hickok, age 6. The boy's life dates are: born July 25, 1855 and died ca. July 10, 1862 (see fn. #8 for newspaper "Found" citation). "The moving funeral service for the two Hickok daughters had been held at the Chico Cemetery grave-site on Friday, July 4th, 1862 ("Obituary"[1862, July 5]. *Chico's Butte Democrat*, p. 3).

8 Delaney's mention that Good "brought the corpse of the boy to Chico," is partly confirmed by Chico Cemetery staff that there are buried there, three Hickok children, namely: Ida, Minnie, and Franklin A. Hickok. The parents' cemetery tombstone, in Section 4A Lot 60, reads "Also the children of Franklin S. & E. . Hickok killed by Indians June 25, 1862."

The earliest account collected by this researcher stating about the boy's body being found is: "Found" (1862, July 12) *Weekly Butte Record*. This account reports that "The body was found buried beneath a pile of rock, and brush." Also, that "The body had been horribly mutilated --neck broken, fingers, ears and toe -cut off. It had been dragged for some distance by a rope fastened to the neck."

This emotionally charged discovery led to speculations, if not exaggerations, about what the Indians did or did not do to the lad. For example, Robert Anderson (1909:55), who did not "take up the chase" to find him, wrote, "They found the mangled remains of the captured white boy amid signs which indicated that he had been made to move around in a circle, probably being tied, while he was stoned to death by the children of the savages."

Simeon Moak (1923:11) detailed three of the party members' names who helped Good to find the Hickok boy, namely: William Sublet [sic], Obe Fields [sic], and Bowman [man living with Good]. Moak added how they ". . . went to the Indian camp at Black Rock, which they found deserted. They finally found the trail going north out of the canyon. This they followed up a long ridge and near the top they found the boy by the odor. They made a litter of their clothing and packed the little fellow out to Good's place in the alley, thirty-five miles. It was a trip that none but heroic men could endure. The little boy was buried by the side of his sisters in the Chico cemetery.

Moak's source (1923:11) for this sounds fairly reliable. "My wife [Mary Lemm Moak] went to school with the baby sister of the Hickok children. She used to cry and tell about the massacre."

9 In contrast to Delaney's description that "twenty Indians were killed and seventeen captured," Anderson (1909:54-55) wrote about the retaliation for the Hickok children that "The whites made a pretty good clean-up on this occasion. A day or two later I was sitting on my porch when Hi and Sandy rode past on their way home. Hi showed me eight fresh scalps that he had tied to his saddle."

The number of "seventeen captured" Indians" is a high number and one would think accounts about the prisoners' disposition would have been published. Were any of these prisoners the ones that Anderson (1909:43) wrote that he and Hi Good took to the "Yumalacca Reservation" [sic], Nome Lackee Reservation at Paskenta, southwest of Red Bluff? (See Chronology).

Hi Good also reported in his letter written from Rock Creek to Sacramento on August 8, 1862, that August 3, his party surprised a camp of about 100 Indians, killing 17, wounded many more, and captured six children, three boys and three girls, ranging from 1 to eight years old." Good added, "They returned, packing the children on their backs (CA Archives. F3753:618; reprinted also in Connors 1993: 20-22).

Was one of the "three girls" (above) taken by Good, the little tot who Jubal and Sarah Weston accepted named "Nellie"? (See Fig. 78 on page 127).

10 According to Arenia Thankful Lewis Carson's (1915) autobiography titled, *Captured By The Mill Creek Indians: A True Story of the Capture of the Sam Lewis Children In the Year 1863*, her younger brother named Johnny was only six years old, who became the second brother killed by the outlaw Indians.

11 Confirmed is that Thankful's other brother was eleven years old, and named Jimmie. Jimmie was the first of the Lewis boys killed. A gun was fired that struck him in the back. They were attacked on about July 15, 1863.

12 Confirmed, too, is Thankful's age of only nine years old when abducted. The plucky gal used her wit to save herself. Thankful Lewis is not the only person to have escaped from the Mill Creeks. Fourteen year old Mountain Maidu Mariah Bill escaped during the Three Knolls battle in 1865. Her full account is also told in Burrill (2003:25-62). Theodora Kroeber (1961:71-72) hypothesizes that this kidnapping was an act of revenge. "Thankful herself gives a clue. She says that two of the Indians had their heads covered with "tar" and "were terrible to look at. It was Indian custom to cut the hair short and cover the head with pitch when in mourning for a spouse or a near relative."

13 Delaney wrote about the Thankful Lewis Carson episode, with confidence, that, "Good was again the avenger. He never ceased until he slew the last Indian connected with the horrible tragedy." Yet, it remains a mystery as to what specific actions Hi Good did undertake to help avenge the Lewis family's sufferings as Delaney said Hi Good accomplished.

14 Regarding Mrs. Moore --On microfilm, *The Union Record* newspaper article, dated March 25, 1865, titled "Murdered by the Indians" reported that on March 18th, fifteen Indians dressed in citizens' clothes supposed from the mountains "shot and killed" sixty-eight year old Mrs. Moore who resided in the foothills on Singer Creek near the line in Tehama County. Her body was left otherwise "undisturbed," while \$22.50 in gold was found in her pocket by her son, William Moore. They robbed the house of all the clothing, bedding, flour, meat, two guns, and \$200 in gold. Also "The Indians "returned after night and burnt everything that remained." (See also Shover 2002b:52).

15 Alfred G. Carter's middle initial was "G" not "J". According to Moak (1923:32), he went by "George" rather than "Alfred." Carters' place was next door to Hi Good's headquarter's ranch on Deer Creek.

To date, no 1863 newspaper article has been found about "a party of Indians stole from the ranch of A. J. [sic] Carter on Deer Creek" nor about Anderson and Good surprising and killing three of the Indians. Delaney may have confused Carter's barn for Anderson and Rountree's barn that was set ablaze reported August 6, 1859 *Butte Democrat*, and a second time in about 1863.

16 Robert Anderson (1909:44-47) wrote, "During the winter of '59 and '60 the raids of the Indians followed one another with startling swiftness and regularity. Scarcely a week passed that some rancher or stockman did not suffer the loss of cattle, horses or mules, and every precaution taken to guard against the slippery red-men proved futile. Finally, they grew so bold as to pay a visit to Hi Good's rock corral on Deer Creek and to drive off some work cattle that belonged to Good and me."

When Anderson, Good, and "Bowman" set out after the cattle thieves, that was when Hi Good got shot in the thigh but recovered. They also recovered four of their oxen.

While Delaney named "Charles Boreman, a twenty year old who helped," Anderson(1909:45) wrote that the man's name was "Bowman, called "Bully" who joined them in pursuing the Indians.

17 Anderson (1909:47) wrote, "Good's hurt was only a flesh wound, and we were in no particular hurry to reach our homes, as we did not think it necessary to procure the services of a doctor. "In a few weeks Good was fully recovered." Anderson added, "Not only did we support our wounded comrade, but we drove before us four of the oxen that we recovered."

18 In this paragraph by Delaney, "Deer Creek Meadows" is named, which was Hi Good's summer grazing pasture for his sheep. Upon returning west, he would have passed Obe Field Spring and continued along the Lassen Emigrants' Trail and "Steep Hollow" which was also named. "Ten victims bit the dust," comes without any newspaper account. According to Moak (1923: 32) Hi Good's horse was named "Buck."

19 About Good's yell, equivalent to the Indians' own war whoop, Good's home after leaving Dayton City, Ohio, in about 1852, became St. Marys (Auglaize County) of west central Ohio. This was definitely a place where the arts of Indian warfare and "all its intricacies" had been experienced first-hand, the former "edge of the frontier" that faced Indiana Territory.

20 About the Indians believing that Good "bore a charmed life --that no bullet sped from rifle [sic] could strike him," did Indian Ned want to see if his power (his medicine) would kill Hi Good, while other Indians' power could not?

21 While Delaney wrote, "but six are left in 1872," Powers (1877:277) wrote that "There are only five of them left," suggesting that both were approximations made by the non-Indians at this time, about 1872 -1875.

22 This particular description of Hi Good's home being "amid hill and plain," and in a more natural setting "free from culture," makes a compelling case that Delaney was, indeed, writing about Good's rude cabin site in Section 21, CA-TEH-2105H. There is, indeed, a "hill" that abuts and rises on the north side of his cabin. There is a long and lava rock strewn "plain" that extends on the south side of his cabin.

23 "Stage Robbery." (1866, September 1). *Chico's Courant*, P. 2/1. Fortunately, this newspaper article was discovered by historian Dale Wangberg.

24 Delaney had written the year "1869." Thomas T. Waterman (1918:57-58) described how in March, 1870, that Seagraves lost cattle. They subsequently find "bones of his beeves" on Mill Creek, about 25 miles from its mouth." This appears to have been at Bay Tree Village.

25 Delaney's description that, "Good with two followers, were soon in hot pursuit," Bill Sublett and George Spires, both of whom "followed" after the Indians with their "trailing dogs." Also, in the party was William J. Seagraves whom Delaney did not include.

26 That "They killed several and took two prisoners, two mahalas" is Delaney describing the ambush second hand. Seagraves told Waterman that Hi Good killed the Indians' "Old Doctor" with his Henry Repeating Rifle, with his fourth shot. Three females were taken prisoner according to Seagraves (Waterman 1918:57-58; Burrill 2001:23-25).

27 "Good's camp" refers likely to Good's sheep camp in Section 21, where Hi Good's rude cabin also stood where the female hostages were probably kept and guarded by Indian Ned.

28 Ishi's remote, aboriginal band had no guns nor ammunition to give. Homer Speegle recalled how Ishi's band would knock the scopes off of Speegle's rifle when they encountered such as well as remove any ammunition they found in settler cabins (Burrill 2001:97).

29 "House" here is probably referring to Good's rough cabin in the Section 21 study area. About the Indians having "corrupted" Indian Ned to Kill Hi Good, Robert Anderson in his book, *Fighting the Mill Creeks* (1909:83) concluded about the same, writing that, "I have never had a doubt that he was influenced by the older Indians to turn traitor against the man who had given him a home." Moreover, three of the four known Hi Good obituaries also used the plural --that "Indians"-- killed Hi Good.

30 This makes little sense. This again may be a distortion of the "Five Bows" that Seagraves described in detail to Thomas Waterman. After George Spires and the others attempted to hang all five (as affirmed in Powers 1877:278) the Yahis very likely met in council and voted that Hi Good was to die. "The noise of battle" remains a mystery. Given this scenario, if Hi Good elected to hold up inside his cabin, the Indians could have set his wooden dwelling on fire and that would have been the end of him. "The tribe decamped" may refer to Delaney getting the "Five Bows" hearsay, and he is describing how the five warriors "decamped" or fled to save themselves.

31 Based on what eye-witness Seagraves told Waterman (1918:58), "decamped" should be replaced with "fled for fear of their lives!"

32 "Capt. Good finding the coast clear, made a trip to the mountains," invariably refers to Moak (1923:32) when Good, Sandy Young and Obe Field went "prospecting." It is obvious that Dan Delaney was not part of Good's inner circle of boon compatriots.

Delaney's two paragraphs bring the reader to Hi Good's dramatic death. For Delaney to write, "That Indian boy is missing, no trace of him may be found . . ." is most suspicious. Delaney was probably not telling all that he knew. Moak (1923:32), in his account, related that Obe Field "found Dan Delaney and George Carter and a number of Good's best friends and they all started back" [to look for Hi Good's body.] Anderson (1909:84-85) wrote "The Indian boy was taken to Acorn Hollow by Sandy Young and a number of others." When shown the dead body, Indian Ned made a full confession and then was killed. This data points to Delaney having been present.

33 See below in Document #9, Moak (1923:32-33).

34 Where Delaney wrote of ". . . the "terrible sacrifice" and "the total annihilation of a whole tribe, [all] but six have escaped etc.," here the confusion by association is evident that all of the Indians were believed to be the outlaw, renegade Indians, which IS the lie.

Document #5 Footnotes (Stephen Powers, 1877)

1 Jeremiah Cutin(1899:519) reported that as a result of the General Massacre of 1864, that began in Shasta County, the ". . . whole number of surviving Yanas . . . was not far from fifty."

2 "Indian Valley" is part of the Mountain Maidu language region, inclusive of Greenville and Taylorsville, Plumas County. Their language name for the Yahis was Kom'-bo.

3 The "Maidu Nation" has three divisions: the southernmost division is Maidu-Nisenan the north westerly division is Konkow-Maidu; and northeasterly, Mountain Maidu division. Each division contains several languages (dialects) that total twenty, as listed by Shipley (1978:80-90).

4 About "Nozi," Professor Alfred L. Kroeber (1925:339) wrote: "The Yana to-day are generally known to the adjacent Indians and resident whites as Noze or Nozhi, a term of unknown origin although a Wintun source is likely. The Maidu said Kom'-bo, although whether by this word the Yahis and southern Yana alone were meant, or all divisions of the stock, is not certain."

5 About Stephen Powers calling the Kom'-bo (Yahis) "doubly foreign" and "without a parallel in human history" Robert Heizer's (1976:451) rebuttal is worth repeating here, that: "The great mystery about them is probably due to the fact that they were a shy and small remnant. That the Yahis were not out-of-the-ordinary Native Californians is amply proved by the ethnographical data recorded from the last survivor, Ishi."

6 Power's claim that the Kom'-bo (Yahis) were "once a numerous . . . tribe, is challenged by Alfred L. Kroeber (1925:339) who believed that Ishi's Yahis population was always small. According to Kroeber(1925:339), each Yana ethnographical location had "an average of 300 to 500 souls."

7 Powers' informant George Spiers in 1874 or 1875, invariably was referring to the five warriors who were led by William Seagraves to Hi Good's camp in 1870.

8 About the statement, "There are men in and around Chico who have sworn a great oath of vengeance that these five Indians shall die a bloody death." The words, "men in and around Chico" conjures up Sandy Young to have made such an oath. Young's motive was to avenge the "Indians" who murdered Hi Good on May 4, 1870.

9 This suggests 1874 as the year when Powers in Tehama received this account from his unnamed informant.

10 Both "February, 1870" and "capturing the . . . remaining squaws" likely speaks of the ambush and hostage taking that Waterman (1918:57-58) learned about in 1915 from William Seagraves.

11 This is the result of more hearsay evidence. "Child" may be referring to Snow-flake, the wild-eyed lad born to the young mother and former hostage. During the snow storm in the winter of 1871, Sandy Young and an unnamed companion returned from the mountains with the "baby-child" Snowflake.

12 About "It was the intention of the hunters, as one of them candidly avowed to me, to have seized them and secretly put the whole five out of existence," these were assuredly the words of "hunter" George Spiers. According to the Lingenfelter Archives (1996), the second "hunter," Bill Sublett was killed on March 3, 1872 by a man named John Bachman.

13 As affirmed by Theodora Kroeber (1961:89). Powers's account of "an unnamed hunter suddenly having the whim to weigh himself, using a steelyard," was first published in 1874 in "The California Indians, No. XI: Various Tribes [Achumawi, Yana, Sierra Maidu]." *Overland Monthly* Vol. 12, pp. 412-424.

Waterman (1918:58) gave the "hunter's name as George Spires who had the sudden whim to weigh himself using the steelyard." Waterman's source was invariable Seagraves. Waterman (1918:58) wrote about the five warriors afterwards who had each presented their bow that, "The whole party are taken down to Good's cabin. "Down" means south from Twentymile Hollow. "Cabin" is undoubtedly Good's sheep camp cabin, where the CA-TEH-2105H excavation project took place. Waterman (1918:58) also wrote "This episode is described in Powers, but not accurately."

14 An "American" who is "eagle-eyed" sounds like a good tracker or hunter of Indians." Powers' sentence, "Probably no white man's eyes will ever again behold them all together alive," was disproven some thirty-four years later when surveyors for the Oro Light and Power Company, by chance, walked into Grizzly Bear's Hiding Place in November of 1908. ("Primitive Indians Found in the Mill Creek Country"[1908, November 9] *Chico Daily Enterprise*).

15 West of "Mill Creek Meadows" suggests that the small band remained hidden in the vicinity of *Tulliyani* (see Ishi's map, Fig. 58 on page 32).

16 In 1858 and even earlier, the displaced Mill Creeks intensified their raids in eastern Tehama County. The Kom'-bo (Yahi/Yana) in 1858 were compromised by the removal of 181 Yana from the Battle Creek drainage (Waterman 1918:43-44).

17 Based on the above "1858" benchmark, plus "these seventeen years they have warred against the world and against fate," the math here produces the year "1875."

18 Did the Yahi cremate their dead? This is controversial among some archaeologists. However, archaeologist Robert F. Heizer (1974:vii) wrote in *They Were Only Diggers*, "The standard Indian method of disposal of the dead was, nearly everywhere in the state in 1850, by cremation, but the whites did not at that time approve of this, and their disapproval led to the change in Indian custom to earth burial." (Underscore author's). Almost all of the Yahi/Yana volcanic lava cap plateau country is not amenable for digging burial pits. Alfred L. Kroeber (1925:241) matter-of-factly wrote, "The Yahi cremated." Thomas Waterman (1918:59) wrote, "The Yahi had a tribal custom of cremation." Saxton Pope Sr., (1920:213) also condoned Ishi being cremated after his death.

19 The accusation that the Kom'-bo [Yana] "had no assembly chamber and consequently no indoor dances, but only circular dances in the open air" is most probably an error. The general massacre of 1864, such that none were formally studied, makes such a statement premature. Also Martin Baumhoff (1957:41,48) regarding TEH-204, wrote that "It was here that we found evidence of a large house, large enough to have been an earth lodge, marking the chief village of a tribelet." TEH-204 is in Yahi ancestral territory!

20 The fact that the Yahi took refuge in "caves and dens" speaks more about the bleak history they endured rather than what their traditional ways were like.

21 To the contrary, several California Indian tribes employed the deer head decoy for capturing deer, which has been documented. See illustration in Kroeber 1925:242, (Fig. 31). of the Yahi deer head decoy taken in 1908 from Grizzly Bear's Hiding Place.

22 About Powers writing about the Kom'-bo that "their unconquerable and undying determination to fight it out to the bitter end is not a California Indian trait," does not take into account the epidemic devastation in 1833 of such a great percentage of the indigenous peoples. Also, Powers and his sources did not distinguish the indigenous tribes from the urbanized, multicultural renegade Indians who were armed and hostile. And what about northern California 1872-1873 Modoc War standoff to the bitter end led by Captain Jack?

23 It is surprising to this researcher that Stephen Powers would have made this error. The trait of "singing" or "cropping off their hair within an inch of their heads" was done only in mourning." Neither was this mourning ritual exclusive of only the Yana.

24 With the benefit of hindsight, it can be said with some confidence that Powers' one sentence represents a classic example of the game called "telephone" where, by the time the third, fourth, and fifth party hears and reports what they heard, by then it is "all mixed up." About "massacred near Chico . . . that occurred "several years ago," Powers was probably referring to the June 25, 1862 Hickok children's slaughter that occurred eight miles north of Chico along Rock Creek.

Powers' words that "Sandy Young, with a companion, captured two squaws, a mother and a daughter, who promised to guide them to the camp of the murderers" and the next sentence, that "They set out at night fall in the dead of winter," clearly refers to the young mother to be of Snow-flake. She was also one of the three female hostages taken by Good, Seagraves, Spiers and Sublett in 1870.

25 The fact that Powers heard that Sandy Young named the baby "Snow-flake, and it is living to this day, wild-eyed lad in Tehama," is another clue that Stephen Powers' informant in 1872, was Sandy Young himself. Furthermore, it can be assumed that Snowflake's young mother was present or nearby in Tehama as well.

Based on new findings by this researcher, Thomas James Cleghorn, buried in the old Oroville Cemetery, Row 34, CA TH. is most assuredly "Snowflake," one and the same! His life dates on his gravestone are: born June 12, 1871 and died April 9, 1959. June 12th is not exactly snow blizzard season. So, it appears that June is a mistake; that January 12, 1871 is correct. A problem that careful genealogists are confronted with when studying handwriting styles is that the abbreviations for January and June, "ja" and "je" look very much alike.

Also, the Cleghorn/Martin family members shared with this researcher that Tom Cleghorn's birth day was unknown; that it became only a family custom to celebrate Tom Cleghorn's birthday in June and that is only why June appears on his gravestone in the "old" Oroville Cemetery.

Document #7 Footnotes (Robert Anderson, 1909)

1 The Three Knolls occurred at day-break on Monday, August 14, 1865, probably downstream from Black Rock on the Mill Creek drainage. Sources say that as few as seven escaped to as many as thirteen escaped. According to "Nine Indians Killed. (1865, August 19). The *Union Record*, the party "headed by Mr. Good . . . overtook, surrounded and killed nine of them and wounding several others. The Indians were sixteen in number and known as the 'Mill Creeks.' "

From Daniel Klauberg. "A Trip in the Mountains and Fight with the Indians. (1865, August 26). The *Union Record*, "There were about twenty-five Indians; we left five of these killed on the spot, and as many as six or seven who will surely die, and they are nearly all wounded more or less." Upon doing the arithmetic thirteen escaped. According to, "Indian Raid" (1865, September 23) The *Union Record*, eight Indian men or "bucks" escaped. Also, the young Mountain Maidu woman named Mariah, who had been made a slave, escaped from the Three Knolls battle. Mariah returned to her home in Big Meadows (today's Lake Almanor).

2 See listing in Biography of Hi Good titled, "The Two Separate Bands Who Remained Hidden, 1865 - 1918" in the Foothills."

3 The "'once more" and "indirectly" here, is surely Anderson (1909:83) referring to the "older Indians" who "influenced" the Indian boy to kill Hi Good."

4 Anderson has obviously heard "second-hand" about the "remembered" events of the Five Bows.

5 About "Dry Creek," Anderson is referring to the seasonal drainage in Acorn Hollow where in 1870, Hi Good was living at his sheep camp with cabin in Section 21.

6 Regarding Anderson's description of "two bucks" and "three squaws," is this Anderson's "arithmetic" for coming up with the total of five members that Powers (1877:277) heard about from the "hunters" he interviewed? Or is Anderson's more accurate about what happened?

Waterman (1918:58) wrote about the young woman who became pregnant that "The white man was not her father, but one of the wild Indians." Maybe one of these "two bucks" was the baby boy's biological father? Letitia's conception would have occurred in about March of 1870, since Snow-flake (Thomas J. Cleghorn) was likely more in January of 1871.

7 About the five (two bucks, three women) and a "number of children, this pretty much matches the "remembered" event according to William J. Seagraves who was the primary source; that "in the night-time" of the Five Bows presentation ceremony to Seagraves' cabin in Twentymile Hollow that Seagraves repeated for Waterman (1918:58) how, "the old man comes in . . . with eleven other people, four men and seven women. The fourth man is apparently Ishi."

8 Indian Ned.

9 This implies, of course, that Ishi's Yahi/Yana band were the "older Indians" who influenced Indian Ned to "turn traitor" (join Ishi's group) against Hi Good.

10 The Carter brothers were Good's neighbors with garden in Section 33 on the south side of Deer Creek.

11 This unqualified statement that, "The Indian boy took Hi's rifle. . . ." implies that Indian Ned took up Good's #1 weapon of choice somehow, which was Good's Henry Repeating Rifle. Contrast this to Moak's (1923:32) qualified telling of Indian Ned who said, that "I will take his gun and see if I can kill some squirrels."

12 Jim Ellis' draw (today called Indian Ned's draw) is due south of the sheep camp in Section 28. It is an ideal sniper's nest to behold (See Figures), and along the shortest distance "A to B" route that Hi Good routinely used when supplying more garden vegetables obtained from his reliable neighbors, the Carter brothers, in Section 33, for his sheep camp crew in Section 21.

13 Three bullets repeats Moak's (1923:33) account about "all three bullets going true," but is challenged by two obituaries that report Hi Good's body was riddled by 10 to 12 bullets.

14 Returning to "Dry Creek" refers to returning to the Sheep Camp in Section 21, possibly as a decoy so that the others might not be pursued in retaliation.

15 Again, this sounds like Indian Ned had Hi Good's Henry Repeating Rifle, for being boastful about having Good's Kentucky musket used for shooting squirrels, is not necessarily a weapon that one boasted about as having.

16 "Friends" who found the body were Dan Dalaney, and "George" Carter (Moak 1923:32), while Waterman (1918:58) tells that Obadiah Brown, Andy Post and Sandy Young found Hi Good's body.

17 Anderson's 1909 telling was the first publication to reveal that Sandy Young had killed Indian Ned.

18 See more about Capt. Breckenridge in "Concerning Indians. (1859, August 31) *Red Bluff Beacon*.

19 "Bully" was the nickname for one named "Bowman" (Anderson 1909:45), but may also refer to one named Jack Brennan, a herder, described in Moak (1923:32)?

20 Rod, as a length used by surveyors. that is, 1 rod = 16.5 feet.

21 From a death bed confession by Hi Sewell in 1888, he told a Magalia friend that he had killed Sandy Young in about 1880 to avenge Young's seduction of his wife Mrs. Sewell. Sewell told how he found Young on his own and killed him without witnesses. Then he pushed Sandy's body into the fast, deep waters of the Salmon River. Read *Chico Chronicle Record* (1888, October 20). Article by Michele Shover 2004 "The Sutherland Boys' Excellent Adventure in Butte County of the 1850s and After, *Diggin's Vol. 48*, No. 3, pp. 43-66. Shover credits Mr. Jerry Rohde of McKinleyville for the primary research on Sandy Young's demise in Humboldt, formerly Klamath County, Oregon.

Addendum: Regarding the above purported year --"about 1880"-- when Sewell confessed to having killed Sandy Young in retaliation, the year of Young's death needs to be revised apparently to after June 12, 1885. "Sandy Young Still Lives? (1885, June 12) *Chico Enterprise* newspaper reads, "Two men down from Oregon with horses bring the intelligence that Sandy Young, who was reported killed on the Klamath River about five years ago, is alive, and is located about sixty miles from the Dalles, Oregon. Sandy's old friends in Chico will be glad to hear this news, as he has been long mourned as they victim of a conspiracy."

22 About 1857, Anderson (1909:3) wrote about the Mill Creek and Deer Creek Indians that, "During the winter of 1857 they caused much uneasiness among the settlers" --committing "depredations." Read, "Difficulty with Indians," (1857, April 29). *Red Bluff Beacon*, p. 2/3. An intoxicated Mr. Bessey went to a rancheria on Mr. [William Perry] Mayhew's ranch on Sunday evening. He got in difficulty with the Indians and was beaten. The article brands Bessey as the aggressor. The second citation states that Bessey died from the beating, and two Indians were arrested for his murder [Bleyhl 1979:148] (See more in "Hi Good Chronology -1836- 1870).

23 Anderson was possibly thinking of the one called "Bessey" (See above fn#22). Also, Lemuel M. Carter was "reported to have been killed by Indians in December 1860" (Gene Serr e-mail received March 27, 2003). Serr added, "Alfred G. Carter's property was just south of Deer Creek about 4 miles NE of Vina. He apparently owned it with his brother, Lemuel M. Carter. There is a Carter Cemetery where eight Carters are buried, including A. G and L.M. [Carter]."

24 Anderson's *Fighting the Mill Creeks* Indians was published in 1909. The remnant band that Anderson mentioned to conclude his book, no doubt, was Ishi's remnant band of untamed California Indians. Anderson could write with confidence that a few Indians, living an aboriginal existence, were still "hidden away in the dark caverns of the hills" because in November, 1908, at least three, maybe four "wild" Indians were witnessed by the hunters and survey team at Grizzly Bear's Hiding Place on lower Deer Creek.

Document #8 Footnotes (Thomas Waterman, 1918)

1 Seagraves is properly spelled "SEAGRAVES," as explained to this researcher on May 22, 1999, by Ellabelle Seagraves Wall, of Millville, Shasta County, California, niece of William Jephth Seagraves. (See Figure 144 of Ellabelle with her Uncle Seagraves; also reprinted in Burrill (2001:24).

2 George Spires remains a shadowy historical figure. In the Lingenfelter Archives (1996) there is: "SPIERS, GEORGE M. Born Missouri 1854. Tehama laborer 1886."

3 Bill Sublett lived in Red Bluff. In Lingenfelter Archives (1996) there is: "SUBLETT, WILLIAM KENOLE. Born Alabama (Kentucky) 1825 (1829) died interstate March 3, 1872 (killed by John Bachman). El Dorado 1850 census. Moon 1860 census, farmer. Antelope 1867."

4 It was the use of trailing dogs that helped to find Ishi's remote band. The "dog" continued to be Ishi's demon. In Oroville, on the evening of August 28, 1911, it was the barking by the four guard dogs at the Charles Ward Slaughterhouse who made the two horses nervous that 14 year-old Floyd Walter Hefner was leading by a halter. The horses' nervous sounds influenced the boy to peer through the high fence into the closing pen where he discovered the stranger, Ishi, hunkering against the shed in the shadows of a black oak tree (see Burrill 2004:95-97).

5 This village on Mill Creek and about 25 miles from its mouth, is most likely describing Bay Tree Village, Archaeologist Greg Greenway shared that Bay Tree Village is on the downstream side of Deadman's Cave, that Ishi called xaya(a).

6 "In the village the only live animal is a dog." Interesting is that five years earlier, Moak (1923:23) recalled how the "Indians had a large white dog that had disappeared in the fight" [at the Three Knolls battle in Aug. 1865] Moak (1923:23) added, Just as we lay down, the shepherd dogs began to fight so I struck a light and here was that Indian dog. Good got a chain and captured him and gave him to Mrs. Widow ["Betsy"] Lewis on Deer Creek."

7 In regards to "Here Seagraves finds the bones of his beeves," it may be that Seagraves saw his brand on one or more of the dead cattle hides.

8 About "the Old Doctor" who was killed in 1870 by Hi Good's Henry Repeating Rifle with Seagraves calling out, "distance," little is known. How he came to have only one hand remains unknown. The "Old Doctor" is not to be confused with Ishi's Uncle who, according to Dr. Saxton T. Pope Sr., was the medicine man of the Yana (Burrill 2001:84).

9 The sixteen-shot Henry Repeating Rifle was a relatively new weapon at the time, with 1860 the first year Henry's were manufactured. Also the .44 Henry Flat cartridge was manufactured from 1860-61 to 1934 (Barns and Skinner 1993:445).

10 That the Indians were "loaded down with acorns and similar truck," speaks to their aboriginal ways; that they were not the proposed, multicultural renegade Mill Creeks.

11 The little girl was called "Muchacha."

12 Was the "old man" the one called Uncle who in about 1880, became crippled when his leg was crushed by the steel trap set for bears by trapper Charlie Williams (Burrill 2001:26)?

13 Some challenge whether Seagraves, a white man, would be able to distinguish Indians because to white people, "Indians look all the same." Plus, when Seagraves looked at the Indian, Ishi, in Berkeley in 1915, that was 45 years after the fact. However, the Five Bows was surely a unique and memorable event for Seagraves. Also, Ishi was about sixteen years old at the time when a person's physical likeness is very much established for life. Ishi was a very handsome male, and, as Waterman described, Ishi "is lighter in complexion than the rest. This "closer to whiteness" complexion surely worked to Ishi's favor in his Second World.

14 This is known as the Five Bows (T. Kroeber 1961:88-94). The subtraction of three of their females was culturally devastating for the remaining Yahi/Yana band, who, in 1870 were reduced to about seventeen individuals all total, counting the three taken hostage.

15 Seagraves journeyed in 1915 from Susanville (Lassen County) to UC Berkeley and related to Waterman his account of the Five Bows. Seagraves also positively identified Ishi as the same person he had witnessed in 1870.

16 Ishi, according to Waterman, was born in about 1854, based on Waterman's observation that, "This would make him sixty-two years old at the time of his death. About Ishi being "sixteen years old" [according to Waterman (1918:58) and Seagraves], Theodora Kroeber (1961:87) flatly wrote about Waterman, "He was mistaken. Ishi was a little boy in 1870." But Mrs. Kroeber's conclusion may have been in error. Dr. Saxton T. Pope (1920:190) wrote in 1914 about Ishi, "We know nothing of the parentage of our subject. He was born probably about 1860 in northern California, consequently is approximately 54 years of age, but appears about 45."

17 Ishi's father remains an enigma. Seagraves apparently was of the opinion that the "old man" was Ishi's father. Who was Ishi's father, let alone when Ishi's father died, are unknowns. Theodora Kroeber (1961:81-82) speculated that during the Three Knolls attack in 1865, ". . . it may have been then that his father was killed."

18 About the Five Bows ceremony, Waterman (1918:58) wrote in the present tense, "They make a formality of surrendering their bows to the number of five." Invariably five, according to the Yahi belief system, possessed or carried more "medicine" or sacred Power. Ishi, for example, "always made arrows in groups of five" (Pope 1918:111). And in Ishi's telling of Wood Duck, U-Tut-Ne always sniffed the air five times (Burrill 2006:90, 93).

Theodora Kroeber (1961:90) wrote, that the sacred number of the Yana "probably was "five. She added, "Five was the sacred number of most Indian peoples in interior northern California." Indeed, five was the ritualistic number of the Mountain Maidu (Kroeber 1925:441; Riddell in Heizer 1978:383).

19 Ishi's Yahi bows when used and strung in San Francisco, were such that when the bow string was pulled, or "weighed," when the bowstring was drawn to twenty-fives inches, was between 35 and 50 pounds. Ishi's favorite hunting bow "weighed" 40 pounds (Pope 1918:109).

20 "The whole party are taken down to Good's cabin," which would be about four miles south from Twentymile Hollow to Good's sheep camp with cabin in Section 21. Theodora Kroeber (1961:85) wrote, "A pioneer rancher, W. S. Seagraves [sic], who lived near the head of Butte Creek, also owned a cabin, which he sometimes occupied and used for storage, in Twenty Mile Hollow only a short distance from Hiram [sic] Good's place in Acorn Hollow."

21 "While waiting around for him to return, George Spiers [Spiers] takes a sudden notion to weigh himself on a set of steelyards." A steelyard is a steel rod or bar, when suspended, is a system for weighing livestock or other heavy objects. A sliding weight is moved along the graduated longer end until the whole arm balances and the weight can be read.

22 The five Indians were apparently correct to have taken the notion "that they are to be hanged," for Stephen Powers (1877:278) learned from the unnamed "hunters" that "It was the intention of the hunters, as one of them candidly avowed to me, to have seized them and secretly put the whole five out of existence."

23 The full name for "Carter" was Alfred George Carter (1829 - died March 12, 1871) who is buried in the Vina-Carter Cemetery. Also, before the three female prisoners were handed over to Alfred G. Carter, Delaney (1872) tells how ". . . the women "were held as hostages at Good's camp for weeks, guarded by the Captain's Indian boy [Ned].

24 "Snowdrop" aka "Snow-flake" in Powers (1877:281) and T. Kroeber (1961:240) was most likely the baby "boy," one and the same, whose American name was Thomas James Cleghorn (1871-1959). The data points to the lad upon growing older "adopted" the family name of Tehama sheep man Peter Morrison Cleghorn.

25 Waterman was referring to Powers (1877:280-281).

26 This is apparently something William Seagraves learned, not Powers, and told Waterman. Snowflake's father might have been one of the "two bucks" who joined the female prisoners as described by Anderson (1909:83).

27 The little girl's name as "Muchacha" is more that Waterman learned from Seagraves and not from Powers. The adopted "Jennie" Cleghorn listed in the 1880 census for Peter Morrison Cleghorn and his wife who was barren, could possibly be the little girl, former hostage named "Muchacha."

28 About "Both she and the mother of Snowdrop are thought by Seagraves to be Ishi's sisters." "Sisters" could also mean "cousins."

29 That "Nothing is known of the final disposition of these people" is no longer the case, based on the new findings.

30 A "Mr. Brown" was Obadian Madison Brown (1835-1872) who married in 1862 Miss Almira Briggs (See Fig. 61 photo of her on page 109).

31 That Indian Ned was the orphan with six toes taken at the 1865 Three Knolls battle has been discounted. The orphan Indian Ned was apparently twelve years old in 1866, the year when Hi Good obtained Indians Ned as a shepherd from Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Dicus. The Dicus couple were new arrivals to the "Benton City" area. Obe Field gave this account to James "Teddy" Peck who, in turn, told *The Sacramento Bee* newspaper [Harry Potter Bagley (1941, April 26) "Child Martyrs to Indian Vengeance" *The Sacramento Bee Magazine*, page 3.]

32 Waterman's informant, Mrs. G. W. Williams" was Almira (Briggs) Brown Williams who was twice married. Her first husband was Obadiah Brown who died in 1872. Almira's second husband was George Washington Williams (1837-1914) who was a Tehama County Sheriff Deputy.

33 For Wells and Chambers account, see Document #6 above on page 255.

Document #9 Footnotes (Simeon Moak, 1923)

1 Moak said Good was twenty-nine, which translates 1865.

2 This researcher could find no basis of fact for Simeon Moak's hypothesis, "I often heard it said that the Indians killed the girl he was going to marry while crossing the plains."

3 Robert Anderson was elected sheriff of Butte County, serving two terms from 1888 to 1892.

4 This "house" was presumably his shelter at Deer Creek Meadows (where today's Highway 32 and 36 converge). Poplar tree refers to *Populus tremula*, Quaking aspens, which are plentiful in Deer Creek Meadows to where Good trailed his sheep in May staying in the mountains during the summer months.

5 No. Hi Good hailed from Pennsylvania, not Kentucky, according to the 1850 census, at age 15, and worked as "clerk" for his father whose listed occupation was hotel keeper, in the Dayton City Township, Montgomery County, Ohio.

6 New old findings point to the Samuel Dicus couple in 1866, not Dan Sill's rancheria, as from whom Hi Good obtained Indian Ned. Read Richard Burrill (2008, Spring) "Likely Origin and Demise of Indian Ned" *Diggin's Oroville: Butte County Historical Society*. 1866 was also when Hi Good expanded his sheep operation and would have needed sheep herders.

7 Samuel Alexander Gyle and his brother Louis A. Gyle are listed in the 1860 census as merchants in the Town of Tehama. The Gyle family was Jewish. Samuel Gyle was not a Mason, while his brother Louis Gyle was a Mason. Louis served early on as Treasurer for Molino Lodge No.150 of F. & A.M. (Brown 1968:41).

8 The plunder included the English sovereigns (gold coins) taken by the Mill Creek renegade Indians on August 7, 1865 from the Robert Workman farm in Concow Valley ["Indian Raid" (1865 August 12). *Union Record*.

9 Waterman (1918:58) interviewed Obadiah and Almira Brown and then wrote, "1870.--An Indian boy living with Good "hooks" the cache of money. Good is very angry and threatens to "settle" with him." This implies that Indian Ned found all of Hi Good's buried money. Good grew angry due to loss because the "boy he had raised" had betrayed him. Good felt threatened because his livelihood was also jeopardized. The Browns were apparently the last to be visited and to speak with Good alive.

10 This substantiates that Good's headquarters ranch was in Section 33 along the south bank of Deer Creek, while Good's camp (for his sheep operation) was 1 1/2 miles due north in Acorn Hollow of Section 21.

11 "Young" being Alex Sandy Young, the lead vaquero for John Bidwell, as well as one of Hi Good's close friends.

12 The "gun" belonging to Hi Good and used to "kill squirrels" according to Frank Weston (1955:5) was a Kentucky rifle.

13 Obadiah Newman Field (1810 - 1887). An older close friend of Hi Good's. Obe Fields Spring is on the Lassen Emigrants' Trail. Lassen hunter and bull-puncher, Obe Field, was "The only man who could handle seven yoke of bulls (oxen) in the woods."

14 "Bally" was Obe Field's horse, while "Buck" was Hi Good's horse.

15 This makes little sense because Good's body was found in Jim Ellis' Gulch (Ned's Draw) in Section 28 due south of Section 21, while the road out of Acorn Hollow today, runs east to west.

16 Dan Jefferson Delaney was born in 1829 in Tennessee. He married Marissa, had seven children, and was a farmer in the Vina area on south side of Deer Creek. Read Daniel J. Delaney (1872, June 2) "The Adventures of Captain Hi Good" *Northern Enterprise*, p. 1/3.].

17 George Carter was Alfred G. Carter, Hi Good's neighbor in Section 33.

18 This small tree would have been not too far from another larger tree to which Indian Ned was tied and shot by Sandy Young. This larger oak tree is what has come to be known as the "hanging tree."

19 The widow Elizabeth Lewis (from Ohio) and daughter Martha Lewis, lived together along the north bank of Deer Creek (also on east side of Hwy 99E) on "forty acres more or less" [Big Book L pp. 188-189, shows transfer of D in 1878 to grantee J. P. Moore. The deceased husband and father was Thomas Lewis, who, in the 1860 census (Lassen Township) was 60 years old and a farmer from South Carolina.

20 This is Good's gold watch that "Sandy [Young] sent . . . to his father in Ohio." (See below)

21 About the Coroner's report, this researcher was told by phone by Ms. Patty Luther of Undersheriff Dennis Garton's office of the Tehama County Sheriff's Office that, "No coroner's reports are preserved that go back to 1870."

22 "camp" refers to the sheep camp in Section 21, the Hi Good Cabin site CA-TEH-2105H location.

23 Good was "leading his horse" in this part of Section 28, because the ground is heavily strewn with angular lava rocks.

24 That Indian Ned then, "shot him twice," sounds like a Henry Repeating Rifle was used here, not the Kentucky rifle muzzle loader. The newspaper obituaries of the day also reported that Hi Good's body had been riddled with 10 -12 bullets.

25 Frances Leininger wrote: "Emma B. Ruffa and John Harper told me in 1969, when some of the cow-boys would move cattle by the 'hanging tree' the horses would spook away from the tree. The dogs also, would act funny. They said that the bones laid there for about two years until two young Colusa students came and took the skeleton away. This was told to them by the Moak boys and the Hobson boys. The Moak brothers and Hobson brothers ran cattle in Deer Creek foothills in the early 1880s." (Handwritten by Frances Leininger on the bottom edge of the Harry P. Bagley [date?] "Civilian Vengeance." *The Sacramento Bee Magazine* Section "Burrill Collection).

What students and from what institution collected the skeleton remains undetermined. Perhaps the bones remained for four years rather than two years. If so, one possibility is the former Andrew Pierce College, located at College City in south Colusa County, sixteen miles south of the City of Colusa and nine miles west of the Sacramento River. Will Semple Green, in his work, *The History of Colusa County*, wrote, "September 1874 a school was begun." Call Number F868, C7, G7.

26 The hypothesis that no money was ever found buried, suggests that Waterman (1918:58) was correct, that "The Indian boy living with Good hooked his cache of money.

27 Earlier ground disturbances by pot hunters after the gold has been noted in the Hi Good formal site report, CA-TEH-2105H.

Document #10 Footnotes (Theodora Kroeber, 1961)

1 The two other men were, according to Seagraves (Waterman 1918:58), George Spires [sic] and Bill Sublett. Theodora Kroeber did not provide their names here, it is surmised, because she did not accept Seagraves as a primary source.

2 Theodora Kroeber may be referring here to the August 14, 1865 skirmish on Mill Creek popularly called today the "Battle of the Three Knolls" (Schoonover 1993:48; Starn 2004:290).

After some hours, they saw a group of fifteen or more Indians coming downstream loaded with baskets of freshly gathered foodstuffs, several women and one man whom Seagraves called the Old Doctor ahead of the others. The posse, undiscovered to the Indians, took positions behind trees with their guns cocked. What happened follows as Seagraves told it to Waterman:

As the Indians came abreast of us, we motioned to the squaws to squat down so as not to be in the line of fire . . . [The weapons we used were sixteen-shot Henry repeaters, a new weapon at the time].

3 Waterman {1918:58}.

4 This researcher contends here that Mrs. Kroeber's conclusion may have been in error.

5 Her statement here that Seagraves "was not an 'Indian killer' at all" comes with no source. Left this way, it subtly disavows Seagraves as a credible source.

6 Delaney's (1872) account agrees that the captives were with Good by writing, "These females were held as hostages at Good's camp for weeks, guarded by the Captain's Indian boy . . ." "Camp" infers Good's "sheep camp" in Section 21, CA-TEH-2105H, the study area, as opposed to Good's ranch on the south side of Deer Creek in Section 33.

7 The complete citation for Stephen Powers' 1874 article is: Stephen Powers 1874 "The California Indians, No. XI: Various Tribes [Achumawi, Yana, Sierra Maidu]." *Overland Monthly* Vol. 12, pp. 412-424.

8 These two sentences appear in Theodora Kroeber's book on pages 89-90.

9 Here, oddly enough, Theodora Kroeber (1961:96) did not provide the man's name that Seagraves told Waterman. It was "Carter." Nor did she repeat where Carter was living --another detail that Seagraves had correct based on researching Alfred G. Carter. Waterman (1918:58) fully transcribed *verbatim* from Seagraves, that the man named Carter was ". . . living about a mile from Acorn Hollow on Deer Creek." Theodora Kroeber (1961:240), however, did place these details in her Notes.

10 Significant here, and this shows the source for her differing interpretation is here is where Theodora Kroeber ranks Seagraves as a "hearsay" source, even though the data strongly points to Seagraves AS participant at the ambush, the hostage taking, to where the hostages were taken, to two weeks later being the recipient of the "Five Bows" ceremony, and provided Waterman with the name, George Spires, who was the "hunter" who tossed the steelyard over the limb, and more! Theodora Kroeber's secondary-source ranking of Seagraves is consistent with why she stated about Seagraves on page 87, "He was mistaken. Ishi was a little boy in 1870." Waterman stood by Seagraves' testimony. As the "receiving end" eye-witness at the Five Bows formal ceremony in 1870, Seagraves perception [and published *verbatim*] was about Ishi: "He is at this time about sixteen years old and is lighter in complexion than the rest."

11 It is now this researcher's assessment and reinterpretation of the Ishi story, based on the new old data uncovered, that one of the three Yahi hostages did, in fact, blend into that of the white frontier. A momentous breakthrough reported here.

12 From "Notes" on pages 241-242 of Theodora Kroeber's 1961 paper edition, *Ishi In Two Worlds*; on page 251 of the *Ishi In Two Worlds'* deluxe, illustrated edition.

Letitia was the young woman who birthed that "wild-eyed lad" named Snowflake! (Powers 1874:419-420). This former hostage's acquired American name became "Letitia, No Last Name."

Thomas James Cleghorn's Certificate of Death on file at the County of Sacramento County Clerk's/Recorder's Office was found and copied by this researcher:

Name and Birth Place of Father: Peter Morrison Cleghorn, Scotland.

Name and Birth Place of Mother: "Letitia" "Spain." [No Last Name]

Letitia NLN managed to live out her remaining years "in hiding" in the Pillchuck Load, in Igo, Shasta County, until her death in 1919. Again, she probably wore the very visible "111" tattoo on her lower chin that revealed her "Indian" identity. Her son Letitia was able to keep close to her, who grew up in Igo, reared by the David and Martha Eubanks family. While christened "Snowflake" at birth by Sandy Young, Snow-flake's "adopted" American name became Thomas James Cleghorn (see grave marker Fig. 157b) from Tehama County's sheepman, Peter Morrison Cleghorn (1822-1899). To legitimize or "blend indistinguishably into the white frontier," Tom Cleghorn had to hide his heritage at birth, otherwise he could not vote, he could not own property, nor could he legally marry (due to California's Miscegenation Law, which was still on the books in California as late as 1948!). In circa 1901, in Stockton (San Joaquin County), Tom Cleghorn married Igo's Ethel Eubanks. They had one child named Martha Kathleen Cleghorn (see Genealogy Chart Fig. 158). Martha Cleghorn married 2X. She gave birth in 1922 to her one son (by her first husband) named Alex Robertson Reid Jr. By choice by virtue of her mother's second husband, William "Rex" Martin, Alex changed his name to Robert Martin (1922-2005).

Some preliminary, yet incomplete documents of Robert Martin's personal search for "his" lineage was shared with this researcher in 1999 and 2000. Then he succumbed on August 18, 2005. Time passed. Finally, on May 8, 2008, during the 7th Annual Ishi Gathering and Seminar bus field trip, three attendees of Snow-flake's (Tom Cleghorn's) blended family, widow Joyce (Lyon) Martin and her daughters, Mabelle (Martin) Hayes and Maleah (Martin) Novak, felt it a proper time to publicly unveil their family's blended pedigree (which today includes English, German, Yahi, and other heritages). They showed to the seminar attendees photographs of Tom Cleghorn (Fig. 160). As a lasting tribute to their deceased and beloved relative, Robert Martin, the surviving Martin family members will be publishing, in the near future, more about their remarkable family story, about which Robert Martin, in his later years, was instrumental in unearthing.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODS



Figure 163. Initial laying out of east-to-west baseline. Start of Feature 2 Brick Scatter units underway. Photo by Dr. Eric Ritter on February 2, 2007.

CHAPTER 4. METHODS

HISTORICAL RESEARCH METHODS

This chapter provides a review of the archival historical research methods utilized concerning the study area, CA-TEH-2105H, as well as the archaeological field methods undertaken and subsequent laboratory and curatorial procedures completed.

The foundational archival historical data for this project began with Theodora Kroeber's *Ishi In Two Worlds* (1961), and ten years later, Eva Marie Apperson's *We Knew Ishi* (1971). Kroeber's book, especially, convinced this researcher that California Indians, such as Ishi, ". . . knew nature, which is always true" (Dr. Saxton T. Pope in T. Kroeber 1961:237). The California Indian tribes' acquired "sense of place" has been the result of centuries of detailed observing of nature. Their familiarity with their ancestral homelands, its geology, flora, fauna, and interdependent cycles made them wise. Part of what Eva Apperson wrote in her little book, was that many things said about Ishi were "just not so." An introductory Ishi book, published in 1990 by this author, and titled *Ishi: America's Last Stone Age Indian*, resulted in this writer making important contacts with several knowledgeable northern California families, of which three families were: the Marsene and Della (Dotherow) Speegle family of Vina, the Chester and Ruby (Speegle) Rose family of Chico, and the Clarence and Frances (Valente) Leininger family. Over time, this researcher had the rewarding experience of interviewing these families. The Vina Plain (Tehama County) just north of Chico (Butte County) is where these families have kept their roots. The rugged foothill country just east of them was Ishi's Yahi tribe's ancestral homeland. The 1908 discovery of Grizzly Bear's Hiding Place, the artifacts (Indian goods) taken that became private family museum collections, along with the fact that Ishi made his last appearance in Vina in May of 1914, all begat more history-learning and meeting more pioneer families.

In summary, collecting oral family histories "on location," inclusive of ethnomapping work (recording their local place names and landmarks), then corroborating and integrating this data from early newspapers on microfilm (most of which were accessed from the Tehama County Library (Red Bluff) and Meriam Library, CSU, Chico).

Tape-recording consultants (informants) inclusive of photographing select family album pictures and artifacts, and return "follow-up" interviewing comprise this researcher's methodology. Often a "hard copy" draft of a more lengthy interview was mailed back to the interviewee for editing purposes with mailer and sufficient return postage. This process has been effective in teasing out more long-term memory details.

Data obtained from the Keith Lingenfelter (1996) *Tehama County Pioneers Married and Unmarried Persons Volumes 1-3*, now available online, has been fruitful. His data, in some cases, was cross-referenced with U.S. Census reports preserved on microfilm. The records from five local cemeteries have been helpful. They include: the Tehama Cemetery (Tehama), the Chico Cemetery, Red Bluff's Oak Grove Cemetery, and the Cana Pine Creek Cemetery (located at 6195 Broyles Road, near the intersection of Broyles Road and State Highway 99).

About Harmon A. Good's and Alex R. Barrington's early family history, archival data was obtained from Pennsylvania and Ohio. Major sources of data came from: the Lehigh Valley Heritage Center & Museum (Allentown, PA); the Allen County Historical Society (Lima, Ohio), the St. Marys Historical Society, St. Marys Community Public Library, and the Auglaize County Common Pleas Court (Wapakoneta, Ohio).

Several visits about the greater study area's land history were made to Red Bluff's Tehama County Records, Tehama County Assessor's Office, and Tehama County Sheriff's Office. Documents

were obtained from the California Secretary of State- Archives, the California State Library (Sacramento), the Bureau of Land Management's Survey Records Office of the Geographic Services Branch (Sacramento), and from the National Archives and Records Administration (Washington, D. C.).

Next for undertaking a scientific study of the study area, a Research Project Design document was developed by this researcher during 2002 and 2003, inclusive of consultations and advice secured from Dr. Eric Ritter with Shasta College. Twenty test questions, called themes, were drafted. They are listed in Ch. 2, on pages 22-23. The test questions were distributed to the students enrolled in the excavation effort on January 19, 2004, and later.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIELD METHODS

To finalize the list of test questions and to best determine where to begin test unit excavations, survey visitations at the study area were conducted on April 10, 2003 and May 15, 2003. As a result, two site features were identified: Feature 1 Depression (Q. Is this an early hand dug well, root cellar or privy?); Feature 2, the concentrated surface brick scatter observed (Q. Is the brick scatter from a collapsed chimney with structure?). Preliminary metal detector sweeps took place and some collecting was begun. Pockets of ferrous and non-ferrous metal concentrations were pin-flagged.

The datum with base lines - On Day #1 (September 27, 2003) with students from Feather River College and Shasta College, Dr. Ritter chose a spot (at 366 feet above sea level elevation) adjacent and south of the greatest brick concentration (Feature 2) for the site's datum (Q. Was the Hi Good Cabin structure in this immediate area?). Dr. Ritter also made use of the solitary blue oak to the east by placing the west-to-east (cardinal direction) base line "just south" of its massive trunk (see site maps, Figures 4 & 8). The datum location afforded a 360 degrees, unobstructed view of the flat.

The north-to-south cardinal base line was aligned to Magnetic North (with declination of 17 degrees).

The grid with units - The grid relative to the datum was established in feet and inches, with all angles of the grid relative to Magnetic North (with declination of 17 degrees). Each unit was 5' x 5'. The placed datum and four cardinal points established the respective site quadrants: NW, NE, SW and SE. Also established from the datum was a 25' X 25' spaced grid, using rebar stakes pounded into the ground, each wrapped with survey tape for better visibility.

Metal detector sweeps - Density sweeps, using White metal detectors and recreational quality GPS products, were undertaken to help establish locations of large samples but not all of ferrous and non-ferrous metal artifacts or substances in each area. Surface sweeps, in arcs of approximately 5 feet, were undertaken.

Designated colors on the pin flags were assigned to distinguish red bricks, for instance, versus any ferrous item hits, etc. This aided the identification of different types of historic artifacts about to be collected, as well as provided clues for where the most promising test units for excavating should be for collecting. The metal detecting sweeps also helped determine the approximate limits of the site (See Fig. 8 site map's "upside down brackets" which precisely indicate the site's perimeter). There were also metal detector sweeps undertaken of the four quadrants surrounding the site datum (NW, NE, SW and SE) and observations written on the Trail Artifact/Feature Form sheets.

Site map - A site map (See Fig. 8 on page 19) was made, using graph paper, that recorded the land forms, such as road placement, outbuildings, depressions, corrals, fences, windmill, and site perimeters, and contour lines (each contour line interval indicates a 1-foot elevation difference).

Drawings - In addition to the site map, prepared in the course of the project were also: the superior view drawing of the Feature 2 exposed brick scatter (Fig. 339 on page 459); drawing of the Feature 5 collapsed structure (Fig. 362 on page 491); as well as sketches, with dimensions determined for the corral, feed shed, and windmill (filed in the Archaeological Field Notes Binder).

Collecting - Surface scrape/excavations of the 5 1/2 units (each 5' x 5' areas) were completed during four Saturdays (Feb. 7, 14, 21 & 28, 2004). Excavated, and collected as one unit, was Feature 1 Depression, and Unit 3N1E, Unit 3N2E, Unit 3N3E, Unit 4N10E, Unit 6N2E-E1/2 and Unit 2S12E. Note: The list of Units excavated in 2007 and 2008 may be found towards the bottom of page 5 of this report.

Forms of Archaeological Field Note Taking - Daily events and observations made and select artifacts deemed diagnostic enough to collect, were recorded on forms.

"Daily Field Record" - This form was completed by each student excavator for every day's work, inclusive of their name, the date, where they worked, a specific summary of objects found, their field observations and interpretations, and sketches made on its backside graph paper section of diagnostic artifacts collected.

"Trail Artifact/Feature Form" - This was filled out normally by the crew leader, whose team surveyed the four site quadrants and/or who observed and collected along a particular feature or road/trail segment. Often they recorded GPS marker locations. Environmental characteristics described involved noting vegetation, soil, land forms, and geologic aspects. Cultural materials collected were described as to their material type, color, embossing, measurements, etc.

"Archaeological Feature Record" - This form included the Feature #, a feature definition, noting what the matrix, stratification and associated objects observed. Supplemental sketches were drawn on the graph paper section on its backside, noting wall profiles etc. to scale. Any additional observations were noted including personal interpretations.

"General Notes" - Keeping with methods, at the start of every Saturday's field day, one student was assigned to write up a 2 to 5 page overview of that day's team archaeological field effort. They were also asked to complete and have enough copies of their report to pass out on the morning of the next Saturday's field class to all of the team participants. It was then read aloud. As a result, each General Notes group reading served as a "kind of reading of the minutes." Corrections or additions of what had transpired sometimes resulted. The General Notes instrument helped sustain amongst the field team members continued focus and instilled individual responsibility and group solidarity as well.

"Archaeological Field Notes Binder" - All of the completed forms were collected and assembled together into the one binder titled, "Archaeological Field Notes" of Hi Good Cabin (Acorn Hollow) Tehama County, 2003-2004." All of the photographic negatives and CD of the features were also placed into a plastic sleeve at the back of this binder. This data is part of the official published report and has been placed with the site's artifact assemblage at the Tehama County Museum.

Excavation Units, Levels and Stratigraphy - Feature 1 Depression had 0-48" for its Level 1. Feature 1 involved the deepest point of collecting at the site. The finalized levels for Feature 1 involving data recovery were:

- Level 1 (0-48")
- Level 2 (48-60")
- Level 3 (60-72")
- Level 4 (72 - 84")
- Level 5 (84-90")

The collecting during 2003-2004 came from 5 1/2 units, the Feature 1 Depression, from metal detector sweeps of the four road segments (Feature 4), and of the site's four quadrants (NW, NE, SW and SE). The standard depth of excavation undertaken of the units was 0 - 6" Bottom Surface, with two exceptions, namely: Feature 1 was excavated down to 90" bottom surface, and the NE 1/4 of Unit 6N2E excavated down to 12" bottom surface.

The screen boxes utilized in the units were 1/4 inch mesh, with 1/8 inch screening done at Unit 3N1E only.

Subsequent excavation work, 2007 and 2008 - Six more Saturdays in the early spring 2007 resulted in the completion of four additional units. They were: Unit 1S3E, Unit 2S6W, which was assigned Feature 9 Ash Deposit, as well as Unit 5N9E, and Unit 6N1E. In April of 2008, three more Saturday field classes were held, resulting in 4 1/2 additional units being excavated. They were: Unit 4N9E, Unit 2S5W, the N1/2 of Unit 3N9E and Unit 8S28E (thereabouts) which was assigned Feature 10, inclusive of a cache of rusted cooking vessels and one whole bottle.

Artifact Types Classifying Method - As already mentioned in the Ch. 1 Report Organization, all artifacts were grouped according to the outline instrument titled, "Historic Artifacts Analysis Categories. This instrument may be found on pages 9-11 of this report.

Features assigned (8) - All features were drawn and photographed (see Ch. 6 for Features interpretations).

Feature 1 Depression became a complicated archaeological endeavor when no definable well wall could be discerned. Removed from the depression were modern ranching debris (garbage) dating to about 1940 with the exceptions of a few older artifacts that crept into the deposit as well. The methods applied included a baseline string strung between the north and south edges of the depression. Eventually a "squaring" off of the irregular central pit was accomplished which was measured and mapped all in respect to the site's datum. It was decided to excavate this pit by arbitrary one foot (12") levels. Due to time limitations and mud the work here ceased. Plastic was laid into the feature prior to backfilling and returning it to its original condition to the extent possible, practical, and safe.

Feature 2 - Three side-by-side units were excavated to expose this rock and brick chimney scatter, with one subsequent detailed superior view drawing made and photographs taken.

Feature 3 - Unit 2S12E was chosen for excavating because of an exposed brick alignment observed.

Feature 4 - Feature 4 was assigned to the ranch road, which traversed the site study area. Four arbitrary segments were defined where intense metal detector surveys were conducted for each (see Ch. 6 pages 473-492). The artifacts collected from Feature 4, were recorded on the special "Trail Artifact/Feature Form" (described above).

Feature 5 - A "collapsed structure" with likely related footstones was assigned Feature 5 (located southwest of the large blue oak not far south from the Feature 1 Depression. A map of this matrix was made with measurements (see Ch. 6 Fig. 361).

Feature 6- Unit 4N10E was excavated along the westerly edge of the ranch road in an artifact and bone-laden ashy fill, Feature 6. (Q. Is this possible clean-out from the cabin hearth or burnt structure remains or both?)

Feature 7- Unit 6N2E-E1/2 contained a similar ashy fill zone with bone remains, assigned as Feature 7. It was farther excavated down to a 6-12" level to determine the depth of the ashy fill zone. Result: It was learned that Feature 7's ashy deposit did not exceed around 7" in depth, becoming sterile clay soil thereafter.

Feature 8 - The Corral, Feed Shed, and Windmill was the feature to be assigned. While only one artifact, a WW II canteen was collected from this feature, understanding of contemporary culture involving the Aermotor windmill's technology, livestock branding styles history, and more resulted.

Equipment used - One K. & E. transit and stadia rods were used to make the site grid map (Fig. 8). At the units were: 1/4" mesh screens (with the exception that unit 3N3E, a 1/8" screen was used). Other tools put to work at the site were: field-forms, clipboards, baggies, paper bags, artifact containers, line levels, ice picks, trowels, measuring tapes, whisk brooms, black coal scoop dust pans, standard 3 gallon metal utility buckets, tarps, magnets, Munsell's book with soil PH-test kit, and both digital and standard, single-lens, reflector cameras.

Methods for dating notion determinations - Regarding nails, counts were made for the number of cut (square) nails found versus the number of wire (round) nails found. Those without heads were counted based on whether they were cut or wire type (see below Ch. 7).

A separate count was made of amethyst glass fragments collected, and of their locations, because they are considered "an excellent pre-1920 indicator.

A separate count of aqua-colored glass was computed because they are dating notions for the years, 1880-1920.

LABORATORY PROCEDURES

Initially, all recovered archaeological materials were taken to the Shasta College Archaeology Lab where they were cleaned, sorted, and catalogued. A provenience-based, cataloguing system was the method of inventorying the artifacts having shared characteristics in specimen groups or "lots." The "preliminary" specimens total count came to 613 collected during 2003-2004. However, upon review, this researcher added fourteen specimen numbers. Hence, the "finalized" specimens total count ended at 627.

Each of the specimens was listed with prefix accession number, 320 + its respective specimen number, along with its respective provenience reference, and a preliminary material type description (e.g., glass, metal, bone, tooth, brick, ceramic, wood, plastic etc.). This work was largely accomplished by Joyce Abbott, collections cataloger. Select artifacts were also drawn by Joyce Abbott on the backside pages of the "Specimens List" spiral bound binder.

The site's catalog of the objects collected was placed by this researcher (See below Ch. 5) according to the "Historic Artifacts Analysis Categories." It contains these five groups:

- A. Kitchen Group
- B. Personal Group
- C. Architectural Group
- D. Industrial Group
- E. Other Group*

* Other Group - Inclusive of all items for which no specific use could be identified (e.g., amorphous lumps of metal, leather, rubber, sandstone, asbestos etc.).

Bottles and Glass Fragments - Because such a significant number of whole and/or partial bottles and glass fragments comprised the "Historic Artifacts" collected, a separate **unnumbered** section, titled "Bottles and Glass, was placed first in Ch. 5 (See pages 323-350).

Regarding the whole and partial glass bottle count, determinations were made as follows:

1. Bases that were at least 50 percent complete or were unique were counted first.
2. Finishes (lips) that exceeded the number of bases were added to the count.
3. Body fragments that differed in color or manufacture technique from any of the bases or finishes already counted (See final count of whole and partial bottles found in Fig. 172, page 321).

Ceramic vessel fragments - though minimal in number, were counted in a similar manner: mended vessels and bases of at least 50 percent complete were counted first; material types and decorated patterns that did not match any base fragments were added to the count.

Non specific use terms used - Adjectives used for the status of certain artifacts studied included: indefinite, undiagnostic artifacts, undistinguished and unidentified.

Laboratory faunal determinations were conducted under the direction of Dr. Frank Bayam at the Zooarchaeology Lab, part of the California State University, Chico's Anthropology Department. The systematic methodology for faunal remain determinations may be found in Ch. 8 on pages .

Regarding possible future laboratory analysis of the nine brick specimens collected, discussion may be found in Ch. 6 on pages 555 and 559.

Disposition and Curation of the Collection - The Tehama County Museum is the repository of the complete Assemblage (Collection) with Catalog (on CD), the Archaeological Field Notes Binder, one copy of the "Specimens List" (combed binder), and supplemental photographs of the project. Contact: Head Curator Darrell Mullins of Tehama County Museum Foundation, 275 C Street Tehama, CA 96090. Information: (530) 384-2595.

The museum accession number for the CA-TEH-2105H collection is No. 320, for the 627 specimens collected during 2003/2004. The artifacts themselves are protected in eight 15" x 10" x 12" plastic, "see-through" containers, and six smaller shadow display boxes. The list of contents of each plastic container is glued to the side of each.

By agreement, the artifacts were donated by property owners Fred Hamilton, Mike Hamilton, and Susan (Hamilton) Junge to the Tehama County Museum Foundation, Tehama, California, for final curation. It was pre-established that the artifacts saved for curation had to be diagnostic, unusual items or unique specimens, and/or artifacts that were suitable to illustrate the life ways of the inhabitants and their significance historical and/or as contemporary objects.

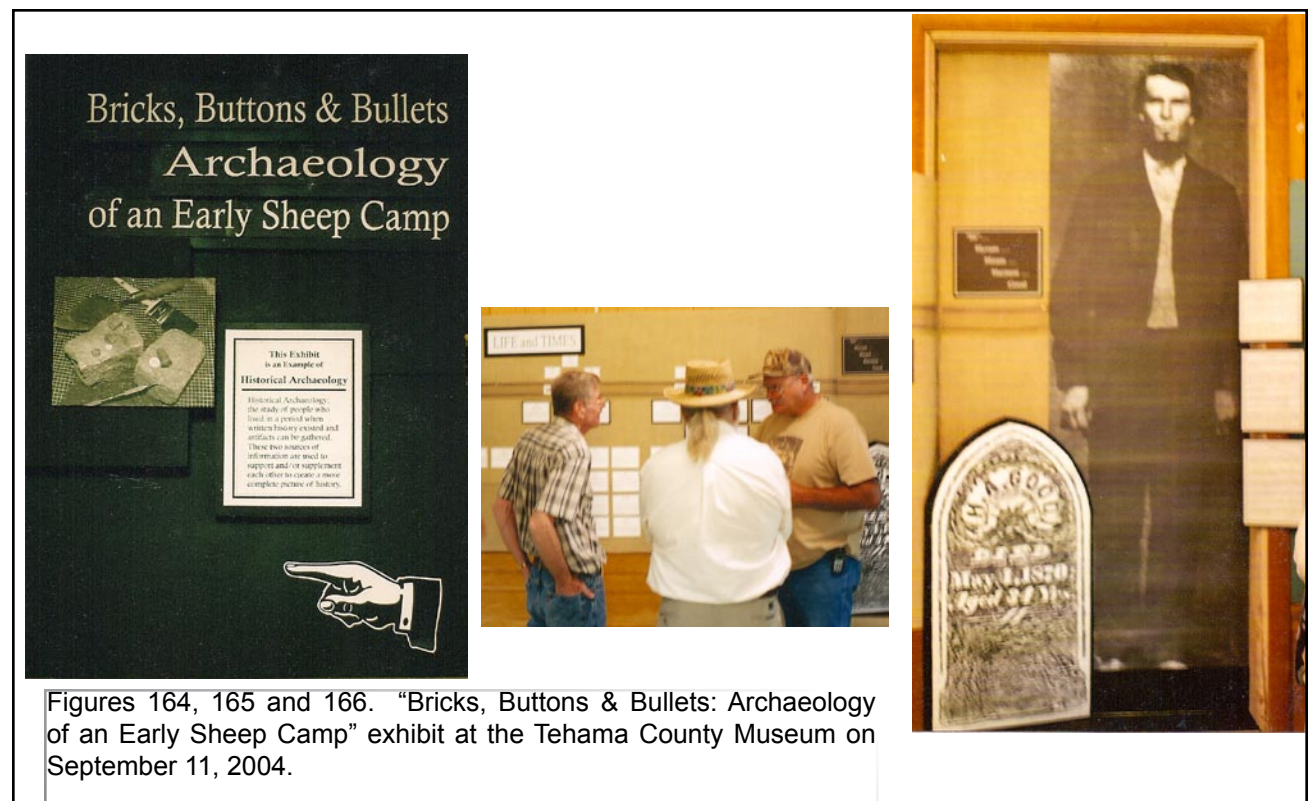
Community Interest Regarding the Hi Good Cabin Site And Its History Continues To Grow

Exhibit: "Bricks, Buttons & Bullets: Archaeology of an Early Sheep Camp." As early as September 11, 2004 (through July 2006) the Tehama County Museum put up an exhibit (with the above title) of a sampling of the Hi Good Cabin artifacts, which was well received. Photos of the exhibit have been preserved on CD by the Tehama County Museum (See below Figures 164, 165 and 166).

Newspaper Accounts

- C. Jerome Crow (2004, January 21) "Shasta Course to Research, Excavate Part of Hiram Good Cabin Site" *Red Bluff Daily News*.
- Steve Schoonover (2004, March 7) "Hunting for Hi Good" *Chico's Enterprise Record*, [also reprinted in the *Red Bluff Daily News* on March 9, 2004]. Its reprinting may be read below.

New movie film in progress - Titled "Ned's Draw or the Murder of Hi Good" became film director and producer Lee Lynch's thesis project for his Master of Fine Arts, University of Southern California. A preview / working copy of Lee Lynch's "art film" was shown in Oroville, California, on Friday, May 8, 2009 at the 8th Annual Ishi Gathering and Seminar, sponsored by the Butte County Historical Society. Lynch's "movie shoots" took place January 2-7, 2009, on both the Dye Creek Nature Preserve grounds (in Los Molinos) and adjacent the Hi Good Cabin site (in Vina's Acorn Hollow, Tehama County, California). Interesting highlights were: twenty actors dressed in period costumes, the 35mm camera rental, Lee Lynch's constructed homesteaders's cabin replica, and the four loud reports heard, using blanks, when "Hi Good" (played by David Nordstrom) used his Winchester rifle to shoot and kill the Mill Creeks' "Old Doctor" (played by actor Martin Jaquez, of Southern Ute / Pojoaque Pueblo heritage).



Figures 164, 165 and 166. "Bricks, Buttons & Bullets: Archaeology of an Early Sheep Camp" exhibit at the Tehama County Museum on September 11, 2004.

ENTERPRISE RECORD

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Hunting for Hi Good

Archaeology class probes cabin site for glimpse of past

By **STEVE SCHOONOVER**
City Editor

VINA — For four Saturdays in February, an archaeology class from Shasta College surveyed a location that may have been the home of one of the most notorious Indians hunters of the 1850s and 1860s: Hi Good.

Harmon Good (or Hiram Good, in some records), was called the “(Daniel) Boone of the Sierra” by his contemporaries for his exploits in that era. He’s seen in a far different light these days.

Then, he was seen as a stalwart protector of women and children from marauding Indians. Today we’re disturbed by a man who’d line the quilt covering his bed with Indian scalps, as Good was reported to have done.

Again and again between 1857 and 1870, Good led parties of settlers into the hills to “punish” the Indians for “depredations.” Sometimes the raids were responding to the killings of settlers. More often, they were in response to thefts of cattle or other foodstuffs by the hungry natives. And sometimes, the Indian hunts seemed to be prompted by nothing more than



Photos by Steve Schoonover/Enterprise-Record

Shasta College archaeology student John Brooks documents a collapsed chimney that’s been exposed by an excavation at a site that might be the cabin of notorious Indian hunter Hi Good.

■ See EXCAVATION, 10A

-Continued on the next page-

Figure 167.

Steve Schoonover (2004, March 7) “Hunting for Hi Good” *Chico’s Enterprise Record*, p. 1A, 10A.

-continued-

boredom.

It was at Good's cabin near present-day Vina that the remnants of the Yahi Indians possibly including Ishi apparently attempted to surrender early in 1870, only to flee in fear of being hung when one of Good's men threw a rope over a tree branch.

And it was near there a few months later where Good was murdered by Ned, an Indian youth who worked for him. Ned was subsequently executed by one of Good's friends.

But where was that cabin?

It may be down a muddy track that turns off a private gravel road, a few miles out of Vina. There, in a pretty little draw, surrounded by low, rolling hills dotted by oaks, the remains of an old cabin have been found.

The area has been combed with metal detectors, with significant finds charted with GPS technology. A grid of strings, five feet apart, has been stretched across the most promising area, and turf and soil have been removed from several of the units thus marked.

The sifted soil from those holes has yielded a wealth of square nails, spent bullet cartridges, bits of animal bone, broken glass and other artifacts. In three adjacent units are an uncovered jumble of bricks and cobbles, apparently a collapsed chimney.

Four days of digging isn't enough to yield a complete picture of what lays under the soil at the site, so locations had to be picked that had promise of being representative of the rest of the area.

Picking where to dig is the responsibility of veteran archaeologist Eric Ritter, who works out of the BLM's Redding office and is teaching the Shasta College class.

He's providing guidance to Richard Burrill, a prolific writer on Ishi who obtained permission to dig at the site and will have the responsibility of writing up a report on what's found.

Ritter's teaching Burrill the caution required to do a professional archaeological report, reining in his enthusiastic rush to conclusions.

"Can we say this is the Moak Trail?" Burrill asked Ritter of the road running through the site.

"You're writing the report; you tell me," Ritter answered.

His message was clear: It's your job to find out for sure.

Ritter defers to Burrill on how he knows this is the site of Good's cabin, and it turns out the identification of the site isn't completely certain.

Decendents of long-time Tehama County families have told Burrill the flat is the location of Good's cabin, and one produced a very fuzzy photograph from 1920, supposedly of Good's cabin. Burrill can make out a brick chimney in the picture, and he believes the jumble of bricks unearthed at the site links the picture to the site.

But there is no official record of Good owning this piece of land, where he lived for at least three years before his death in 1870. That doesn't mean it's not the site, as record-keeping was more casual in those days.

And Burrill points to several accounts of Good's murder that had him traveling to his vegetable garden a mile and a half away, about the right distance to land Good was known to have owned.

It was upon his return from the garden that Good was ambushed by Ned, who feared trouble after he'd been caught searching for a rumored hidden cache of gold coins. Ned shot Good three times, dragged the dead man to a ravine, dumped him in and rolled some rocks onto the body.

It was several days before Good's body was found, and in the interim, Ned proved to be one of the most moronic murderers of all time. He paraded around the countryside, wearing Good's ring and carrying his rifle, and making comments that suggested he knew what had happened to the missing man.

When Good's body was finally found, Ned was confronted, he confessed and led Good's friends to the tree where he'd hidden in ambush. Ned was tied to the tree and Sandy Young, one of John Bidwell's foremen and a close friend of Good's, shot the youth to death.

The body was left there beneath the tree, until years later when "two young students from Colusa" came and took away the skeleton, according to Sim Moak's "The Last of the Mill Creeks," an account of the Indian battles of that era.

Burrill clearly wants the cabin to be Good's. "We'd be able to establish a sense of place about the history of Tehama County," he said.

But the joshing at the dig indicate others in the class don't believe, or don't care quite as much. When a metal detector sweep turns up a rusted spoon, someone calls out in a mocking tone, "Why look, she's found Hi Good's spoon."

"Well that's amazing," someone answers.

In the banter at the excavation site, broken bits of a clay pipe become Hi Good's pipe, fragments of boot sole come from Hi Good's boot, and so on. But when the artifacts are formally documented, Good's name isn't likely to be attached to them.

For Ritter, it's not important if the cabin is Good's. "If nothing else, it should provide a good look at a 19th century line shack," the archeologist said.

The silent artifacts speak to him. The rusted blade of an ancient sheer indicates a sheep-raising operation. Liquor bottles and spent cartridges the kinds of things that prompted one of Ritter's students to dub it an "ATF site," for alcohol, tobacco and firearms allow the location to be dated.

There is extensive research into the dates of manufacture of different types of items like bottles and cartridges. For instance, Henry rifle

cartridges were found, and that weapon was only manufactured between 1860 and 1866.

For Ritter, those kinds of things are as good as gold, as they allow reconstruction of the past, if interpreted properly.

CHAPTER FIVE
ARTIFACT TYPES/ASSEMBLAGE

CHAPTER FIVE

ARTIFACT TYPES/ASSEMBLAGE

The types of material for the 627 recorded specimens recovered during the 2003-2004 field work at the Hi Good Cabin site (CA-TEH-2105H) were inclusive of only four "Prehistoric" specimens (described first inclusive of basalt - 320-413 Prehistoric core, 320-612, a large basalt flake type). All the rest were "Historic" artifactual and non-artifactual (i. e., faunal remains) specimens.

The report's presentation order of the Historic Artifacts begins with Bottles and Glass, followed by the five classification groups, namely: A. Kitchen Group, B. Personal Group, C. Architectural/Structural Group, D. Industrial Group, and E. Other Group.

Chapter Six contains interpretations of the prehistoric and historic artifacts recovered. The bottles and glass found are described with illustrations first, followed by the Kitchen Group, Personal Group, Architectural Group and Industrial Group. Chapter Seven provides the dating/ notions interpretations. Chapter Eight provides the interpretations pertaining to the early sheep operation observed, the "Hi Good" cabin structure associations, and the firearms and ammunition interpretations.

Some peripheral comments about 2007 and 2008 field findings are also included throughout.

TYPES OF MATERIALS

Specimen types, by greatest frequency found were led by glass and metal fragments, followed by the number of faunal and then ceramic fragments found.

Glass were mainly of bottles, such as fruit jars and vaccination bottles. Clear glass fragments comprised the highest number found, followed by amethyst (purple) glass fragments; then by amber, aqua, and green glass fragments. Roughly 40% of the total glass fragments found were opalized and/ or solarized, indicators of age.

The glass has been sorted by functional (use) category, color, and type when identifiable. Initial cataloguing grouped vessel parts by elements (rectangular or circular body form); technological, if chronologically sensitive, were noted such as if machine made, having pontil scarring, etc. The makers' marks and embossed labels was another kind of grouping that was undertaken. Appropriate historical references from catalogues were noted for some of the specimens. Window glass was sorted roughly by color and thickness.

Metal -The mix of metal objects found included common cut (square) or wire (round) nails, tacks, fence staples, and baling wire fragments. An assortment of tin cans types were recovered. Brass firearms casings, spent lead bullet slugs, and one lead ball were found. An assortment of heavy, cast iron wagon parts and likely nondescript stove parts were found. Metal clothing accoutrements included suspender slides and vintage metal buttons. Kitchen Group objects included can opener keys and dinner utensils. One burr for a rivet was found. Aluminum comprised one World War II canteen that was collected. One amethyst glass bottleneck fragment recovered was inclusive a screw on aluminum lid or cap.

Faunal Materials (bones) - (e.g., small mammal bone fragment, 320-518 burnt bone, tooth, small mammal skull). Professor Frank Bayham of the Archaeozoology Lab at California State University, Chico campus, conducted preliminary interpretations of the faunal materials (see Ch. 8). Most of his examination time involved pulling from the collection, eight faunal pieces, each of which possessed one or more promising diagnostic elements. Seven of the nine specimens pulled were of the order artiodactyla (cloven animals). These seven underwent a systematic process of first ascertaining whether they were closer in appearance to the deer (*cervidae*) family and/or closer to the goat and sheep (*ovidae*) family. If they were closer to the latter, the next step was to attempt to distinguish whether it was closer to sheep or closer to goat. This process was repeated for each with the ultimate goal of hopefully determining the genus and species for each.

The number of identified species were determined. Characteristics of butchering tool marks, etc., were noted. Note: Leather comes from faunal material but has been "processed" i.e., tanned or cured. The six objects of leather found during 2003 and 2004 are discussed in F. Other Group at the back of this Ch. 5 on page 440.

Ceramics - Ceramic items were sorted by type, functional type (Personal Group, Kitchen Group etc.), by form, and by decorative attributes (e.g., Raveni floral pattern on plate, Fig. 238). The following is a list of ceramic types encountered in this collection:

Earthenware -Term applied for low temperature fired, soft bodied, an opaque (non translucent) wares (e.g., red, yellow, and tan fabrics).

White improved earthenware (W.I.E), when manufactured, involves a relatively higher temperature and/or greater amount of feldspar. W.I.E. is called whiteware or ironstone, developed in the early 19th century (aka "English Porcelain."). They usually have brilliant clear glaze (See Fig. 246 map of W.I.E. Ceramics Distribution at CA-TEH-2105H).

"Pearlware" ceramics include underglaze blue painted (china glazed) and shell edged ware and were a widespread ware in the period 1780-1840.

There is also salt glazed earthenware and white ball and "kaolin" clay earthenwares, the latter used for making smoking pipes (See pipe bowl fragment recovered of such in Fig. 249a).

Opaque Porcelain (OP) - Its fabric is often gray, has a crystalline body, porcelain-like characteristics when viewed in cross-section; used for tableware ranging from plain, heavy-bodied vessels to the thin-walled, delicately molded pieces.

Stoneware -Fired at higher temperatures, thus vitrified; varies from buff to brown-black; Euro-American potters commonly applied a salt glaze on the exterior and a slip on the interior; used for large and small shipping and storage vessels. Earthenware stoneware normally needs to be glazed to be able to hold liquids, while unglazed cannot, for they are porous or water-permeable.

Porcelain - hard, dense, white, translucent ceramic material that appears granular in cross-section. This is a high-fired ceramic type that evolved out of the stoneware, a tradition in China.

Other Group - Items that were nondescript as to their original function and also relatively rare and of this group totaled 14 items of metals, wood and charcoal, rubber, leather, sandstone and of asbestos mineral. The plastic cigarette lighter (Fig. 254) found however, was better placed in the Personal Group, while the Melamac (320-292 and 320-292) 1960s dinnerware w/blue pattern dish rim fragments were placed in the Kitchen Group.

I. PREHISTORIC ARTIFACTS

I. PREHISTORIC ARTIFACTS



Figure 168. Prehistoric Basaltic Flakes (2) were collected from the Feature 2 trench with brick scatter Specimen 320-273 (left) was collected from Unit 3N3E; 320-612 from Unit 3N1E. Photos by author.

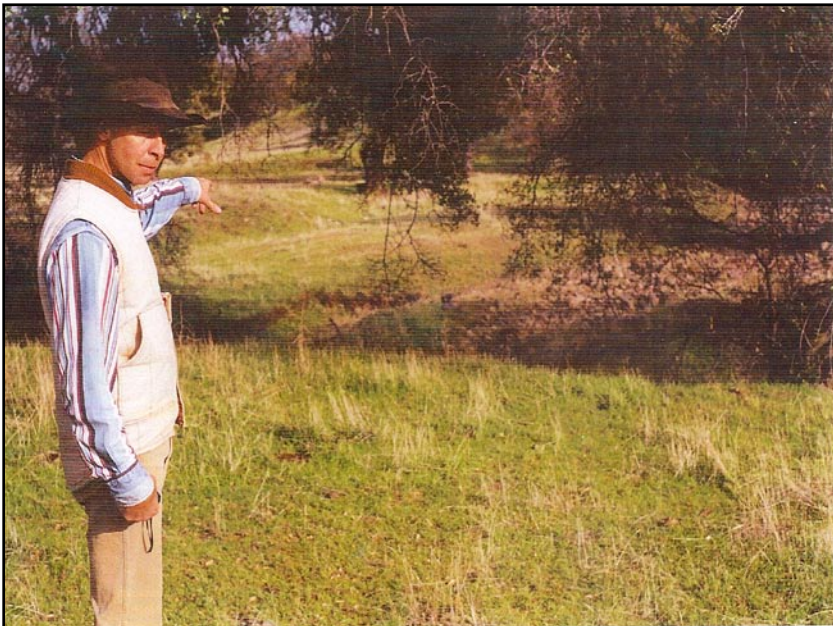


Figure 169. Property owner Mike Hamilton points up the Acorn Hollow seasonal wash to where the Indian milling stones were found (see below Fig. 170). He explained, "Every year the bank gets worn away and more show up." Photos taken on December 8, 2001.



Figure 170. Milling tools found along the adjacent drainage. These water worn relics were observed and photographed by the site on the north bank in 2001. The Sony tape recorder is 4 1/2" in length.

I. PREHISTORIC ARTIFACTS

Of the four prehistoric specimens cataloged from the Hi Good site (See Fig. 168 opposite), three were found in the cabin chimney “brick scatter” trench (Feature 2). Do we interpret the data that the cabin was built atop an Indian site? The archaeological data did not support such. The smoother and rounded milling or grinding stone (320-408) was found lodged in the near center of Unit 3N1E (See Figures 337 & 339 with “x” that signifies this milling stone, pages 458-459). Its placement in *situ* is a little less than three feet west of the purported chimney’s base or floor. Due to the general scattering of prehistoric remains observed in the hollow, it seems conceivable that the round milling stones were originally collected for the purpose of building a “cobble stone hearth.” In 1923 Simeon Moak published one of the earliest sources inclusive of Hi Good and titled, *The Last of the Mill Creeks*. Moak (1923:32) described a “cobble stone hearth” inside Good’s cabin. Moak (1923:32) wrote:

The Indian [Ned] knew Good had money buried and as soon as Good was gone he began hunting for it. In his efforts to find it he tore up the cobble stone hearth in front of the fireplace and dug several places where he thought it might be. He tore up some of the wood floor. When Good returned on the 29th of April, he determined immediately from the condition of the house what had been going on. The Indian had taken the ashes from the fireplace and given the hearth and floor a good scrubbing. “What has been going on here, Ned?” asked Good.

December 8, 2001 was the author’s first visit to the “Hi Good,” as the locals refer to the flat of land in Section 21. The author observed and photographed the milling tools. Property owner Mike Hamilton took the author to the site that day, and directed this author only a few yards up the Acorn Hollow seasonal wash to the few artifacts (See Figure 170) exposed along the graveled and clay north bank Mike Hamilton explained, “Every year the bank gets worn away and more show up.”

The author also surveyed up the dry and rocky seasonal wash with Dr. Eric Ritter and others on April 10, 2003. Flaked stones of basalt are all along this drainage.

II. Historic Artifacts

Bottles and Glass

- A. Kitchen Group
- B. Personal Group
- C. Architectural Group
- D. Industrial Group
- E. Other Group

Bottles and Glass



Figure 171.

Fourteen of the whole bottles collected from the Hi Good Cabin site. Two of the three smaller bottles in the foreground (left to right) were determined to be time-makers. To the right of the clear glass jar (lower left) is 320-281, a "1935" tablets & salts type bottle, This amber glass beer bottle, laying horizontally 320-398 is "194." It is an Owens-Illinois Glass Company bottle and is missing its paper label.

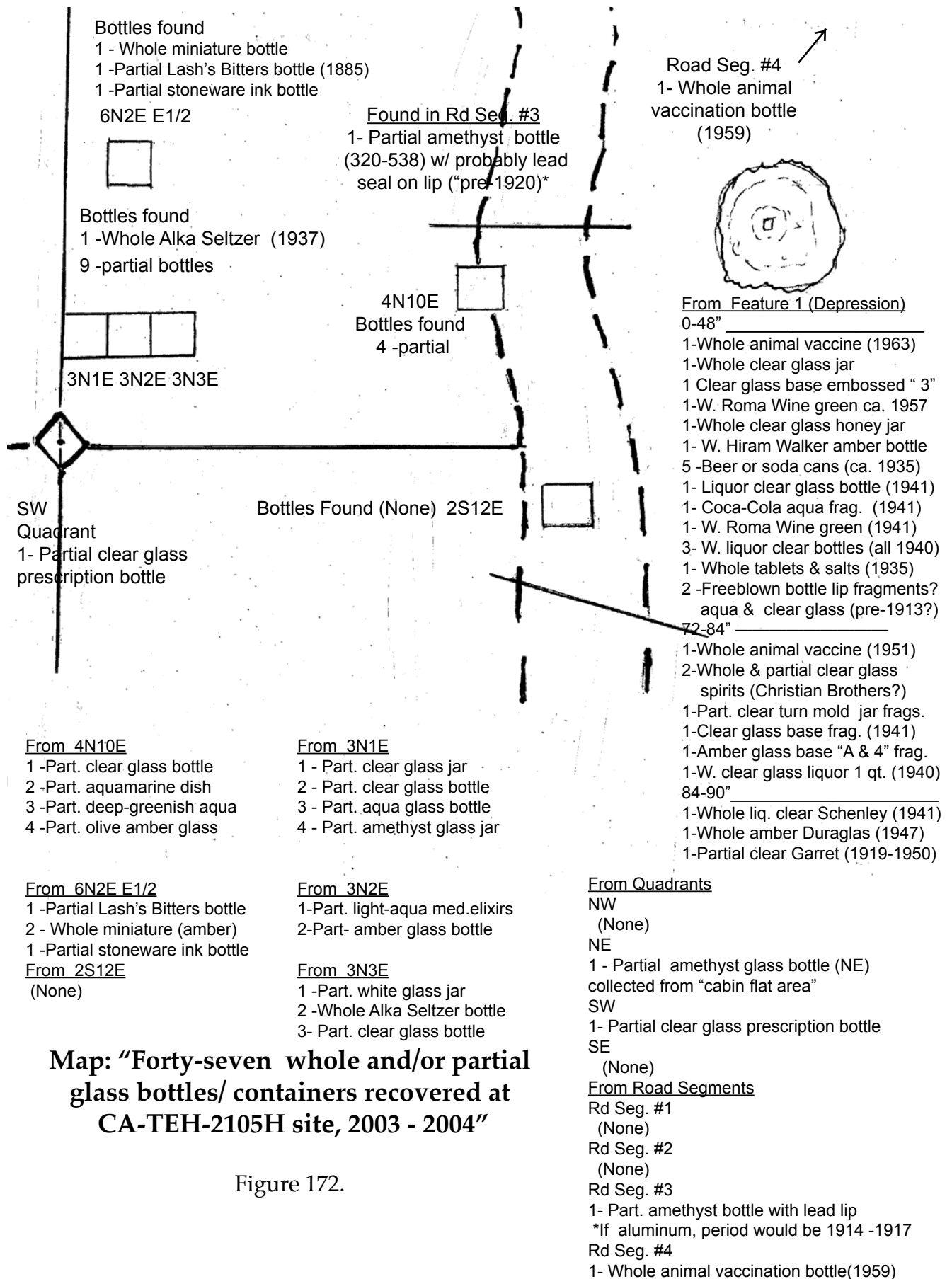


Figure 172.



Figure 173. Richard Burrill and Wayne Jobe working at unit 4N10E on 2/28/2004.

INTRODUCTION

The order provided herein for describing and interpreting the bottles and glass recovered at CA-TEH-2105H follows the excavated units' oldest to most recent temporal ranking. Thereby we begin with unit 4N10E and end with the Feature 1 "Depression" descriptions and interpretations.

Bottles and Glass Interpretations of Unit 4N10E

#1 One clear glass opalized bottle of unidentified content was found in Unit 4N10E.

Seven, all different and all possible partial glass “vessels” (containers) have been recovered from Unit 4N10E. Their vintage by appearance and associations suggest that they could date as far back as the Civil War period. The glass fragments all possess opalescence. They also come from the same unit from where the .44 Henry Flat spent cartridges, and four Civil War era one or two piece metal buttons were recovered as well. The unit’s percentage of cut nails versus wire nails was 96.5%. Yet, on their own accord, there is not enough about any of them that makes their purported age and contents conclusive. The first of the seven speculative finds is one small clear glass bottle (Fig. 174 below left) that probably stood no more than 3 inches tall. This is surmised by four of its rim fragments, which, when pieced together, provide the scanty fact that the bottle’s mouth is 1 1/2” in diameter. The neck and shoulders of the bottle mouth’s rims suggest that the body of the bottle tapers fairly straight (See bottom portion of same Fig. 174 drawing).

#2 One clear glass opalized bottle with embossed lettering was recovered in Unit 4N10E.

The second object introduced is Figure 175 (below right). Clearly visible are its embossed letters, “Co” for “Company”? Its lettering could be indicative of a patent medicine bottle (Adkison 2002:1.14). There was also found a second similar flat and opalized fragment (320-111). But this smaller fragment is plain, without lettering.

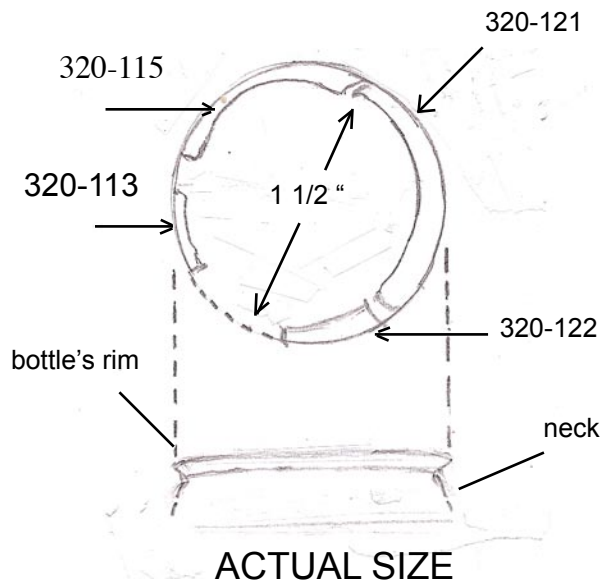


Figure 174. The four clear glass and opalized rim fragments (above) form a bottle mouth opening of 1 1/2 inches. Also, the neck and shoulder slope of this bottle tapers down gradually, as illustrated above.



Figure 175. This specimen 320-107 of clear and opalized glass has the letters “Co” embossed on it. This fragment was found in Unit 4N10E and may come from an old patent medicine bottle.

Unit 4N10E

#3 That an early glass lamp chimney may have been recovered is suggested by specimens 320-133 (see below Fig. 176) and 320-132 (Fig. 177).

320-133 consists of 54 egg-shell thin and curved, clear glass, opalized fragments. They are all seamless and of the texture for lamp chimney glass (See Fig. 297 of a "hurricane" style oil lamp chimney for a pre-1850 oil lamp vintage). The shape of the 320-132 fragments suggest they are the end products of a glass-maker's crimping technique. Best guess is that they were heat crimped and adhered (during the hot glass process) to the base portion of an oil or kerosene lamp.



Figure 176. Specimen 320-133 consists of 54 clear opalized, curved glass fragments. They could be of lamp chimney glass fragments from an oil or kerosene lamp popular until the advent of the incandescent (electricity) lamp.



ENLARGED 200%

Figure 177. 320-132 Possibly dents or flutes impressed (called "crimping") adhered onto the base of an oil lamp's base. These three, clear glass, scalloped fragments were also found in Unit 4N10E.

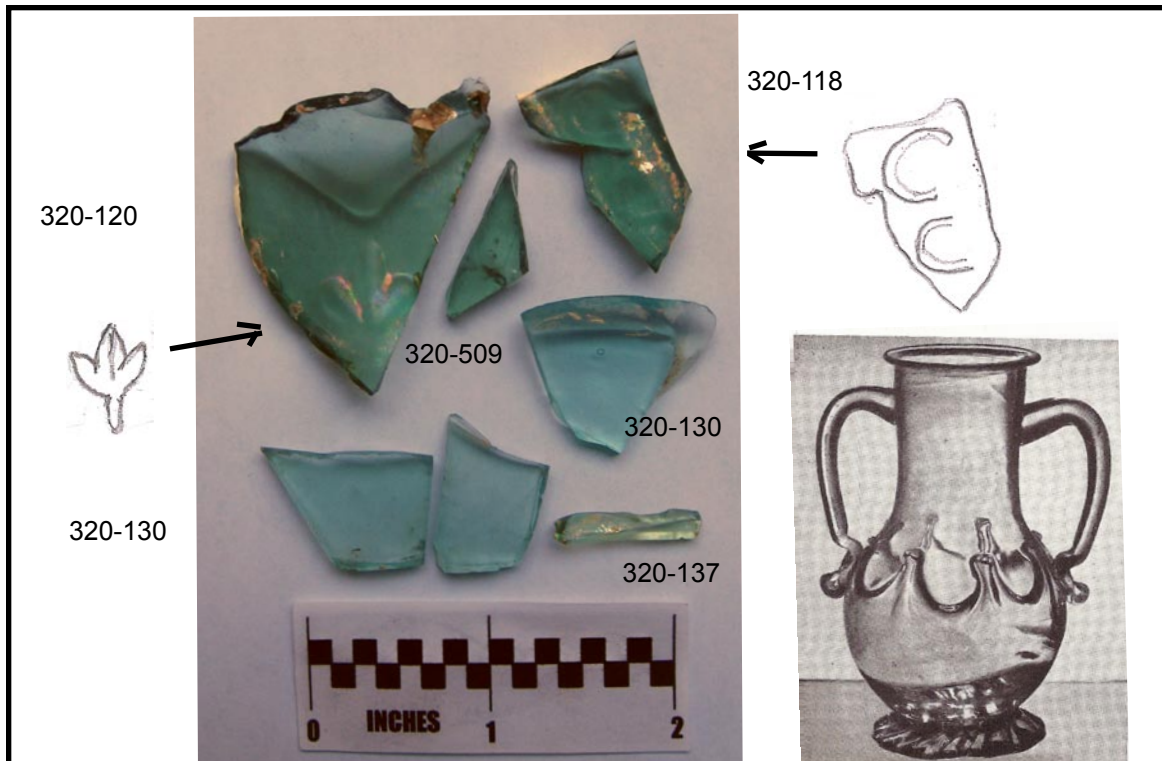
#4 Mystery glass object with "five toes" design is 320-135 also found in Unit 4N10E.

320-135 (Fig. 178a) is an unusual glass piece with decoration. This glass fragment is very thick, opalized, and partly melted. The faint design on its one side looks like "five toes." What this fragment originally was remains unidentified. It was cataloged with four other melted fragments, of which only one of these is somewhat like this one, only one-tenth its size.



REDUCED 50%
of ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 178b. 320-135 was found at 0-6" in Unit 4N10E.



ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 179a.

Figure 179b.

Photo of a 19th century aquamarine glass vase that stood 7" tall. Reprinted from Comstock (1958: Plate 114).

#5 One aquamarine decorative glass vessel assigned to Unit 4N10E.

The seven aquamarine colored, opalized glass fragments (Fig. 179a) from Unit 4N10E appear to be similar to the Plate 114 photo (above right, Fig. 179b) found by this researcher in Helen Comstock's 1958 *Concise Encyclopedia of American Antiques* Vol. 1. Comstock's Plate 114 caption reads, "Aquamarine vase, South Jersey type, early -nineteenth century; lily pad decoration, solid applied handles with crimped ends, crimped circular foot. Ht. 7." Compelling is that this pictured vase is also of aquamarine colored glass and possesses the same "Lily pad" motif. However, Bottles and glass expert Randy Taylor of Chico, believes that it remains most unlikely that a South Jersey glass vessel would have found its way here to northern California.

Maybe the aquamarine glass uncovered was of a candy dish? The fragments original use remains unresolved. Their catalog numbers are: 320-120 ("fleur-de-lis" motif); 320-118 (with two impressions); 320-130 (3 fragments); 320-137 (1 fragment); and 320-509 (1 fragment and found in adjacent Road Segment #2).

Lastly, it deserves to be said that their dainty, colorful and more feminine persuasion are incongruous to the mostly male oriented items found in this unit (see Feature 6 interpretations on pages 493-502).

#6 One deep greenish aqua glass bottle of unidentified content from Unit 4N10E

These two thick aqua glass and opalized fragments (320-123 and 320-125 illustrated in Fig. 181) have led more than one person to conjecture that maybe they are early Coca-Cola bottle fragments. It was in 1915 when the “first standardized Coca-Cola bottle” was manufactured (Adkison 2002:1.18). But, while these early Coca-Cola bottles were admittedly thicker than modern Coca-Cola bottles, the two fragments under discussion give the sense of being considerably older.

Historically the color aqua is considered for “general, versatile use” (Adkison 2002:1.23). This does not provide enough specifics. Bill Lindsey’s 2006 BLM web site <<http://www.sha.org/bottle/Typing/>> is also sparse about aqua glass uses. His description in the “Bottle/Glass Color” (p. 6 of 16) section reads,

Aqua is a very common color in all types of American made bottles that date prior to the 1920s back at least to the early 19th century.

Ponderings about Early Pickle Jars. Neither are the two specimens in question Ball Company Perfect Mason jar fragments.

But what is this about pickle jars?

The same place in the BLM web site also shows a picture of a “Gothic” or “cathedral” style pickle bottle (ca. 1870-1880), and, furthermore, describes how that particular aqua color was a “deep greenish aqua.” Yes, the two fragments do have that “Gothic feel” to them and possess that deep greenish tinge. Hence, “deep greenish aqua” is now their assigned color. For now, their bottle contents remains unidentified.

Four additional specimens of aqua glass were collected from Unit 4N10E. They do not appear to be associated with the two above specimens based on color and relative thicknesses. They are specimens 320-116 (1-rim fragment) and 320-131 (3-curved fragments).



75% OF ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 180. 320-123 and 320-125 possess a “deep greenish” aqua glass color, characteristic of the early pickle jar. Or have we possibly an early Coca-Cola bottle of thick, solarized aqua glass?

#7 One olive amber glass bottle, probably pre-1890, and whose content remains unidentified is from Unit 4N10E.

A total of 16 opalized and “amber” glass fragments were recovered from the immediate area of which 10 (62.5%) are “olive amber” in color which suggests a “pre-1890” cut off when manufactured. Adkison (2002:1.2) reports that “amber” glass use began as early as “1873.” The “pre-1890” time window is affirmed by Lindsey, with his comprehensive BLM “Bottles” web site data base <(http://www.sha.org/bottle/Typing/>, reported that,

“Olive amber is a very uncommon color in any type bottle after about 1890 and almost unknown after about 1900.”

Content unresolved - None of the fragments were diagnostic enough to reveal the bottle’s original contents. “Brown or amber” glass has a tradition of “alcoholic beverages and general items” content (Adkison 2002:1.22). “Dark olive-green glass” was used for Bordeaux champagne (Adkison 2002:1.15).

Two of the 16 fragments are “flat” and two are “curved.” 11 are described by the generic as simply “fragments.” Lastly, there is one amber glass fragment that came from the “neck” of a bottle (320-514), and it is of the “darker” olive amber color (See Fig. 181), which translates “pre-1890.” 320-514 and specimen 320-513 were recovered from Road Segment #2, which is adjacent or contiguous to Unit 4N10E, and therefore, at least 10 of the 16 fragments likely are of the same bottle.

The eight specimen numbers for the 16 fragments are: 320-108, 320-109, 320-110, 320-124, 320-128 (3 fragments), 320-136 (7 fragments), 320-513 and 320-514.

ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 181. Specimen 320-514 is a bottle “neck” fragment of the darker amber glass called “olive amber,” which is probably from a bottle, “pre-1890.” It was recovered in the vicinity of Unit 4N10E.



Bottles and Glass Interpretations of Unit 6N2E E1/2

#1 One partial bottle of dark/thick amber glass with brand name, Lash's Kidney and Liver Bitters Cathartic and Blood Purifier, was recovered from Unit 6N2E E 1/2, It is dated 1902-1905.

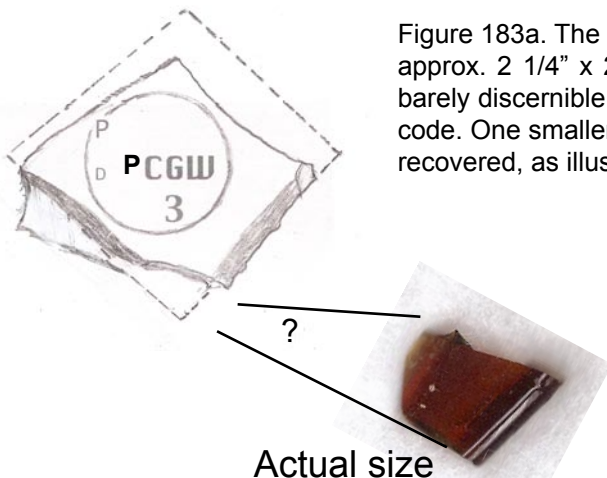
Based on the archaeological record, most of the Lash's Bitters bottle fragments were recovered, involving some 120 amber glass fragments (See site Catalog on the CD). The finalized span of years for this particular Lash's bottle has been narrowed to 1902-1905 (Toulouse 1969b:520). It was bottles' authority Mr. Randy Taylor of Chico who helped make this final determination. Taylor has been a Lash's Bitters bottle collector. He noticed on the base fragment (See Fig. 183b below) that the clearly discernible "CGW" embossed letters were off center. He asked this researcher to look again at the base, stating that "The letter 'P' should be there, only it is probably very faint." He was correct! PCGW stands for Pacific Coast Glass Company. The Lash's bottle's history began in 1883 (See below "History"). Mr. Taylor also pointed out that, "This particular lettering was first embossed in its inset panels first ca. 1884-1893. This is confirmed by Wilson and Wilson (1969:44). He added, "Your Lash's bottle fragments are of the later, 1894 through 1905 style whereby the same words were embossed on a bottle of which all its sides were flat." This distinction is also described in Wilson and Wilson (1969:44).



Figures 182 a & b. This bottle is 9.1" tall. 2 mold bottle w/tooled tapered collar Pacific Coast Glass Works in **PCGW** San Francisco (Toulouse 1969b:520; 3 Wilson and Wilson 1969:44)

50% Actual size

Figure 183a. The square base fragment (320-031) is approx. 2 1/4" x 2 1/4" The letter "P" of "PCGW" is barely discernible. There is also a "3," probably a mold code. One smaller base fragment (320-039) was also recovered, as illustrated below (Fig. 184b).



Actual size
Figure 183b. Dark/thick amber glass base fragment (320-039) also collected from Unit 6N2E E1/2.

Solving the Jigsaw Puzzle

Also recovered were fifteen amber glass fragments also embossed with text. In the beginning they made for a curious jigsaw puzzle to solve:

"CAT_A" BLO" "RIFIER" "KI" "AN" and "ASH"

[Notice that the last listed text above included an apostrophe (') after the "H."]

Step one. Conversational remarks at the site on the same day when the several text fragments were recovered, led to the hypothesis that "BLO" and "RIFIER" was "BLOOD PURIFIER." But what was the name of the early business that sold blood purifier bottles? And who were its owners?

Step two. A casual search of Kovel's Bottles Price List 13th edition listed a "Dr. Miles' Blood Purifier" bottle. One cross reference under "Cure" reads that related bottles may be found in the "Medicine" and "Bitters" categories.

There under the "Bitters" heading, were found listed three "amber glass" Bitters bottles called "Lash's." Added facts were that apparently the bitters bottle contents worked as a "Natural Tonic Laxative." The adjective "square" was given. And "9 1/2" was given. Thus, the mystery about the apostrophe of "ASH" found resolution. Ash's was the proper name, "Lash's"! "Square" matched the base fragments found. "9 1/2" was a slightly taller bottle height listing.

History of Lash's Bitters Bottles

In the tumultuous City of San Francisco in 1883, Mr. Tito Lash and Mr. John Spieker came together as business partners. They set out to manufacture proprietary medicines, namely, various bitters and Homer's Ginger Brandy (Fike 1987:37). Significantly, Fike added,

Lash's Bitters were introduced in 1884. Lash, bought out by Spieker ca. 1890, produced Dr. Webb's and Webb's Stag Bitters until prohibition. Spieker died in 1914 and was succeeded by his wife (Ring 1980; Wilson and Wilson 1969).

What are Bitters? Bottled in Amber Glass?

Bitters were traditionally sold as "medicine." Clever salesmen would add some herbs to the gin. For collectors of "Bitters" bottles, the word "bitters" must be embossed on the glass. Most date from 1862, the year of the Revenue Act tax on liquor, until 1906, the year the Food and Drugs Act placed restrictions on the sale of bitters as a medicinal cure. Over 1,000 types are known (Kovel and Kovel 2006:26).

Bottled in amber glass? - Archaeologist Vicki Adkison (2002:1.13) wrote:

"Regarding drugstore bottles ('ethical medicines') colors might be amber and sometimes green or blue, but clear was the dominant glass in this type." (Underscore author's)

Additional findings: From Wilson and Wilson (1969:44), the years of operation for the San Francisco based Pacific Coast Glass Company, located at 116 Second Street, was 1894 to 1924. In 1902, the company had named changed to Pacific Coast Glass Works (PCCW). In 1924 the named changed to "Company" (Toulouse 1969b:520). From 1894 through 1905, the Lash's Bitters bottle's lettering was embossed on the bottle "with all sides flat." Hence, this provides the span of years for the particular Lash's Bitters bottle found as being 1902 - 1905. About the Lash's Bitters bottles, Wilson and Wilson (1969:44) added that they were, "Actually made in several molds and distributed in many areas of the U.S. from 1894 through 1905. Pale orange amber. Tooled top."

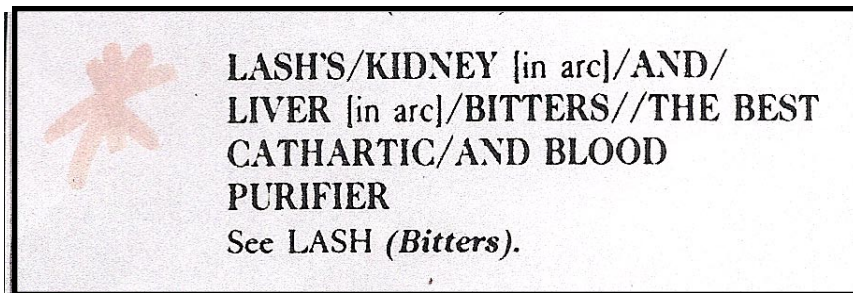


Figure 184. This was the text for Lash's Bitters bottle manufactured ca. 1884-1905. The above "double forward-slashes to the right" signified where the text ended on one side panel and continued on the opposite side panel.

Both Richard Fike's (1987:37-38) and Wilson and Wilson (1969:44) included the text that was embossed on the Lash's Bitters bottle opposing sides "ca. 1884 to 1905."

Reprinted (below left, Fig. 186a) is a 1910-1912 Lash's Bitters bottle (Wilson and Wilson 1969:44) from BLM (2006) "Bottle Typing/Shapes" web site, page 4 of 22. Figure 185b outline drawing showing all sides flat.. The vintage Lash's Bitters paper label (below right, Fig. 185c) that appeared 1894 through 1905, reprinted from Wilson and Wilson (1969:45).

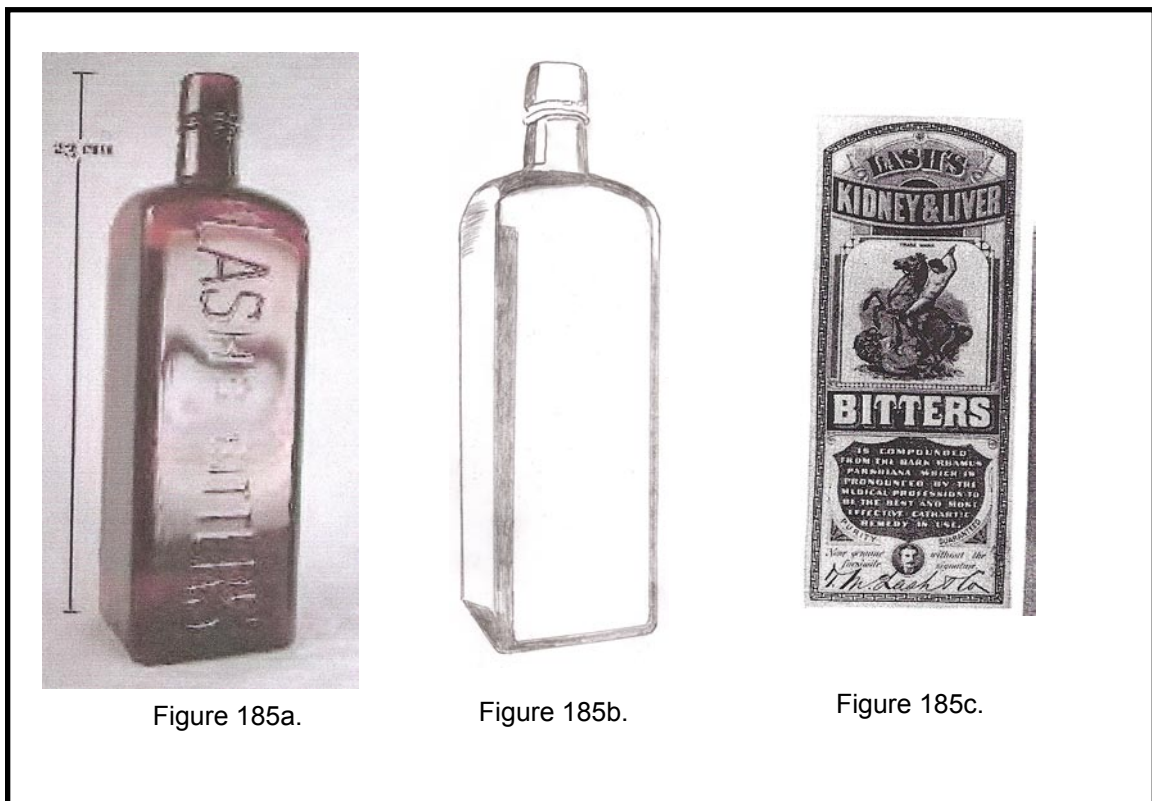


Figure 185a.

Figure 185b.

Figure 185c.

Where Sixteen of the Seventeen Jigsaw Puzzle Pieces Fit
(See Figures 186 and 187)

<u>Specimen Number</u>	<u>Description</u>
<u>320-009</u>	2 embossed fragments of which one is the lower part of the "H" in LASH'S and the other is the lower half of "PURIFIER"
<u>320-010</u>	5 embossed fragments of which: 1 is "_ND BLOOD, 3 contribute to the spelling of "LASH'S, and 1 is upper half of PURIFIER"
<u>320-011</u>	8 embossed lettering fragments of which 5 are of the "dark/thick amber glass with broken text =CAT, KI, AN, broken TTE and IL; while 3 embossed fragments of the light amber color/flat/ thin" type = "I" and "i" and "HAI".
<u>320-031</u>	1 bottle base fragment w/PCGW [Campbell Glass Works, 1885] was assigned as the base of the Lash's Bitters bottle found. Also, specimen 320-039 base fragment recovered is invariably a smaller piece of this same base.
<u>320-046</u>	1 embossed fragment, which remains undecipherable/undetermined as to its placement.

Amber Glass Colors Are a Function of Their Thickness

Amber glass types. At first, the unit's data appeared to be a mix of two distinct kinds of amber glass.* Regarding only the amber glass collected from Unit 6N2E E1/2, 89.1% (107/120) were "dark/thick" amber glass (which is the name used in this discussion) and 10.8% (13/120) were of the second type herein named "Light/flat/thin" amber glass. "Light" describes a color that is a shade of honey or of gold color. It was also believed originally that only the "dark/thick" amber glass was the one material of the Lash's Bitters bottle found.

Conclusion reached: For earlier made, pre-1920 bottles, believing that a certain color could be assigned to them is untrue. Simply put, color is largely a function of glass thickness for these pre-1920 automatic bottle machine bottles.

Amber shade used for beer and vaccination bottles. Lindsay (2006:12) of the BLM's web site, "Bottles/glass colors" section, explains that it wasn't until the modern automatic bottle machine beginning in 1920 to the present that, especially with beer bottles, that the amber shade remains a common uniform color throughout all parts of the bottle.

* There was a third category of amber glass called "medium." But is not included here. Specimen 320-564 contains five "medium [colored] amber" fragments. They are indistinguishable from the "dark/thick" amber, only they are flat.

Unit 6N2E E1/2

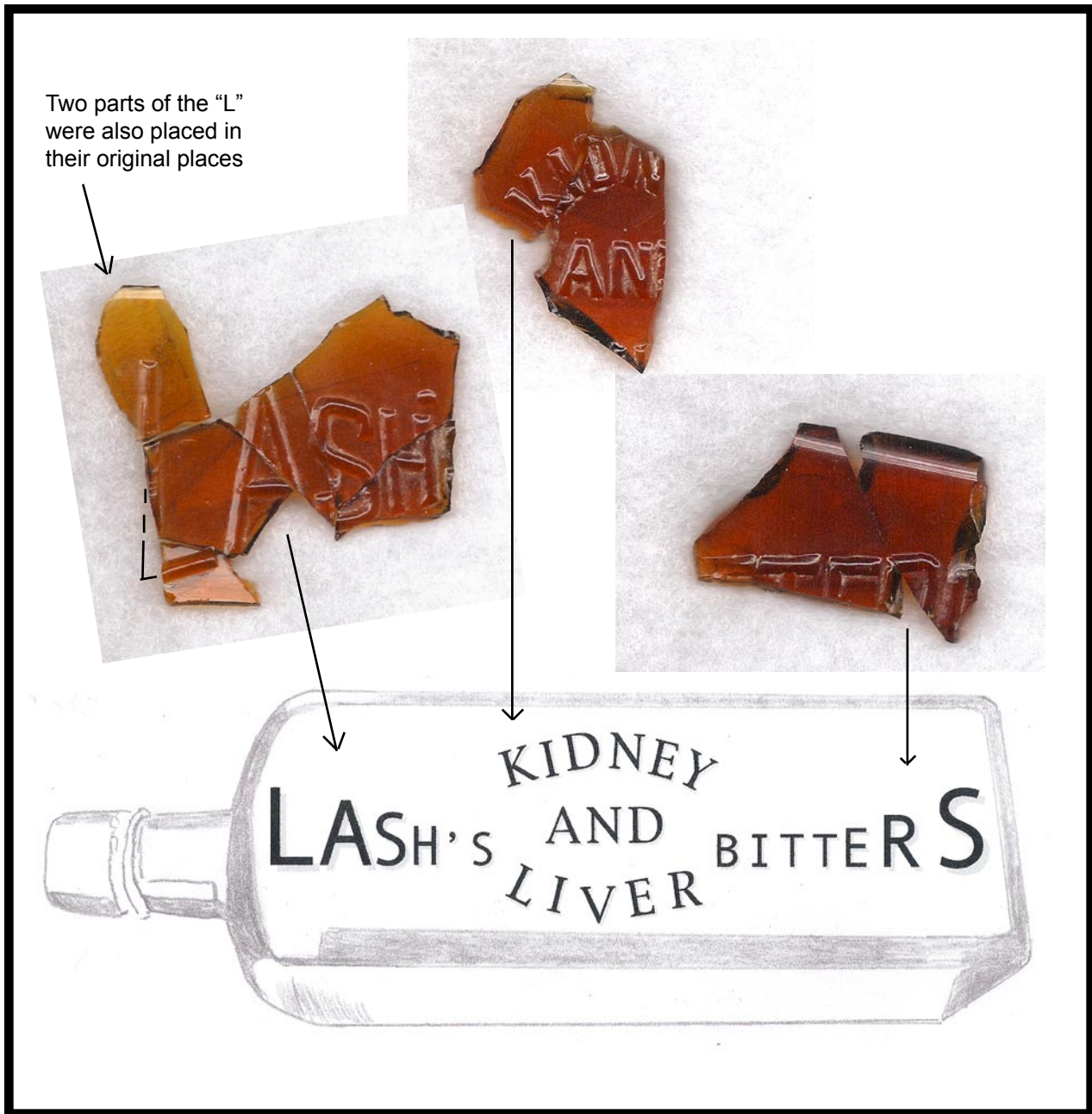


Figure 186. Ten amber glass fragments (320, 009, 320-010) embossed with text were recovered from Unit 6N2E E 1/2. The above range in colors of the respective embossed fragments demonstrates that for the earlier made, pre-1920 bottles anyway, the color of amber glass is a function of glass thickness.

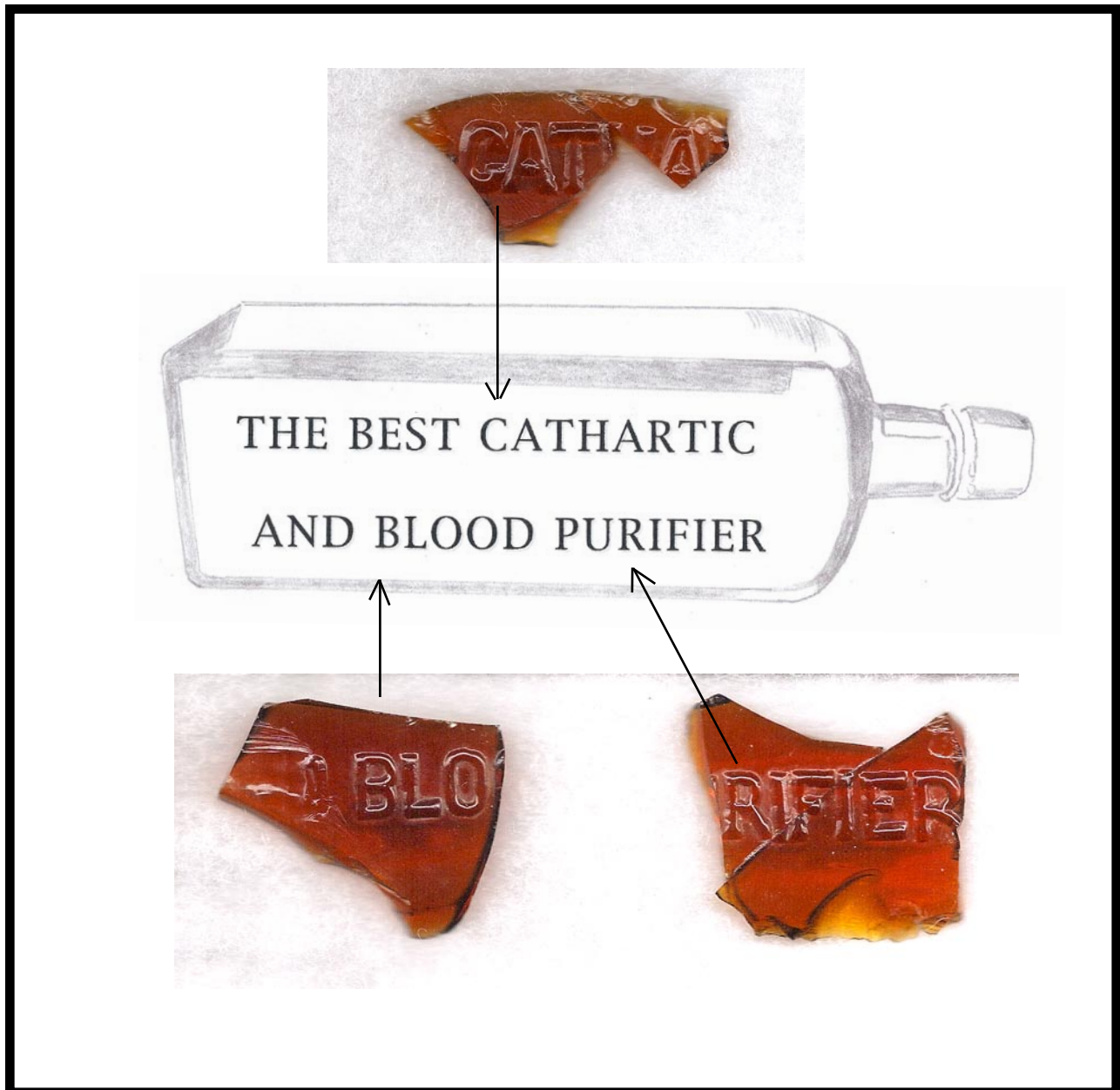


Figure 187. Five dark/thick amber glass fragments (320-010) embossed with text recovered from Unit 6N2E E 1/2.

Unit 6N2E E1/2

#2 One Miniature Perfume bottle from Unit 6N2E E1/2

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description
320-027	6N2E E1/2	0-6"	Miniature perfume bottle amber colored glass, opalized Length 1" width 1/2" wide 1/8" (See Fig. 188 below)



Figure 188.



Figure 189. Illustrated above is another style of early miniature perfumer. Photo permission courtesy of Diane Ayers, owner of Chico's Fifth Generation Antiques, 10/23/2007.

Two response letters to queries were received, and are reprinted below:

LETTER #1

Dear Richard,

9/16/2006

Re: Miniature Glass Bottle

Your letter about the very small bottle finally made its way to us here in Oklahoma City. My first thought is that it is the exact size a lady might have carried in her handbag, containing either cologne, fragrant salts or smelling salts. Sometimes, a lady would dab some of the fragrant contents on her handkerchief and hold it over her nose, especially when necessary to freshen the air around her or perhaps passing through the masses of the unwashed. If you found the bottle in an old cistern, it would almost confirm it was used for masking scent.

These small bottles generally came in a case of some kind, either with a snap or drawstring. They were used by ladies through the end of the 1800s. Rich ladies used fancy bottles which were bejeweled and enameled, but plain-looking ones make sense in a farming area and the wild west. The top of your bottle doesn't appear to lend itself to anything medicinal.

This is only a guess on my part after many years in the antique business. May I suggest you contact a member of the Federation of Historical Bottle Collectors. Richard Siri, PO Box 2818, Santa Rosa CA 95402 may be able to get you to the right person. It is a HUGE organization. Their web site is <http://fohbe.com/>

Regards,

Sandy Jones

Editor, Midwest Miniature Bottle Collectors/MMBC,
Oklahoma City, OK

LETTER #2

Dear Kovels Subscriber:
Re: Miniature Glass Bottle

8/9/2006

What an interesting project you have undertaken! As for the tiny novelty bottle —glass makers often did this type of thing for fun. Good luck.

Ralph and Terry Kovel
Co-authors of *Kovels' Bottles Price List 13th Edition*.
Beachwood, Ohio.

[Note: Remarks received handwritten on edge of Kovels on Antiques and Collectibles stationery.]

#3 One partial stoneware bottle is from Unit 6N2E E1/2

<u>Specimen Number</u>	<u>Horizontal Provenience</u>	<u>Depth</u>	<u>Description</u>
320-001	6N2E E1/2	0-6"	Stoneware lip fragments(3) (See Personal Group section)

Miscellaneous Glass Observations

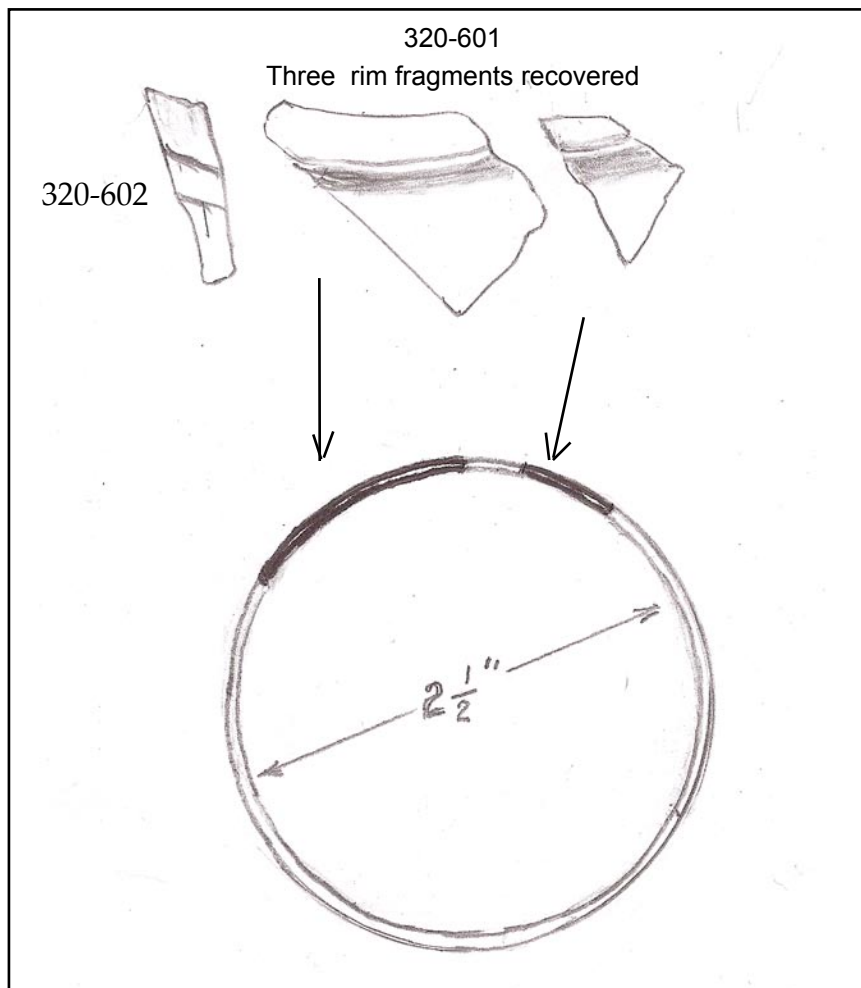
• Sixteen clear glass fragments and one aqua window pane glass fragment found in Unit 6N2E E 1/2 are listed below. Other than noting their presence, no contextual remarks can be made about them.

<u>Specimen Number</u>	<u>Horizontal Provenience</u>	<u>Depth</u>	<u>Description</u>
320-049	6N2E E 1/2	0-6"	Clear glass thin curved (1)
320-050	6N2E E 1/2	0-6"	Clear bottle glass fragments (11)
320-051	6N2E E 1/2	0-6"	Clear glass thick fragments (2)
320-052	6N2E E 1/2	0-6"	Clear glass bottle body frag. (1)
320-577	6N2E E 1/2	6-12"	Clear frosted glass rim frag. (1)
320-048	6N2E E 1/2	0-6"	Aqua window pane glass frag. (1) (See Architectural/Structural/ Construction).

Bottles and Glass Interpretations of Unit 3N1E

#1 One partial clear glass jar, with pressure lid type, 2 1/2" diameter wide- mouth opening,, Unit 3N1E.

Three clear glass rim fragments (320-601 and 320-602) were diagnostic enough to determine that they form a wide-mouth vessel or jar. As for curved "jar" body fragments, eight considerably thicker fragments, found in the 320-597 specimen baggie (with 56 total curved fragments) are probably from this jar. While the three rim fragments appear non-opalescent, suggesting that this pressure lid type jar is not very old, the eight thicker glass curved fragments are somewhat opalized and solarized (Fig. 190). In view of the fact that this unit, 3N1E, had 59.6% cut nails recovered, this bottle could well be ca. 1900.



ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 190.

#2 One partial clear glass bottle, with approx. 1 1/2" diameter base is also from Unit 3N1E.

This clear and opalized base fragment (320-608) has one seam around its perimeter. There was also one seam lines found among the 48 of 56 very thin opalized and curved bottle body fragments (320-597) that probably came from this smaller bottle. This bottle probably was about 3 inches tall, since its base diameter was about 1 1/2 inches. It is probably a "semi-automatic machine made bottle, common between "1880-1913" (Adkison 2002:1.1.).

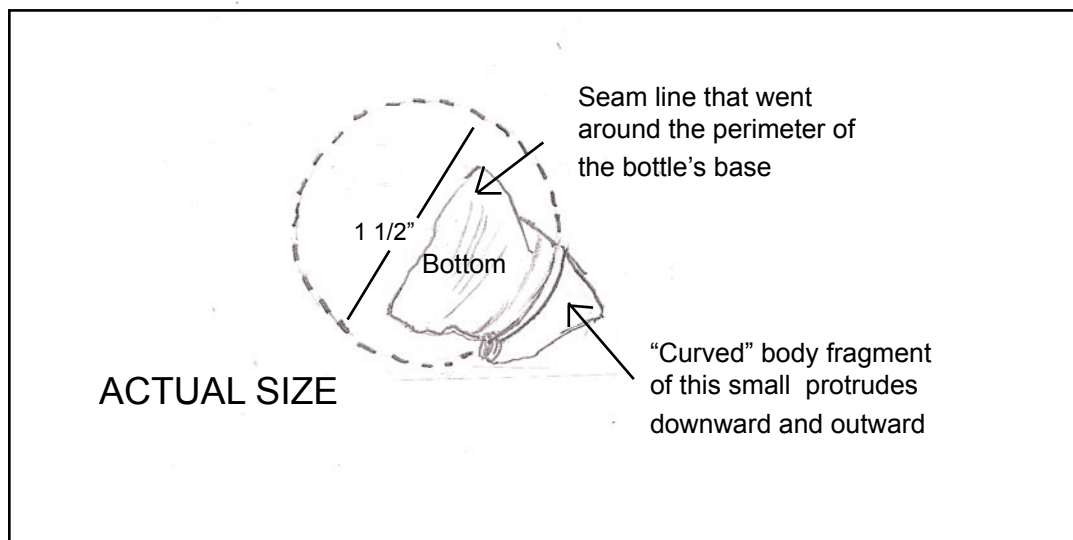


Figure 191. Clear and opalized glass bottle base fragment (320-608)

#3 One partial aqua glass bottle is from Unit 3N1E.

Aqua glass was popular during 1880 to 1920 (Adkison 2002:1.22-1.23). This aqua glass, opalized fragment (320-605) is a partial "neck" piece or a "lip and collar" piece (if turned upside down) possibly from a patent medicine bottle. The shape of the fragment in question resembles the "Flat or Patent" bottle finish type (Fig. 193) illustrated in Adkison (2002:1.9). The specimen is also curved or rounded on its "inside" facing side.

Fragment 320-605 is one of seven total aqua-colored glass fragments recovered from Unit 3N1E; although the other six (320-595) are not nearly as opalized.

ACTUAL SIZE

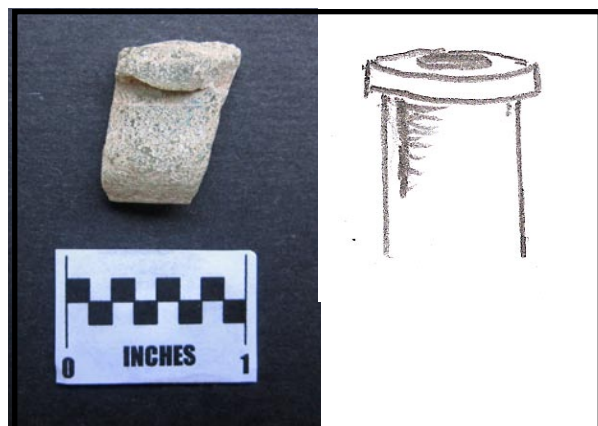


Figure 192.
320-605
from Unit 3N1E.

Figure 193.
drawn from Adkison
(2002:1.9)

Unit 3N1E

#4 One amethyst-colored glass jar, with mouth diameter of 3 1/4," is assigned from 3N1E.

From Unit 3N1E, a count of 63 total "pre 1920" amethyst glass fragments were recovered (320-614 and 320-596). Ten of these were rim fragments (320-614) that, when placed together, indicate a wide-mouth vessel or jar (with 3 1/4" diameter). Vertical seam lines on two of these rim fragments clearly stop below the lip (See Fig. 194 below). One variety of a three part mold included a seam running up the neck, stopping below the lip, from a horizontal seam at the widest part of the shoulder, called a Shoulder-Hinged Mold of the Three Part Mold process. This type was popular" ca. 1821 -1910" (Adkison 2002:1.5).

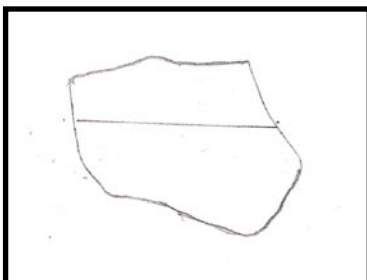
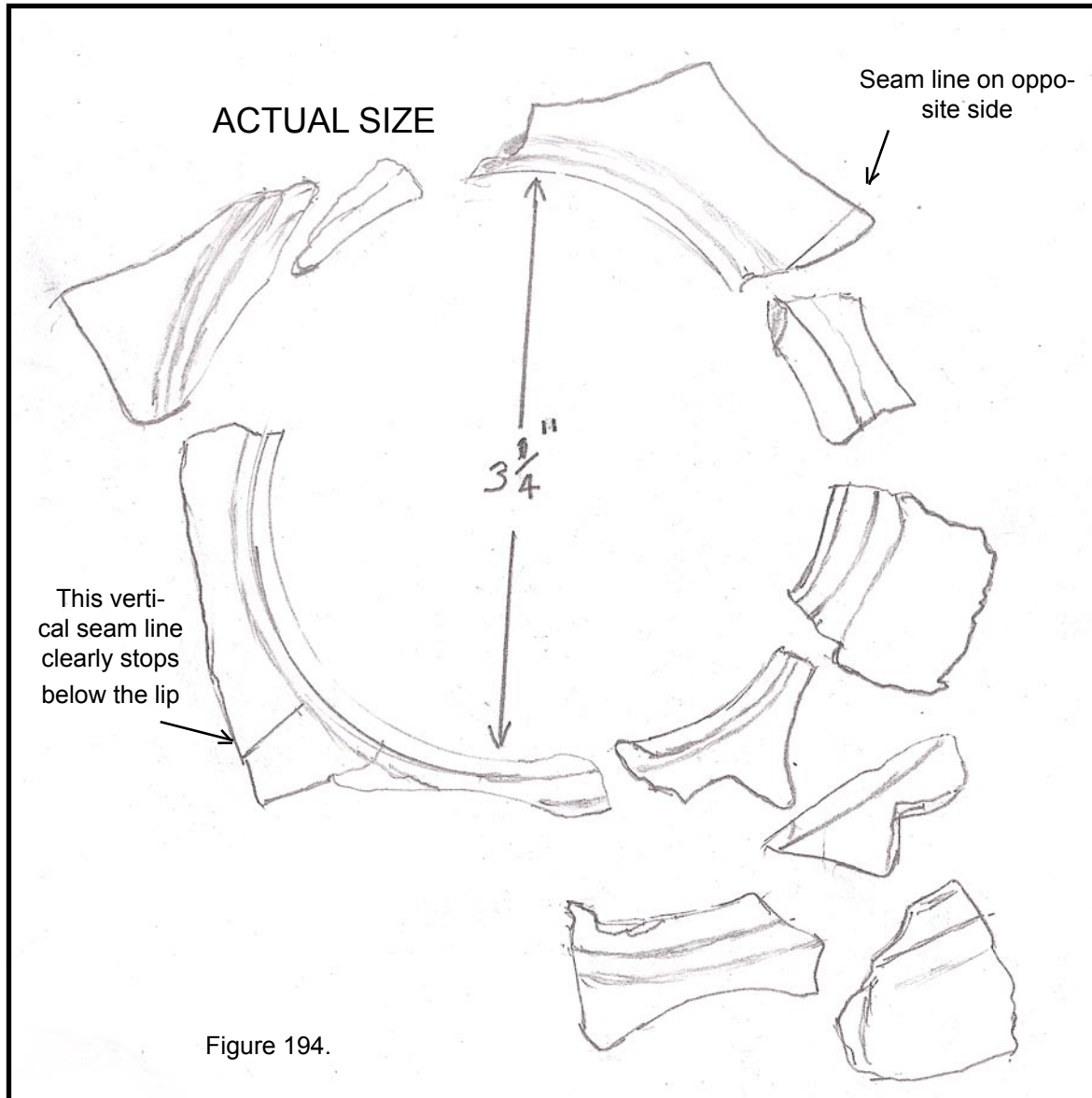


Figure 195. This amethyst glass curved bottle fragment from Unit 3N1E, possesses a seam line, which, based on the feel of its curve, appears to be a "horizontal" seam line rather than a vertical seam line that went around the shoulder of a vessel made by the Three Part Mold type (Adkison 2002:1.5). This is the only one of the 52 "curved" fragments (320-596) that clearly has the predicted seam on it.

NE QUADRANT & Unit 3N1E

#5 One partial amethyst bottle from the NE site quadrant.

Nineteen amethyst fragments, including one thick bottle base fragment (320-465) were found (see below Fig. 196). Several of the nineteen were reported found during metal detector sweeps in the “cabin flat” area.” This means that some of these NE fragments (in the Catalog) could be parts of the amethyst jar described above on page 338. Many of them, such as the base fragment (See Fig. 196 below), are thick and opalized and give the notion of being an old bottle rather than a food jar. Indeed, one other fragment (320-461) is a curved bottle neck fragment.

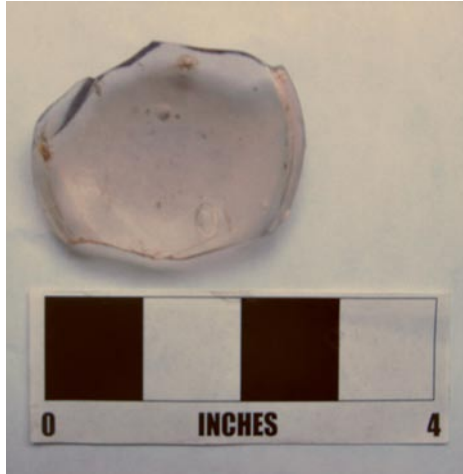


Figure 196. The diameter of this amethyst-colored “base” fragment (320-465) is 2 1/2”

REDUCED 50%
OF ACTUAL SIZE

Because a seam is discernible (at its two widest ends) that goes around its perimeter, it could be a third of a Three Part Mold, which dates ca. 1821-1910 (Adkison 2002:1.5).

The one small rough circular scar on this bottle base is “off center,” which discounts it from being a pontil mark.

Miscellaneous Glass Fragment Finds from 3N1E

320-603	3N1E	0-6”	One clear glass opalized tiny (5/16”) bottle base “corner” fragment. This one stands alone.
320-603	3N1E	0-6”	One cobalt blue glass fragment. This is the only one of its color found at the site.

Comments: The BLM’s Bottle Typing/”Typologies” web site (Lindsey 2006) reported about the color “blue,” that “Though not a common color when compared to aqua, amber, and the greens, cobalt and sapphire blue can be found to some degree in virtually any type of bottle from inks to figured flasks to beer bottles to even occasional food bottles (“Bottle/Glass Colors” section, p. 14). The span of years for the blue-colored, Bromo-Seltzer Emerson Drug Co., Baltimore, MD, bottles is relatively recent, 1890 - 1930.



Figure 197. Shasta College archaeology class students are digging at the CA-TEH-2105H Hi Good Cabin site on Saturday, 2/28/2004. Exposed in the foreground is Unit 3N3E, the most easterly unit of Feature 2 "Brick Scatter." This trench was purposefully excavated in the general cabin flat area.. Photo by author.

Bottles and Glass Interpretations of Units 3N2E, 3N3E

#1 One partial light-aqua colored glass bottle, of the medicinal elixirs type, Unit 3N2E.

Specimen 320-070 contains two light aqua colored glass “indented” side panel fragments (Fig. 198) that were recovered from Unit 3N2E. Largely because they lack embossed lettering, they appear to be more of the early medicinal elixirs bottle type, as illustrated in Figure 200 . The major problem for saying much more about this bottle, is the lack of associated fragments found. Only four other aqua glass fragments came from this same unit, namely specimens 320-067 and 320-075. The one small aqua glass fragment, 320-076, also appears to be a small side panel piece. However, it is much more opalized than the other (320-070) two side panel fragments. It could be a fragment to a different bottle. Specimen 320-075 contains three of the tiniest aqua glass fragments. They, too, appear more opalized. One of them is flat.

75% ACTUAL SIZE



Figure 198. Two aqua glass indented side panel fragments (320-070)

Figure 199. “Medicinal elixirs, syrups, nervines, specifics, etc.” Reprinted from Adkison (2002:1.14).

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description
320-215	3N2E	0-6"	cork bottle stopper fragment (1)

Lastly, one cork bottle fragment (320-215) was also found in Unit 3N2E, and at the same Level 1(0-6"), as the partial medicinal or elixirs bottle recovered. Adkison (2002:1:13) affirms that, “Patent medicines . . . had cork closures,” as well as “commonly [being] rectangular or cylindrical.” Corks invariably were used for elixir bottles as well. It is surmised that this cork bottle material served as the stopper for the same partial medicinal / elixirs bottle found.

#2 One partial amber glass bottle was recovered from Unit 3N2E.

Fifteen amber glass, opalized, fragments were found strewn in the Feature 2 trench. Six fragments were found in Unit 3N1E, five in Unit 3N2E, and six fragments in Unit 3N3E. The most diagnostic fragment amongst them was specimen 320-076, with bottle “lip, collar, and neck” features (See below Figures 200 and 201).

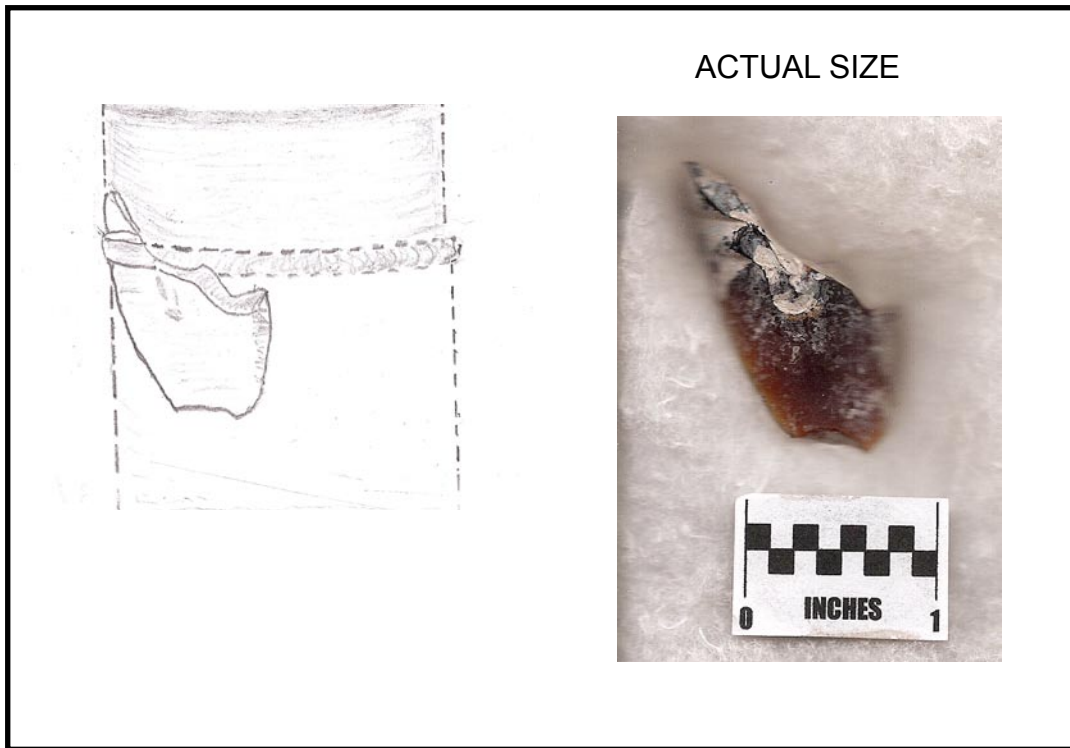


Figure 200.

Figure 201.

Fragment 320-076 also possessed just enough of the original bottle’s rounded collar band to determine the bottle’s original mouth diameter, a little less than 1 1/2 inches.

BLM’s “Bottle Typing (“Typology”) web site: <<http://www.sha.org/bottle/Typing/>> Reported about amber glass bottles(in Bottle/Glass Colors, pp. 11-12) was that:

“Since amber colors [various shades] were used or an extensive time period [19th through mid-20th centuries] in most types of bottles, there is little dating or typing utility to the color.”

Keeping with the one (320-076) “Lip/collar/neck” and opalized fragment, only six (of the fifteen total amber glass fragments collected from Feature 2) are opalized and appear to be clearly associated parts from the same early bottle: two (320-104 and 320-105) from Unit 3N2E, three (320-262) from Unit 3N3E, and one (320-600) from Unit 3N1E.

Eight of the fifteen amber glass fragments are interpreted as more of the dark/thick type of amber glass similar to the Lash’s Bitters bottle.

Bottles and Glass Interpretations of Unit 3N3E

#1 One partial white glass ointment jar was recovered at the site from 3N3E.

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description/Date
320-269	3N3E	0-6"	White glass "base" frag (1) "1870s-1920" Diameter of jar mouth, 1 3/4" Possible "2" and top half of "A" (sideways) are embossed
320-270	3N3E	0-6"	White glass "neck" fragment (1)
320-271	3N3E	0-6"	White glass fragments (1) [MISSING]
320-272	3N3E	0-6"	White glass fragments (7)

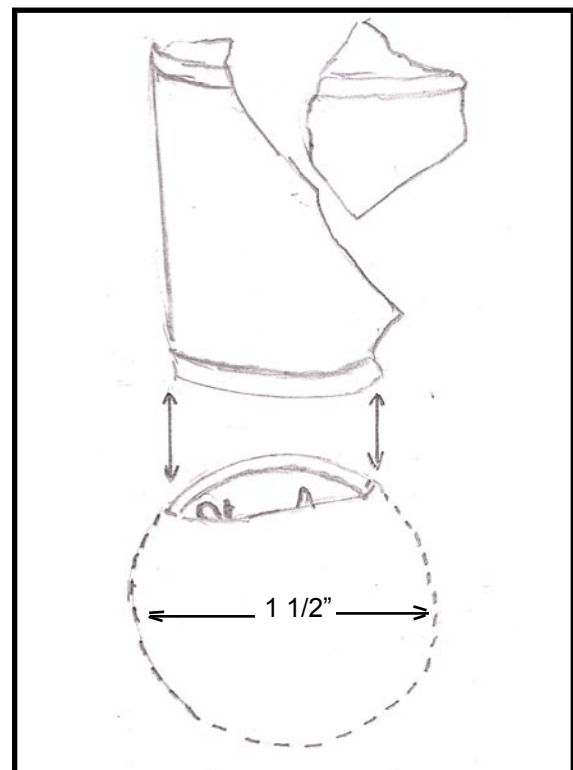
Unit 3N3E was the only place where white glass was found. Ten "white glass" fragments comprise the partial remains (about 1/3) of a possible cosmetics or toiletry jar. In addition to 320-269 and 320-270 (Fig. 202 below), the other specimen numbers for white glass are 320-271 and 320-272 .

Ceramics consultant Barbara Woodrum, suggested a "1920s ointment or some kind of face cream." White glass has been commonly called, "Milk-white" glass. A less common name is "Alabaster" glass." Uses of "Milk glass," according to Adkison (2002: 1.23) are ". . . medicines, cosmetic, toiletry, food and specialty items."

Figure 202. Illustrated are the two (of ten) white glass fragments (320-269 and 320-270) collected from Unit 3N3E.

This is potentially a hand ointment or Mentholatum jar. Its base diameter is

1 1/2." On the underside of the base along its perimeter appears to be embossed a "2" and maybe the top part of the letter "A" (turned sideways)?



Unit 3N3E

White glass container -continued-

Jar size and embossing: The height of the white glass container remains undetermined. Its base diameter is 1 1/2." There appears to be a "2" and maybe the top part of the letter "A," embossed on its base.

How old is white glass? From Helen Compton [n. d.] *Concise Encyclopedia of American Antiques, Vol. 1*, p. 170:

Milk Glass . . . was first made on a large commercial scale in the 1870s and 1880s. There are some pieces with 1870 and 1872 patent dates but its greatest popularity came in the last two decades of the century, and in fact, reproductions of the most popular designs are still being turned out.

"Mentholatum jars in white milk-glass (2 x 1-5/8") first appeared ca. 1900; used until 1952 and in 3-ounce size jar circa 1902 until 1952" (Adkison 2002: 1.15).

Lindsey (2006) reports that "The color [white] was most commonly used in cosmetic and toiletry bottles (primarily from the 1870s to about 1920) and ointment/cream jars (1890s to the mid-20th century."

#2 One whole, clear glass, 1937, Alka Seltzer tube bottle was found in 3N3E.

The date "1937" for specimen 320-216 has the support of two bottle experts: (1) Bill Lindsey (2007) and (2) Bill Lockhart (2004). No published archival data existed that helped to affirm "1937" for this bottle in question, until Bill Lockhart published article appeared and Bill Lindsey's correspondence was received across this author's desk (See below).

(1) Bill Lindsey, writer of BLM's Bottle ("Typology") web site <http://blm.gov/historic_bottles/typing.htm> wrote in his memorandum letter, received post marked January 11, 2007, that, "The Alka-Seltzer bottles are from 1935 and 1937." Bill Lindsey also wrote, "I know of no specialists on A-S bottles alas."

[Note: This author in late 2006 queried Bill Lindsey to help determine the dates for two A-S tube bottles: one A-S bottle antique store purchased (with a one digit "5" on the right of the diamond logo) and specimen 320-216 recovered at the site (with a one digit "7" on the right of the diamond logo.)

(2) Bill Lockhart (2004:2) wrote:

The date on the bottles is most often identified by only a single digit for the last number of the year. This sometimes causes confusion as one cannot always be certain whether a "7," as in this case, stands for 1937, 1947 or 1957. The last date was ruled out since the maker's mark ended in 1954, and was totally replaced by the new company logo by 1957.

About 1947, Bill Lockhart (2004:3) wrote, "Owens-Illinois continued the single-digit numeral/period system until 1946, although the company began integrating a two-digit system as early as 1943." Lockhart ended with, "However, I have found few exceptions to the period rule. By 1947, the change to double-digit date codes appears to have been completely adopted by all the plants." (Underscore author's)

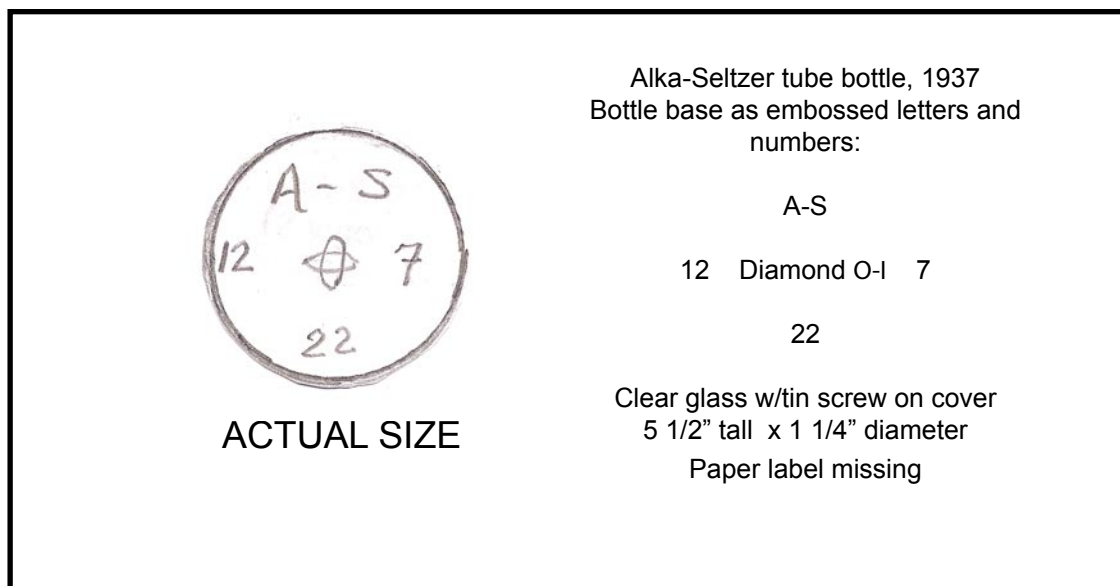


Figure 203.

Unit 3N3E



Figure 204. "Alka-Seltzer" artifact (320-216) was exposed by archaeologist John Brooks in unit 3N3E during excavation work at the Hi Good Cabin site. It was found lodged amongst the red brick scatter of Feature 2, the cabin/chimney location (see arrow above). The bottle's disposition became a significant time-marker for 1937 or thereabouts, when the Hi Good cabin chimney collapsed. It appears that we have a classic case of "Alka-Seltzer to the rescue."

John Brooks holds in his hand an old leather inner sole of composite leather for footwear, which he found of a man's size eleven or twelve (320-221). The leather inner sole was also found in Unit 3N3E.

Unit 3N3E

A-S Company History: The original Alka-Seltzer Company started in 1931, and was made by the U.S. based Miles Laboratory (today the German Bayer Corporation owns the Alka-Seltzer brand.) The original Alka-Seltzer was a remedy for hangover, indigestion, and headache. The contents are a combination of aspirin (acetylsalicylic acid), baking soda (sodium bicarbonate) and citric acid. It was provided in the form of large effervescent tablets, each about 1 inch (25 mm) in diameter.

The product was made available in both glass tubes with blue & white paper label (Fig. 205) and foil packets; the latter is the way the product is primarily provided today, with two tablets in each packet (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alka-Seltzer>).



Figure 205. Alka-Seltzer product with blue & white paper label and tin screw thread blue cap.

The year 1937, or a little later, was when the bottle was manufactured by the glass factory and sold commercially, and, lastly, discarded by some unidentified person at the site or study area. At about this same time frame, or perhaps a year later, the felled chimney bricks buried the bottle. One oral history interview, secured by this author from Norman Leininger of Vina (See Ch. 2 VII), helped affirm the approximate time frame as well as correct location of the Hi Good Cabin (which he remembered in his childhood was in "Acorn Hollow." Norman thought he remembered a chimney being part of the structure when he visited there in about 1932 with his younger brother Wesley.

Unit 3N3E

#3 One nondescript, clear glass and opalized bottle fragment is assigned to Unit 3N3E.

This is a difficult bottle to define, based on eighteen clear glass and opalized fragments in Unit 3N3E, with one fragment probably a rim piece (See Fig. 206); as well as one curved fragment (320-267) with seam line. It was possible to determine that the vessel had a mouth diameter of approx. 2 1/4." Eight clear glass fragments from the adjacent unit, 3N2E, were also recovered. Some of these could

ENLARGED 200%

Figure 206. 320-265 probable rim fragment with threads of a bottle with a mouth opening of approximately 2 1/4" diameter.



be parts of this same clear glass bottle.

Miscellaneous Glass Observations

• Olive amber (4) and dark olive-green fragments(5) were found in the trench units of Feature 2. Other than noting their presence, no contextual remarks can be made about them.

In review, the "olive amber" fragments are considered older, pre-1890 bottles (Lindsay 2006), while the "dark olive-green" fragments are associated "usually" with the large 26oz, "post 1900" champagne bottles (Adkison 2002:1.15).

• Aqua window pane glass fragments were noted as also recovered from the trench units, Feature 2. These specimens are listed with Architectural/Structural/Construction materials.

Bottles and Glass in Relation to the Site's Quadrants

Regarding the 47 whole and partial glass "containers" found at the site, they were all found in the NE quadrant, except for one partial glass bottle (Fig. 207 below) found in the SW quadrant itself broken into two fragments(320-472 and 320-473).

Another category of containers were several tin cans. The five beer cans collected from Feature 1 are listed at the back of the "Bottles and Glass" section of Feature 1. Also recovered from the SW quadrant was 320-475. It is a nondescript, flask shaped metal container described and illustrated in this report's Kitchen Group section.

#1 One partial clear and opalized, patent medicine type bottle was recovered in the SW quadrant close to the datum and in the close proximity of the cabin flat area.

Figure 208 is a rough sketch of what this early bottle originally looked like. These two clear glass, very opalized, and pitted fragments are the complete lip (320-472) and 40% of its square base (320-473), collected together from the SW quadrant. The two fragments indicate that the bottle was originally rectangular, with high shoulder and square base, approximately 1 1/2" x 1 1/2" x about 4" tall.

The bottle is probably an early prescription bottle, as opposed to patent medicine bottle. The lip (320-473) fragment's shape speaks to this. It matches the "prescription" bottle type that is illustrated in Adkison (2002:1.9). There is no embossed lettering that is discernible. The fact that the base part found has the kick-up or push-up attribute, this suggests it is somewhat like a "patent medicine" bottle, as illustrated in Adkison (2002:1.14) for reprinted here (Fig. 207) for comparison.

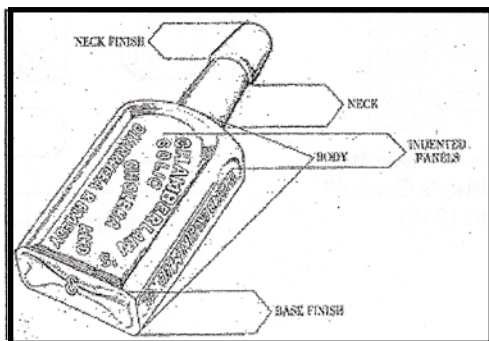


Figure 207. Patent medicine bottle's "classic" form. Its components are: (1) Indented panels (2) kick-up or push-up base (3) cork-stoppered, and (4) Embossed lettering (Adkison

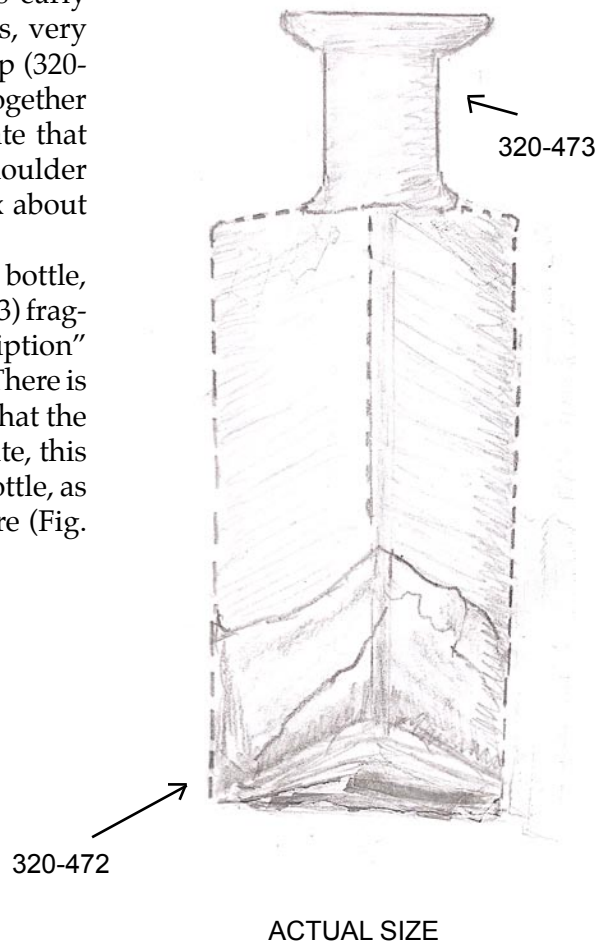


Figure 208. Illustrated with dotted lines is the rectangular body section of this early bottle that is missing. Its lip and base were found together in the SW quadrant close to the cabin flat area. It is a prescription or patent medicine bottle, circa 1880s or earlier.

Feature 4 Road Segments

Only two bottle remnants were found within the confines of the road segments of Feature 4:
#1 One whole amber glass animal vaccination bottle (320-549).

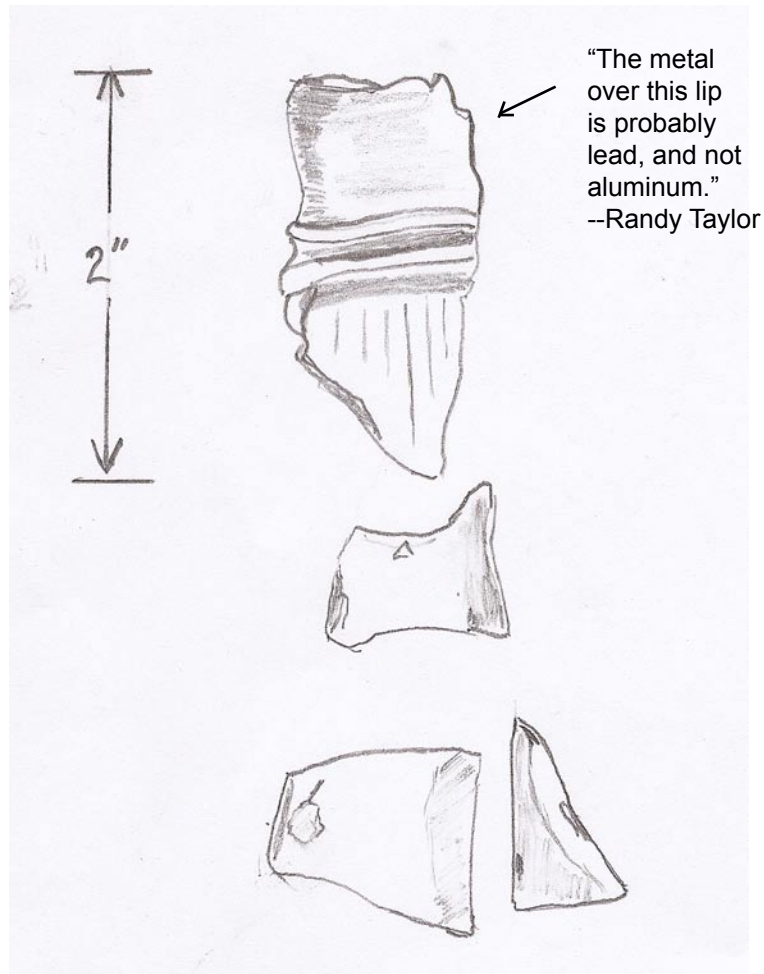
This 1959 “time marker” bottle is illustrated in the next section (Fig. 216) with the two other vaccination bottles that were collected.

#2 One partial amethyst glass bottle was recovered from Road segment 3 (Fig. 209). The four fragments (320-537 and 320-538) were recovered at 0-6”.

The slightly dented metal seal that sets over the 1” high lip of the bottle, is probably made of a lead compound rather than aluminum. The bottle mouth’s diameter is also 1.” Solarized amethyst glass affirms a “pre ca. 1920” notion (Adkison 2002:1.22). If the metal lip seal is of aluminum, its period of use would be the tight time frame of 1914-1920. A kind of urban legend continues that aluminum products were not around until the 1940s. But Aluminum Company of America (ALCOA) was established in 1888. Aluminum products became affordable in 1914, the year when ALCOA’s founder, Charles Martin Hall, applied his new method of processing aluminum. This brought down the price to 18 cents per pound, [History of ALCOA at <www.alcoa.org>]. With aluminum, 1914 to 1917 would be its tighter time frame.

ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 209.



Bottles and Glass Interpretations of Feature 1 “Depression”



Figure 210. Feature 1 “Depression” at Hi Good Cabin site (CA-TEH-2105H). This photograph was taken, looking westerly, on 4/10/2003, prior to the excavation. In the background is the cabin flat area. Property owner Mike Hamilton (left) confers with Dr. Eric Ritter and BLM’s botanist Joe Molter. Mike Hamilton stands in front of one part of an old sheepherder’s stove warmer (See additional photos of it in the Feature 1 section of Ch. 6). Baling wire, barbed wire, red bricks, a wooden skid, round river cobbles, and more can be seen in the refuse pile.

Feature 1 Depression

The glass artifacts from Feature 1 are listed below in groups stratigraphically. Level 1 was 0 -48." The next four levels excavated were twelve inch increments, stopping at 90" bottom surface due to time constraints. The levels were:

- Level 1 (0-48")
- Level 2 (48-60")
- Level 3 (60-72")
- Level 4 (72 - 84")
- Level 5 (84 - 90")

Level 1 (0-48")

The first whole, clear glass bottle (320-281) is a "1935" time marker. It still has its metal cap in place, sealed by corrosion. It is 2 1/2" x 1 3/4" x 4 1/4" tall. Its shape (Fig. 211 and 212) indicates it is a "tablets and salts" bottle (Adkison 2002:1.14). Embossed on its base is: 4 Diamond (O-I) 5. Toulouse (1971) reports that their bottle production began in 1930; the Diamond (O-I) logo was used 1929 -1954, and one digit was used to denote years through 1945. Also, according to the Owens-Illinois Glass Company "Plant Codes Table," # 4, it was manufactured in Clarksburg, West Virginia, whose years of operation were 1930-1944. The single digit 5 to the RIGHT of the Owens-Illinois logo could not be 1945 since the plant closed in 1944. Therefore by elimination, the "5" represents "1935." (Toulouse 1971; Lockhart 2004:5; and Lindsey 2006.)

About the "7" (above) this is a "mold cavity code number." About mold numbers on bottles, Bill Lockhart (2004) wrote, "Mostly, we have little or no information about the meanings of mold codes."

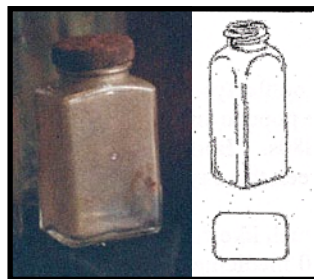


Figure 211 and 212.
"Bottle for tablets and salts"
(Adkison 2002:1.14).

ACTUAL SIZE

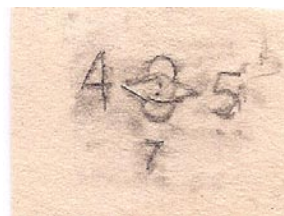


Figure 213.
4 Diamond (O-I) 5
7

Feature 1 Depression

This second whole bottle (320-279) of light green glass is a "1941" time marker. It was found with its corroded, screw thread, bottle cap in place.

History of Company: Roma Wine Co. Inc., was established in 1915 in Lodi, California and moved to Fresno in 1933. Schenley Industries, Inc., acquired the company in 1942.

Dating this bottle: Owens-Illinois Glass Co., began their bottle production in 1930 Toulouse (1971) Upon the merger, their Diamond (0-I) maker's mark logo was used from 1929-1954 (reprinted by Adkison 2002: p. 8). To the RIGHT of the logo was a one digit year (date) code number, which changed starting in 1946 to two digit year numbers code (Lindsey 2006, "Bottle Dating" p. 9.). From Owens-Illinois' Table for Plant Codes by Toulouse [not by Bill Lockhart 2004], the 20 (to the LEFT of the logo) was plant location Backinridge, Pennsylvania, "Closed 1937." The plant code, 20, became reassigned to Oakland, California with plant operation years, "circa 1937" - present Toulouse (1971). Artifact 320-279 is a 4/5 quart Roma Wine Company brand product of Fresno, California. Dimensions: 2 3/4" base diameter x 11 3/4" tall. The bottle was manufactured in the Owens-Illinois' Oakland, California plant in 1941. The "1" is discounted as "1931" in this case because Roma Wine Company had moved to Fresno by 1933.



Figure 214.
Embossed on base:
Roma Wine Co. Inc.
20 Diamond (I-O) 1
2
5736-W
Fresno, Calif.



ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 215.
20 Diamond (I-O) 1

A third whole, cylindrical, clear glass jar is 320-282 was recovered from Level 1 (0-48") with a seam that runs to top of lip and a ring seam around its base. This means it is of the automatic bottle machine, 1920 to present era. It also has an external screw thread finish (lip) type. Its width is 2 1/4" and its height is 4 1/2". Its food content remains unresolved, but fruit or jam is likely.

Feature 1 Depression

A fourth whole bottle recovered was artifact 320-283, a 50 milliliter animal vaccination bottle of amber shade glass. It still retains its tin cap seal with thin "cork" stopper through which the needle of the syringe was inserted to draw the vaccine. It is the smaller of three vaccination bottles collected (See below Fig. 216). Several other vaccination bottles were observed while excavating Feature 1 and adjacent road segment areas. Their prevalence implies that the immediate area, with adjacent corral enclosure, was a station in recent years used by the property owners for vaccinating and branding their livestock.

This smaller (of the three) bottles is a "1963" time marker, with "1951" and "1959, the respective years of bottle manufacture for the other two.

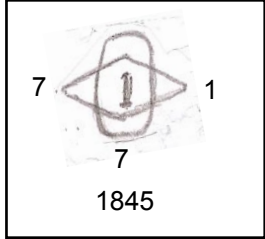
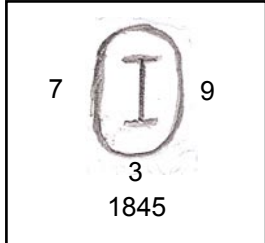
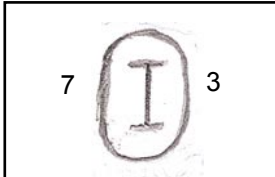
ACTUAL SIZE



1951	1963	1959
(Found at 72-84")	(Found at 0-48")	(Found 0-6" in Road Seg. #4)
320-365	320-283	320-549

Figure 216. The three animal vaccination bottles collected from Feature 1.

Feature 1 Depression

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description
320-365	Feature 1	72-84"	Whole animal vaccination bottle, "1951" 125 milliliter bottle Amber shade glass/ tin cap Base 1 3/4" diameter x 4 3/4" tall
			
			Figure 217.
320-549	Road Segment 4	0-6"	Base has stippling [begun in 1940] Whole Animal vaccination bottle, "1959" Amber shade glass/ tin cap 100 milliliter bottle 1 1/2" diameter base x 4 1/2" Base has stippling [begun in 1940]
			
			Figure 218.
320-283	Feature 1	0-48"	Whole Animal vaccination bottle, "1963" 50 milliliter bottle Amber shade glass/ tin cap 1" diameter x 3" tall Base has stippling [begun in 1940]
			
			Figure 219.

History of Owens-Illinois Company Maker's Mark or Logo -Toulouse (1971) reported that Owens-Illinois bottle production began in 1930. Lindsey (2006) added about the Diamond (O-I) maker's mark, "It is very common on bottles made during 1929-1956 period as the company was a dominant force in the bottle production world at that time (and still is)" versus Toulouse (1971) who explained that the Diamond (O-I) makers mark was used from 1929 to 1954 (reprinted as such also by Adkison 2002:8). From the Table for Plant Codes, the "7"(at left of logo) referred to the Alton, Illinois plant, whose dates of operation were 1930 to present (Toulouse 1971).

Upon showing these three bottles to veteran sheep man, Jack Haslem of Susanville, he remarked:

"These vaccination bottles are similar to what we have still. The big one might have had iodine. Vitamin E was probably the one with the metric system, and the smaller one is for the interoltoxemia. You can get about 20 lambs on the small bottle, that is 2 cubic centimeters per lamb. The larger bottle --selenium and Vitamin E, you give each lamb only 1 cc.

"I just sterilize using just hot water. I boil them. I primarily use disposable needles. For the old steel needles and glass plungers, we would use some Clorox or creosote with water; and between animals we used to suck some in and shoot it back out and sterilize the needle."

Feature 1 Depression

Determination of the years, "1951, 1959 and 1963"

These dates are based on what was embossed on their respective bases and e-mail confirmations received on 10/3/2007 from both Bill Lockhart (bottles expert) and Bill Lindsey (author of the BLM's Historical Bottles web site). Bill Lockhart's portion of the e-mail received reads:

When I wrote the original Owens-Illinois article [in 2004], I made a couple of false assumptions --notably that OI would be consistent with its dating policies. It was not. On medicinal bottles, OI retained the single-digit system until at least the mid-1960s, possibly into the 1970s!

Thus the two (I) bottles were most likely made in 1963 [corrected] and 1959. The <0> bottle was most likely 1941 or 1951 (most likely 1951 if it were found in the same context as the other two). OI began stippling the bases of bottles during the year 1940, and they were the first. Others followed their example within a few years. Thus, the bottle could not have been made in 1931.

About the two vaccination bottles(320-549 and 320-283), Lindsey's e-mailed response reads:

I'm sure your two examples of the newer OI mark are indeed 1963 and 1959 manufacture as you note. The date codes are also something that has a lot of variety depending on type of bottle (beer vs. soda vs. vaccine bottles), the factory it came from, the whims of the mold engraver, and who knows what . . . moon phases. The best publication on the subject is still Bill Lockhart's article from 2004 that is posted on the Historic Bottle Web site at: <http://www.sha.org/bottle/pdf/OWEN-ILL_BLOCKHART.PDF>

New "shade" glass introduced - Amber "shade" glass was introduced for animal vaccination bottles in the early 1950s, as opposed to clear glass, to help keep the sun's ultra-violet rays away from vaccines, which otherwise would become deactivated. All three of these vaccination bottles still retain their respective metal cap seals for the bottle mouths.. All the drug companies used these same style, amber glass bottles, each having their own separate paper labels.

Medical applications. The three whole animal vaccination bottles found at the site are preventive medicine vaccination bottles that span 1951 through 1963, for cattle mostly. They invariably were used by C. Roy Carmichael himself and/or his outfit workers.

Anti-serum bottles are larger, starting at the 500 ML size. The diameter size of the rubberized tops allows for "multiple entries," for example a 10 cc syringe could be filled 10 X from the same bottle. Labels would list: the pharmaceutical company's name, the disease for which the vaccine was designed to prevent, its strength, et cetera. Three major pharmaceutical companies who distributed their products then in California, for example, are: Fort Dodge of Iowa, Haver-Lockhart of Shawnee, KS, and Pitman-Moore Pharmaceuticals of Indianapolis, IN.

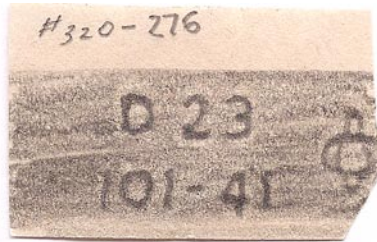
All cattle and livestock are vaccinated at least once a year. Usually, it is the spring when the calves are born that the adults and calves are given combinations of vaccination and booster shots. Calves are usually vaccinated when 2 or 3 months old for prevention against leptospirosis ("Sudden Death infection of the liver). The colstridia family of bacteria comprise several potentially lethal diseases, for which proper doses are given to prevent them, namely: Botulina, Tetanus, Malignant edema, and Red water, to name but a few. Vaccines are not given today for foot and mouth disease. (Source information from emeritus veterinarian, Dr. Richard Tangeman of Susanville, interview 7/19/2007.)

Feature 1 Depression

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description	Date
320-276	Feature 1	0-48"	Whole Liquor bottle 7 1/2" tall	1941

ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 220.



D 23 Diamond O-I
101 - 41
w/ "Fed. law forbids...." (1935-1964)
(See "History of" in side bar on next page)

320-277	Feature 1	0-48"	Whole Liquor bottle 7 1/2" tall	1940
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D 23 Diamond O-I
101 - 40
w/ "Fed. law forbids...."(1935-1964)

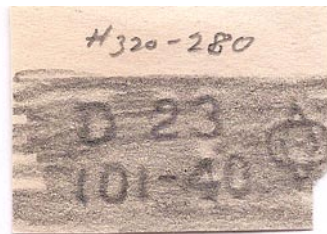
320-278	Feature 1	0-48"	Whole Liquor bottle 7 1/2" tall	1940
---------	-----------	-------	---------------------------------	------

D 23 Diamond O-I
101 - 40
w/ "Fed. law forbids...."(1935-1964)

320-280	Feature 1	0-48"	Whole Liquor bottle 7 1/2" tall	1940
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ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 221.



D 23 Diamond O-I
101 - 40
w/ "Fed. law forbids...."

Comments about the four (above) listed liquor bottles Date: "1941" is the year the bottle was made. (1) Embossed on this bottle's base is the Owens-Illinois Glass Company's "Diamond O-I" business trademark, first used on April 29, 1929. The logo type changed during 1954. (2) "Blown into the shoulder of the bottle is "Federal law forbids . . ." required by federal law during 1935-1964 as spelled out and sent to liquor buyers and manufacturers, titled, " The Glass Packer 1934 Liquor Bottle Regulations: Summarized for *Glass Packer Readers*. Vol. 13(8):502-503.(3) About "D 23," the "D" is for Distillery or Distiller, with code assigned by the government. (4) About "101-41," bottles authority, Carol Serr, forwarded her e-mail to Bill Lindsey on 1/12/2007, who, in turn, forwarded it to this researcher on 10/3/2007 that:

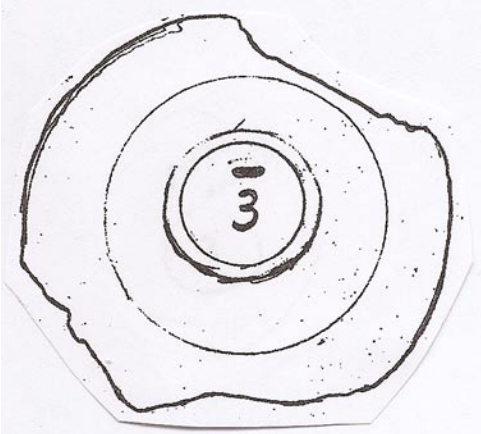
"This is the 101-40 marking on Richard's bottle, which represents the bottle makers permit number on the left, a dash (but not always), and then the 2-digit year. So, on Richard's 2 examples, the 101-40 and 101-41 equal the years (of bottle manufacture) of 1940 and 1941."

[Note: "By 1947, the change to double-digit date codes appears to have been completely adopted by all the plants" (Lockhart 2004:3); exceptions were "medicinal" bottles, such as animal vaccination bottles, that kept to the one digit date code, possibly into the 1970s"(Lockhart e-mail received 10/3/2007).]

Feature 1 Depression

History of “Federal law forbids sale or re-use of this bottle” requirement

Beginning on January 1, 1935, almost two years after the Twenty-first Amendment’s repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment (Prohibition of drinking an/or manufacture and sale of liquor of certain alcoholic percentages set down by the Volstead Act of Congress, 1919-1933), Congress passed a new Act that took effect, mandating that all “liquor” bottles (excluding beer and wine bottles) have embossed on them, “Federal law forbids sale or re-use of this bottle.” Also, said bottles embossed this way were required to be destroyed! Why? It was all so that the federal government could “regulate” for tax receiving purposes (and prosecute) bootleggers for tax evasion. The liquor industry owners were taxed! Secondary reasons for the new Act were to also prevent misbranding, and adulteration of the purported contents. (These bottles were not destroyed!) Bootleggers relied on the secondhand bottle trade to supply them with branded bottles of legitimate dealers, which they refilled. This 1935 Act was finally repealed in 1964. [Note: “Be aware however that for some years after 1964, liquor could still be found in bottles with this phrase since not all liquor producers switched immediately to new bottles due to the expense of new molds or to deplete an existing supply of bottles” (Ferraro 1966, as reprinted in the BLM web site, /historic_bottles/ machine made dating.htm, p. 15; Adkison 2002:1.15)]. Hence, bottles collected with the embossing “Federal law forbids . . . always have the starting date terminus post quem of 1935!

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description	Date
320-290	Feature 1	0-48"	Coca-Cola aqua glass body and base fragment [See Fig. 395 Aqua glass notions]	1941
320-289	Feature 1	0-48"	Clear glass base fragment with “3” embossed on its center Base diameter 2 1/4" Contents? Possible fruit jar	n. d.
				
ACTUAL SIZE				
Figure 222.				
320-287	Feature 1	0-48"	Clear glass fragments (2)	n. d.
320-288	Feature 1	0-48"	Clear glass melted (1)	n. d.

Feature 1 Depression

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description	Date
320-284	Feature 1	0-48"	Aqua glass opalized bottle lip fragment; possibly freeblown	Undetermined (If freeblown) 1845 -1913
320-285	Feature 1	0-48"	Clear glass opalized finish (lip) Melted; indefinite as to finish type	" "

Comments: The dates for these two vintage bottle lip fragments remain undetermined. Neither has a vertical seam line. Their possible range of dates are: If freeblown without seams, 1845-1913; If seams come to within 1/4" of top (semi automatic machine 1880-1913; If seams up body and laterally around shoulder (three piece mold 1810-1890; If seams only up sides of body (two piece mold) 1845-1913. (Adkison 2002:1.10).

The 320-284 aqua glass lip fragment specimen (Fig. 223 below left) appears to have the shape of a patent/extract bottle finish type (Adkison 2002:1.10), while 320-285 is undetermined as to finish type.



Figure 223.
(320-284)
Freeblown finish without
seam, probably 1845-1913.

Figure 224.
(320-285)
Freeblown finish without
seam, possibly 1845-1913.

Feature 1 Depression

Level 2 (48-60")

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description	Date
320-353	Feature 1	48-60"	Clear glass fragments (4)	n. d.

[Nothing diagnostic enough at this level to assign any bottle(s)]

Level 3 (60-72")

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description	Date
320-357	Feature 1	60-72"	Whole Wine bottle w/ olive green glass Roma Wine, Co. Lodi, CA (4/5 quart)	circa 1957 11 3/4"

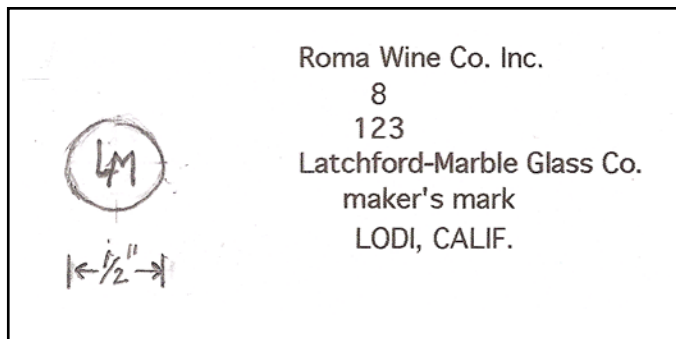


Figure 225.

Comments: Latchford-Marble Glass Co. operation 1939-1957 (Atkison 2002:7). Roma Co. established in Lodi in 1915, then relocated in Fresno in 1933. The above perhaps suggests that Roma Wine still maintained both locations or the "years of operation" information is incorrect. This bottle cannot be any older than 1939 with "Lodi" embossed on its base. Probably the year 1957 is a "best guess." Mold codes "8" and "123" unidentified.

320-358	Feature 1	60-72"	Whole honey Jar 1 Quart	1957 or later
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Figure 226.

Embossed on base:
352 (L) 5

"Latchford Glass Co. Post 1957" (Adkison 2002:7)

Feature 1 Depression

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description	Date
320-356	Feature 1	60-72"	Amber glass whole whiskey bottle Base 3 1/2" diameter x 10 3/4" tall Hiram Walker & Sons Inc (One quart)	ca. 1945

Embossed on shoulder: ONE QUART & "FEDERAL LAW FORBIDS . . ."
(Between 1935 & 1964)

Embossed on base: R 181
90 Diamond (I-O) 5



Twist cap (full size)

ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 227.



ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 228.

Comments: Date: The year 1945 is probably when this bottle was made, but the year could still be 1935, based on these findings: (1) "Owens-Illinois's Diamond (O-I) maker's mark was used during the 1929-1954 period" (Lindsey 2006 "Bottle Dating Machine-Made Bottles section p. 9.).

(2) Also embossed on the shoulder of this same bottle is "Federal law forbids . . ." which was the law during 1935-1964.

(3) As for the "5" to the RIGHT of the maker's mark, this stands for either 1935 or 1945. It would not be 1955, because 1946 was the year when numbers were two digit "for most "Owens-Illinois made bottles [BLM Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Web site, Bottle Dating section, p. 9 and e-mail received 10/3/2007.

(4) "R" stands for "rectifiers" followed by bottle manufacturer's permit number, followed by the bottlemaker's trademark [in this case Diamond (I-O)], and a number to indicate the year the bottle was made [in this case "5"]. Source: "The Glass Packer 1934 "Liquor Bottle Regulations: Summarized for Glass Packer Readers. Vol 13(8):502-503 that the federal government spelled out and sent to liquor buyers and manufacturers.

Feature 1 Depression

Level 4 (72 - 84"

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description	Date
320-359	Feature 1	72 - 84	Whole spirits bottle Clear glass 3" diameter. x 13" tall Christian Brothers (probably) w/ fluted design on mid shoulder	circa 1941

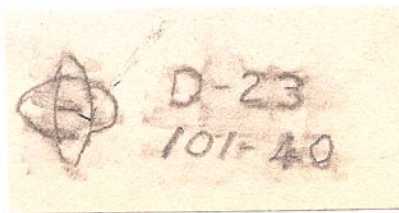


ACTUAL SIZE

Comments: Bottle authority Randy Taylor of Chico was sent a photocopy of this design. His written response of 7/13/2007 was "It looks to me like it may be from Christian Brothers. I'm not sure, but [I] seem to remember it from working in my parents' grocery store as a kid."

Figure 229.
Rubbing of design on
shoulder of bottle

320-360	Feature 1	0-48"	Whole Liquor bottle clear 7 1/2" tall D 23 Diamond O-I 101 - 41 w/ "Fed. law forbids...."(1935-1964) <u>Comments:</u> The date "1941" was determined identical to the four similar liquor bottles interpreted on page 299.	1941
320-362	Feature 1	72 - 84"	Partial body of spirits bottle Clear glass fragment Christian Brothers (probably) Also with same fluted design on bottle	circa 1941
320-361	Feature 1	72-84"	Whole Liquor bottle (1 quart) Clear glass 11" tall 1935-1954 D 23 Diamond (O-I) 101 - 40 w/ "Fed. law forbids...." (1935-1964) Kick-ups on opposite sides at bottom of body	1940



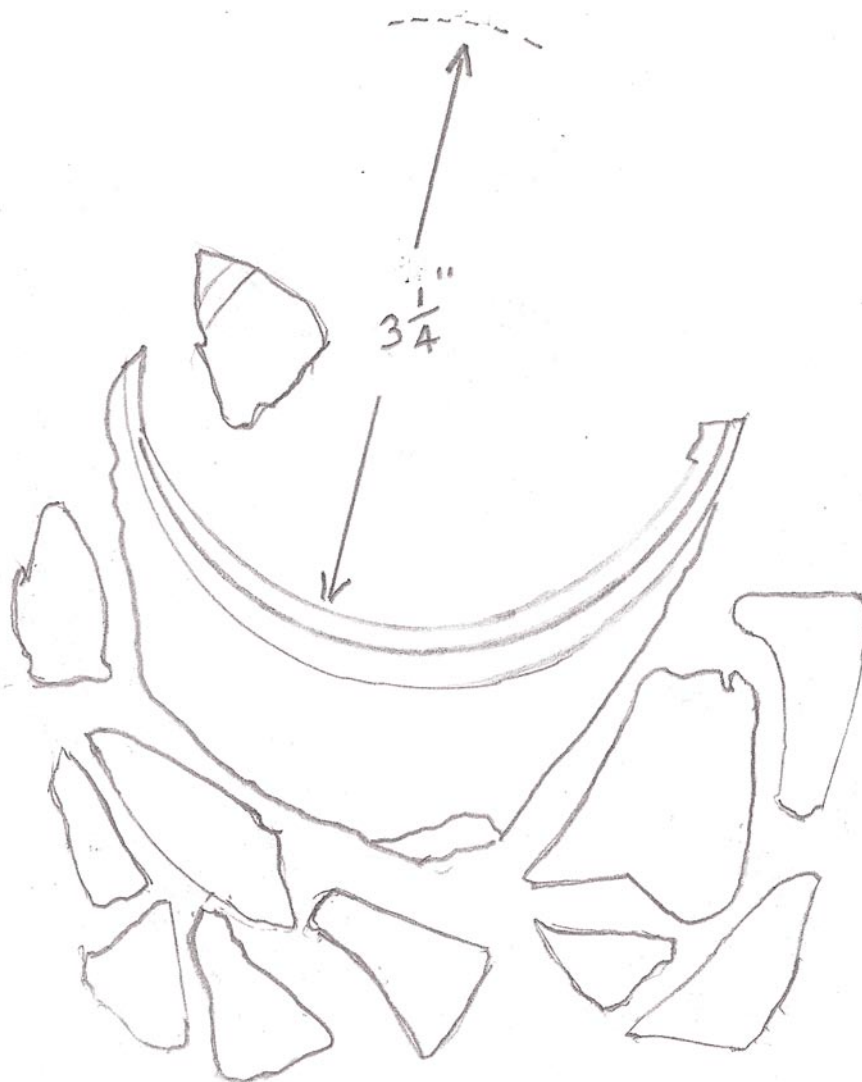
ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 230.

Comments: Year 1940 determination is the same as whole liquor bottle(320-280) explanation above.

Feature 1 Depression

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description	Date
320-363	Feature 1	72 - 84"	Clear glass jar fragment Press on lid type Probably "turn mold" made because there are no discernible seam lines.	Undetermined
320-371	Feature 1	72 - 84"	Clear glass curved fragments (11)	
320-377	Feature 1	72 - 84"	Clear glass body fragment (2)	

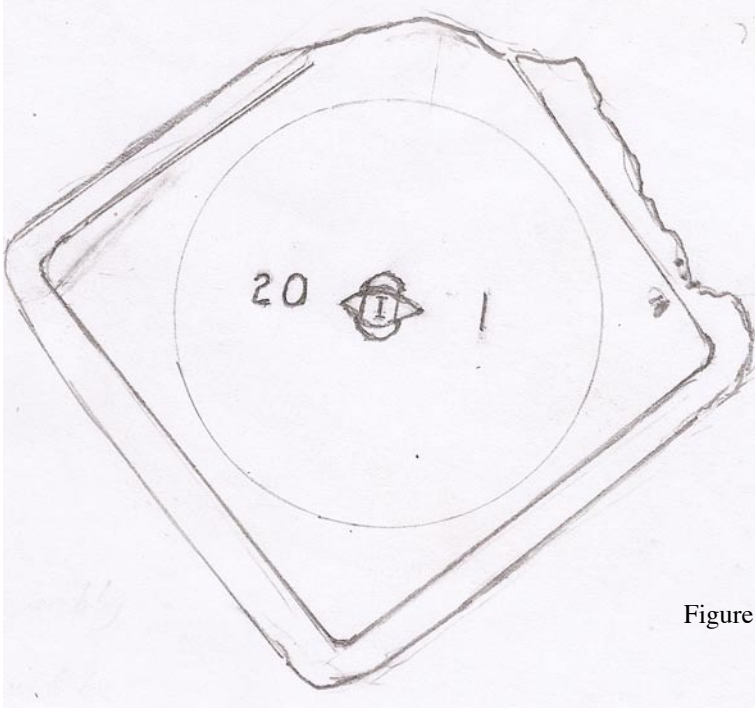


ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 231. Clear glass jar fragments, 320-363, 320-371 and 320-377.
One enigma about this jar is that there are no vertical seam lines.

Feature 1 Depression

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description	Date
320-364	Feature 1	72 - 84"	Clear glass square base frag. Square base 2 3/4" x 2 3/4"	1941



ACTUAL SIZE

“20 Diamond (O-I) 1”

Figure 232.

Comments: The year when this base fragment was made was 1941. (1)Owens-Illinois Glass Company’s trademark, the Diamond (O-I), was “very common on bottles made during the 1929-1954 period. (2) To the LEFT of the logo is a number that identified the plant that produced the bottle. According to Toulouse (1971:395), plant number 20 was “Backinridge, Pennsylvania w/ dates of operation: 1932 -1940. Furthermore, #20 was later reassigned (“after the original plant ceased operations”) to Oakland, California “1949 - present” (Lockhart 2004:5). Lockhart (2004:1) also relates that “To the RIGHT of the mark is a one-or two-digit date code.” (3) Lockhart (2004) added, “By 1947, the change to double-digit date codes appears to have been completely adopted by all the plants” [of Owens-Illinois.]. This leaves 1941 as the only possible year that the “1” could be.

320-366	Feature 1	72 - 84"	Amber glass fragment w/letter “A” and “4” Base diameter approx. 4” Also stippling, which began in 1940 (Lindsey 2006, “Bottle Dating” section, p. 9.)	1940 or later
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Feature 1 Depression

Recovered from Level IV (72-84") was also the whole, animal vaccination bottle (320-365), as previously photographed (Fig. 48) and interpreted (see pages 296-298).

Miscellaneous Glass Fragments

Two amber glass fragments and three clear glass fragments also found at 72-84" bottom surface are listed below. Besides noting their presence, no contextual remarks can be made about them.

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description	Date
320-370 d.	Feature 1	72 - 84"	Amber glass flat fragment (1) Melted	n.
320-374 1929-1954	Feature 1	72 - 84"	Amber glass fragment (1) w/Diamond (0-I) Nothing more that is diagnostic	
320-372	Feature 1	72-84"	Clear glass "neck/threaded" fragment (1)	n. d.
320-375	Feature 1	72-84"	Clear glass and opalized fragment (1)	n. d.
320-376	Feature 1	72-84"	Clear glass melted fragment (1)	n. d.

Feature 1 Depression

Level 5 (84 - 90")

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description	Date
320-396	Feature 1	84-90"	Whole liquor bottle (clear glass) "SCHENLEY" Size: 4/5 Quart Base 3 1/4" x 1 1/2" x 8 1/4" tall Makers mark: Glass Containers, Inc. This glass company's operation is listed "Since 1945" (Adkison 2002: 5).	1941

Embossed on shoulder:

"FEDERAL LAW FORBIDS" (Between 1935 - 1964)

Embossed on base:



D -9

83 Makers mark 41

M - 1630 - H

ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 233.

Comments: Date: "1941" is the year the bottle was made. (1) Embossed on this bottle's base is the Owens-Illinois Glass Company's "Diamond O-I" business trademark, first used on April 29, 1929. The logo type changed during 1954. (2) "Blown into the shoulder of the bottle is "Federal law forbids . . ." required by federal law during 1934-1964 as spelled out and sent to liquor buyers and manufacturers, titled, " The Glass Packer 1934 Liquor Bottle Regulations: Summarized for Glass Packer Readers. Vol 13(8):502-503.(3) About "D9," the "D" is for Distillery or Distiller, with code assigned by the government [Carol Serr(1/12/2007) and Bill Lindsey (e-mails received 10/3/2007)].

Noteworthy is that Glass Containers, Inc., apparently was one of the first glass company's to use the double-digit date codes as early as 1941, versus Owens-Illinois Glass Company who had changed to two-digit dates by 1947 (Lockhart 2004:3, with the exception of "medicinal" bottles, such as animal vaccination bottles, that kept to the one digit date code" . . . possibly into the 1970!" (Lockhart e-mail received 10/3/2007).

Feature 1 Depression

remains 1919 -1950.

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description	Date
320-398	Feature 1	84-90"	Whole beer bottle Amber shade glass 6" tall Brand unidentified paper label missing Crimp top; modern machine-made	1947

Embossed on shoulder: "NOT TO BE REFILLED. NO DEPOSIT * NO RETURN"



Figure 235.

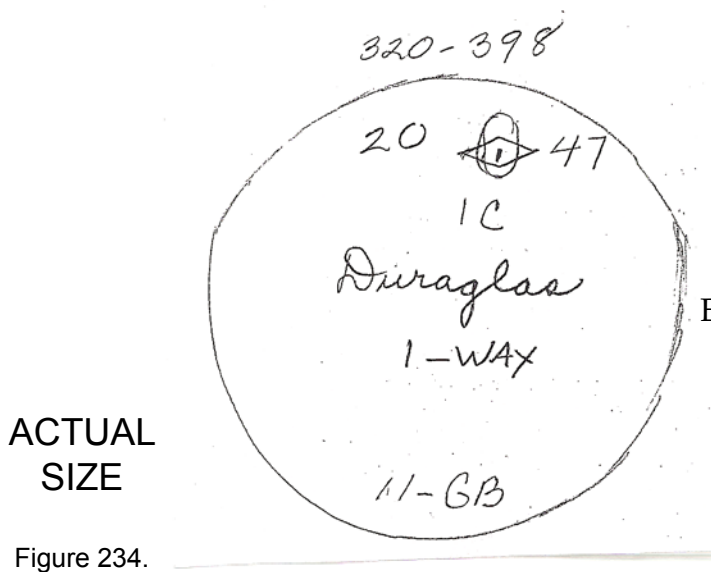


Figure 234.

Embossed on base with stippling:

20 Diamond (O-I) 47
1C

Duraglas [script font]

1-WAY

11-GB

Comments. This beer bottle was made in 1947 at the Owens-Illinois Glass Company's plant in Oakland, CA. The years that Owens Illinois Glass Company used their trademark, Diamond (O-I), were "1929 to 1954" (Toulouse [1971] and Adkison [2002 8]).

About Duraglas marking/ stippling/ start of two-digit date code system & plant code:

Duraglas marking in script and the stippling around the edge of the base were both first used in 1940 . . . [and] Duraglas was discontinued in 1954; and by 1946 the year numbers were two digit, i.e. a 1951 bottle would have "51" in the date location not just a "1." The "20" to the left of the Diamond 0-I mark is the code for the Oakland, CA. plant which was in operation from about 1937 until after the Diamond 0-I marking was changed to a Circle I in the period 1956-1958 (Lindsey 2006 BLM's Bottle Typing ("Typology") web sites' "Bottle Dating" section, p. 9. For this data, Lindsey referenced both Toulouse (1971) and Lockhart (2004)].



ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 236. Rubbing of Garrett & Company wine growers, 12 inch tall clear glass bottle.

Feature 1 Depression

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description	Date
320-397	Feature 1	84-90"	Partial wine bottle Clear glass 12" tall Garrett & Co.. New York City (4/5 quart) (95% bottle; broken off at neck)	1919-1950

Figure 236. (opposite). Embossed on heel w/"CONTENTS 4/5 QUART"
and "1" embossed on base

Embossed on body:

An eagle looks down over the Garrett family shield with stars and bars and fruit [AND]
"American wines" and Reg. U.S. Pat. Office. GARRETT & CO. INC.; established 1835
PIONEER AMERICAN WINE GROWERS. Refilling prohibited. NEW YORK."

Comments: Garrett & Co. Inc., was established in 1835 in North Carolina, and proclaimed as the
"PIONEER AMERICAN WINE GROWERS." The company moved to New York during Prohibition
(1919-1933). The company died out by 1950. The bottle is embossed on the body of the bottle: (June
Eastin, ed. (1969:60). Bottleswest). Type: Automatic Bottling Machine (Post 1905). The year(s) when
"Refilling prohibited in New York" was the law remains undetermined. Possible date for this bottle

Summary of the Glass Materials Recovered

In all, what kinds of bottles and respective dates were determined?

Distinctive uses, inclusive of "fairly" distinctive uses, were determined for 65.9.3% (31/47)
of the glass "containers" (objects) recovered during 2003 and 2004 (See list below). The author's
definition for "container" was inclusive of whole or partial bottles or of what appeared to be a
separate dainty dish. The one base fragment (Fig. 196) and the one rim fragment (See Fig. 206) each
constituted one more container. Also, the remnants of one oil or kerosene lamp's glass chimney (See
Figures 176) was listed.

List for fairly distinctive use determinations include:

- 1 -Partial Lash's Bitters bottle [1902-1905] found in Unit 6N2E E1/2.
- 1- Whole miniature perfumer bottle (320-027) [no date] found in Unit 6N2E E1/2.
- 8 -Whole liquor bottles [of which four were 1940; one was 1941]; 1-Hiram Walker
and Sons whiskey [circa. 1945]; 1 Schenley [1941].
- 5 - Wine bottle determinations of which two were whole Roma wine bottles [1941 &
circa 1957]; one whole and one partial Christian Brothers bottles, circa 1941; and one
partial Garrett & Company vineyard bottle, 1919-1950).
- 3 - Whole animal vaccination bottles [1951, 1959 and 1963]
- 1 - Whole Alka-Seltzer tube bottle [1937] found in 3N3E.

Summary -continued-

- 1 - Whole and cylindrical food jar (320-282) with screw on lid and ring seam around its base [1920s to date]
- 1 - Whole honey quart jar with honey residue [post 1957]
- 1 - Whole beer bottle of amber shade glass[1947]
- 1 - Whole tablets and salts bottle [1935]
- 1 - Lamp chimney glass having 54 egg -shell thin and curved fragments (320-133) with crimped glass fragments (320-132) probably from the lamp's base
- 1 -White "Milk" glass ointment jar [circa.1870s to 1920]
- 1 Coca-Cola bottle fragment [1941]
- 5 - Patent Medicine/Elixir bottle fragments
(320-107 and 320-111 comprised of clear glass; 320-605 of aqua glass; 320-070 of "light" aqua glass; 320-472 and 320-473 of clear glass; and 320-284 of aqua glass).

Total: 31 (of 47) with fairly distinctive use determinations.

Regarding all glass material found, there were 21 whole bottles collected (of which 90% [19/21] were recovered from the Feature 1 depression/refuse fill.).

There was a total of 581 glass fragments collected from the study area. The chart below provides the fragment totals found by colors. For example, 38.2% (222/581) of the fragments collected were of the clear glass kind.

Glass Color	Number of glass fragments found/%	# Whole bottles found	#Partial containers found
Clear	222 (38.2%)	13	12
Amber	154 (26.5%)	6	3
Amethyst	100 (17.2%)	0	2
Aqua	72 (12.3)	0	5
Green	23 (0.03%)	2	3
White	9 (0.01%)	0	1
Cobalt blue	1 (0.0001)	0	0
Totals	581	21	26

From what contexts were the glass materials found?

Apparently, the whole bottles that ended up being dumped into the land fill "hole" (Feature 1) were preserved much better than most all whole bottles discarded in the cabin flat area. The steady traffic over the years of horses and grazing livestock across the flat, combined with ranch workers on task, and their motorized agricultural equipment driven across the flat, surely compressed, shattered, and further degraded most every glass vessel deposited there.

The whole "1937" Alka-Seltzer tube bottle (320-216) deposited in the area of the collapsed chimney brick scatter (Feature 2) was one of the exceptions. By happenstance, this "time marker" bottle's location provided a plausible date for about when the brick chimney was last standing. That the chimney apparently collapsed a little after 1937, was further corroborated by oral history testimony provided by Norman Leininger (born in 1922) who explored the insides of the Hi Good Cabin when he was about ten years old (See pages 181-184 of Ch. 2 VII: Oral Histories).

Summary -continued-

Other than noting their presence, no distinctive contextual remarks could be made about these fifteen glass containers found in the study area:

Fifteen Undetermined Glass Containers

- 1-Clear glass and opalized bottle (320-121) with 1 1/2" mouth from Unit 4N10E.
- 1-Clear glass jar (320-601) with 2 1/2" mouth from 3N1E.
- 1-Clear glass bottle (320-608) with 1 1/2" base diameter from Unit 3N1E.
- 1-Clear glass bottle w/ 1 1/4" mouth from Unit 3N1E.
- 1-Clear glass bottle (320-265) with 1 1/4" mouth from 3N3E.
- 1-Clear glass jar (320-289) or bottle with base diameter of 2 1/4 from Feature 1.
- 1-Clear glass opalized (lip) finish (320-285) from Feature 1.
- 1-Clear glass jar fragments (320-363) with 3 1/4" mouth diameter from Feature 1.
- 1-Clear glass square base, 2 3/4" x 3 3/4" fragment (320-364) from Feature 1.

- 1 -Amber glass bottle (320-076) with 1 1/2" mouth from Unit 3N2E.
- 1- Olive amber glass bottle (320-514) from Unit 4N10E.

- 1-Amethyst glass jar (320-614) with 3 1/4" mouth from Unit 3N1E.
- 1-Amethyst bottle (320-465) 2 1/4" diameter base from site NE Quadrant.
- 1-Amethyst glass bottle (320-537) with 1" bottle mouth from Feature 4
Road Segment 3.

- 1 -Aquamarine glass vase or dish fragments (320-120) from Unit 4N10E.
- 1 -Deep greenish aqua possible jar (320-123) from Unit 4N10E.

Upon excavating CA-TEH-2105H, what three colors for glass fragments were found in highest frequency? The data collected answers with clear, amber, and amethyst. This color triad also reigns amongst the list of the "Fifteen Undetermined." Clear glass is represented in 60% (9/15) of them. In this light, noteworthy is what Adkison (2002:1.13) reported about clear glass that:

"Regarding drugstore bottles ("ethical medicines"), "colors might be amber and sometimes green or blue, but clear was the dominant glass in this type" (Author's underscore).

These fifteen specimens, in particular, merit further study.

A. KITCHEN GROUP



Figure 237. Susan Ferguson found spoon specimen 320-527 in Road Segment #3 in NE quadrant of the site on 2/28/2004.



Figure 238. Kitchen Group artifacts found at the Hi Good Cabin site (CA-TEH-2105H). Raveni floral pattern plate fragments of 1920s - 1930s found in Feature 1 at 0-48," serving spoon fragment (320-527) and tang fragment (320-106) to a knife or fork handle found in 4N10E.

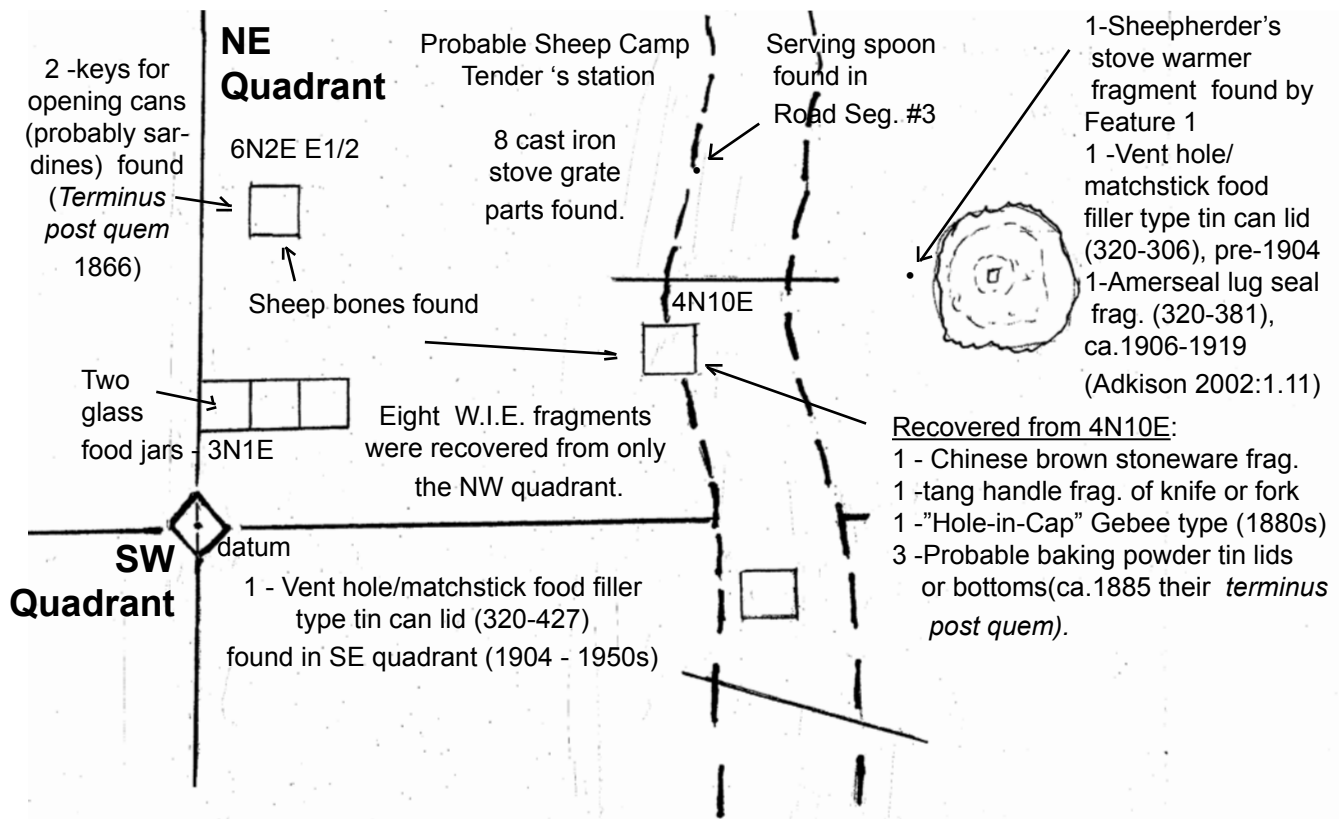


Figure 239. Map: "Kitchen Group of Historic Artifacts Analysis Categories"

A. KITCHEN GROUP CLASSIFICATION SCHEME

1. Food Containers
 - a. Tin cans
 - b. Glass food containers
2. Kitchenware
 - a. Pots/pans/kettles
 - b. Kitchen equipment
 - c. Iron cooking stove parts and accessories
3. Tableware
 - a. Knives/forks/spoons
 - b. Ceramic dishes/plates/bowls
 - c. Ceramic drinking cups/bowls
 - d. Ceramic serving plates/bowls
 - e. Tin plates/cups/bowls
 - f. Enamelware
 - g. Drinking glasses (non-alcohol related)
 - h. Glass pitchers/serving vessels
 - i. Other
4. Food Remains
 - a. Faunal
 - b. Other

KITCHEN GROUP INTERPRETATIONS

"Mutton, Biscuits, and Sardines"

The one definitive food type found at the site was mutton. Five faunal specimens uncovered compared favorably to sheep (*Ovis aries*). Keeping with the early sheep camp setting, the shepherders would have consumed mutton as part of their diets. In one instance, in 1865, when Simeon Moak and other posse members rode on their horses to Hi Good place on Deer Creek, Good "jumped over the fence and caught a large fat wether and cut his throat and said for us to make our supper and breakfast on mutton." (Moak 1923:19).

Camp tender station - The archaeological data suggests the notion that the likely crew-member station of camp tender was in the NE quadrant flat area (See Fig. 239 map) adjacent and west of the ranch road (Road Segment #3). The camp tender's role, according to sheep rancher authority Jack Haslem, was to do "the cooking, washing the dishes, laundry" (See "Estimate of Hi Good's Crew Size" in Ch. 2 IX, page 201). From metal detector sweeps, eight cast iron stove grate fragments were found clustered in this vicinity. Part of a shepherd's stove warmer was observed (Fig. 240) *in situ* nearby, at the edge of the Feature 1 depression. The white improved earthenware ceramics map (see Fig. 246 below) shows that all eight of the dish ware fragments recovered at the site encircle the purported camp tender's work place. Four of the ceramic pieces are plate fragments.

As for kitchen tableware and ceramic dishes, one serving spoon fragment (320-527) was found in Road Segment #3 (Fig. 237) One tang fragment to a knife or fork handle (320-106) was also collected just south from Unit 4N10E (Fig. 238). The one Chinese brown stoneware piece (Fig. 241) collected from Unit 4N10E, was probably of a food utility vessel. Additional dish fragments of more recent Raveni floral pattern ceramic plate ware (320-295) of the 1920s-1930s, were recovered from the Feature 1 depression, 0-48" (See Fig. 238).

According to oral history from Mr. Ed Little of Red Bluff who grew up in Los Molinos and is a cousin of the Hamilton brothers (property owners), the Hi Good Cabin flat was also a popular place for a picnic especially in the spring time. Mr. Little recalled, "I remember since I was very small uncle Fred Hamilton Senior and Roy Carmichael communicating to each other, time and time again with, 'We'll meet at the Hi Good.' Our families met there for cattle gathering and sometimes simply for a family picnic." In the 2007 field season, one clear glass, H. J. Heinz Co., condiments bottle base fragment was uncovered from Unit 1S3E.

Three glass food jars were recovered from the site of which two were from Unit 3N1E (one of amethyst glass fragments [320-614] and one of clear glass jar rim fragments 320-601, 320-602). The third glass food jar of clear glass was collected from Feature 1 at 72-84" depth (320-363, 320-371, 320-377). Their food contents remain undetermined. One whole clear glass bottle, with honey residue inside it, was also recovered from Feature 1 at 60-72" with Latchford Glass Company logo embossed on its base, which dates as "post 1957" (Adkison 2002:2:7).

Pancake biscuits - Three tin can top fragments (320-168, 320-169, 320-170), with telltale 2 1/2" diameter tops or bottoms of probable baking powder contents used as leavening agent for baking biscuits, were found in Unit 4N10E. Vicki Adkison (2002:2:13) reported that "By the 1890's, baking powder was being commercially packaged in tin cans as a consumer item." About baking powder, America's leading brands included: "Calumet, founded in 1889; Clabber Girl (patented in 1906).

Sardines - Another kind of food consumed by the site's early occupants was invariably sardines. Two identical sized, 3" long can opener keys were found in the NE quadrant (320-452 and 320-014 in Unit 6N2E E1/2. According to Adkison (2002:2.3) the *terminus post quem* for key-opening cans was 1866. But these are likely much later.

Early tin can food containers. The earliest datable food tin container type found at the site was specimen 320-167 of the "Hole-in-Cap" Gebee type, which dates "ca. 1880's and later" (Adkison 2002:2.6). It was collected from Unit 4N10E (See Fig. 242a and 242b). Specimen 320-165 was assigned as a part of this same food tin can top.

Two vent-hole/ matchstick food filler-type tin can artifacts found were specimen 320-306 recovered from Feature 1 at 0-48" and 320-427 found in the SW quadrant.. According to Adkison (2002:2.6), this container type dates to "after 1904." (See Fig. 243).

Another Kitchen Group artifact (320-381) recovered from Feature 1 at 72-84," was one shiny and flattened Amerseal lug (Figures 244a and 244b) for sealing certain foods, with its span of years of usage, "circa 1906-1919" (Adkison 2002:1.11).

Kitchenware - Besides the above mentioned stove warmer and stove parts, a pail or bucket bail and bail connector were collected from the NE quadrant in the vicinity of Units 4N10E, while a bucket or pail lug was found in the SW quadrant (See Figures 245a and 245b below).



Figure 240. Piece of a shepherd's stove warmer (320-399) collected from edge of Feature 1 Depression. Photo by author on 4/10/2003.

KITCHEN GROUP ARTIFACTS



Figure 241a. Chinese food utility vessel, "usually made of the gray-brown paste with *"jian-you"* or Tiger glaze" (Adkison 2002:3.9).

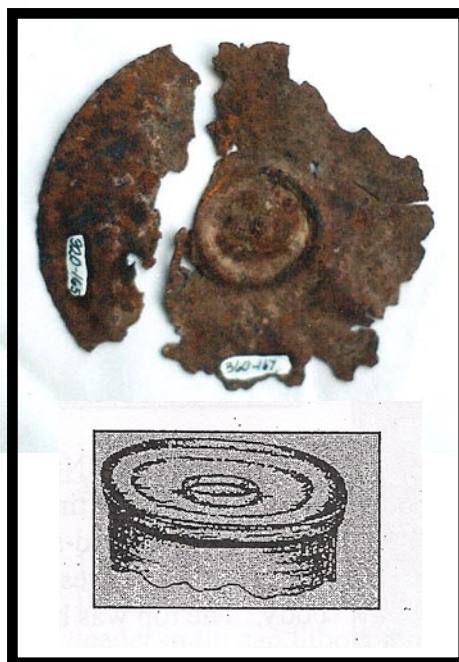


Figure 241b The one Chinese brown stoneware fragment (320-126) found at the site during 2003-2004, probably of a storage jar, was recovered from Unit 4N10E.

ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 242a. "Hole-in-Cap" Gebee type tin can top collected from Unit 4N10E. Specimens 320-165 and 320-167.

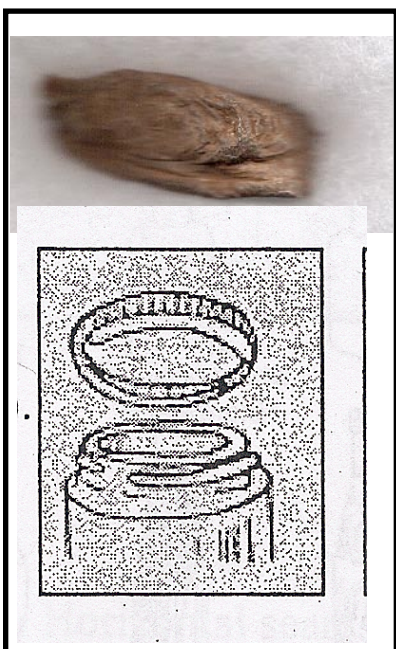
Figure 242b. Illustration of same reprinted from Adkison (2002:2.6) dates (ca. 1880's >) The rim projects above center filler hole.



ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 243. Vent hole/matchstick food filler type tin can top (320-306) found in Feature 1 at 0-48." Dates "ca. 1900 >" (Adkison 2002:2.6)

**KITCHEN GROUP
ARTIFACTS**



ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 244 a. Amerseal lug (320-381) artifact, shiny and flattened from Feature 1 at 72-84.”

Figure 244b. “circa 1906-1919” Illustration reprinted from Adkison (2002:1.11).

Figure 245a. Bucket or pail lug 320-471, found during metal detector sweep in SW quadrant.



Stable Pails.

No.23R8040 The JIC Oak Stable Pail has a strap ear running down sides of bucket that laps under the staves at the bottom. Has flush bottom so if horse gets his foot in the pail, he cannot break the pail. Considered by all horsemen the best stable pail made. Weight, 8½ pounds.

Price, each..... 36c

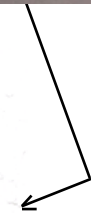
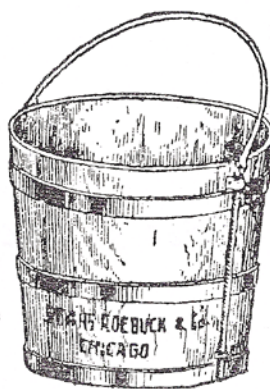
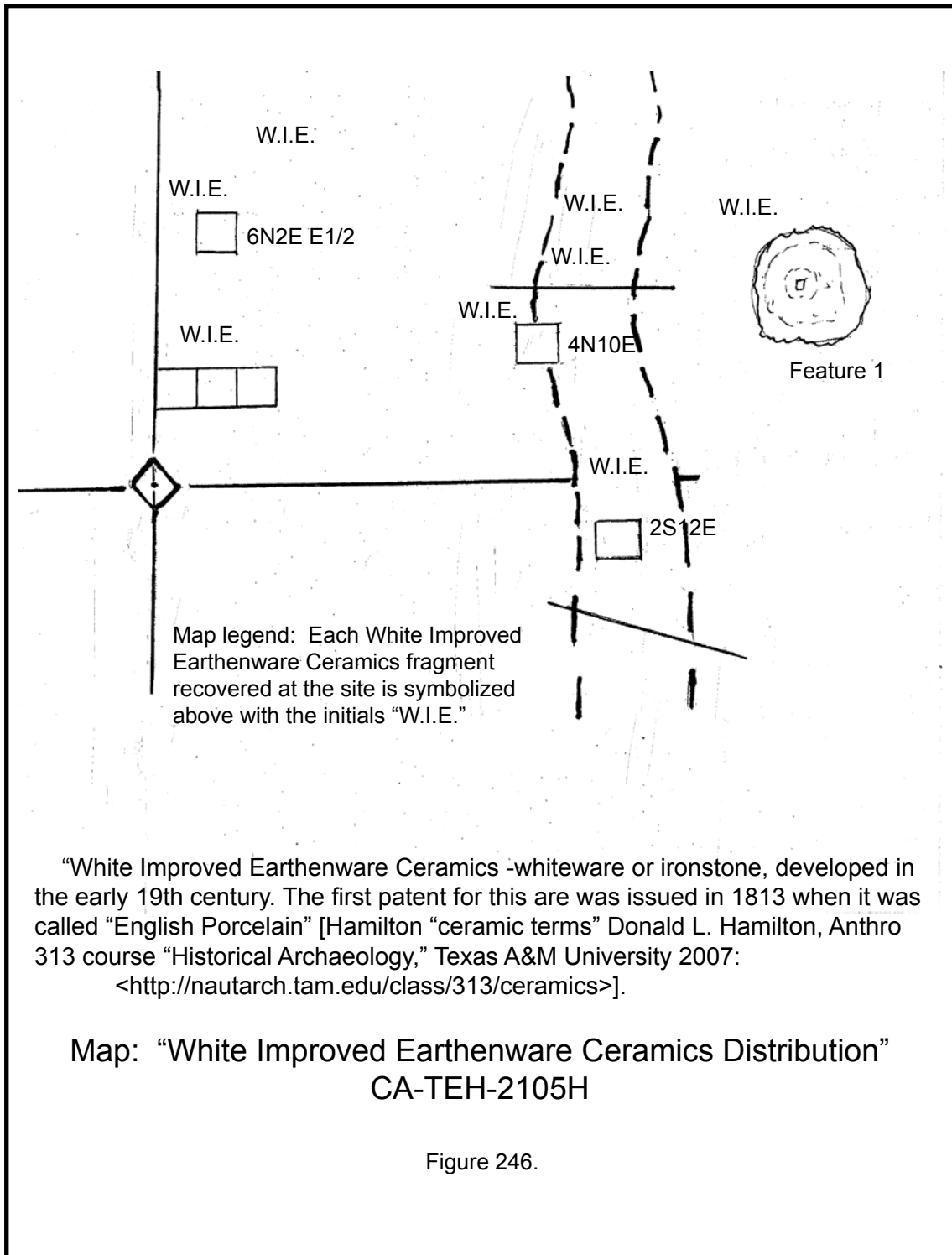


Figure 245b. *Sears, Roebuck & Co. Catalogue (1902)*, p. 596.

Illustration of similar rounded lug used to fasten bail to stable pail.

KITCHEN GROUP ARTIFACTS



"White Improved Earthenware Ceramics -whiteware or ironstone, developed in the early 19th century. The first patent for this are was issued in 1813 when it was called "English Porcelain" [Hamilton "ceramic terms" Donald L. Hamilton, Anthro 313 course "Historical Archaeology," Texas A&M University 2007: <<http://nautarch.tam.edu/class/313/ceramics>>].

KITCHEN GROUP ARTIFACTS



Figure 247. "1866" - J. Osterhoudt patented the tin can with a key opener that you can find on sardine cans <<http://inventors.about.com>> Adkison (2002:2.3) affirmed that "the most common was the sardine cans." Two were found with identical head size (width 1 inch): one in Unit 6N2E E 1/2 and one in NE quadrant.



Figure 248a. This smaller can key fragment (320-226) was recovered from Unit 3N3E at 0-6 inches. Width of head 7/8." Original length undetermined. This key fragment could have possibly originated from a coffee tin top, and possibly of the "Folger's" brand. A Folger's coffee tin fragment was unearthed in Unit 5NE9. Fig. 249b drawing is reprinted from Adkison (2002:2.15).



Figure 248b.

B. PERSONAL GROUP

PERSONAL GROUP ARTIFACTS

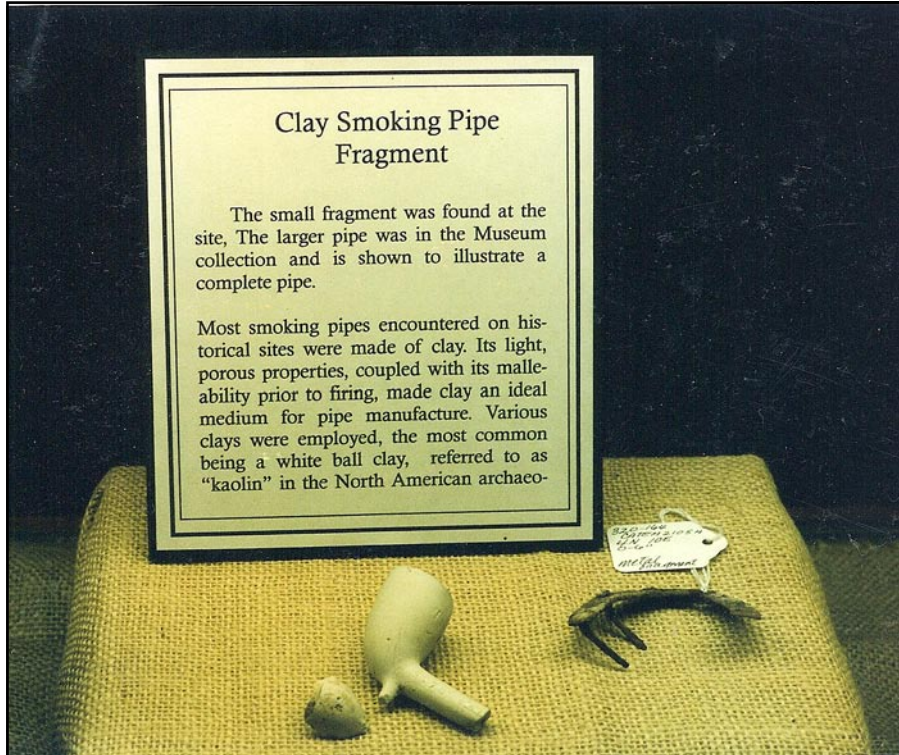
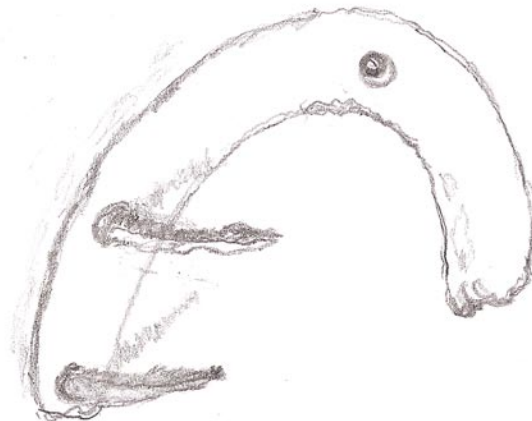


Figure 249a.

Personal Group items found at the Hi Good Cabin site include what is believed to be a small fragment (320-112) of a white ball "Kaolin" clay pipe (lower left foreground above). This same clay pipe type was used back east during early colonial times, making it "potentially" the oldest object recovered at the study area.

(Far right) is a metal heel plate, to probably a man's boot. Both artifacts were recovered from Unit 4N10E. This photos was taken on September 11, 2004, the first day of the Tehama County Museum's exhibit titled, "Bricks, Buttons & Bullets: Archaeology of an Early Sheep Camp." The working theme of this exhibit was "When Culture's Collide" (see also Figures 165, 166 and 167).

Figure 249b. Sketch of specimen 320-164 of a partial metal heel plate or tap probably of a man's boot.



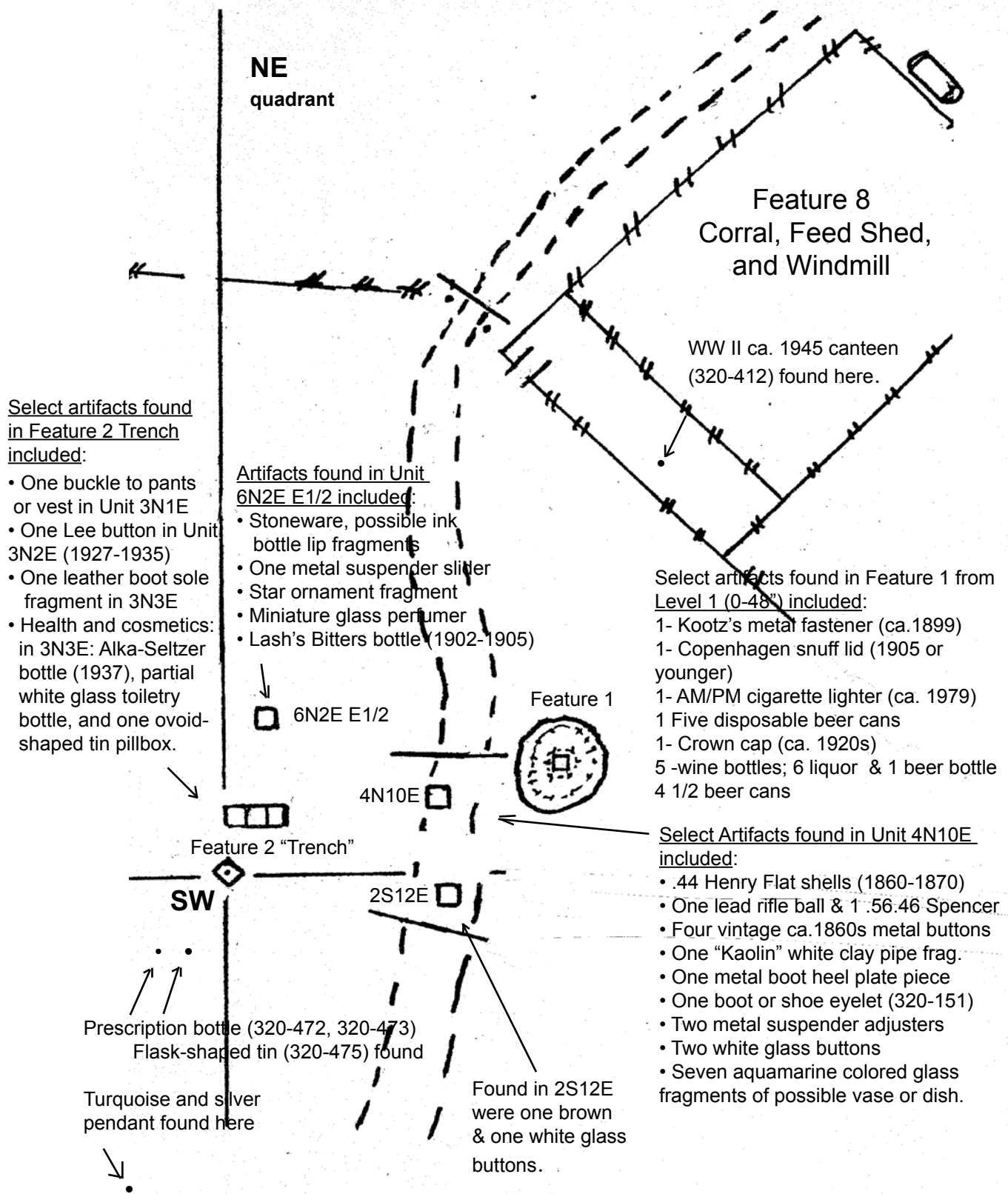


Figure 250. Map: "Personal Group of Historic Artifacts Analysis of Categories"
CA-TEH-2105H

PERSONAL GROUP SUMMARY

The site's recovery of Personal Group artifacts includes a diverse mix from a site that experienced more than one period of use. Such a mixture, from several .44 Henry Flat cartridge shell fragments that spanned 1860 to 1934, to one "Lee" workwear button that was manufactured 1927 to 1935, are typical of historic sites in California.

The Personal Group items found heavily favor male items and male activities over female artifacts and activities during all the periods of use. These include: gun shell pieces, men's work clothing and accoutrements, as well as a substantial refuse assemblage of later period tobacco and liquor product indulgences.

Regarding artifacts that point to women's personal use, recovered were: seven dainty aquamarine glass fragments with one "lily pad" motif (Fig. 179 from Unit 4N10E); the miniature perfume bottle (Fig. 188 from Unit 6N2E E1/2), and the isolated find of one turquoise and silver brooch (Fig. 257 below from the site's SW quadrant). There were no obvious children's toys or game pieces found.

Men's only clothing and accoutrements were found clustered mostly in Unit 4N10E and in the Feature 2 trench. In Unit 4N10E two suspender adjustments (Fig. 264), two white buttons (Fig. 262), one shoe or boot eyelet (Fig. 268) and one -metal boot heel plate were recovered (Fig. 249).

In Unit 3N1E found: one buckle of a vest or pants was found (Fig. 267). In Unit 3N2E was one Lee workwear metal button (Fig. 263). In Unit 3N3E, recovered was one strap adjuster (Fig. 265) and one-half of a boot's leather sole, man's size 11 or slightly larger (Fig. 269).

One cluster of Health and Cosmetic related items collected occurred in Unit 3N3E and/or its vicinity. Recovered were: one nondescript white glass cosmetics or toiletry bottle, two fragments of what appear to be one ovoid-shaped tin pillbox (See Fig. 255), and one whole Alka-Seltzer "tube" bottle with cap made in 1937 (See Figures 203, 205). Elsewhere at the site were four more diagnostically confirmed medicinal and/or apothecary bottles. They are: one partial light-aqua colored medicinal elixir bottle with indented side panels (320-070) from Unit 3N2E; one partial prescription or patent medicine bottle (320-472 and 320-473) from the SW quadrant; one "1935" whole tablets and salts bottle (320-281) from Feature 1 (See Fig. 216), as well as one partial Lash's Bitters bottle (1902-1905) from Unit 6N2E E1/2 (Figures 182-187). Two more old-appearing possible medicinal type bottles were both recovered from Feature 1, namely: one aqua glass lip fragment (Fig. 223) and one clear glass lip fragment (Fig. 224).

Liquor and tobacco indulgences appear never to have been in short supply. Tobacco items included: one white (kaolin) clay pipe fragment (See Fig. 249); one Copenhagen Company snuff tobacco lid (Fig. 253); and one AM/PM Convenience Stores cigarette lighter (Fig. 254).

Recovered from the Feature 1 "Depression/Refuse fill" were: eight whole liquor and/or spirits bottles whose range when made were 1940 -1945, as well as three whole wine bottles (ca. 1941-1957) one amber glass beer bottle (1947), and 4 1/2 beer cans of cone top and flat top varieties (ca. 1935-1972) Incidentally, there were more of these type bottles and cans observed in the depression that were not collected!

Miscellaneous/Other Personal Group items of interest recovered included: one WW II aluminum canteen (Fig. 274 from the Corral, Feed Shed, Windmill location) and one "1939" California automobile license plate (Fig. 388 from Feature 1 Depression at 48-60").

B. PERSONAL GROUP CLASSIFICATION SCHEME

1. Indulgences: Liquor and Drugs
 - a. Whiskey/Whisky/hard liquor bottles
 - b. Ale/beer cans or bottles
 - c. Wine & champagne bottles
 - d. Ceramic containers
 - e. Liquor drinking glasses (shot glasses or wine glasses)
 - f. Drugs
 - g. Other

2. Indulgences: Tobacco
 - a. Tobacco tins/containers
 - b. Smoking pipes
 - c. Chewing tobacco/snuff & other containers
 - d. Other

3. Health and Cosmetic
 - a. Medicine/Apothecary bottles
 - b. Soda/Mineral water bottles
 - c. Grooming (includes combs, shaving, hair tonic bottles)
 - d. Perfume bottles/vials
 - e. Mirrors
 - f. Other (vaccination bottles)

4. Clothing and Accoutrements
 - a. Ornamentation/jewelry
 - b. Buttons & snaps
 - c. Buckles (shirt snaps/suspenders)
 - d. Shoes/Boots
 - e. Other Clothing Parts (Eyelets/Grommets/Material)
 - f. Sewing
 - g. Other

5. Personal
 - a. Toys/Games
 - b. Medals/Souvenirs
 - c. Luggage/Trunks/Cases
 - d. Writing/ink containers
 - e. Money
 - f. Other (Includes watches/eye glasses/etc.)

6. Firearms (Armaments)
 - a. Guns/gun parts
 - b. Shells/Bullets
 - c. Lead shot
 - d. Black powder containers
 - e. Other

PERSONAL GROUP ARTIFACTS



1 2 3 4

Figure 251. Four styles of beer or soda drink cans all recovered from Feature 1 at 0-48 inches.

- 1- Specimen 320-340 dates about 1972 w/ "Please Don't Litter" and "Dispose Properly" embossed on its top, with pull-tab (introduced in 1960s). Note: Aluminum cans for beer began in 1959 with Coors, the first to introduce such.
- 2 -320-401 Flat-Top beer can, which were first introduced in 1935, with the Vaughan Novelty Company's one-piece can top pierce/bottle opener combination, also known as a "church key" (Adkison 2002:2.11).
- 3 & 4 - Cone-Top beer cans (320-338 and 320-339) started also in 1935 but manufacturing of them finished in 1959. Soft drink cone-top cans also were used in the early 1950s (Adkison 2002:2.27).



Figure 252. This Crown Cap (320-304) with 21 "corrugations" (no older than 1920s) was recovered from Feature 1 at 0-48 inches. A product by William Painter, Baltimore Md., was invented in 1889 and patented in 1892. Volume production began in 1897 but by 1905 less than 25% of the bottles were using the crown because it required a new type of bottle. However, the Owens Machine hastened the change. Composition cork liners were introduced around 1908 and aluminum liner faces were first used in 1916. Twist-off crown on threaded bottle tops were introduced in the 1960s.

About corrugations - Before standardization in the 1920's, the number of corrugations on the cap varied from 20 to 22, with the standard settling on 21. "This type was used on early beer cans" (Adkison 2002:2.8).

**PERSONAL GROUP
ARTIFACTS**
(Indulgences: Tobacco)

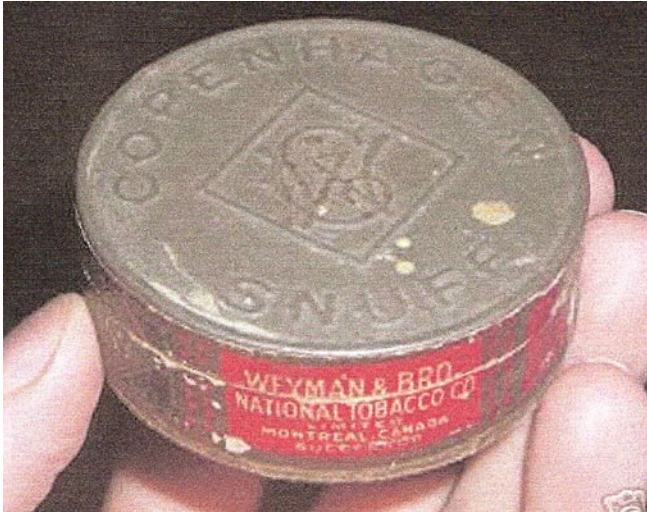
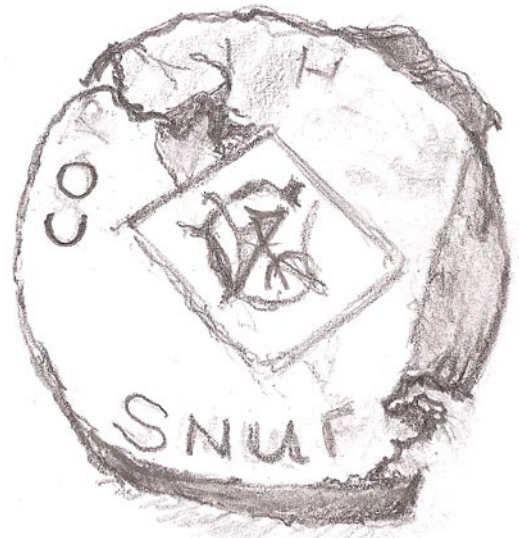


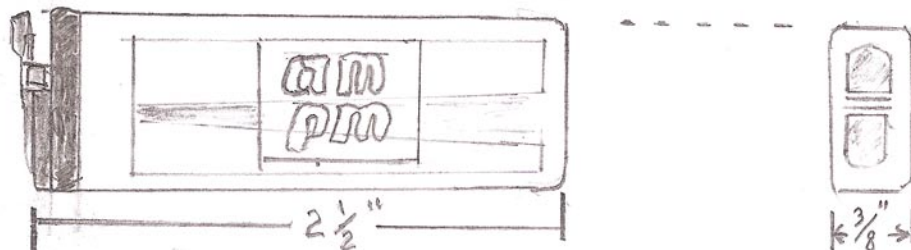
Figure 253a and b. This (320-305) partial Copenhagen snuff or dipping tobacco lid (right) was collected from Feature 1 at 0-48 inches. Its period of use was between 1870-1905, probably. The “C” over “W” logo stood for Copenhagen snuff by Weyman & Brothers Company of William and Benjamin Weyman whose father, George Weyman, was the Copenhagen snuff inventor in 1822 in his tobacco shop in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, not Denmark!

The lid design is identical to the lid design (above) retrieved from ebay on 12/24/2006, which reads on its side packaging that it was still affiliated with the National Tobacco Company. According to the U.S. Tobacco Company’s corporate headquarter’s web site, “Following their father’s death, the two sons, in 1870, officially adopted the name Weyman & Bro.” and in 1905 “Weyman & Bro. is acquired by the American Tobacco Company. Retrieved Online from:
<<http://www.fundinguniverse.com/company/histories/UST-Inc-Company-History.html>>



ACTUAL SIZE

Drawing by Janice Newton



ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 254. Plastic AM/PM Convenience Stores cigarette lighter (320-296) was also collected from Feature 1 at 0-48 inches, amber gold color. Convenience stores first opened in 1975; first store opened in southern California in 1978; and started franchising in 1979. Hence, this artifact dates “circa. 1979.”

**PERSONAL GROUP
ARTIFACTS**
(Health and Cosmetics)



ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 255. Collected from 3N3E at 0-6" depth, the contents of this partial ovoid shaped tin, with friction lid, is believed to have been of a medicinal or apothecary nature. This small container was recovered as two fragments, half its bottom and about one-fifth its lid.

Approx. dimensions: 2" x 3/4" x 1/4."

No date is assigned to this artifact. The notion that health and cosmetic items were used in or around the vicinity of Unit 3N3E in ca. 1930s, stems from the facts that one partial white glass hand ointment or Mentholatum jar and one whole Alka-Seltzer bottle (1937) were discovered (See Figures 202 and 204 in A. Bottles and Glass s for Unit 3N3E).



REDUCED 60% OF ACTUAL SIZE

Approx. 3 3/4" wide x 4 1/4" high (at shoulder) x 1" deep
Its mouth opening has a 1/2" diameter.

Product contents unidentified.

Figure 256. Further research about this artifact's original contents is needed. Discovered in the SW quadrant by a metal detector sweep and fairly close to the Hi Good cabin flat, is this partial, flattened, flask-shaped tin container (320-475) with lapped seams. Its lapped seams reflect the broad period of use, "circa 1840 to 1900" (Adkison 2002:2.7).

It is only placed in the Health and Cosmetics category as a possible talcum powder tin. However, this vintage artifact was also shown to gunsmithing authority Jim Wages, Lassen Community College Gun Shop (2007). When asked whether this container could have contained black powder, he said "It just might be that. I have a black powder container a bit like this one only larger. But yours is older, so it is possible."

**PERSONAL GROUP
ARTIFACTS**
(Clothing and
Accoutrements)



Figure 257. This 1" diameter silver with turquoise pendant (320-476) was discovered during a metal detector sweep in the SW corner of the SW quadrant, and is one of the few definite female associated artifacts found at the site. Tehama County Museum curator Darrell Mullins learned from a jeweler that this particular turquoise variety originates from New Mexico, of Zuni petite point tradition.

ACTUAL SIZE



Figure 258. This decorative or ornamental fragment (320-003) may have come off a hat band or saddlery gear. Two of its star-shaped points are missing. It is made of rusted ferrous metal and appears to have a missing back.

The hypothesis that this "star" might be from a spur rowel with jingle bob has been ruled out because such a piece would be two sided, and made of heavier brass or steel and nicked. A number of similar decorative artifacts were noted in the 2007 and 2008 excavations.

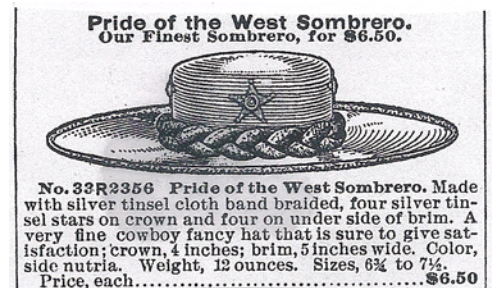


Figure 259. From Sears, Roebuck & Co. Catalogue, 1902, p.1014, image of such a tinsel star on a Sombrero.

**PERSONAL GROUP
ARTIFACTS**
(Clothing and
Accoutrements)



Figure 260. These vintage metal buttons were recovered in the same vicinity as the possible Hi Good gun shells (Left to Right) 1st and 2nd from Unit 4N10E; third from Road Segment #2. If they are the one piece cast metal type, they "date to ca. 1800 -1860" (Atkinson 2002:4.8). However, if they are "two piece pressed metal button style buttons, they date "post-1870" [Atkinson (2002:4.8). See also Olsen (1963:551-554)].



Figure 261. Two piece Sander's button with shank, which dates "ca.1830 - present" (Atkinson 2002:4:8). Recovered from Unit 4N10E.



Figure 262. Four-hole glass buttons. The two outside are from Unit 2S12E. The two inside are from Unit 4N10E. (L to R): 320-053, 320-160, 320-161, and 320-611.



ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 263. This Lee Jeans button (320-069) was found in 3N2E. Its period of use has been determined to be 1927-1935. A second Lee Button was recovered in the 2007 field class from Unit 6N1E.

Ms. Jean Svadlenak, consultant for the Lee Jeans Museum in Merriam, Kansas, sent this e-mail received 9/5/2007:

Dear Mr. Burrill:

In response to your inquiry regarding the Lee buttons found in your recent dig:

The button in question was used on Lee workwear, particularly overalls called "Whizits" by Lee because they zipped up the front. These were manufactured from 1927-1935. Lee actually ran a national campaign in 1927 to name this garment, offering \$1,000 in cash prizes. The button was later used on flier suits manufactured by Lee during World War II.

The H.D. Lee Company began to produce work wear in Salina, Kansas in 1911. As the demand for work wear increased and he expanded the business, they moved their headquarters to Kansas City, Missouri in 1917.

I noticed in your one-page specimen report a mention of "Ishi in Oroville was dressed September 1, 1911 in ... overalls called "Can't Bust 'Ems." These overalls would have been made by a company known as Eloesser-Heynemann, based in San Francisco. Lee bought that company in 1946 along with the trademark name "Can't Bust "Em" in order to fulfill Lee's production needs for other denim garments.

I hope this information helps!

Jean Svadlenak
Consultant to Museums

PERSONAL GROUP ARTIFACTS

(Clothing and
Accoutrements)

ALL
ACTUAL SIZE
(except Fig. 22 below)



Figure 264. Metal suspender adjusters from Unit 4N10E.



Figure 265. Strap adjuster from Unit 3N3E.



Figure 266. Metal suspender slider piece from Unit 6N2E E1/2.



Figure 267. Buckle to pant or vest from Unit 3N1E.

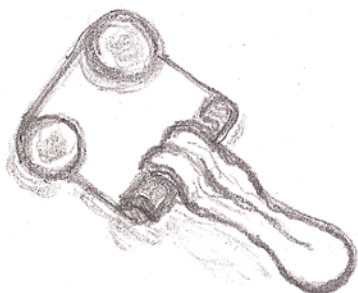
Figure 268. Shoe eyelet from Unit 4N10E.

50% ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 269. This leather boot sole (320-221) with two composite plugs was recovered from Unit 3N3E. Its age remains undetermined. It measures approximately a man's size 11.



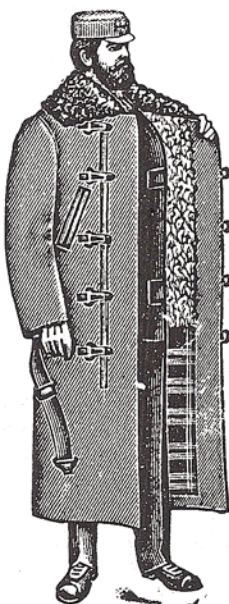
**PERSONAL GROUP
ARTIFACTS**
(Clothing and Accoutrements)



ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 270.

Our Double Extra Quality Three-Quarter Sheep Lined Ulsters.



This ulster coat is 54 inches long. Made from best quality 10-ounce waterproof duck. Has a large, Russian lambskin collar. All seams are double stitched; slanting ulster pockets, patent snap and ring fasteners, 2½-inch duck belt, fastened with the celebrated Kootz's patent buckle, which can be unbuckled or fastened with the slightest turn of the wrist. Lined throughout body and above hips, as shown in illustration, with a prime white sheep pelt fleece. The balance of the lining is a heavy blanketing. The sleeves are lined with quilted blanket Italian cloth. Back of the quilted lining is rubber lining, which guarantees the coat being absolutely wind and waterproof. Cuffs faced inside with 2 inches of brown corduroy, and above that is a fur wrister for protection from the cold. If you want the best waterproof coat

that will wear for years, one that is guaranteed in every respect, order this number. Sizes, 36 to 46 inches breast measure. Average length, 54 inches. No. 41R446 Price.....\$7.50

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description
320-307	Feature 1	0-48"	White metal fastener Possibly used for raincoat

This fastener, strap tensioning buckle, although probably of more modern cuprous brass functioned conceivably like the Kootz patent buckle, which, as advertised (above) in the *Sears, Roebuck & Co. Catalogue, 1902*, p. 1151, "can be buckled or fastened with the slightest turn of the wrist." This fastener device is affixed with others vertically in a row onto the right side of an Ulster (a man's heavy duty coat made of ten ounce water-proof duck); also similar to a men's raincoat.

The US Patent reference is Dec, 1899 Kootz et. al., as listed Online at:

<<http://www.freepatentsonline.com/4229862.html>>

PERSONAL GROUP ARTIFACTS (Writing/ink containers)

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description	Date
320-001	6N2E E1/2	0-6"	Lip and neck stoneware fragments (3) Possible stoneware ink bottle	Undetermined

These stoneware “flat lip” fragments (Figures 272a & below) remain a curiosity. According to ceramics specialist Barbara Woodrum who studied the three fragments, they evidently appeared to be “unglazed.” If so, they would be “porous, water permeable.” Therefore, she added, “It is doubtful that they held liquid.”

Woodrum’s observation appears corroborated in one part of Switzer’s (1974:68-69) description, which reads, “The brown salt glazed bottles have flat unglazed bases.” Apparently both this stoneware vessels’ base and neck/lip areas were made “unglazed” while its body was glazed. This may explain why it was functional for “liquid” ink after all.



Figure 272a.



ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 272b. Three fragments of possible ink bottle. Dimensions of mouth: Outside diameter is 1 1/4 inches and inside diameter 2/3 inch. Is not the stain on the inside on the one fragment of green ink residue?

The stoneware “flat lip” fragments (Fig. 272) recovered from Unit 6N2E E1/2, may have come from an ink bottle like this P. & J. Arnold ink bottle (Fig. 273), recovered in 2003, during the archaeological dig (RT-IF-240) of today’s Reno’s Amtrak Railroad Depot, Reno, Nevada. Artifact on exhibit inside Reno’s Depot, photographed by author in 2008.

According to Switzer (1974:68-69) the wheel-thrown stoneware ink bottles date ca. 1850-1876. Class VI, Type 2 product were made by J. Bourne & Son. The product came in cases of 24. The cylindrical, brown salt glazed bottles have flat unglazed bases, slightly concave conical shoulders and relatively wide flaring collars with flat lips. Also, each bottle was impressed on the side, near the base: “VITREOUS STONE BOTTLES/J. BOURNE & SON,/PATENTEES/DENBY 7 CODNER PARK POTTERIES /NEAR DERBY./P. & J.ARNOLD/LONDON.”

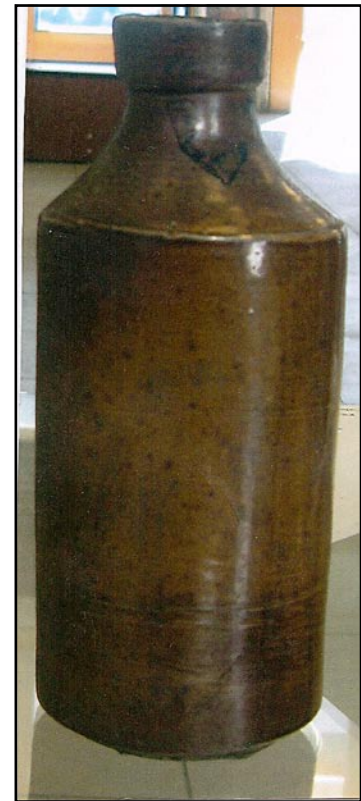


Figure 273. (Cat. #588)

Dimensions: Height, 7". Diameter of base 3". Diameter of the neck (outside) 1 13/16"s, while 1 inch for the inside. [Note: This outside diameter approximates the 1 1/4" outside diameter measured for the three “flat lip” fragments found (See Fig. 25 caption).

PERSONAL GROUP ARTIFACTS

(Personal /Other)

Artifact 320-412, a military issue, welded aluminum canteen found by the tin feeding shed, is of probable WW II origin as determined by Karen H. Bacquet's letter of September 2, 2005 (See attached). Three generations of "George Roberts" have lived in Tehama County, and the George Roberts (born in 1949) contacted did confirm that his father, now deceased, did serve in the Pacific during WWII, and was "part of the final phase of that war." The numbers: 681745 would comply with the "final phase" of that war if the #6 signified its Company w/with the date of issuance probably, August 17, 1945.

However, Mr. Mike Schneider of Veterans' Services Office, 1205 Main Street, Susanville, CA 96130, who was given a glossy photo of the canteen and conferred with local veterans, responded by telephone (2/7/07) that: "The embossed #681745 numbers are production or serial numbers from the factory. The canteen was put into a canvas bag, called the canteen holder, which went on the soldier's belt." February 7, 2007. The canteen is missing its screw on cap and canvas bag holder. Military issue; embossed w/ "Geo. Roberts" and Factory serial #681745

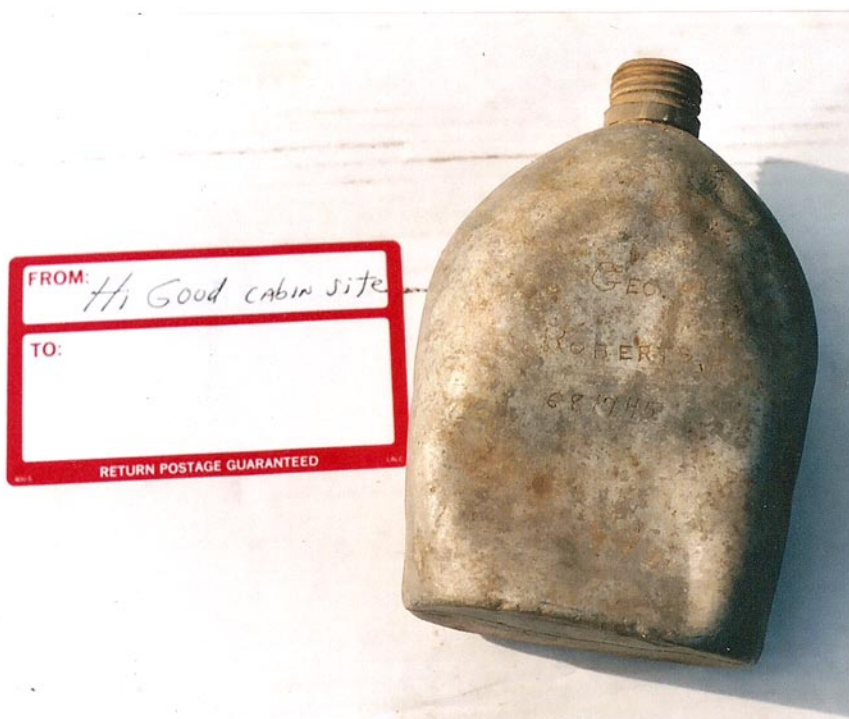


Figure 274.

Karen H. Bacquet

P.O. Box 344
Tehama, CA 96090
Home Phone: (530)384-1525
Email: bacquet@tco.net

September 2, 2005

Dear Dr. Burrill:

I had a nice visit with my old friend, George Roberts, the other day, and he was able to give me a little bit of information. My friend was born in 1949, too young to have been the owner of the canteen, but both his father and grandfather were also named George, and his father was in the military in 1945 -- he fought in the Pacific during WWII, and was part of the final phase of that war. (The elder George has passed away.) George was unable to give any reason that his father might have been in the area of the Hi Good cabin, but his grandfather owned a lumber business in Paynes Creek, which his father also worked for -- and he was guessing that his father might have been there for some work-related reason.

While George wouldn't be able to positively identify whether or not the canteen that you dug up was his father's, we do know that three generations of George Roberts lived in Tehama County, and that one of them was in the military in 1945.

Sincerely,


Karen H. Bacquet

Figure 275. Letter about the canteen, 320-412.

Personal Group Artifacts (Firearms)

3. Hi Good Related Firearms & Ammunition Findings

Three gun types are attributed to what Hi Good used during 1857 - 1865, which were his pioneer Indian fighter years, based on oral history and published sources collected (See Gun Inventory below). All three respective ammunition types were found at the Hi Good Cabin site during 2003-2004, with the .44 Henry Flat cartridge casing for the Henry Repeating Rifle having the highest frequency. Of the sixty-seven (67) total armament or firearm pieces collected, twenty-one (31.3%) were .44 Henry Flat rimfire brass cartridge casings!

Besides the .44 Henry Flats, four .56 .46 special shaped "bottle-necked" rimfires used by the Spencer Sporting Rifle were recovered, and one lead rifle ball, approx. .36, the kind used in mainly muzzle-loading squirrel rifles or as size 000 buckshot for either breech or muzzle loading shotguns.

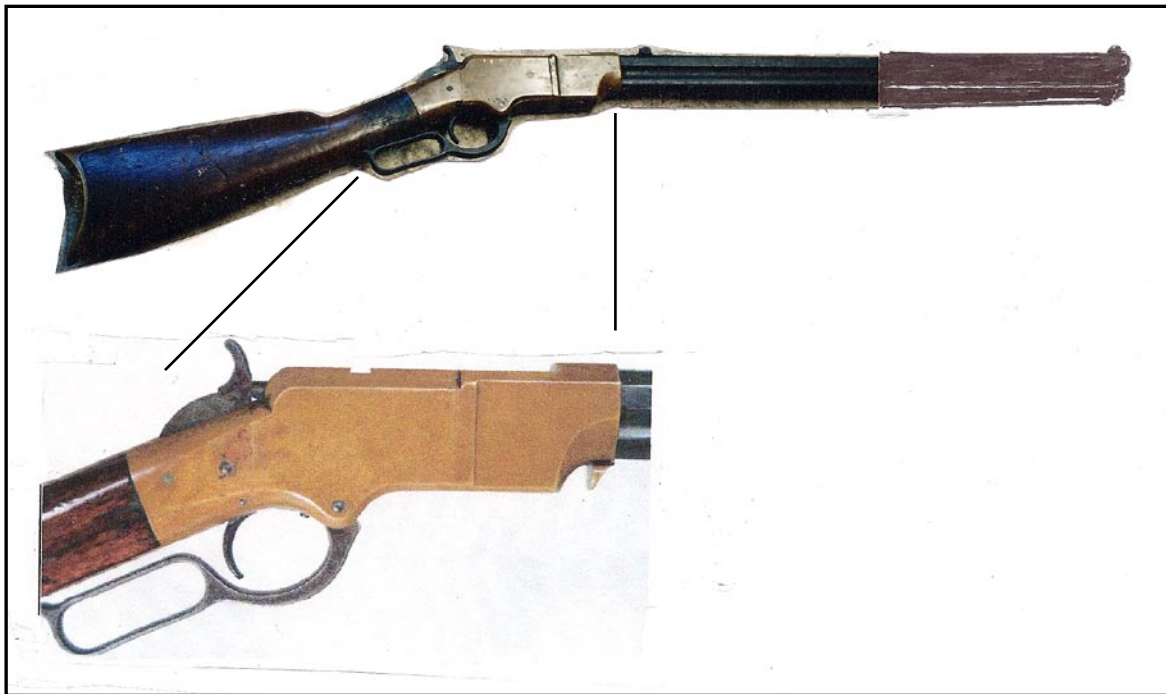


Figure 276. Henry Repeating Rifle that used the .44 Henry Flat. Developed by Benjamin Tyler Henry ("H"). This lever-action repeating rifle was one of the milestones of modern arms and ammunition. Toward the end of the Civil War, several Henry rifles were in service. In 1866, the Henry Repeating Arms Company was changed to the Winchester Repeating Arms Company. Coupled with its "sure fire" dual firing pin indentations, it was reliable and deadly. Its magazine was set "under the barrel," carrying 15 rounds. Starting with one in the chamber, made 16 rounds. After each firing, the lever is operated "throwing" the empty case out the top of the action, while simultaneously cocking the rifle. Closing the lever loads another cartridge from the magazine into the chamber to be fired, and the operation repeats itself.

Personal Group Artifacts (Firearms)

THE THREE GUN TYPES USED BY HI GOOD

(1) Gun type: Henry Repeating Rifle

Number of shells found at site: Twenty-one .44 caliber Henry Flat rimfires.*

Operation type: Repeating action. Lever action for 16 rounds of which 15 rounds are held in its magazine under the barrel.

Sources: Weapon used by Hi Good to kill the Old Doctor (Waterman 1918:58). The Henry also used by Indian fighter Fred Schuler in 1866 (Judge Gans Scrapbook preserved Tehama County's Library, Red Bluff.)

Vintage: 1860 to 1866, the years when the Henry was manufactured by the New Haven Arms Co. Henry rifles were in the hands of Civil War Union soldiers by mid 1862. Developed by Benjamin Tyler Henry ("H"), this lever-action repeating rifle was one of the milestones of modern arms and ammunition.

The .44 Henry cartridge was manufactured from 1860-61 to 1934 (Barns and Skinner 1993:445). The .44 Henry also works in the Colt Model 1871-1872 "open top" single action revolver (Flayderman 2001:85).

(2) Gun type: Spencer Sporting and Spencer Military Carbine

Number of shells found at site: four -.56 .46 caliber "bottle-necked" rimfires.

Operation type: Repeating action by raising the lever for 7-rounds located in the stock.

Sources: Michael Hamilton's Vina oral history told to him by Ephraim Leininger (1889-1972) and C. Roy Carmichael. Use of Spencer also mentioned in Kroeber (1961:84-85) regarding the purported Kingsley Cove massacre that did not involve Hi Good. Apparently, Hi Good's gun wound to his thigh resulted from one of the Mill Creeks who had been "well armed with the Spencer rifle" (Delaney 1872; Anderson 1909:46-47).

Vintage: 1866, the year when J. H. Spencer began its manufacture, continuing until the firm failed in 1869. Winchester bought up the surplus guns and Spencer patents, but did not manufacture them. The .56 .46 cartridge has been obsolete since before WW I, but "loaded" to 1919 (Barnes and Skinner 1993:377).

(3) Gun type: Muzzle-loader, "Kentucky" or "Pennsylvania" Rifle

Number of shells found at site: one - approximately .36 caliber lead ball

Operation type: Single shot muzzle loading type. Its user must reload each time to shoot.

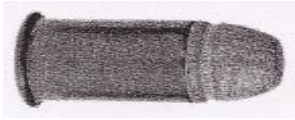
It takes a measured charge of powder pushed down into the barrel. One lead ball is placed in a patch of lubricated buckskin or cloth (called a patch) and both are rammed down the barrel. Place a cap for a percussion (fill the pan for a flintlock). Cock back the hammer, aim, and fire.

Sources: "While he was gone, the boy took down the Kentucky rifle" and "shot him [Hi Good] a couple of times" (Weston 1955:5).

Vintage: 1763 to Present. "The lead ball was used first by the flintlock muzzle loaders. But in the 1830s there began a conversion to cap and ball percussion muzzle loaders. The latter was in common use by 1865" (R. H. Chamberlain, Jim Wages and John Martin, firearms consultants.)

* During 2007, four more .44 Henry Flats were recovered from Unit 5N9E. In 2008, five more .44 Henry Flats were recovered from Unit 3N9E. Total of thirty .44 Henry Flats found from 2003-2008.

**Personal Group Artifacts
(Firearms)**



**.44 HENRY FLAT RIMFIRE
CARTRIDGE**



**.56 - .46 SPENCER "NECKED"
RIMFIRE CARTRIDGE**

Rifle Ball



This Ball recovered from the Cabin site measures approx. 36 caliber. The same caliber as the Muzzle Loading, "Kentucky Rifle" that is alleged to have been used by "Indian Ned" to murder "Hi".

LEAD RIFLE BALL FOR MUZ-
ZLE-LOADERS
OR AS BUCKSHOT SIZE 000

FIGURE 277.

**THE THREE AMMUNITION TYPES
USED BY HI GOOD AND FOUND AT THE SITE**



Figure 278. Leather rifle scabbard is visible in this early photo of an unnamed sheep herder. The photo shows how the rifle is packed when traveling on horseback. His rifle hangs on the near-side of his horse in an open ended leather rifle scabbard (with attaching straps) under his stirrup leather with its butt towards the front. Reprinted from page 69 in Eleanor Simpson Briggs, ed. 1996 *Early Day Sheep Drives from Tehama County*. Tehama: Tehama County Museum Foundation.

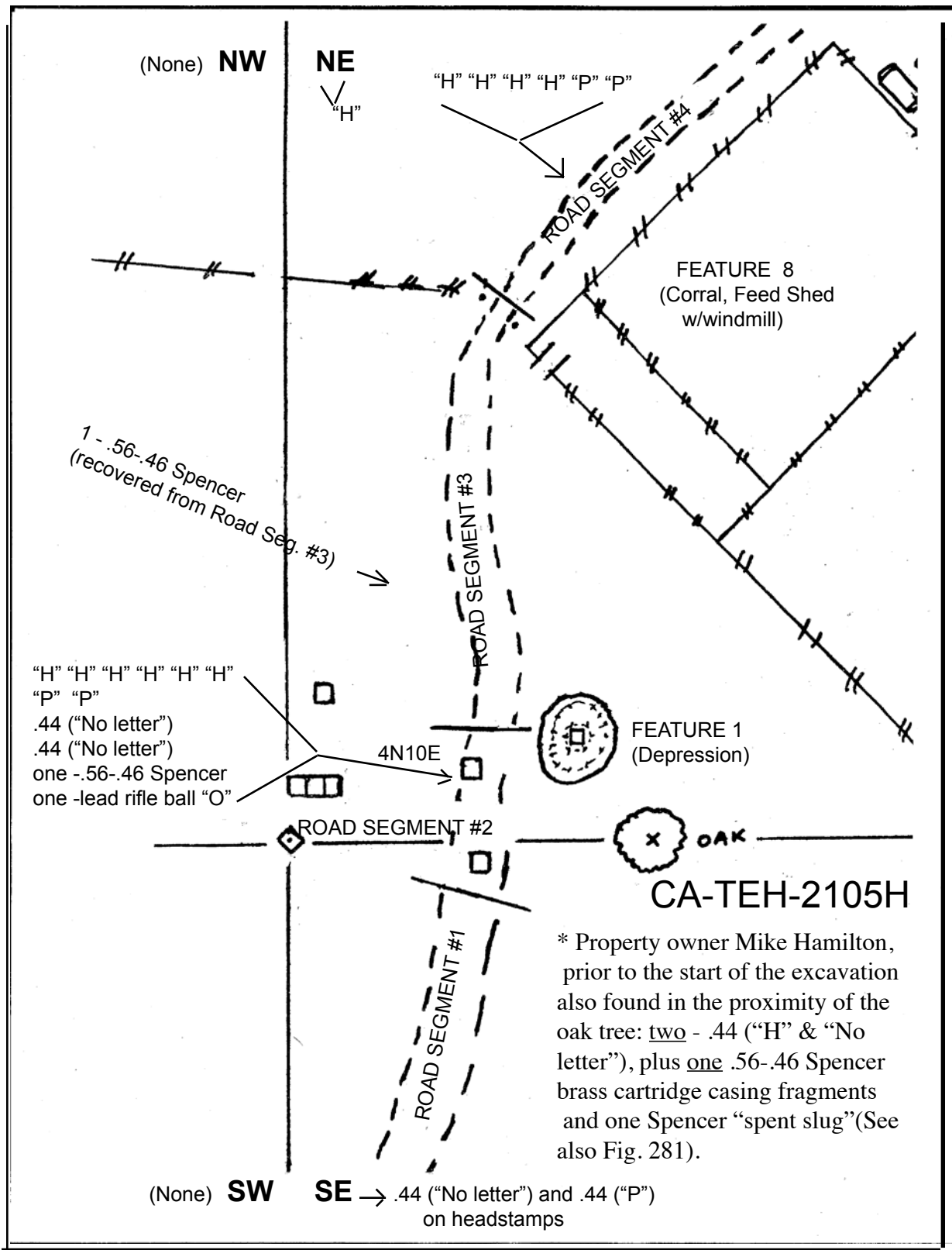


Figure 279. Map: Firearms ammunition distributions for the twenty-one .44 Henry Flats with headstamps ("H" or "P" or "No letter" visible on headstamp); four total - .56-.46 Spencer firearm pieces, and, one - lead rifle ball used in a muzzle loader.

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Description	Historical Dates
1-308	Feature 1	12 g. shotgun; Rem-Peters	1934; 1960 or later
2-309	Feature 1	“9MM “Luger” WIN”	1902; very recent
3-310	Feature 1	.22 long HS: “CCI”	1960 or later
4-311	Feature 1	.22 “Super X” long rifle	1960 or later
5-348	Feature 1	.30-06 [Springfield] 48-60”	1895, recent
6-351	Feature 1	.30-06 [Springfield] 48-60”	1895, recent
7-445	NE Quad	.44 Henry Flat HS: “H”	1860 - 1934
8-477	SW Quad	.45 caliber [probably] .452	no date
9-478	SW Quad	.45 caliber [probably] .452	no date
10-415	SE Quad	.44 Henry Flat HS: none	1860? 1872-1944
11-416	SE Quad	.45 Colt single action Army	1873 developed
12-417	SE Quad	.38 rimfire; brass shell casing	no date
13-418	SE Quad	.44 Henry Flat HS: “P”	1872-1878 or 1887-1944
14-419	SE Quad	.32 SpecialHS:32 Special/UMC	ca. 1895
15-420	SE Quad	.32 Winch.Special HS: WS/WRAC	ca. 1895
16-421	SE Quad	.32 Winch. Special HS: UMC	1888 or later
17-422	SE Quad	.32 Special HS: REM-UMC	1911-1934
		[Note: This one was chambered, not fired]	
18-423	SE Quad	.32 Special HS: WIN SPL R-P	1934 or later
19-486	Road Seg #1	12 g. shotgun; Rem-Peters	1934, 1960 or later
20-487	Road Seg #1	.223 Military Cf HS: L.C. '89	1989
21-488	Road Seg #1	.223 Military Cf HS: L.C. '89	1989
21-489	Road Seg #1	.223 Military Cf HS: L.C. '89	1989
21-490	Road Seg #1	.223 Military Cf HS: L.C. '84	1984
24-492	Road Seg #1	.22 “Super X” long rifle (W)	1960 or later
25-493	Road Seg #1	.22 “Super X” long rifle (W)	1960 or later
26-494	Road Seg #1	.22 long rifle	1960 or later
27-494	Road Seg #1	.22 long rifle	1960 or later
28-494	Road Seg #1	.22 long rifle, HS: “U”	1960 or later
29-516	Road Seg. #2	.410 g. shotgun Cf	no date
30-533	Road Seg. #3	.56-.46 Spencer necked	1866 - 1919
31-552	Road Seg. #4	.30 ”military” HS: S. L..& 45	1945
32-553	Road Seg. #4	.44 Henry Flat HS: “P”	1872-1878or 1887-1944
33-554	Road Seg. #4	.44 Henry Flat HS: “P”	1872-1878or 1887-1944
34-555	Road Seg. #4	.44 Henry Flat HS: “H”	1860 - 1870 probable
35-556	Road Seg. #4	.44 Henry Flat HS: “H”	1860 - 1870 probable
36-557	Road Seg. #4	.44 Henry Flat HS: “H”	1860 - 1870 probable
37-558	Road Seg. #4	.44 Henry Flat HS: “H”	1860 - 1870 probable
38-550	Road Seg. #4	Minie ball lead .54	appearance “modern”
39-551	Road Seg. #4	Minie ball lead .54	appearance “modern”

Personal Group Artifacts (Firearms)

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Description	Historical Dates
40-613	3N1E	.45-90 HS: WRA.Co. .45 90 WCF (Donnelly 2004:358)	ca. 1886
41-063	3N2E	.30 HS:Rem UMC 25-3.	1911- 1934
42-064	3N2E	.25-35	1895, no older than
43-250	3N3E	.45 Automa. Colt revolver	1912, November
44-251	3N3E	.38 rimfire HS:"U"	1912 or later
45-138	4N10E	.44 Henry Flat HS: "P"	1872-1878 probably
46-139	4N10E	.44 Henry Flat HS: None	1860? 1872-1944
47-140	4N10E	.44 Henry Flat HS: "H"	1860 - 1870 probable
48-141	4N10E	.44 Henry Flat HS: "H"	1860 - 1870 probable
49-142	4N10E	.44 Henry Flat HS: "H"	1860 - 1870 probable
50-143	4N10E	.44 Henry Flat HS: "H"	1860 - 1870 probable
51-144	4N10E	.44 Henry Flat HS: "P"	1872- 1878 probable
52-145	4N10E	.44 Henry Flat HS: None	1860? 1872-1944
53-146	4N10E	.41 Long Colt (brass case=1.130")	ca. 1895
54-147	4N10E	.44 Henry Flat HS: "H"	1860 - 1870 probable
55-148	4N10E	.56-.46 Spencer "necked"	1866 - 1919
56-149	4N10E	Lead rifle ball approx. .36	[pre 1840s era]
57-150	4N10E	.44 Henry Flat HS: "H"	1860 - 1870 probable
58-153	4N10E	(See Fig.36 below)	no date
59-026	6N2E, E 1/2	12 g. shotgun "PetersTarget"	1887 to 1934
Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description
57-320-153	4N10E	0-6"	Metal cylinder with pins Length 7/8" Diameter approx. 3/16" Badly corroded. Possibly a ram rod for a muzzle loader/undetermined



Figure 280.

Comments: "Possibly a piece from a ramrod for a muzzle loader, for pins protrude on both sides used to pin something inside. It is a very small caliber, however. Corrosion may have shrunken its original diameter." --Jim Wages, Gunsmithing Department, Lassen College, Susanville, California.

Personal Group Artifacts (Firearms)

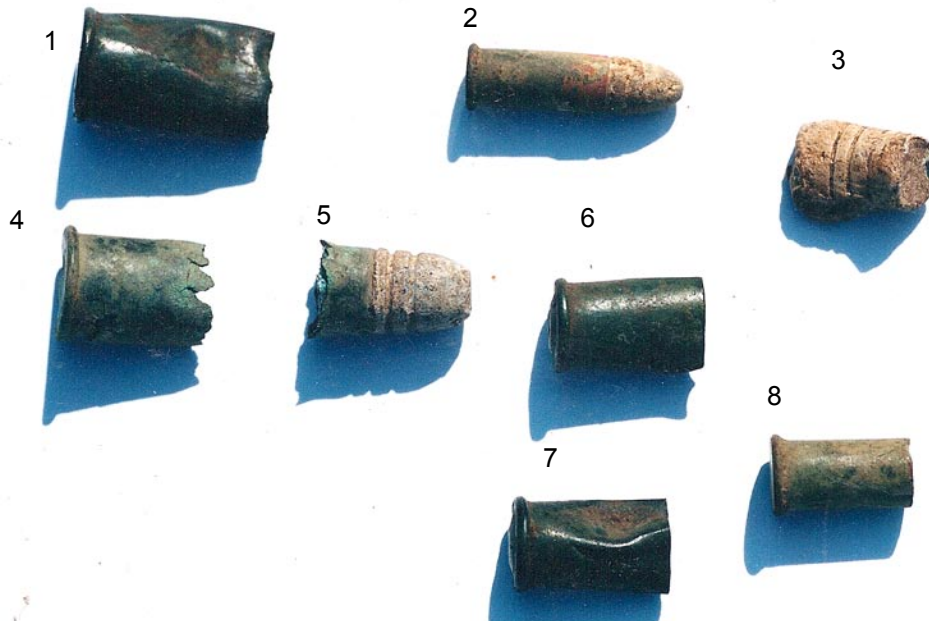


Figure 281. The composite of the eight additional armaments found earlier by property owner Mike Hamilton (MH) at the Hi Good Cabin site. These eight are part of his private collection, and were all found in the vicinity of the large oak tree that stands due east of the datum. These photos were taken by Bob Price on May 15, 2003.

<u>Specimen Number</u>	<u>Horizontal Provenience</u>	<u>Depth</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Date</u>
MH #1	Hi Good site Found at base of Blue oak	0-6"	.56-.46 Spencer rimfire bottle necked (See Fig. 284) Headstamp: "F.V.V. & Co."	1866 - 1919
MH #2	Hi Good site	0-6"	.32 long "cartridge loaded" Headstamp: "H"	
MH #3	Hi Good site	0-6"	.56-.46 Spencer (spent slug)	1866-1919
MH #4 & #5	Hi Good site	0-6"	.56-.46 Spencer rimfire bottle necked Headstamp: None discernible Brass cartridge casing + broken;	1866-1919
MH #6	Hi Good site	0-6"	.44 Henry Flat rimfire Handstamp: None discernible	1860? 1872 - 1944
MH #7	Hi Good site	0-6"	.44 Henry Flat rimfire Headstamp: "H"	1860-1870 probably
MH #8	Hi Good site	0-6"	.25 caliber, most likely brass cartridge casing	

MH #9 .32 Winchester center fire brass cartridge casing found by Bob Price on 5/15/2003 and given to Mike Hamilton.

#10 .30-06 Springfield found by Bob Price in Feature 1 "Depression" and assigned specimen #320-348.

Personal Group Artifacts (Firearms)

Figure 282a.

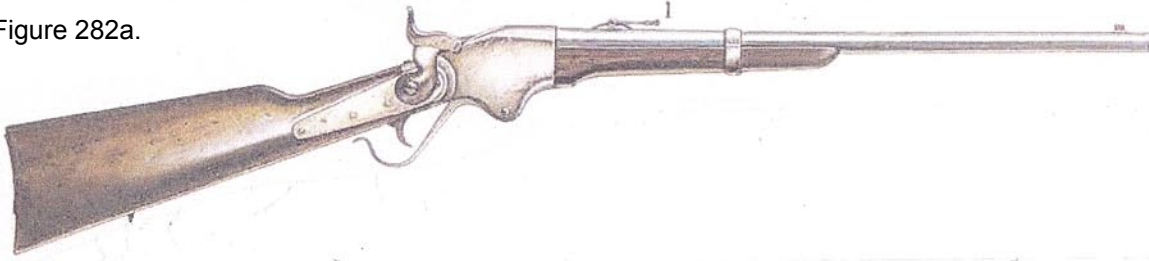


Figure 282b.

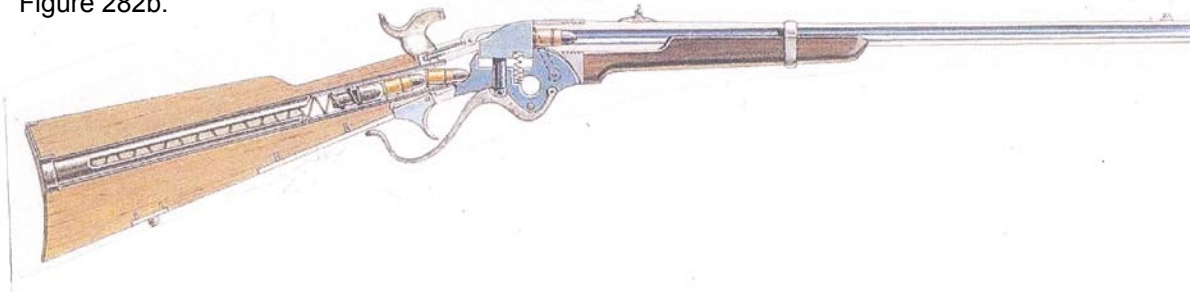


Figure 282a. The Spencer seven-shot repeater rifle. This weapon was a seven-shot repeater. This carbine is the same used by Clint Eastwood in the movie "The Unforgiven" (1992). One such vintage Spencer carbine is on exhibit inside the Anderson Historical Society Museum. Patent, March 1868. Approx. 50,000 were made between 1863-1865.

Figure 282b. Illustrated is how the Spencer rifle's magazine was in the butt, through which the gun was loaded. illustrations from Army of the Cumberland and George Thomas Source: <<http://www.aotc.net/Spencer.htm>>



Figure 283. This Colt Model 1860 Army Revolver, on display at Oroville's Pioneer Memorial Museum, also used .44 caliber bullets if it was converted. Dick Chamberlain thinks that the chances that the new Colt Model 1871-1872 "open top" single action revolver (Flayderman 2001:85) was used at the Hi Good site is very unlikely "because so few of them were made." Note: This gun might be cap & ball and not converted to .44

Interview with R. H. Chamberlain, Firearms Authority

R. H. Chamberlain is a retired educator, holds an Ed.D. degree, and is a lifelong student of antique American firearms. His articles have appeared in *The Gun Report* and similar publications for fifty years as well as others dealing with local history. Included here are some of Mr. Chamberlain's interpretations and comments provided this researcher with great appreciation during 2004 - 2007.

About the Lead Rifle Ball Found

The writer told Dick Chamberlain that there was only the one source, Frank Weston (1955:5), who used the name "Kentucky Rifle," and attributed it as one of Hi Good's guns. Weston's talk was originally a wire recording done when he was 85 years old. Can this original wire recording be found? There very well could be more details that did not get included in the *Wagon Wheels Vol. 5* (No. 1) February 1955 article titled, "Hi Good, Indian Fighter." Its length is only six paragraphs.

Weston (1955:5) wrote that "Hi Good often came to our house. The last time he brought a ton of bacon to pack over to the mines in Idaho, Bear river, I think. My uncle Josh went along as guard."

"Later on Hi Good took a good sized Indian boy from a family at Tehama. The boy was wild and the man was afraid he couldn't manage him. Hi thought he could handle him but this proved to be Hi's undoing."

Weston also wrote, "Hi went down to the garden plot on a little slope below the house. While he was gone, the boy took down the Kentucky rifle. When Hi came into view he shot him, shot him a couple of times."

The Simeon Moak source is even more vague about Hi Good's probable muzzle loading gun type. It is only sentence. Moak (1923:32) referenced what Indian Ned supposedly told Obe Field, "I will take his gun and see if I can kill some squirrels."

Upon hearing both of these accounts, Dick Chamberlain responded with these observations:

"Such a 'squirrel rifle' would likely use a ball in a muzzle loading rifle." He added, "The name, 'Kentucky rifle' is a generic term used for a type of Pennsylvania rifle, which was a very long rifle that was rarely seen in the west.

"About the one round (ball) projectile found, which approximates .36 in size, my guess is that it was buckshot. A round projectile of that diameter suggests buckshot; one pellet of a buckshot load, coming from a shotgun, a muzzle loading shotgun type. In 1870, they would have put several balls down the gun's muzzle, what I call buckshot. Buckshot throws out a pattern that is deadly to deer and to humans, but shot from short range.

"But the lead rifle ball was the only one found there [at the site]." Apparently Dick Chamberlain expected that more round projectiles should have been found if it was indeed buckshot.

Personal Group Artifacts (Firearms)

About the .56-.46 Cartridges Found

In further discussion with R. H. Chamberlain, a conversation was held about the other gun types credited to Hi Good, the Spencer and then the Henry repeating rifles.

Chamberlain provided a Spencer reference. Suydam (1960:121) wrote about the .56-.46 (necked) cartridge that it was used in Spencer sporting rifles and in their Spencer military carbines. "The latter type was used mostly by cavalry units.

This now obsolete .56-.46 cartridge was made by the Spencer Company, as well as by other companies, and "were in production or sold from 1862 to 1900." Barnes and Skinner (1993:377 & 2002:446) indicate that this same Spencer Sporting Rifle cartridge "has been obsolete since before World War I, but was cataloged until 1919."



Figure 284. MH #4 & #5 shows this .56-.46 Spencer (brass cartridge casing fragment + broken 1/3 slug). Weight of black powder, 48 grains. The .56 refers to the diameter of the case just above the rim. The .56 .46 Spencer rimfire is "bottle-necked shaped." Headstamp: nothing discernible. These two fragments were found by Mike Hamilton by the oak tree due east of datum. Photo by Bob Price.



Figure 285. MH #1 The headstamp of this .56-.46 Spencer reads, "F.V.V. & Co.," the initials of Fitch Van Vechten & Co., New York City. This cartridge type can be no older than 1866. It became obsolete before World War I, yet remained for sale in the catalog until 1919. It was also found at the Hi Good Site by property owner Mike Hamilton. This firearms piece is also Fig. 281 #1 above. Photo by Bob Price.

About the Henry Repeating Rifle and .44 rimfire Cartridges

At this writing some 19 early firearms pieces found at the Hi Good Cabin site are of Hi Good's era. Thomas Waterman (1918:58) learned from William J. Seagraves that in March of 1870, Good used a "sixteen shot Henry repeater" rifle to kill the Indians' "Old Doctor." But what became of Hi Good's Henry rifle?

This writer shared with firearms authority R. H. Chamberlain his curiosity about the vintage Henry Repeating Rifle on exhibit inside Oroville's Pioneer Memorial Museum at 2332 Montgomery Street, Oroville, CA (See Fig. 286a & b and 287). It was thought it could be Hi Good's gun, the "real McCoy"! Perhaps a glamorous Law and Order ballistic test would someday be undertaken. This museum's exhibit case already has Robert Anderson's "over under" double barrel (see Fig. 289 & 290 on page 409). Anderson fought alongside Hi Good against the Indians. One museum description of Anderson's rifle, written by Mr. Erving E. Ladd, reads, "Bob Anderson's rifle used in the Indian uprising" (copy in Burrill Collection).



Henry Repeating Rifle

Figure 286a and b. The vintage 1860-1866 Henry Repeating Rifle (fourth rifle from top), whose accession card is missing, is on exhibit inside Oroville's Pioneer Memorial Museum. Whether this vintage Henry belonged to pioneer Indian fighter Hi Good (1836-1870) remains unresolved. Staff member David Dewey takes down the Henry for closer examination by the author. Photos by the author on October 10, 2006.



About the Henry Rifle in the Oroville Museum

In October, 2006, the author secured the City of Oroville's support to have the gun exhibit case opened for a better photograph the guns of interest. Unfortunately, there is no accession card whatsoever for the Henry Repeating Rifle on exhibit.

At the conclusion of 2004 at the Hi Good Cabin site, twenty-one (total) .44 Henry Flat rimfire brass cartridge casing fragments had been recovered. Bottom line question: Were these spent cartridges ejected from this same Henry lever action rifle that is in the Oroville museum? The author recruited gun experts Dick Chamberlain of Flourney along with Jim Wages and John Martin of Susanville to conduct a comprehensive ballistics study.

Mr. Dick Chamberlain remains skeptical. The Henry in Oroville's museum is quite old, and the ammunition cartridge fragments unearthed at the site have been marred and degraded for well over a century. Also, interchangeable parts were being used in new guns by the 1860s and 1870s. He believes that there are simply too many factors that make ballistic studies of most vintage guns impractical.

The author proposed it might prove educational to find out what serial numbers were on the Henry's yellow brass receiver and/or maybe on its tangs. Dick Chamberlain said there are Henry gun catalogs that can give the exact year when such and such a gun was manufactured. The year would be 1860 to 1866.

Lastly, it was further explained by Dick Chamberlain that the Winchester Model 1866 Repeating Rifle that replaced the Henry, also used the .44 Henry cartridge. This means that the .44 Henry Flat brass cartridge fragments collected at the site, could have been fired while Hi Good was alive from someone's new 1866 model Winchester. We only know that the 1866 Winchester rifle was not one of the guns credited to Hi Good's usage.



Figure 287. Whether this vintage Henry belonged to pioneer Hi Good remains unresolved.



Figure 288. Oroville's Pioneer Memorial Museum's firearms display case contains both one vintage Henry Repeating Rifle (on backside of the above exhibit case) as well as pioneer Indian fighter Robert A. Anderson's "double barrel" weapon (fifth rifle down from the top). Photo taken by Richard Burrill on June 19, 2004.



Figure 289. Museum caption: "Backwoods Gunsmith Made." Muzzle loading, Percussion, Over and Under Rifle. Approximately .72 Caliber. Parts from several guns were used." About this gun, on page 58 from *Fighting The Mill Creeks* (1909) by Robert Anderson, he wrote, "They spied us before we were fairly upon them, and away they went, dodging and ducking through the thickets like frightened deer. I brought down one with a shot from my double-barrel, but he was up and streaking it through the brush before I could lay hands upon him."

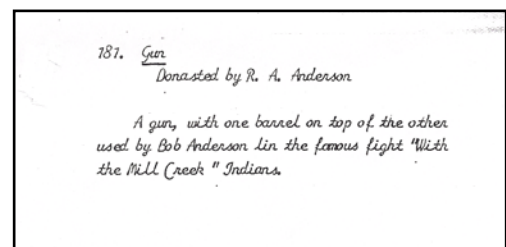


Figure 290. Accession Card #181 typed by Mrs. Florence Danforth, founder of Oroville's Pioneer Memorial Museum for Robert Anderson's "double-barrel" gun.

One special study of the Henry rifle is proposed

Upon finalizing this report, one different tack of investigation was presented to the author by both gunsmiths at Lassen College. What about looking at the breech face of the Henry? It was also noticed that the .44 Henry Flat shell fragments have a raised or bulged edge on their headstamps. Jim Wages offered, "If I can take a look at the breech face inside the Henry, I will be able to tell in short order whether there is a match with certain shells found at the site. I can also make a dental casting of the breech face for science, if I determine the situation merits it.

If this test is done, what will they find? That would be something if the mysterious Henry Rifle in Oroville's Pioneer Memorial Museum is traced to ammunition pieces that we have uncovered from Hi Good sheep camp site in Acorn Hollow, Tehama County!



Figure 291a (left) Headstamp: "H" on the .32 long " cartridge loaded" shell found by Mike Hamilton. (See also this same gun shell in Fig. 281 above MH #2.)

Figure 291b (middle) Headstamp: None discernible on .44 Henry Flat found by Mike Hamilton (See also this same gun shell in Fig. 281 above MH #6.)

Figure 43c (right) Headstamp: .44 Henry Flat found by Mike Hamilton (see also this same gun shell in Fig. 281 above MH #7.) Photos by Bob Price on 5/15/ 2003.

Interpretations about the "P" on the Headstamp of .44 Cartridges

Counting property owner Mike Hamilton's two .44 Henry Flat shell fragments that he also found earlier at the site, four (of the 21 total) have no decipherable letter on their headstamp, twelve have the "H", and five have the letter "P."

It has been determined that the five with letter "P" stood for "Phoenix" of the Phoenix Metallic Cartridge Company (1872 -1878) and, starting in 1887 through 1944, stood for Mr. G. Moore Peters of Xenia, Ohio, who patented the famous cartridge-loading machine. Based on these dates, the five with the "P" were not of Hi Good's short-lived presence, 1866 to 1870. The five with the "P" on their headstamp are: 320-523 and 320-524 recovered from Road Seg. #4; 320-138 and 320-144 from 4N10E; and 320-418 from the SE quadrant (See Fig. 35 map).

The two .44 cartridge fragments with "P" found in Unit 4N10E, are probably from the earlier Phoenix Metallic Cartridge Company, because Unit 4N10E has relatively older artifact associations, such as: the 96.5% of cut nails versus wire nails; one .56-.46 Spencer cartridge shell, and the one lead rifle ball found at the site.

It is furthermore inferred from the "P" shell fragments collected, that someone apparently occupied or visited the Hi Good Cabin site, shortly after Hi Good's death, who either used the same Henry rifle, used another Henry, or maybe, used the new 1866 Winchester Repeating Rifle, which also used the .44 rimfire cartridge. It was not a revolver that was used, for only rifles made the dual "sure fire" indentations on the headstamps. All 21 .44 Henry Flats recovered bear the dual indentations.

History of the Headstamp "P"

Upon further research, not one but two different ammunition factories apparently made the raised letter "P" on rimfire cartridges. They were the Phoenix Metallic Cartridge Company of South Coventry (Tolland Co.) Connecticut and the Peters Cartridge Company of Kings Mills (Warren Co.) Ohio. The respective dates for when these companies were in the armaments production business reveal that the .44 gun cartridges with "P" headstamp can be no older than 1872, two years after Hi Good's death (See respective company histories below).

The Phoenix Metallic Cartridge Company of South Coventry, Connecticut, 1872-1878. "Raised, Purchased by American Ammunition Company in 1878." [Source: <http://members.shaw.ca/cstein0/usrim.htm>; while this web site's header reads,

"HEADSTAMP IDENTIFICATION North American RIMFIRE and I.P CARTRIDGES UNITED STATES / CANADA / Mexico. Headstamps are all Impressed characters unless stated."

According to Suydam (1960:104), "The Phoenix Company made a raised "P". [And] "They didn't go into business until 1872" (Suydam (1960:163).

Future research: More information is undoubtedly to be found in the 2006 book by Frank Krasnickas, *Cartridges Of South Coventry* [ISBN: 1412089492].

The Peters Cartridge Company (and factory) "manufactured ammunition from 1887 to 1944. Internet web sites confirm that "In 1885, G. Moore Peters of Xenia, Ohio, patented his cartridge-loading machine [http://www.todayinsci.com/7/7_07.htm]. Peters' ammunition factory's "primary product was fixed, loaded shotgun shells and semi-smokeless ammunition." The Peters factory was originally founded as a companion facility to the King Powder Company. They were located directly across the Little Miami River from each other near Kings Mills (Warren County), in southwestern Ohio. On July 15, 1890, a tremendous explosion occurred at their Kings Mills factory. A plant train car colliding with two load cars packed with 800 kegs of gun powder at the site. Eleven workers were instantly killed, and several others died in emergency care. Thousands of cartridges had ignited, and a total amount of 1,600 kegs exploded in chain reaction.

Sources also report that because of Mr. Peters' invention of the automatic cartridge loading machine, his cartridge company became a great success. In the 1900s, their companion facility, the King Powder Company, operated on the north bank of the Little Miami River, while Peters was on the south bank.

On May 15, 1934, the Peters Cartridge Company facility was purchased by Remington for \$2.5 million. Remington continued to manufacture ammunition until the facility was closed as part of a consolidation effort in 1944.

Future Research: Thomas D. Schiffer (2002) *Peters & King: The Birth & Evolution of the Peters Cartridge Co. & the King Powder Company*. Iola, Wisconsin: Krause Publications, 2002. ISBN 0-87349-363-X; and Charles R. Suydam (1960) *The American Cartridge. Santa Ana, CA: G. Robert Lawrence.*

C. ARCHITECTURAL/STRUCTURAL GROUP



Figure 292. Concentrated Brick Scatter.

C. ARCHITECTURAL/STRUCTURAL GROUP
CLASSIFICATION SCHEME

1. Construction Hardware
 - a. Hand wrought nails
 - b. Square/Cut nails
 - c. Round/Wire (modern) nails
 - d. Spikes/Large Nails (6" and up)
 - e. Wood screws (machine screws)
 - f. Nuts/Bolts/Washers
 - g. Tacks/Staples
 - h. Wire (barbed, baling wire etc.)
 - i. Other
2. Construction Materials
 - a. Wood
 - b. Sheet tin/Corrugated tin
 - c. Brick & Mortar
 - d. Canvas/Eyelets
 - e. Window glass
 - f. Hinges/Latches/Doorknobs
 - g. Other
3. Furniture/Housewares
 - a. Lamps
 - b. Tables/Chairs, etc.
 - c. Appliances (Brooms/Fireplace Equip./Clocks/etc.)
 - d. Other

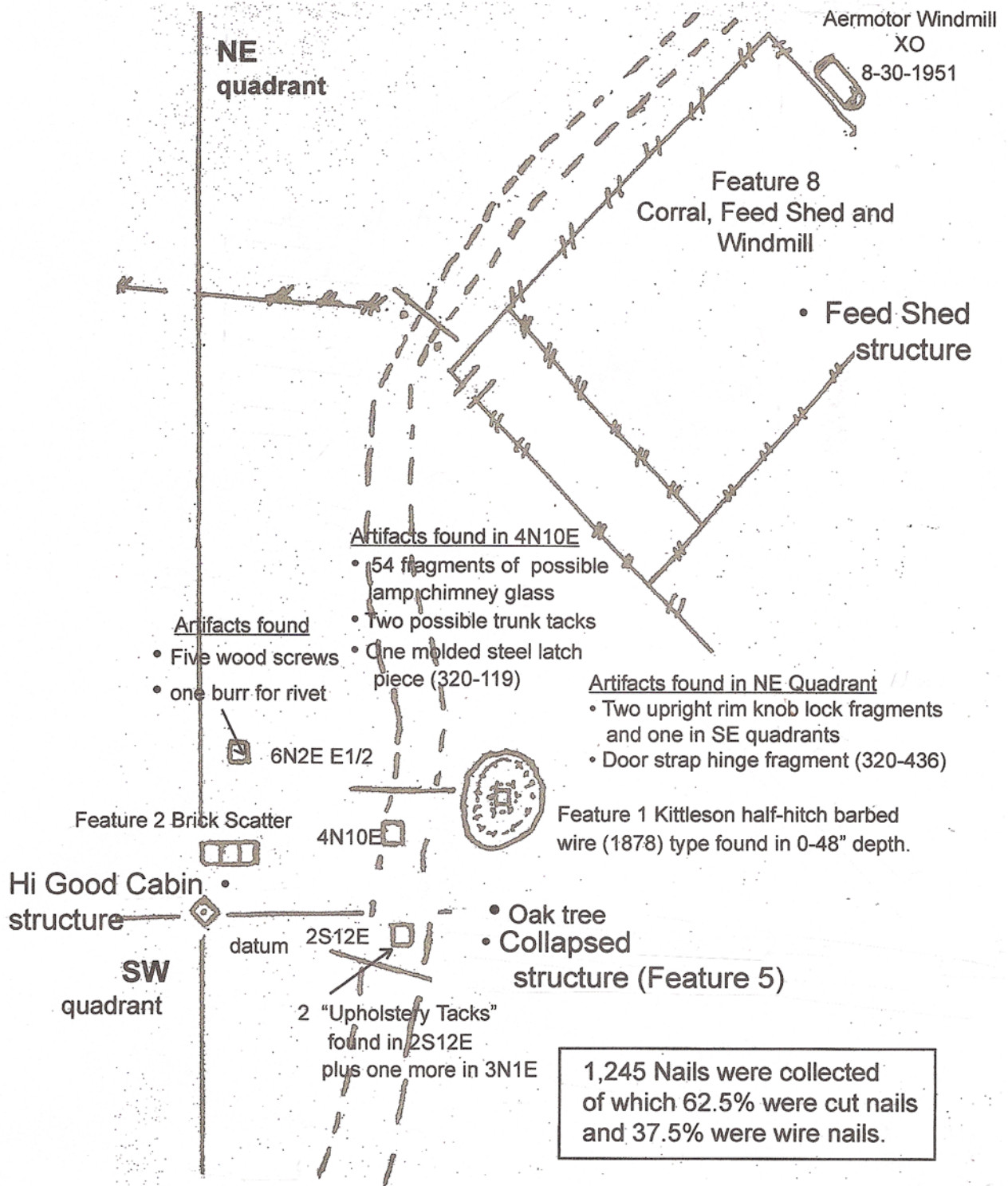


Figure 293. Map: "Architectural/Structural Group"

THE THREE STRUCTURES at CA-TEH-2105H



STRUCTURE 1

Figure 294. Hi Good's Cabin structure in Acorn Hollow, Tehama County, California, based on the ca. 1920 photograph by Minnie Brown Leiningner (see Fig. 108 on page 178)

STRUCTURE 2

Figure 295. "Collapsed Structure" (Feature 5), which property owner, Mike Hamilton, believes was a former line cabin dragged to this spot in the late 1930s. Photo by author taken on 12/8/2001.



STRUCTURE 3

Figure 296. "Feed Shed," which is part of the Feature 8 Corral, Feed Shed Windmill complex. Photo by the author on 2/17/2007.



The artifacts assigned to the Architectural/Structural Group included only a handful of furniture and household fixtures. There were ample data found of considerable ranching construction, namely fence construction and fence maintenance work. Construction materials were high in the nail count whereby cut nails (63.2%) outnumbered the common wire nails (38.8%). There were enough nails to suggest several buildings were constructed, repaired, and/or maintained over time. However, only three different structures are known to have stood at the site. The “Nails” analysis is provided in this report’s Ch. 7. “Dating Determinations.”

The Three Known Structures

The Hi Good Cabin structure (Fig. 294 opposite) - The Hi Good Cabin structure is now gone, save for a bunch of its bricks from its former chimney tower. It presumably was constructed in about 1866, or a little later. The cabin supported a large chimney (or vice versa), and appears from the 1920 photograph (See Fig. 108 on page 178) had board and batten type siding.

Board and batten — A long strip of squared lumber used to hold something in place as a fastening against a wall, etc.; to straighten or fasten with battens” (*Oxford Dictionary and Thesaurus* (1996). NY: Oxford University Press]. Navigator’s colloquialism said by the sea captain when approaching hurricane weather - “We’d better batten down the hatches!”

This structure was entirely gone, probably by ca. 1937, based on what long time local Norman Leininger recalled (See pages 181-184 of this report). Also, there is the Alka-Seltzer bottle find from Unit 3N3E, with bottle maker’s year, 1937. It was covered in and amongst the brick chimney scatter. This points to the notion that ‘37 was about when the chimney tower collapsed.

The collapsed structure (Fig. 295 opposite) - Based on observing the several fallen timbers and possible footing stones that mark the spot, this former structure was assigned as Feature 5 (See interpretations and illustrations on pages 485-492). Property owner Mike Hamilton recalled on two different occasions (Dec. 8, 2001 & April 10, 2003), mostly from his father that this location used to be where an old “line cabin” used to stand; and that it had been dragged to the spot from farther down the Acorn Hollow wash in 1928 or maybe 1936, “after the severe flooding that happened.” [Note: “1937” was a big flood year].

Since the line shack was already built, only repair evidence may have been collected during excavation. It appears that the galvanized roof jack found and collected (320-400) in the vicinity might have been mounted on the its roof to serve a wood stove set inside (See Fig. 113, page 185). Collected also is specimen 320-469 of two more large flattened roof jack metal pieces found in the NE quadrant. They, too, are probably from the line shack’s roof.

The Feed Shed (Fig. 296 opposite) - A review of the three buildings included the still standing feed shed, part of the corral and windmill complex (Feature 8). Fortuitously on March 3 and March 17, 2007, Jeff Lerch, who now lives and works in Chico, visited the Hi Good site. Back in the early 1970s, Jeff Lerch had “day waged” for former Hi Good site property owner, Charles Roy Carmichael and his wife Laura. According to Lerch, folks called Carmichael’s wife, “Lille”). In 1974, Jeff Lerch also “day waged” on Carmichael’s other ranch property in Portola (Plumas County), located two miles from today’s WP Railroad Museum. At the Hi Good Cabin site, Lerch led this researcher and others to the windmill’s cement foundation. He scraped off some mud and pointed to the date “8-30-1951” and cattle brand “X0” of C. Roy Carmichael’s. It had been pressed into the wet cement the day that the cement was poured for the new windmill structure. Jeff pointed and said, “I only remember that that same feed shed and windmill were there when I was a worker.”

Project sheep industry consultant and historian, Jack Haslem of Lassen County (2007) explained what possible uses that Hi Good's Cabin would have served at his sheep camp (station). Haslem answered: "There were two reasons that the cabin served. One as a shelter; a place to stay; a place to store goods."

This researcher asked Haslem about the possibility of lambing shed structures being part of Hi Good's sheep camp back around 1870. He felt that most of the smaller sheep outfits like Good's back then did not have lambing sheds. Haslem added, "Lambing happened out on the range. During the night, they would bring them in. During the day, they kind of tended to the ewes and lambs."

Haslem alluded to the fact that he had done lambing out on the range himself. "If a mother ewe was not letting its baby suck on its mother, we tied the mother ewe to a bush."

Another possible use for the Hi Good Cabin with its brick chimney, was realized by this researcher upon reading Ignacio Urrutia's biography (Mallea-Olaetxe 2000:59), which described Urrutia's lambing experiences in February in Idaho and how it was very cold. The biography reads,

. . . and when the lambs were born, they were wet, and they could freeze in just a few minutes. As soon as the lambs gave birth, the mothers with their lambs were taken inside a heated shed and put in individual pens"

The mention of using a "heated shed" called to mind the bricked chimney of the purported Hi Good structure. Was not another function of the Hi Good cabin that it was used as a contingency lambing shed during the cold winds and freezing rains of winter? Could Hi Good purposefully have had the fire place constructed with hearth to help guarantee the success of his lambing seasons?

Also, Good's neighbor and Indian hunter associate, Robert Anderson (1909:4) recalled how:

"In 1861, snow fell in the valley to the depth of six inches and lay on for two weeks. That snow put me out of the cattle business."

Harsh winters, like 1861, no doubt alarmed future ranchers. Perhaps Hi Good's had the brick fire place with hearth installed at his sheep station, as an insurance to guarantee successful lambing even during harsh winters. Dry logs kindled in such a fire place, would produce a tremendous warmth in just a couple of minutes. This heat generated this way occurs much faster than does a wood-burning iron stove. All of this made "good sense" to Jack Haslem upon subsequent discussions. But arguably the brick chimney may also have been constructed after Hi Good's presence.

* * * * *

With this background established, what furniture and/or houseware fixtures, if any, are part of the archaeological record?

Door hardware parts - Other household fixtures from the Hi Good Cabin are these three door hardware parts:

- One Door strap hinge fragment (320-436) found in the NE quadrant.
- Three upright rim knob lock fragments (320-433a, b & c) found in NE and SE quadrants.
- One molded steel latch piece (320-119) found in Unit 4N10E. As aforementioned (and illustrated in Section A "Findings Related to the Presence of Hi Good") its use remains indefinite, but conceivably this metal piece was inside the door rim mounted lock (See Figures 29, 30 and 31 in report section A. "Findings Related To Hi Good's Presence.")

Window pane glass - The archaeological record also revealed Hi Good Cabin window pane glass fragments that were uniformly thick and opalized. When taken together these 37 fragments support the conclusion that there was certainly enough glass for at least one sturdy window.

The glass fragments were recovered from all three of Feature 2's trench units. Unit 3N2E had the highest number with 17 fragments. Unit 3N3E had 15 fragments. Unit 3N1E had four of which two were the largest of all the fragments; and one more fragment of the same 1/8" thick, opalized window pane glass type was recovered from Unit 6N2E E1/2.

Probable evidence for an oil or kerosene lamp (See Fig. 297) From Unit 4N10E, and during the 2003-2004 field work, there was what appears to be 54 fragments of lamp chimney glass recovered. Lamp chimney's telltale traits are:

- (1) It is normally clear glass that is almost egg-shell thin.
- (2) This egg-shell thin glass is also slightly curved or rounded.
- (3) There are no seams due to their turn mold manufacture.

These 54 fragments are illustrated in Fig. 176 on page 324.

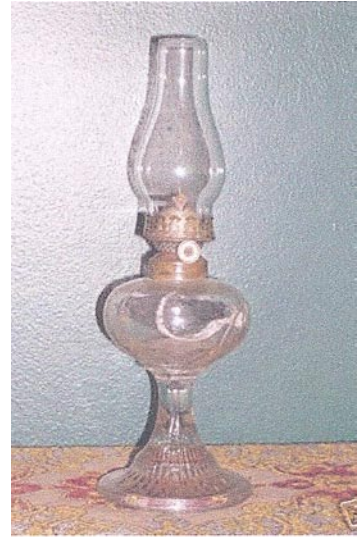


Figure 297. Hurricane chimney style oil lamp. This small pre-1850 oil lamp stands approx. 11 inches tall from its base to the top of its glass chimney. The base stands approx. 7 1/4 inches tall from the base to the top of the burner. This photo was seen on ebay on 10/26/2007.



ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 298. Three "Upholstery Tacks." Upper left tack was recovered from Unit 3N1E, while the other two were found in Unit 2S12E.

Upholstery Tacks versus Trunk Tacks - Three small upholstery "tacks" (Fig. 298) were found. Two were recovered from Unit 2S12E and one from Unit 3N1E. They are the kind of tacks used for upholstering furniture, such as a comfort chair or couch. Have we upholstery tacks from broken and cast away furniture over time? Or was there a resident carpenter who built furniture? These small tacks (one of size 4 and two of size 8) could have been for a chair or stool or foot rest or sofa or divan kept inside the rough Hi Good Cabin.



ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 299.

Three tacks and two 2d cut nails. The tacks were recovered from Unit 4N10E, while the two cut nails are from Unit 3N3E.

Trunk tacks versus 2p cut nails? Closely resembling upholstery tacks are the three so-named "trunk tacks" (320-152) recovered from Unit 4N10E (Fig. 299). Are these properly labeled? They are, of themselves, very close to being 2d cut nails, such as the two such smallest of nails recovered from Unit 3N3E (Right side in Fig. 299). A preliminary Internet search, however, shows that most trunk tacks, as opposed to cut iron nails, are usually made of brass. Further research will surely sort this all out.

Five wood screws (Fig. 300) were recovered from Unit 6N2E E1/2. Were they perhaps from tables and chairs that accommodated what appears to have been an outdoor cooking station alongside the ranch road where the several cast iron stove parts were recovered?



ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 300.

Five wood screws all collected from Unit 6N2E E1/2, with specimen numbers: 320-005, 320-006, 320-007 (2) and 320-008.

Bricks Used and Bricks Observed

There was a plethora of bricks observed in the Hi Good Cabin flat, believed to be from the collapsed chimney tower and fireplace hearth (See Fig. 108). A chimney can be seen in the vintage ca. 1920 “Hi Good Cabin” photograph, although the very top portion of the tower is cut off. With this said, this author’s estimate is that “at the most” 1,440 bricks were used for the chimney’s construction. This figure is on the high side, however, for some basaltic river cobbles, as well as one prehistoric ground stone fragment were used as chimney materials as well. [Note: The 1,440 total is based on: (1) the dimensions of one whole brick being about 2” x 4” x 8” and (2) the estimated chimney dimensions being 3 1/2 feet x 3 1/2 feet x 10 feet tall.].

What percentage of the chimney remains were excavated? It is conjectured that to date about 25% of the chimney / fireplace hearth remains have been excavated. This is because about 350 bricks, all total, were observed (of which: about 150 bricks were exposed in Feature 2 trench; the surface brick scatter for the entire flat comprised about 75-100 bricks; and another 75 -100 bricks were observed during the excavation of Feature 1 Depression (See also Fig. 338 drawing in Feature 2 section). Only six whole bricks, six brick fragments, and about twelve mortar fragments were collected (See Catalog).

Evidence of ranching construction and maintenance work - Easily predicted was the presence of fencing materials, namely baling and barbed wires, followed by fence staples, tacks, washers, bolts, and wood and machine screws joined by cut and round nails.

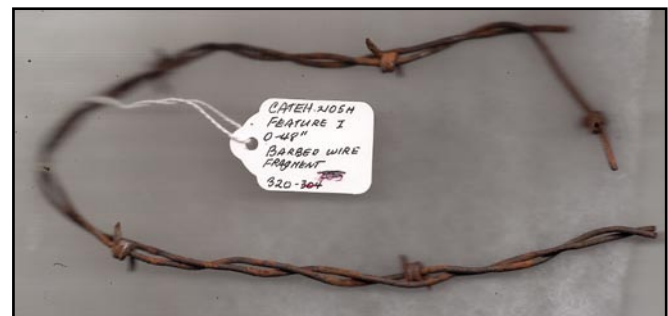
One strand of 1878 barbed wire was found—Collected from the Feature 1 “Depression” at 0-48” was one 15” length of barbed wire (320-304) that was surprisingly older when matched and dated (Fig. 302). It is the Kittleson Half-hitch style, which began in 1878, ascertained by matching it with a display board that was “for sale” and now gone, observed inside Susanville’s Pardner’s Inc. Store located at 702-100 Johnstonville Road. The board was titled, “History of Barbed Wire”

Approx. 40% ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 302. Strand of Kittleson Half-hitch, 1878, barbed wire. Patented by Ole O. Kittleson of Milan, Illinois, in 1878; Patent No. 203349 Recovered from Feature 1 at 0-48 inches.



Figure 301. One of the red bricks exposed at the Hi Good Cabin flat. The Aeromotor windmill, feed shed, and corral complex can be seen in the distance, looking northeasterly across the flat. Photo by author on 4/10/2003.



Baling wire remains difficult to date. The rolls of both baling wire and barbed wire observed and samples collected from Feature 1 "Depression" probably date to the late 1930s through the 1960s, as based on the associated and datable artifacts they were associated with.

Seven fence tacks/staples were recovered from the site, probably from repairing the several local fences. Considerable amounts of baling wire were recovered from Unit 3N3E, several with twisted tie-ends and/or hooks. In ranching, baling wire has become an all purpose utility, not unlike how duck tape has many uses. "Mormon buckskin" is one of the ranchers' name for common bailing wire. About Mormon buckskin, sheep man Jack Haslem of Lassen County said that it is "used to hold an outfit together."

For security, the fencing material might have been stored near the Hi Good Cabin. Recovered from Unit 3N1E were over 20 miscellaneous baling wire strands. Several wire spliced fragments suggest wire piecing was an economic measure. Two hacksaw blades found in the NE quadrant do not appear very old, and invariably served to repair separated and/or downed fencing. The Feature 4 Road Segments #3 and #4 had the most findings of wire fence clips and strand separators. The latter is used for setting up barbed wire.

All metal fragments & metal straps - Lastly, some 25 specimens of unidentified, undiagnostic, construction materials of metal were collected. They were mostly shattered metal fragments. They are listed in the catalog in the Appendix at the back of this report. Also many are of the metal strap objects, possibly some used to reinforce the frames of wagons perhaps rather than having anything to do with construction of structures.

D. INDUSTRIAL GROUP

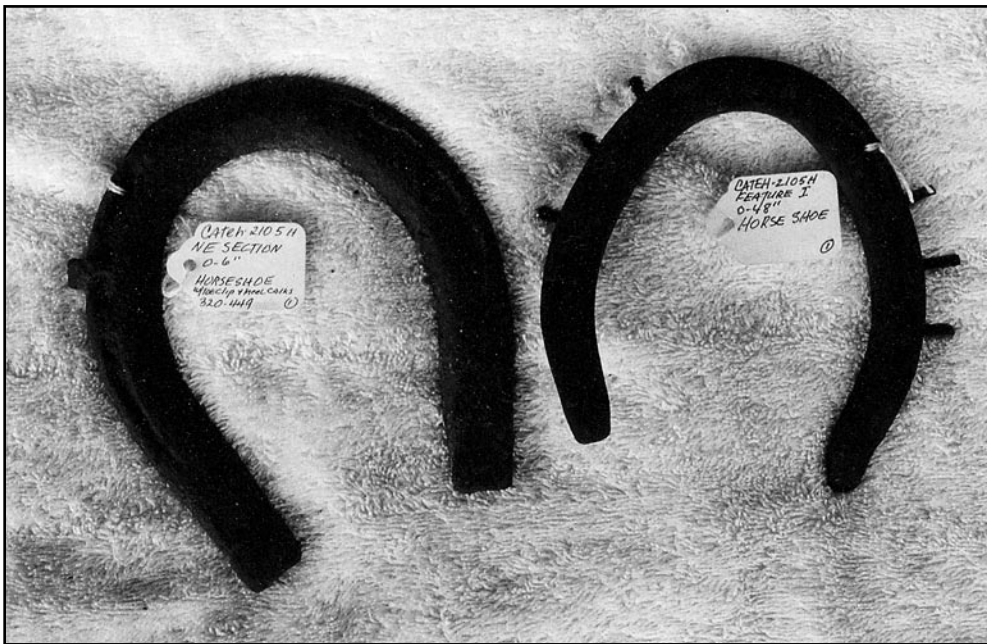
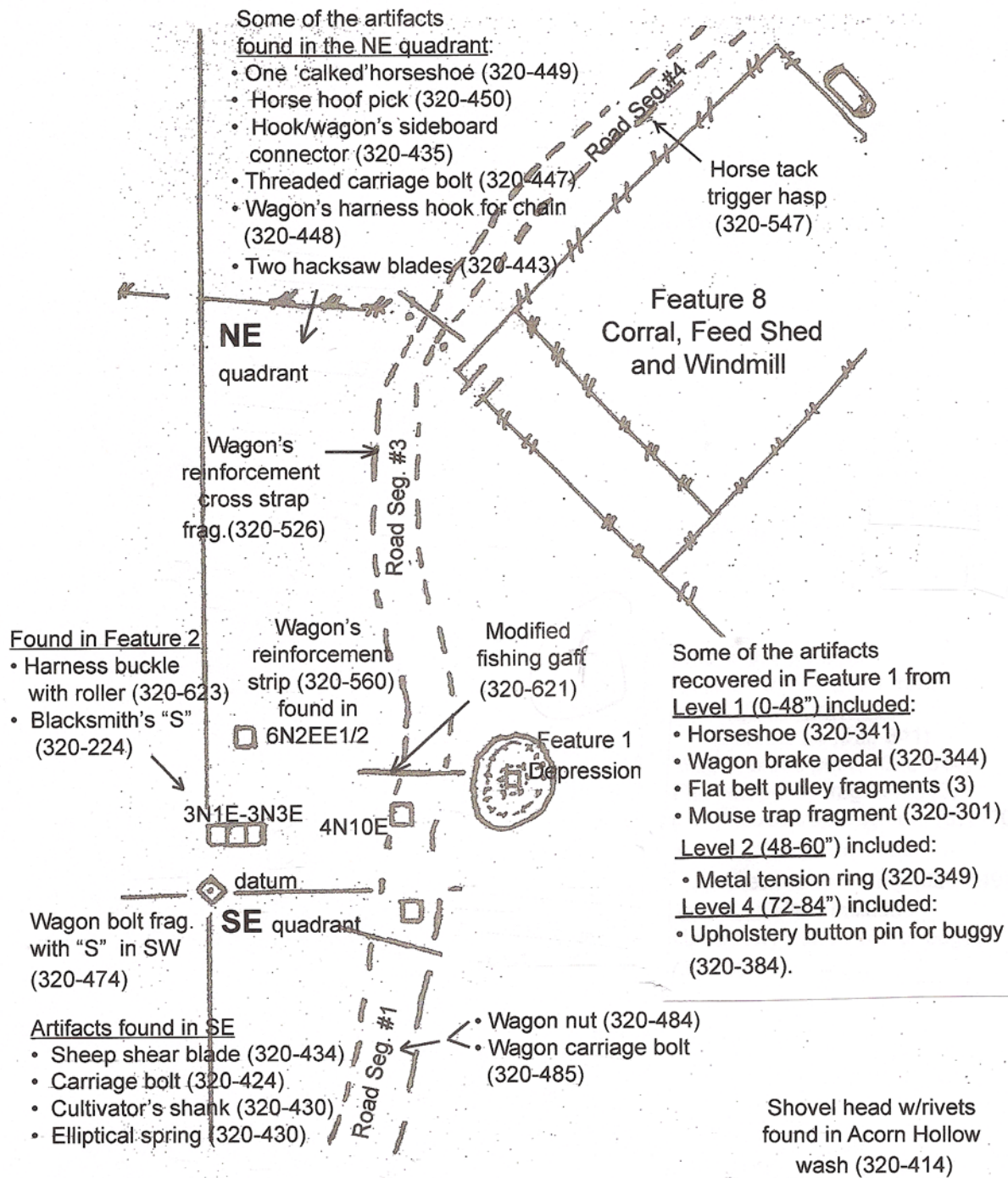


Figure 303. Calked horse shoe for draft horse, 320-449 (above left) and found in NE quadrant. The second horse shoe (320-341) is smooth and for the front legs. It was found in Feature 1 "Depression" at 0-48."



Note: Retired veterinarian, Dr. Richard Tangeman of Susanville, CA, noted that Mr. C. Roy Carmichael shod his own horses on his ranch in Vina, CA.

Figure 304. "Industrial Group of Historic Artifacts Recovered" CA-TEH-2105H

INDUSTRIAL GROUP INTERPRETATIONS

Of the Industrial Group categories (see sidebar below), 26 diagnostic artifacts were collected. Five of these were “horse tack” related, while 13 were wagon/buggy parts related.

In 1866, published accounts (Moak 1923:25) confirm that Hi Good began two new enterprises: (1) leading a pack train to the silver strike mines in Owyhee County, Idaho (see Fig. 306 opposite) and, (2) became a sheep operator. 1866 was the year when Good obtained Indian Ned to serve as shepherd, and time is required to multiply the flock by lambing. Perhaps his pack train project was undertaken to earn enough of a windfall to purchase more sheep upon returning. Hi Good’s packer of supplies to Idaho experience gave him more insights about the weather, the trails, about topography, such as places with water accessibility and where natural corrals existed for keeping one’s flock of sheep at night. Good also learned about the markets and the prices people were paying for products.

Question: Were any of the artifacts that were recovered from the study area, related to pack train activities?

Interestingly enough, in 2007, two very “small horseshoes” were also found when metal detecting not far from where the burr was found (in the NE quadrant and on the west edge of the ranch, Road Seg. #3). The small shoes conceivably were used on a donkey or burro, the ideal animal for pack trains.

One other artifact found that possibly is pack train related was one burr for a rivet (see Fig. 305). This artifact (320-561) is listed with the Architectural/Structural Group. Burrs are useful for attaching panniers or canvas bags to pack saddles. Sheep man Jack Haslem posed this possibility. He explained,

“One good use of such a burr is to bind two pieces of leather or canvas together. The burr is the female end. The male piece is the rivet, a straight prong. You punch a hole in the material and push the male piece through. Then you put the burr on the end of the male piece and strike that part of the male piece that’s protruding through the burr with a hammer. Upon striking it, the rivet end becomes flattened and permanently attached.”



ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 305.
One Burr from Unit 6N2E E1/2
(320-561). Diameter 1/2.”

D. INDUSTRIAL GROUP CLASSIFICATION SCHEME

1. Blacksmithing
 - a. Horse tack (harness buckles etc.)
 - b. Wagon/Buggy parts
 - c. Blacksmith tools (anvils etc.)
2. Tools and Machinery (mining related)
 - a. Tools (picks/shovels/mining pans.
 - b. Scales and Weights/Assay Equipment
 - c. Machinery (reduction equipment etc.)
 - d. Other
3. Tools and Machinery (other)
 - a. Tools (hammers/saws/files/etc.)
 - b. Machinery
 - c. Other
4. General Industry
 - a. Chemical/Poison containers
 - b. Paint/Varnish containers
 - c. Other

Three Accounts of Hi Good's 1866 Pack Train Trip from California to Idaho:

Figure 306. Banner headline.

THE CHICO WEEKLY COURANT

VOL. 1. CHICO. SATURDAY. APRIL 28. 1866. NO. 25.

• FOR OWYHEE -During the whole of last week, parties of from 3 to 20, with from five or six animals to pack trains of forty and fifty; from wagons and saddle trains to coaches with passengers, started from or passed through Chico, over the Chico and Idaho route for different sections of Nevada, Idaho and Montana. On Monday of this week the travel Northward was opened by Hi. Good's train of five wagons and fifty pack animals, loaded with provisions and general merchandise. This train took a quantity of paper and material for the *Owyhee Avalanche*, and will make the trip in twenty days. Friend Avalanche, please note the arrivals —the train started Monday forenoon, getting under way about noon, the 23d inst. Several smaller trains started out Monday, and during the week there has been a perfect stampede of horses, men and pack animals and vehicles through this place for the Black Rock mines, for Idaho and Montana. The travel and freighting has opened early and with a rush.

• On ca. April 24, 1866, Simeon and Jacob Moak with Captain Robert Anderson and others rode off on their horses to retaliate against the Mill Creeks for robberies of the homes of Albert Silva and Bolliver McKee. Simeon Moak (1923:25) recalled that from Rock Creek, he and the posse rode to Deer Creek to recruit Hi Good to join them.

We then went to Good's place on Deer Creek. Good said it was impossible for him to go. He was running a pack train to Idaho and his forty pack animals and men and merchandise were there and all ready to start next morning. He said that, if the Indians had committed murder he would go, but as it was just robbery we would have to let him off, and as Anderson could track the Indians we started on.

• Joshua "Frank" Weston¹ (1868 -1961) wrote:

Hi Good often came to our house.² The last time he bought a ton of bacon to pack over to the mines in Idaho, Bear river, I think. At that time there were many war-like Indians. My uncle Josh³ went along as guard. When they thought there might be an ambush ahead they'd wait until night and go another way. Hi Good said if they saw Indians it was pretty safe. If they didn't see any, they were sure of trouble and waited until night to go ahead.⁴ [Joshua "Frank" Weston. (1955, February). Hi Good, Indian Fighter. *Wagon Wheels*. Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 5.]

1 Frank Weston (1868 - d. May 13, 1961) was one of five children of Jubal and Sarah Weston (see also pages 127-129 of this report, about the Weston family and the little Indian orphan girl, "Nellie," given to the Weston's by Hi Good.

2 The location of their house back then was Monroeville, located on the west side of the Sacramento, today Colusa County.

3 "Uncle Josh" was Joshua Weston (1828 - d. Dec. 13, 1910) who served as "guard" for Hi Good's pack train to Idaho. Later Josh Weston was foreman of the Monroeville Ranch. His obituary states, "He was known to all the older settlers of northern Glenn county. Mr. Weston never married, preferring to remain a bachelor." ["Joshua Weston Dead" (1910, Dec. 17). *Orland Register*.]

4 Further Research: At the end of this *Wagon Wheels* essay, it reads, "Taken from a wire recording made in Mr. Weston's 85th year." Can this wire recording be found? It may contain more data that did not appear in the obviously condensed essay. The wire recording was probably done in about 1953.

INDUSTRIAL GROUP ARTIFACTS

(Blacksmithing/ Horse tack)

a. Horseshoe/Tack Equipment (Five diagnostic).

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description
320-341	Feature 1	0-48"	Horse shoe (See Fig. 303 above)
320-449	NE quadrant	0-6"	Calked horse shoe
320 -623	3N1E	0-6"	Harness buckle loop with roller (1 3/4" x 1") (Fig. 308 below)
320-450	NE quadrant	0-6"	Horse hoof pick (Fig. 309 Opposite)
320-547	Road Seg. #4	0-6"	Trigger hasp (Fig. 7 Opposite)

Flat Pelham Bridle.

No. 10R1811 Superfine Flat Pelham Bridle, choice russet leather, all hand sewed, flat head stall with two reins, leather covered English buckles, nickel bit and curb strap. 3/4-inch, each... \$2.05
 7/8-inch, each..... 2.25
Weight, about 32 ozs.

Our Pony Bridle.
No. 10R1812 Our Shetland Pony Bridle, flat, with bar buckles, solid crown piece, with throat latch and cheeks to buckle on. Nickel buckles and full snaffle bit. 3/4-inch bridle and reins 4 1/2 feet long. Made in russet or black. Price, each.....95c
Weight, 1 pound.



Made of extra heavy leather, with roller buckle and loop on one end, and loop and ring on the other, made in three sizes. NO COLLAR STRAP.
No. 10R2345 1 1/2-inch. Price, each.....44c
No. 10R2347 1 3/4-inch. Price, each.....49c
No. 10R2349 2-inch. Price, each.....57c
Weight, each, 15 ounces.



Figure 308. Harness buckle loop with roller (320-623) found in Unit 3N1E.

Figure 307. Illustrations of buckle loop with roller from *Sears, Roebuck & Co Catalogue, Vol 111, (1902)*, pages 400, and 402. The bridle part that uses the buckle loop with roller runs vertically down from the horses ear and over its cheek and jaw area.

INDUSTRIAL GROUP ARTIFACTS (Blacksmithing/ Horse tack)

Figure 309. Horse hoof pick(320-450) hand forged cast iron 8" long x 1/2" wide. According to Doug Flesher of Paradise (2006), "This is very likely a horse hoof pick, and the hole is made for hanging on the wall." It has been discounted as a stove lid lifter because normally such a tool has some additional insulation for one's hand. Drawing by Janice Newton.

ACTUAL SIZE

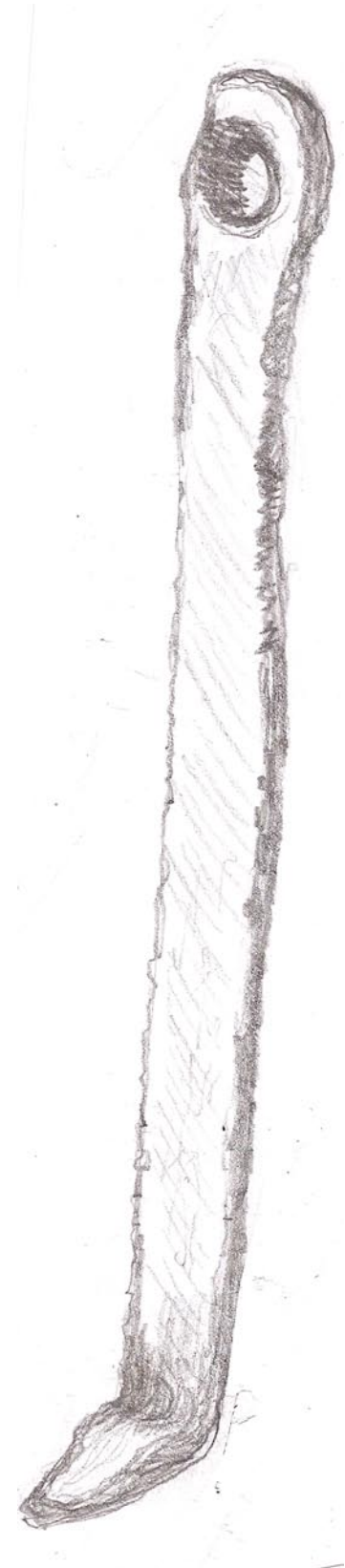


ACTUAL SIZE

Drawing by Janice Newton

Figure 310. Trigger hasp (320-547) made of aluminum metal alloy that was recovered from Road Segment #4 .

Suggested use is "as a hasp attached to a lead rope, used to lead docile animals. Probably dates to 1950 or earlier."
--Janice Newton, former co-manager of a horse and cattle ranching operation in southeastern Washington.



INDUSTRIAL GROUP ARTIFACTS

(Blacksmithing/ Wagon/Buggy Parts)

b. Wagon/Buggy artifacts - Wagon/Buggy items included 13, maybe 14 artifacts that were diagnostic. The metal detector sweeps found all but two of the wagon and horse related artifacts. Only specimen 320-560, a wagon's cast metal reinforcement strip, was found in Unit 6N2E E 1/2, and the horse bridle buckle loop w/ roller (Fig. 308) was found in Unit 3N1E. Of the 14 Wagon/Buggy related artifacts, four were found in the NE quadrant, three had been deposited in the Feature 1 Depression/refuse dump, and three were found along the Feature 4 Road Segments (two in Road Seg. #1 and one in Road Seg. #3).

With relative ease, wagons were able to "come in" to the study area flat to drop off supplies, such as bricks to build a chimney, and to transport back to the town markets any fresh mutton that was butchered. The Moak Trail (also called the ranch road) changes drastically one mile farther east. The road's dark soil observed at the site changes to angular lava cap rock, navigable by only strong and sturdy pack train animals. Noteworthy is that according to the April 28, 1866 *Chico Weekly Courant* account (above Fig. 306), Hi Good's pack train, with "five wagons and fifty pack animals" did not depart from Acorn Hollow, but rather "started from or passed through Chico." It can be said that the study area may have served as a "staging area" for his expedition. Josh Weston of Monroeville, may have made rendezvous with Good in Chico, to serve as one of his guards.

Sheep rancher Jack Haslem surprised this author about what he conjectured Hi Good's sheep outfit did about sheep wagons. "In the early days," Haslem began, "they didn't use much in the way of wagons. They used tents and pack animals." Haslem's opinions have created a new caution and reservation about the wagon/buggy items recovered. The deposition of the wagon pieces collected along the Moak's Trail and around the cabin site, could well have occurred after Hi Good's ephemeral existence. About items that Jack Haslem predicted would be used by Hi Good's early sheep operation, he said, "You should find bridal bits for horses, pieces of guns [for guns used for protection against predators] after the sheep etc. Other things you might find are horse shoes. You especially had to shoe in that rocky, rugged] country."

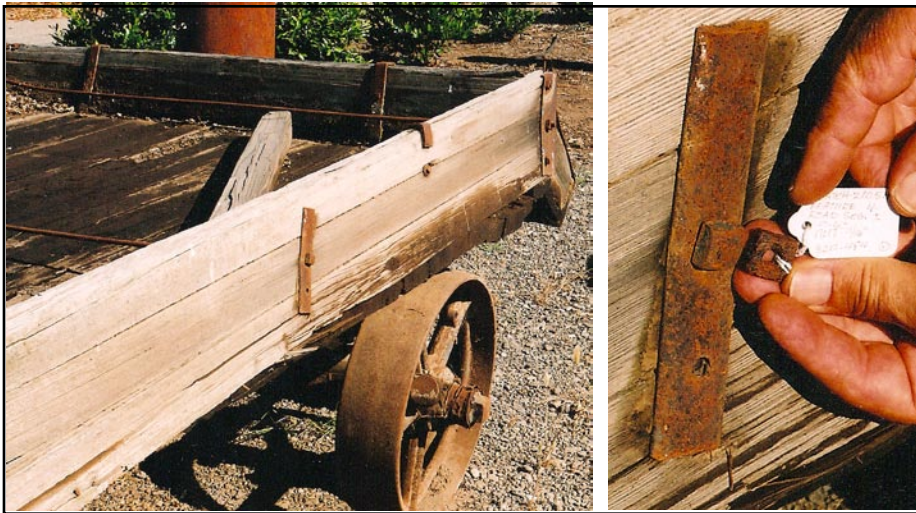


Figure 311a & b. Two inch square nut. This standard size nut (320-484), with 5/16" center hole, was recovered from Road Segment #1. This identical size nut was also found on this early wagon (above left) preserved on the old Patrick's Ranch, the Northgraves Mansion, Durham, California, and now part of the Far West Heritage Association. On this wagon's sideboard (above) the nut holds up a metal support strip, which, in turn, holds together a metal rod that traverses the beam of the wagon. Photos by the author.

INDUSTRIAL GROUP ARTIFACTS

(Blacksmithing/ Wagon/Buggy Parts)

Wagon/Buggy Parts (13 Diagnostic) -continued-

One cast iron wagon brake pedal (320-344), with four 3 1/2" long carriage bolts and respective nuts was retrieved from the Feature 1 Depression at 0-48." Consultant Doug Flesher of Paradise remarked in 2006 that "This appears to be a wagon brake pedal. That was about the only use, unless it is a fancy step from a buggy." Rancher John Latta of Gustine, California (2006) said, "Wagon step-offs usually have a date on them, but this one is too badly corroded to see it." It does include a shaft or spindle possibly for a brake handle.

The twelve other artifacts assigned as wagon/buggy parts are: one flat bar hand forged fragment with pin (320-314); one six inches long "pin-like" upholstery button (320-384) with square head for buggy leather seat; one 2" square nut (320-484) with 5/16" center hole; one rounded head carriage bolt (320-485); one reinforcement cross strap fragment (320-526); one hook/wagon side-board connector (320-435); one threaded carriage bolt (320-447); one harness hook, for chains on a wagon tongue for a single tree (320-448); one "u-shaped" wagon part joiner with threaded ends (320-451); one hand forged carriage bolt off center fragment (320-424); one steel bolt fragment with letter "s" embossed on head 5/16" machine made (320-474); one 11" long elliptic spring/use undetermined (320-426); and one wagon's reinforcement strip (Fig. 312 below) with specimen number (320-560).



Figure 312. Wagon's metal reinforcement strap (320-560), with white tag in photo (left), is a near match with this wagon's metal reinforcement strip, used to help hold together its buckboard seat. This old buckboard wagon is preserved at the old Patrick's Ranch, the Northgraves Mansion, Durham, California, for whom Chico's Far West Heritage Association is the steward. Photo by author.

INDUSTRIAL GROUP ARTIFACTS

(Blacksmithing/ Wagon/Buggy Parts)



REDUCED 50% OF ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 313. Elliptic spring (320-426), and only nine inches long, was found in the SE quadrant. Its precise use remains undetermined. Best guess is that it was a spring close for a heavy luggage or tapestry bag. It is too small to be one of a pair of elliptic springs that goes on the under side of a buckboard seat.

INDUSTRIAL GROUP ARTIFACTS (Blacksmithing/ Tools and Machinery)

c. Blacksmithing Tools and Machinery

As for blacksmithing accessories are concerned, one cast iron "S" (320-224), used for hanging heated objects on, 5" long by 2" wide, was found in Unit 3N3E.

One metal-tension ring (320-349) was found in Feature 1 at the 48-60" level.

Three fragments of a round flat belt pulley, which pulled a belt made of leather or canvas of a machine was recovered from Feature 1 Depression. Its machine type remains undetermined. The three fragments all come from the same original pulley wheel. Its diameter is about six inches, while the length of the belt for it would have been about 1 7/8 inches. The specimen numbers for the pulley fragments are 320-342a, b and c.

One cultivator shank (320-430), used to penetrate the soil in farming operations, was found in the study area's SE quadrant. It is 6" x 1 1/4" x 1/4" and curved with a point and one oval hole is in its middle, located 2" from its pointed end. The fact that it is a "cultivator shank" was jointly identified by agricultural specialists Doug Flesher and Lorry Dunning.

Sheep man Jack Haslem of Susanville (2007) identified that one "blunt tipped" sheep shear blade (6" length x 2" wide) was recovered from the SE quadrant (see Figures 397-402 on pages 541-543 about specimen 320-434).

One metal gaff for salmon fishing (320-621) was found in the NE quadrant adjacent to the ranch road and Unit 4N10E, while site surveying with a metal detector on April 10, 2003. Noteworthy is that its two inside tines appear to be forge welded. One tine broke off, invariably when annealing (cooling down). That is to say, the interior carbon became brittle. The three tines remaining (see Fig. 315) all have barbs, formed on the ends for the purpose of grabbing big fish when gigging. Its barbs were modified probably from a pitchfork rather than from a potato hook (see Fig. 316 below), for its handle remnant extends vertically, not curved, as is the case for a potato hook's handle.

One shovel fragment with rivets (320-414) was found in Acorn Hollow Creek, east of the cabin site (see Fig. 304 map). Doug Flesher of Paradise (2006) explained, "It is blacksmith made, riveted when hot. Shovels made with rivets are older than shovels made with bolts." Darrell Mullins of the Tehama County Museum (2006) added, "The handle's tang was riveted rather than welded. This indicates it is unlike today's modern shovels and a potential 'time marker.'"

Two hacksaw blade fragments (320-443), having fine serrated metal teeth, were found in the NE Quadrant. This type of metal blade was used for cutting through thin steel, such as through chains or barbed wire during fencing repairs. They are not necessarily old, for the same type can be purchased at hardware stores today. They are too long to have been for a jigsaw machine. The fragments' respective lengths are 5 1/2" & 7."

Figure 314 (see next page) is one Bastard file fragment (320-497), which was recovered from Road Seg. #1 at 0-6." Length 2 1/4" x 15/16" x 1/8" thickness.

One mouse trap found was identified. Upon inspecting this flat wood (approx. 5" x 2 1/2") with metal spring trap fragment (320-301), recovered from Feature 1 at Level 1 (0-48 "), rancher John Latta of Gustine (2006) and Doug Flesher of Paradise (2006) both called it a "mouse trap" They separately remarked that "rat traps are much bigger."

INDUSTRIAL GROUP ARTIFACTS

(Blacksmithing/ Tools and Machinery)

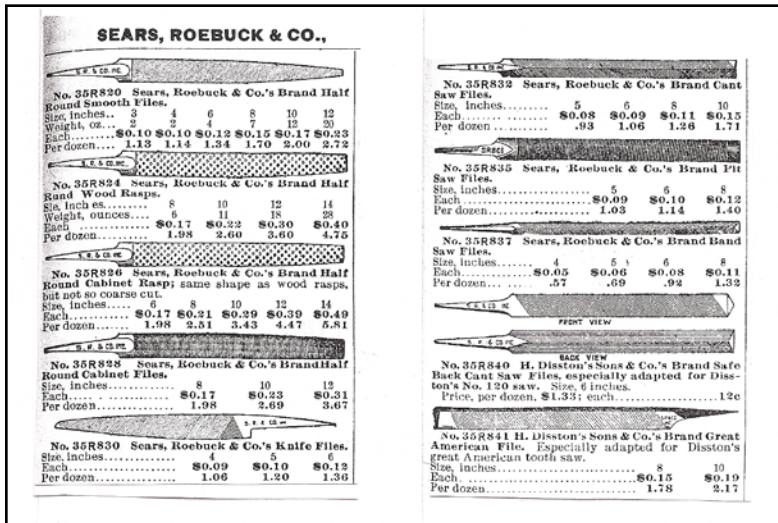
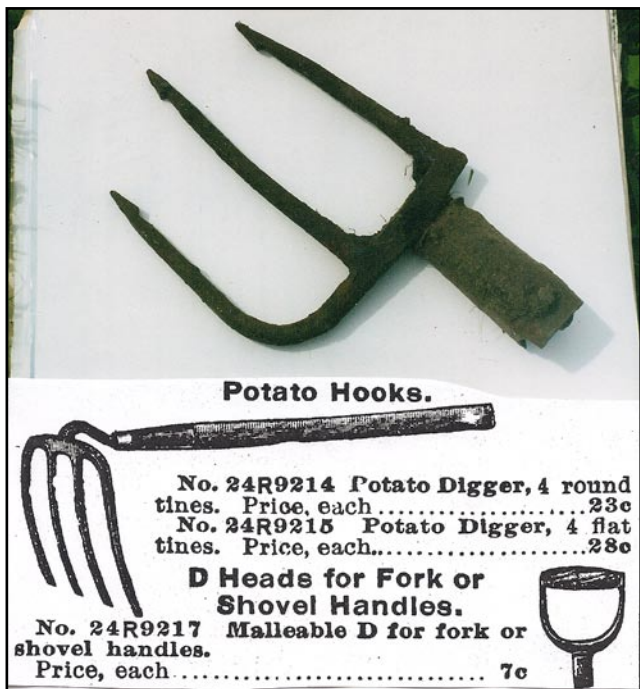


Figure 314. Bastard file fragment (320-497) is most similar to the two files top (right side) from Sears, Roebuck & Company Catalogue 1902, p.503.



REDUCED 200% OF ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 315. Gaff fragment for grabbing big fish when gigging. Its forge welded barbs were probably from a pitchfork, rather than from a potato hook.

Figure 316. The shape of this early potato hook with four round tines appears close to the modified fishing gaff that was found. Reprinted from Sears, Roebuck & Company Catalogue 1902, p. 668.

INDUSTRIAL GROUP ARTIFACTS
(General Industry/Other)

No. 23R1850 Mouse Trap. As a sure mouse catcher it is a sure thing. Mice can't touch the bait and live.
Price, each... 3c



No. 23R1852 Rat Trap. Same style as No. 23R1850 mouse trap, except it is larger. When rats get too wise for other traps try this one. It fools them every time. Price, each... 9c



E-Z-Ketch Mouse and Rat Traps are the best that have ever been invented. They are made entirely of metal and consequently will not warp or get out of order like wood block traps. They can be easily washed and cleansed from all odors and impurities. Used with or without bait. When bait is used it is put beneath the trap and an animal is bound to spring the trap before touching the bait. They have the safest and easiest set and surest trigger. E-Z to ketch, E-Z to bait, E-Z to clean.

No. 23R1856 E-Z-Ketch Mouse Trap. Price, 4c
No. 23R1857 E-Z-Ketch Rat Trap. Same pattern as mouse trap but larger. Price, each... 10c

Figure 317. Mouse trap illustration in *Sears, Roebuck & Company Catalogue Vol. 111, 1902*, p. 578.

E. OTHER GROUP

E. Other Group Interpretations

Fourteen specimens collected at CA-TEH-2105H during 2003-2004 were classified under E. "Other." Their material types included: metal (3 fragments), wood (6 fragments), charcoal (1), rubber (2), leather (1), sandstone (1) and the asbestos mineral fragment (1). They are all unidentified as to their original function or usage. As for size dimensions, all of these are less than 2" in length and no more than 1/4" in thickness.

<p>E. OTHER CLASSIFICATION SCHEME</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Metal<ol style="list-style-type: none">a. Tinb. Ironc. Leadd. Other2. Wood & Charcoal3. Glass<ol style="list-style-type: none">a. Bottleb. Other4. Ceramic5. Rubber6. Plastics/bakelite/etc.7. Other

1. Metal - Specimens 320-382 and 320-593 appear to be of lead (melted) and of lead / foil respectively.

About "metal objects" found in general, about 20% of them remain unidentified and were placed under the C. Architectural/Structural Group. They are mostly shattered metal fragments and metal strap fragments. They are placed in the catalog at the back of C. Architectural/Structural Group.

2. Wood & Charcoal - There was nothing diagnostic about these specimens.

3. Glass - Roughly 35% of the glass fragments recovered from the site remain undiagnostic. They are grouped as "Miscellaneous Unidentified Glass." They are listed in the catalog under:

A. KITCHEN GROUP

1. Food Containers
 - b. Food glass containers.

4. Ceramic - All of the ceramic fragments recovered found respective placements in the Historic Artifacts Analysis Categories. Whether the three stoneware lip fragments (320-001) recovered from Unit 6N2E E1/2 are "glazed" or "unglazed" remains a conundrum.

5. Rubber - The three rubber material specimens remain undetermined as to their use(s). They might be of cloth or hose, possibly clothing or footwear. Specimen 320-059, in particular, appears to be rubber coated leather with a stimped parallel line pattern that might be of some kind of clothing or footwear item.

6. Plastics/bakelite/etc.-Regarding the A. Kitchen Group, two Melmac dinnerware dish rim fragments (320-292 and 320-293) were recovered. Their blue pattern was popular in the 1960s. They were both recovered from Feature 1 at 0-48" wherein other artifacts of this time period were also recovered. For example, one 1963 medicine animal vaccination bottle (320-283) was also found in Level 1 0-48 inches.

7. Other -Three specimens were placed here: one of sandstone, one of leather, and one of asbestos mineral. The two specimens (320-059 and 320-129) became reassigned and listed as faunal material. Specimen 320-059 appears to be of "embossed leather" as opposed to "embossed mud." Specimen 320-129 was determined to be of bone (faunal) rather than of clay.

Leather material - Six leather fragments that appear to be footwear related were recovered during 2003 and 2004. Three such leather fragments (320-002), one with a two eyelets, were recovered from Unit 6N2E E1/2. One embossed leather fragment (320-059) was found in Unit 3N2E at 0-6", it remains undiagnostic. However, it may be part of leather footwear items found nearby. For example, specimen 320-607 from Unit 3N1E at 0-6" has two copper rivets with leather attached, while the largest leather fragment of all found at the site is the inner sole leather piece (320-221), possibly from a man's boot, recovered in Unit 3N3E (See Fig. 269 in Personal Group).

Asbestos material - 320-298 of asbestos (mineral) material stands alone inasmuch as not another of its kind was found at the site. It is best described as "part of a sheet with black stripes." Its original function or usage remains unidentified.

Asbestos is composed of minerals, having long, thin fibrous crystals. Due mainly to its ability to withstand heat, asbestos became increasingly popular with builders in the late 19th century. Because it was recovered from Feature 1 at 0-48" and that asbestos did not become popular among manufacturers and builders until the late 19th century, it probably dates to about 1945.

CHAPTER SIX

FEATURES

(CA-TEH-2105H)

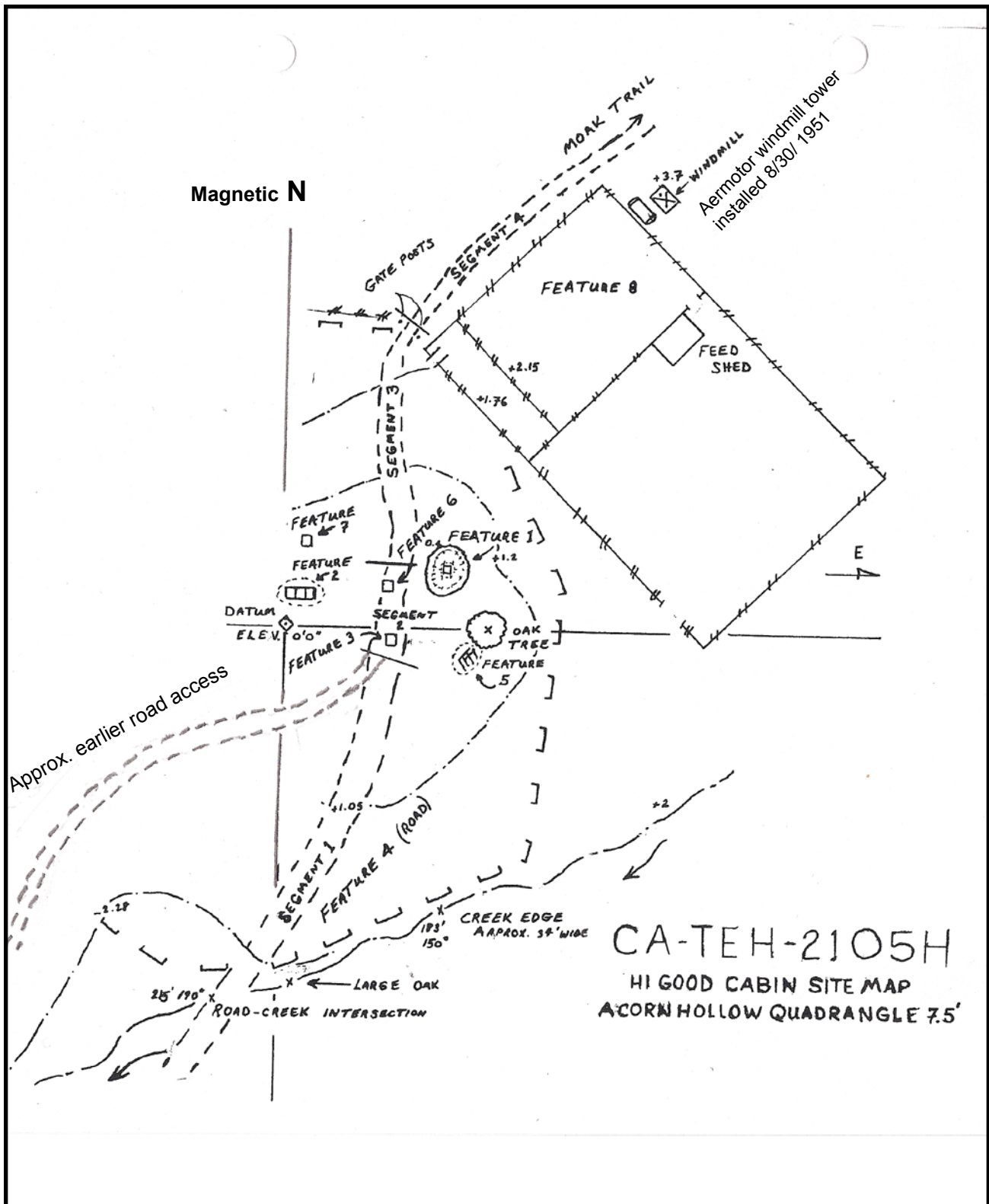


Figure 318.

Map "Eight Features "

CHAPTER 6 FEATURES

DESCRIPTIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

CA-TEH-2105H revealed eight features during the 2003-2004 seasons. Their locations in relationship to the site's datum are illustrated in Figure 1 (opposite) Table 2 (below) shows the comparative percentages of artifacts found at different proveniences of the site. For example, recovered from Feature 1 Depression was 21.4% of all the artifacts (by specimen count) collected during 2003 and 2004.

Table 2. CA-TEH-2105H Artifacts Count

<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Number of specimens Catalogued</u>	<u>Percentage of artifact specimens found at site</u>
Feature 1 Depression	134	<u>21.4%</u>
Feature 2 Cabin/ Brick Scatter		
3N1E	40	6.4%
3N2E	48	7.6%
3N3E	69	11.0%
Subtotal	157	<u>25.0%</u>
Feature 3 Brick Alignment		
2S12E	8	<u>1.2%</u>
Feature 4 Road Segments		
Rd. Seg. #1	24	3.8%
Rd. Seg. #2	18	2.8%
Rd. Seg. #3	21	3.3%
Rd. Seg. #4	13	2.0%
Subtotal	76	<u>12.0%</u>
Feature 5 Collapsed Structure	—	—
Feature 6 Ashy Deposit		
4N10E	98	<u>15.7%</u>
Feature 7 Ashy Deposit		
6N2E E1/2	70	<u>11.2%</u>
Feature 8 Corral, Feed Shed & Windmill	1[WWII canteen]	--
Quadrants		
SE	20	3.2%
SW	14	2.2%
NE	35	5.6%
NW	—	0.0%
Subtotal	69	<u>11.2%</u>
Totals	613	97.7%
[Total specimens count is now 627, due to fourteen additions.]		[This is based on the above numbers tallied from the site's original inventory listing.]

Feature 1 “Depression”

Feature 1 is referred to in this report as Feature 1 “Depression.” Questions under investigation: What were its uses over time? From the artifacts collected, what associations, if any, concerning the history of Hi Good and early ranch life might be inferred? Can any meaningful chronology be constructed from the artifacts recovered?

Early Hand-Dug Wells

Once the property owners’ permissions were secured for a scientific excavation, the author was curious about what might be found from excavating Feature 1 renamed the “Depression” as opposed to “Well.” Was this Hi Good’s early hand-dug well? Moreover, the author was of the opinion that, just maybe, Hi Good’s gold was there! After all, the early settlers customarily buried their valuables in the ground because banks were few and far between.

One case of burying valuables at the bottom of one’s hand-dug well surfaced for this researcher when collecting data about Mrs. Marie Dersch’s murder in Shasta County. She was killed by a band of renegade Indians (who used guns) on August 22, 1866. The culprits attacked the Dersch ranch on Bear Creek when Mrs. Dersch was outside making soap. Mrs. Dersch’s son, Fred Dersch Jr., was just across the Nobles Trail road when the attack began. He was charged by his blind Uncle to, “Go get help for your mother at the neighbors!”

When the lad finally reached the Thatcher place, young Fred “found the patriarch, digging down inside his dry well. When Mr. Thatcher heard the news, he came up out of the hole hand over hand. He grabbed up his two pistols and his horse and, before he left for the Dersch ranch, he told his wife, Catherine, in so many words to, “Put all deeds and other valuable papers in a box and put them down the dry well for safe keeping” (Burrill unpublished manuscript, “The Murder of Marie Dersch.”)

The author’s interpretation is that the Feature 1 Depression was probably not a well site (See more below). The just mentioned detail that Mrs. Thatcher was to put the valuables “in a box” reintroduces the fact that some kind of container was used, which is called a “miner’s bank” (see Fig 321).

The Township 25 Treasure Map

The author has studied the finite details on the Tehama County Assessor’s Office 1859 map (Fig. 53) titled, “Township No. 25 North Range No. 1 West Mt. Dblo. Mdn.” This is probably the only map that shows Harmon A. Good’s name and his partner’s name, Alexander Robb Barrington. They are clearly discernible in Section 33, where they both owned land. Due north and contiguous to Section 33 is Section 28, with a faint drainage line, which, early on, was called Jim Ellis’ Gulch. Today, the locals called it, “Ned’s Draw” where Indian Ned purportedly ambushed Hi Good. The site, CA-TEH-2105H, is in the next section farther north, in the SW corner of Section 21 (See the entire map reprinted in Ch. 2 “Background History,” Part VI).

Pot Hunters After Good's Gold



Figure 319. Jerry Stephens, Vina Stockman Photo by author in December 6, 1996.

The author recalls the anecdotal story told on December 6, 1996, by Vina rancher, Jerry Stephens Sr. His story hinted about the gold buried somewhere at Hi Good's place. A taped interview was made at Jerry and Pat Stephens' Vina ranch on the Lassen Road (Burrill Collection). At one point a question about Indian Ned was asked who, as several stories have it, was "taken in" by Hi Good (see Ch. 3 documents 3, 4, 6-8.)

Richard Burrill: Ned, was thirteen or fourteen years old?

Jerry Stephens: Yep Do you know that when the Indian kid killed Hi Good, Hi had sold his sheep and cattle and that he had \$6,000 in gold buried in a Dutch oven? My mother's knowledge and the old-timers' knowledge, it was never found, and that the money is still buried over there, one poker deep. You could run the poker one poker deep and there's gold —\$6,000!

RB: Hmm! My goodness! That's a local story of this area?

JS: Had you heard that story?

RB: No!

* In 1993, the author learned of Jerry Stephens' knowledge about the Ishi story when I watched Jed Riffe's American Experience film documentary, "Ishi, the last Yahi," in which Stephens was interviewed.

Do you know? The Hi Good Cabin site has been previously "pot hunted." About Hi Good's gold, it can be confidently said that many individuals have been searching for it over the years. Simeon Moak, as early as 1923, wrote on page 33 in his colorful *The Last of the Mill Creeks* memoir that:

There are, I think, five hundreds [sic] holes dug around the cabin and corral by different parties, searching for the money. It may have been found, but not that I know of (underscores author's).

Clarence Leininger (1919-1981) of Vina was one of these gold seekers who searched at the Hi Good Cabin site, the author recently learned. It was none other than Clarence Leininger, who was Frances Valente Leininger's husband. It happened that she encouraged this writer to introduce himself to Mr. Fred Wikoff, now living in Cohasset, who had been Clarence's best friend. On 10/14/2007, during our initial telephone interview, Mr. Fred Wikoff shared the following:

Early on, Clarence Leininger got himself a metal detector and we went out to the Hi Good cabin flat together. When I asked Clarence why he was looking around there, he told me that there were stories that gold was there somewhere.



ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 320. This 1865 Australian Sovereign, gold coin (obverse and reverse) is conceivably what much of the treasure looked like, along with watches and jewelry, that Hi Good, Sandy Young, and Obe Field “knew” the Mill Creek Indians had plundered and still had in their possession. Originally, the gold sovereigns had been plundered by the Mill Creeks’ attack on August 7, 1865 of the Robert Workman farm in Concow Valley. Moak’s (1923:18) account tells that Mrs. Workman’s sister, “Miss [Rosana] Smith” had been visiting from Australia [not England] when the brutal attack and robbery ensued. Miss Smith had in her possession “sixteen hundred dollars in English sovereigns.” And how did the Mill Creeks know that that one settler family in Concow Valley had all that, in gold coin, without a spy --a white man surely, telling them such?

The renegade Indians were tracked by Hi Good, Robert Anderson, Simeon Moak and thirteen others to their “campoodie” on Mill Creek. On the morning of August 14, 1865, the Three Knolls battle ensued. Most all of Big Foot’s band were subdued.* On August 17, 1865 one English Sovereign gold coin was found by chance by Sandy Young at the battle site in the sand (Anderson 1909:81-82). This kept alive the hope that the stolen treasure would some day be retrieved. Later, on April 27, 1870, shortly before Hi Good would be killed, Simeon Moak (1923:31) wrote that Good, Field, and Young still believed they were about to recoup the gold, for they left “on a prospecting trip . . . for the purpose in view of finding the Mill Creeks and getting their booty”

* Former Mountain Maidu prisoner and sex slave, Mariah (Mason) Bill [the grandmother on her mother’s side of author and educator Marie (Mason) Potts], and who escaped Big Foot’s band of Mill Creeks during the Three Knolls battle on the Mill Creek drainage, told the Quincy newspaper editor that “. . . several of the Indians who had made their escape from the Cave returned two days afterward [August 16] and dug up the treasure and carried it off [in a buckskin bag] (“The Indian Raid” [1865, September 23] *The Union Record*; Burrill 2003:27-60; T. Kroeber 1961:80; Potts 1977:39-42.).



Figure 321. This Dutch oven (with its lid missing) was photographed with permission at the Oregon Trail Regional Museum, Baker City, Oregon. Dutch ovens served as a “miner’s bank” for burying money and valuables.

Figure 322. Photographed as well is this Dutch oven poker, which is about 3 feet long.

Ishi's Family Held at Good's Camp for Weeks

The story of Ishi's family tied to Hi Good's early sheep camp history is not this writer's imaginations running wild. This connection has kept the Ishi saga research a most engaging project for this author. The geography of the greater study area is compelling (see Figures 152, 153 and 154). The primary source documents that speak to the Yahi's involvement may be read in this report's Ch. 3). The Yahi's Five Bows ceremony that called for a truce came to loggerheads at Good's sheep camp in late April/early May of 1870, invariably where the Hi Good Cabin site's excavation occurred. The Dan Delaney (1872, June 2) *Northern Enterprise*, p. 1/3 newspaper essay titled, "The Adventures of Captain Hi Good" (reprinted on pages 245-249) provides significant details about Good and his henchmen's actions at the time. For instance, Delaney wrote:

They killed several and took two prisoners, two mahalas. These females were held as hostages at Good's camp for weeks, guarded by the Captain's Indian boy, whom he raised, and who, for years, acted as his herder, and boy of all business.

The part where Delaney wrote that "the Captain's Indian boy" . . . "guarded" the hostages suggests that the female prisoners were kept and watched inside Hi Good's cabin. Based on the data, the cabin's footprint was only steps away from Feature 1. In Unit 4N10E with "Ashy Deposit" (Feature 6), several .44 Henry Flat brass cartridge casing fragments were recovered. Arguably, Hi Good's "campfire ashes" could be part of "Ashy Deposit" Feature 6. These spent cartridges could be from one of the Henry repeater rifles used during the 1870 ambush (Waterman 1918:58). Professor Thomas T. Waterman's interpretations may be read in Ch. 3 Document #8 on pages 260-264 of this report.).

* * * * *

Feature 1 "Depression" (Interpretations)

Excavating and collecting of artifacts at the site first commenced at Feature 1 "Depression." Data recovery came from five levels. The start of digging there was a rough affair: to move away the surface debris and dealing with so many round river cobbles. At about 24 inches the teams began to collect artifacts and, at this point, Level 1 was established, rather arbitrarily. Level 1 became defined as 0-48 inches. A new level was made thereafter for every twelve inches.

- Level 1 (0-48")
- Level 2 (48-60")
- Level 3 (60-72")
- Level 4 (72 - 84")
- Level 5 (84-90")

On the last Saturday of the 2004 field season, Feature 1 was closed due to time constraints and mud. Concern, rightly so, was also for livestock that might fall into the pit. The deepest excavation to date (90") was then tarped with black plastic (See below Fig. 335). The good side to this, no pun intended, is that the Feature 1 Depression's "edge of mystery" is preserved.

What were the Feature 1 "Depression" uses over time? Four hypotheses were made as to its possible functions. They were: (1) as an outhouse or privy (2) as a root cellar, (3) as an early hand-dug well; and/or (4) as a dump for accumulated refuse, mainly involving ranching activities.

The archaeological record for Feature 1 Depression provisionally affirms hypothesis Number 4. It was a place where dumping of mostly ranching items and related refuse took place. Counting all the barbed wire, baling wire, and the objects collected, about 75% was ranch related. Moreover, it appears probable that the dumping or fill started on flat ground. Then, perhaps for safety reasons in about 1947 or maybe 1951, a hole was dug and the pile, along with anything else observed lying around on the surface, such as bricks and/or old bottles, was filled into the depression, where it has all remained pretty much undisturbed for over fifty years.

About the outhouse hypothesis - With the former cabin and collapsed structures as part of the site, logic suggested that there ought to be some depressions or holes nearby for an outhouse or privy. Besides the Feature 1 Depression, a second "hole" was recorded on the site map (See Fig. 8, page 19). It lies about 120 feet SW of the datum. It is subtly in view on the open flat. Artifacts of ferrous material, in and around it were found when conducting metal detector sweeps. More study about this second depression's purpose is merited.

The outhouse use for Feature 1, though plausible, is judged now as doubtful. One has to wonder just how regimented the earlier residents were, who, based on the personal group artifacts found, were almost exclusively males who worked for a time as sheep camp workers. It is written about Mr. Herbert Kraft, who received the first deed (D) from the railroad for Section 21 on January 4, 1886, that "He ranches on an extensive scale, owning several very valuable farms, which he rents or works on shares (Gerald Brown 1968 "Jews of Tehama County" Red Bluff: Andy Osborne Papers, Chap. 2.) Invariably, many of the local tenants and workers identified by name, were mostly cattle ranch hands. Identified by name, at this writing, are: "Normy" Leininger, Dick Rucker, Robert W. Aulabaugh, as well as John "Junior" Gillette, and Jeff Lerch (See Burrill Collection: letter dated 3/23/2007 from Robert Aulabaugh in Olympia, Washington. It seems that an agreed upon potty station, was simply not a high priority item for any of these men. When the natural urge announced itself, it, no doubt, required only a short stroll to the adjacent Acorn Hollow wash and down behind the bank, which puts closure on this matter.

The root cellar hypothesis—This conjecture fitted well with the notion that we probably have a sheep camp's butcher's station, which is built upon the facts that several lower limb bones of sheep were found, along with one unidentified bone (320-202) that clearly has a saw cut across it.

Career sheep rancher Jack Haslem, aided the subject by describing an early root cellar:

During the Hoover Boom everyone had a cellar in the dirt with logs and bark and dirt on top of that. A root cellar is a hole in the ground some 5 1/2 to 6 feet deep. There would be steps to walk down inside, with a lantern. Root cellars help keep perishables, red vegetables, potatoes and beets, as well as mutton cooler so they will not spoil so fast. And with a secure cover set on it, predators are kept away.

Also, Shasta College archaeology student working at the site, Ms. Louise Pierce of Weaverville, on 3/3/07 described sheep outfits that were north in Scotts Valley who also relied on root cellars in the 1850's and 1860s. She explained, "They were dug subterranean about six feet deep to create a cooling bin. They would slide a sod or dirt cover over and that way, keep the predators out."

However, any meat including mutton could have been jerked as well; cut thin and cured with salt. The mutton, temporarily preserved in a cellar storage, then would be shipped by a meat wagon to the Tehama County markets.

With all these details weighed and understood, upon excavating the Feature 1 Depression, no typical root cellar entry steps were observed, nor were any definitive materials for a root cellar's roof or cover found.

The hand-dug well hypothesis - It is now assessed that where the windmill stands today, this would have been the best place where an early hand dug well would have been a success. Just north and east of the present windmill's location, a green swath can be witnessed throughout the spring time and into the summer months. It is from an underground spring, apparently from water that runs off and comes down through the adjacent rounded hills. It suggests that the ground's water table by the windmill is the most amenable immediate location for having a well. That is also apparently why the windmill was placed where it is on 8/30/1951. Was the windmill's construction done on top of where a hand dug well once stood? We may never answer that question!

The site map's elevation contour readings also shows that the windmill location is +3 feet higher in elevation relative to the site datum. With the windmill and livestock corral and feed shed complex on the upward slope from the Feature 1 Depression, this means that the rain water invariably runs through or across the livestock area before seeping into the Feature 1 Depression. This, of course, is not a conducive situation for healthful, non-contaminated drinking water. These are reasons why the hand-dug well hypothesis for Feature 1 Depression is untenable.

Table 3 Feature 1 Artifacts Count

Level 1 (0-48")

- 1- Whole amber glass animal vaccination (320-283) bottle (1963)
- 1- Shepherder's stove warmer fragment (320-399)
- 1- AM/PM Convenience store cigarette lighter (320-296), ca. 1979
- 4 1/2 - beer cans ca. 1935 or later
 - Flat-Top (320-340) with pull-tab, ca. 1972
 - Flat-Top (320-401) church key opened, 1935 or later
 - 1/2 Flat-Top (320-401) church key opened, 1935 or later
 - Cone-Top (320-338), 1935-1959
 - Cone-Top (320-339), 1935-1959
- 1- Crown cap (320-304) with 21 corrugations, ca. 1920s.
- 1-Whole clear glass liquor (320-276) bottle (1941)
- 1 - Coca-Cola (320-290) aqua glass fragment (1941)
- 1- Whole light green glass Roma wine (320-279) bottle (1941)
- 1- Whole clear glass liquor (320-277) bottles (1940)
- 1- Whole clear glass liquor (320-278) bottles (1940)
- 1- Whole clear glass liquor (320-280) bottles (1940)
- 1- .22 long HS: "CCI" (320-310), 1960 or later
- 1- .22 "Super X" long rifle (320-311), 1960 or later
- 1- 12 g. shotgun; Rem-Peters (320-308), 1934, 1960 or later
- 1- Horseshoe (320-341) worn smooth for front legs
- 1- Wagon brake pedal (320-344)
- 3- Flat belt pulley fragments (320-342a, b, c)
- 1- Mouse trap fragment (320-301)
- 1- Whole clear glass tablets (320-281) bottle (1935)
- 1- 9MM "Luger" WIN" (320-309), 1902; very recent
- 1- W.I.E. fragment (320-291) ca 1850s -1900
- 1- Copenhagen snuff lid (320-305) 1905 or older
- 1 -Vent hole/matchstick food filler type tin can lid (320-306) that dates before 1904.
- 1- Kootz's metal fastener (320-307) ca. 1899
- 1- Kittleson half-hitch style barbed wire (320-304), 1878, its terminus post quem
- 2- Early opalized bottle lip fragments (320-284, 320-285)

Level 2 (48-60")

- 1- CA automobile (320-384) license plate (1939)
- 1- metal tension ring (320-349)
- 1- .30-06 Springfield (320-348) , 1895, recent
- 1- .30-06 Springfield(320-351), 1895, recent

Note: Nondescript items also recovered from Feature 1, are listed in the site's Catalog.

Level 3 (60-72")

- 1-Whole olive green glass Roma wine (320-357) bottle, ca. 1957
- 1-Whole clear glass Hiram Walkers & Sons whiskey (320-356) bottle, ca. 1945
- 1-Whole clear glass honey jar (320-358), ca. 1957 or later

Level 4 (72 - 84")

- 1-Whole amber glass animal vaccination(320-365) bottle (1951)
- 1-Whole clear glass spirits (320-359) probably Christian Brothers, ca. 1941
- 1- Partial clear glass spirits (320-362) probably Christian Brothers, ca. 1941
- 1- Clear glass base w/Diamond O-I (320-364) fragment (1941)
- 1-Amber glass base with stippling (320-366) and "A" & "4" fragment, 1940 or later
- 1-Whole clear glass liquor (320-361) bottle (1940)
- 1- Upholstery button pin for buggy (320-384)
- 1-Amerseal lug tin can seal fragment (320-381), ca.1906-1919 -(Adkison 2002:1.11)

Level 5 (84-90")

- 1-Partial clear Garrett & Co. wine (320-397), ca. 1919-1950
- 1-Whole amber glass Duraglas beer (320-398) w/stippling bottle (1947)
- 1-Whole clear glass Schenley liquor (320-396) bottle (1941)

Artifact Interpretations from Feature 1 Depression

A total of 14 assigned time markers were found in Feature 1. They are listed (above) with their respective year placed in parentheses and underlined>. However, as already described, their de-positioning was randomly mixed. This meant that no chronology could be established to discern any cause and effect relationships. Again, the only two (of the 14) time markers that provided a predictable stratigraphic relationship were the two amber glass animal vaccination bottles. The older vaccination bottle made in 1951, was found deeper, at Level 4 (72-84"), while the one made in 1963 was recovered at Level I (0-48") depth.

Reduced to its lowest terms, it appears that most of the artifacts salvaged from Feature 1, were arbitrarily filled into the depression, possibly in one event. The two whole animal vaccination bottles are the one exception. The twelve other time markers recovered from the five respective stratigraphic levels, provided no stratigraphical sequencing through time. For instance, the one Coca-Cola (320-290) aqua glass fragment that was made in 1941, was found in Level 1 (0-48"), just as one whole clear glass Schenley liquor (320-396) bottle, made also in 1941, was recovered from the deepest Level 5, 84-90" depth. One feasible explanation for how this resulted is that a refuse pile built up over time on the flat itself, and probably in the proximity of where the Feature 1 Depression is found today. During the late 1930's and through the 1940s decade a litter pile could have grown. It perhaps became an eye sore and/or a concern for the safety of his livestock for Mr. Carmichael, who, became the new property owner of Section 21 in 1946. In about 1947 (or maybe it was in August of 1951), he, or someone, led the pouring of cement construction for the new Aermotor Windmill tower's foundation. Possibly Mr. Carmichael assigned some of his ranch crew to dig a deep hole and to fill it with the accumulated pile of refuse. This would explain how the 1951 dated animal vaccination bottle (320-365) was found, deep down, at 72-84" and/or how the 1947 "Duraglas" amber glass beer bottle was also deeply deposited at 84-90" bottom surface. Why so many cobbles were observed in the depression is one unanswered question.

In about 1963, it appears that the filled hole was left undisturbed. The second, 1963 animal vaccination bottle accounts for this. As late as 1979, someone who smoked, maybe one of the hunters passing by found his AM/PM Convenience Store cigarette lighter empty or broken enough that it became worthless, and so it was tossed. This lighter is the most recent artifact (320-296) collected and dated from the 0-48" level (See Fig. 254).

Temporal Interpretations

The mode, mean and median were determined for the fourteen "time markers" collected and identified from the Feature 1 Depression. They are: Mode (greatest frequency) = "1941."
Median = "1941" Mean (average) = "1942.8 " [27,200 divided by 14]

(1963)

(1951)

(1947)

(1941)

(1941)

(1941)

(1941)

(1941)

(1940)

(1940)

(1940)

(1940)

(1939)

(1935)

Best guess (for at least the top portion of Feature 1 Depression), is that 1935 to 1951 appears to have been the period when the refuse or litter accumulated at the site, until it was all gathered and emptied into a new hole dug about 1951.

One cluster of older artifacts was noted - It was observed that some older artifacts ended up in the fill whose period of use was ca. 1878 to 1905. Did any of these artifacts come from Unit 4N10E? These artifacts appear to have been collected from elsewhere, maybe when hired ranch hands did a general clean up of the entire area flat. For instance, the two, very opalized bottle finish (or lip) fragments collected (320-284 and 320-285) from Level 1 (0-48") were found with the Kittleson half-hitch style barbed wire (320-304). The latter's *terminus post quem* is 1878. The vintage cluster of artifacts included:

- 1- W.I.E. fragment (320-291) ca. 1850s -1900
- 1- Copenhagen snuff lid (320-305) ca. 1905 (Fig. 253).
- 1- Amerseal lug tin can seal fragment (320-381), ca. 1906-1919(Fig. 244).
- 1 -Vent hole/ matchstick food filler type tin can lid (Fig. 243), 320-306. that dates, before 1904.
- 1- Kootz's metal fastener (320-307) ca. 1899 (Fig. 270).
- 1- Kittleson half-hitch style barbed wire (320-304), 1878, its *terminus post quem* (Fig. 302).
- 2- Early opalized bottle lip fragments (Figures 223 and 224), 320-284 and 320-285.

The period of use for these pretty much match the time period for some of the artifacts found in unit 6N2E E1 / 2, such as the 1902-1905 period of use for the Lash's Bitters bottle found there. Because it is not known for certain, however, from where this group of older artifacts were relocated, nothing more about them can be said.

Pre-World War II Years -Apparently hard work by ranch hands was followed with some heavy drinking in the early 1940s. Several of the liquor bottles recovered bear 1940 and 1941 for when they were manufactured. These years, of course, for Americans were the pre-WWII days leading up to Pearl Harbor day. Incidentally, the liquor and beer cans collected are only samples taken from the others that were only observed.

Five firearm pieces were found. None of these are very old, and were probably left by hunters who were passing through the area. One is a 1- 9MM "Luger" WIN"(320-309) from Germany, with 1902 its *terminus ad quem*. It very well could be from a war souvenir German Luger weapon procured in Europe. Note that there was also found from the adjacent Corral, Feed Shed, and Windmill complex, one WW II vintage military canteen (Fig. 274). But it probably belonged to an American named George Roberts of Tehama County who served in the Pacific during "that final phase of that war," which was ca. 1945 (See in the Personal Group section, the letter received confirming such from Ms. Karen H. Bacquet.).

Blue oaks (*Quercus douglassi*) line the ridge top on the far west side of the Hi Good Cabin flat. —————>

Flat with "brick scatter" was observed, possibly from a collapsed chimney structure. It became designated as Feature 2. —————>

Figure 323. This is how the Feature 1 Depression appeared before the excavation began. The photo was taken looking westward. The large piece on the left side of the fill has been identified as a sheepherder's stove warmer. Its brand name and age remain undetermined. It was eventually collected (see Fig. 240) and assigned as specimen 320-399. Photo by author on 5/15/2003.



FEATURE 1 DEPRESSION EXCAVATION, OCTOBER 4 2003



#1 Figure 324. This is what the Feature 1 Depression looked like on October 4, 2003 before digging, which measured fifteen feet across. In the foreground, is the rusted shepherd's stove (Fig. 240). On the top of the refuse pile are rolls of barbed wire, baling wire, one wood pallet, studded T fence steel posts, red brick fragments as well as a varied mix of tin cans, nails, liquor bottles, and more. Photos by author.



#2 Figure 325. (left) Here, baling wire fragments, corroded and burnt, were observed, covering a near solid mix of river stone cobbles and round boulders.



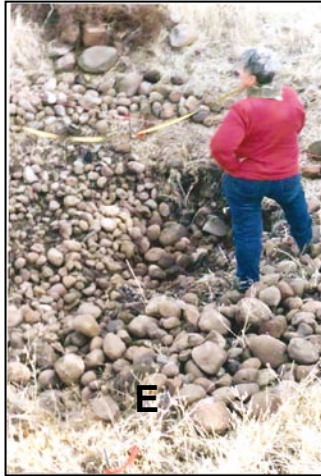
#3 Figure 326. Visible in this photo are the two metal stakes with red survey tape, placed on the west (foreground) and east points (top middle) respectively of the depression. The rounded river rocks exposed were of boulder and smaller cobble sizes, which ranged from about 3 to 12 inches in diameter

#4 Figure 327. (Above) More debris and rounded rocks removed.



#5 Figure 328. Towards the end of the afternoon on October 4th. No definitive edges of the depression at this point were observed.

FEATURE 1 DEPRESSION, NOVEMBER 8, 2003 & FEBRUARY 21 & 28, 2004



#6 Figure 329 (left) November 8, 2003. Joyce Abbott helped set up a north-south horizontal red line across the mid section of the depression used to measure Level 1 (0 - 48").



← Blue oak tree

#10 Figure 333. Feature 2 with cover. Level 4 (72-84") and some of Level 5 were excavated on February 21, 2004.



#7 Figure 330. Nov. 8. FRC student Georgia Miles pulls out a Flat-Top beer can Level 2 (48- 60").



#11 Figure 334. Feature 1 Depression, with view towards the east. Depth reached was to Level 5 at 90 inches bottom surface. Color JPEG photo by Dr. Eric Ritter taken on February 28, 2004.



#8 Figure 331. FRC student Woody Palmer completing Level 2 (48- 60").



#12 Figure 335. Black plastic tarp cover being placed at bottom of excavating efforts. Photo taken by author on February 28, 2004.



#9 Figure 332. Justin Hamilton and Michael Hamilton (right) on Nov. 8th, joined in to help excavate Level 3 (60 - 72").

Feature 2 Brick Scatter Interpretations

(Units 3N1E, 3N2E, 3N3E)

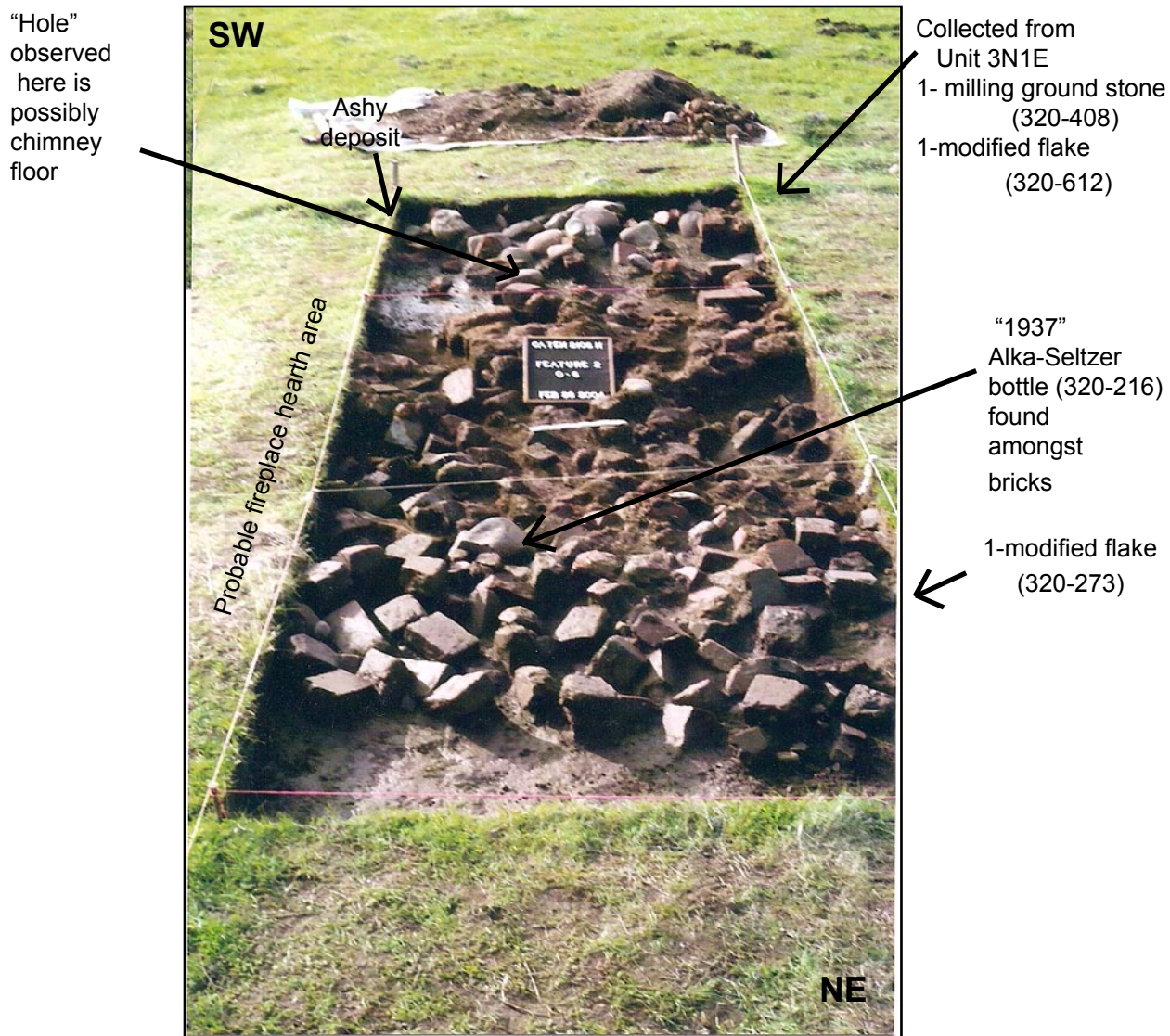


Figure 336.
Feature 2 “Brick Scatter.” Photo looks westerly with 3N3E
in the foreground. Photo by author taken 2/28/ 2004.

Feature 2 Interpretations

The archaeological data affirm that the Feature 2 brick scatter (Fig. 336) is a former chimney tower, with likely fireplace hearth that was part of an early rough cabin in Acorn Hollow (see surmised cabin structure footprint on page 552, Fig. 417). Moreover, the brick scatter is probably the purported Hi Good Cabin with chimney seen in the one-of-a-kind, black and white, Minnie Brown Leininger photograph (Fig. 108) taken ca.1920. There is every reason to believe that the bricks observed at the site and in the photo are one and the same.

The archaeological record also indicated that the bricks, mortar and foundational stones, as situated, were probably part of the north facing wall of the structure. Field student notes relate: "Based on the elevation change in contour of land around Feature 2, the cabin structure may have followed along within the edge of the rise in a general west to east fashion." One cluster of basaltic stones observed in Unit 3N1E, might well have served as foundational stones for the cabin structure's northwest corner, as opposed to foundational chimney/hearth stones.

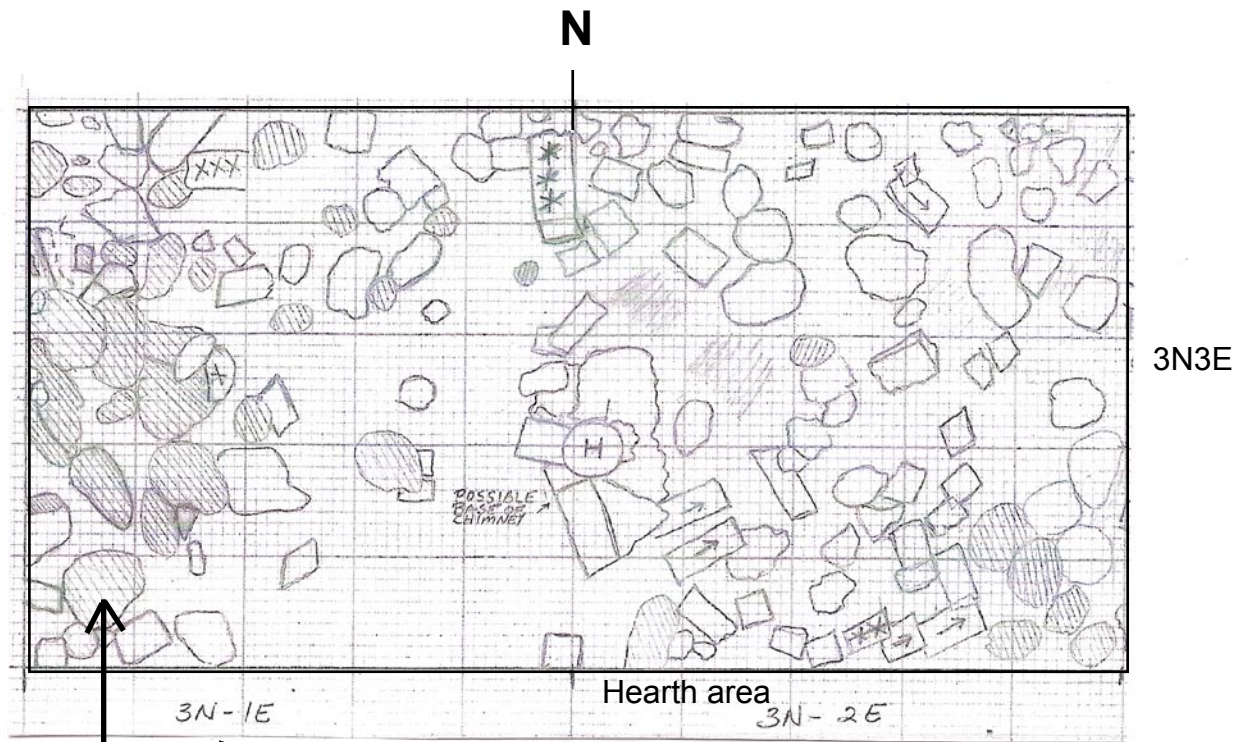
Page 32 of Simeon Moak's *The Last of the Mill Creeks* includes this description of the insides of Hi Good's sheep camp cabin, which corroborates what was observed in the Feature 2 trench excavation. Moak (1923:32) wrote:

The Indian knew Good had money buried and as soon as Good was gone he began hunting for it. In his efforts to find it he tore up the cobble stone hearth in front of the fireplace and dug several places where he thought it might be. He tore up some of the wood floor. When Good returned on the 29th of April, he determined immediately from the condition of the house what had been going on. The Indian had taken the ashes from the fireplace and given the hearth and floor a good scrubbing. "What has been going on here, Ned?" asked Good.

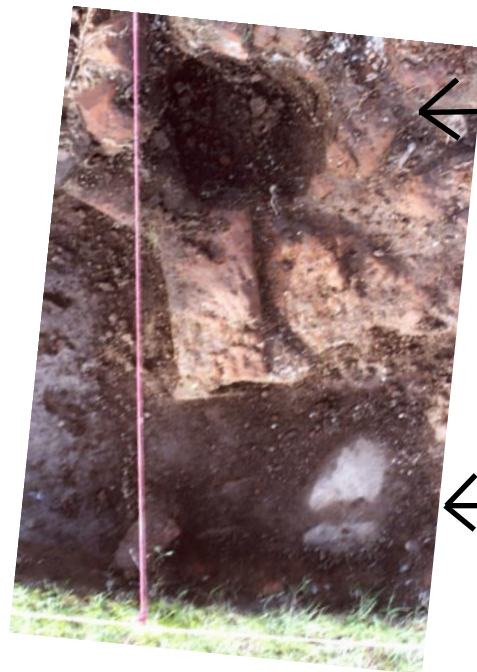
About a fireplace - Besides the ample brick scatter, the "hole" observed in Unit 3N2E (Figures 337 and 339) is possibly the fireplace's chimney base or floor. This bottom floor contained crumbled brick that might have become disintegrated from heat as might be found in a chimney floor. This area contained ash and extra mortar in this small area. Specimen 320-217 also consists of ten mortar fragments recovered from the adjacent Unit 3N3E unit. There was also one "rounded" basaltic stone (Fig. 338) that, with more testing, might be part of the cabin's fireplace hearth.

About a cobblestone hearth - As for the purported "cobblestone hearth," one rounded stone was collected (320-408) that is somewhat "cobblestone like." It is actually a prehistoric milling slab recovered from the approximate middle of Unit 3N1E (See "x" in Figure 337).

About a wood floor - A "wood floor" inside would be expected in such a rude cabin of the 1860's. The wood has all since been burnt or removed. But the cluster of surrounding basaltic stones, observed in Unit 3N1E suggest the possibility that they were foundational supports underneath a wood floor.



Based on its location, this flat basaltic stone likely served as part of the foundation of the NW corner of the former cabin structure.



H = possible hole to base of chimney tower

This flat and rounded basaltic stone likely served as cabin's interior fireplace hearth.

S

Figure 338.

Figures 337 & 338. Drawing (above) with respective photo enlargement of the SW corner of Unit 3N2E. The "hole" ("H") is possibly the chimney base or floor due to the greater concentrations of ash and mortar fragments locked together at this spot. Also, deeper down and buttressing the bricks (see Fig. 338 lower right), is one large flat basaltic stone that could be part of the cabin's foundation if not possibly one of the stones of the cabin's interior fireplace hearth. Photo taken 2/28/2004.



Figure 339. Drawing of Feature 2 Brick Scatter.

Two Possible Clues

- Did Robert Anderson build Hi Good's cabin chimney? One Hi Good neighbor and Indian hunter associate was Robert A. Anderson (1840-1915). Anderson was also a "chimney builder." George Mansfield's (1918:635) *History of Butte County*, wrote about Anderson that, "At an early age, he was apprenticed to learn the trade of stone mason, one of his principal occupations being the building of brick chimneys." If Anderson did put up Hi Good's cabin chimney for him, neither of them spoke of it, as far as is known.
- Did Hi Good obtain his bricks from George Simpson of Tehama? One local brick-maker to further investigate is Mr. George C. Simpson, Sr., who "opened a brick-making firm in Tehama." This fact came from Vina historian, Mrs. Frances V. Leininger.

Feature 2: Temporal Aspects

A few artifacts recovered from each of the three contiguous units have been dated. Because of the brick and rock exposed in the length of the trench (See Fig. 338), the matrix underneath was not all excavated to a true Level 1 (0-6") depth when finished. No doubt some artifacts from Level 1 remain buried.

Collected from Unit 3N1E was specimen 320-613, a .45-90 Winchester, center fire gun shell that the Lassen College (Susanville, CA) gunsmithing experts dated as "about 1886."

From Unit 3N2E, a Lee workwear metal button (320-060) was found (See Fig. 263), which was used from 1927-1935. Unearthed amongst the fallen bricks in Unit 3N3E was specimen 320-216, one "1937" time-marker" Alka-Seltzer tube glass bottle. In about 1937, the brick chimney likely tumbled over.*

* The direction in which the brick chimney fell remains undetermined. Speculation in some of the written field notes conjectured that the chimney might have fallen in an easterly direction. There were some rather distinct boundaries of the brick scatter observed, apparently more along the northeasterly side of the units.

Unit 3N1E, the most westerly of the three contiguous units, had the cut nails with earliest projected period of use. Unit 3N2E artifacts recovered gave its second place, while Unit 3N3E had the most recent estimated period of use. The percentage of cut versus wire nails provides the notion that the older part of the trench is its western end (Unit 3N1E). Unit 3N1E had 59.6% cut nails over wire nails. Unit 3N2E had 43%, while Unit 3N3E had 37%. These findings contradicts the fact that the site's earliest period unit, Unit 4N10E, lies east of the trench. Unit 4N10E had 96.5% cut nails found versus wire nails (See map Fig. 391).

Periods of use notions (in years based on the Table 13 Index on page 528) for the trench units are:

59.6% Unit 3N1E = about 1889
43%, Unit 3N2E = about 1892
37% Unit 3N3E = about 1893

However, as it remains, the range of these above dates are essentially the same.

Table 4. "Feature 2 Brick Scatter Artifacts Dating Notions"

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description	Date(s)
320-613	3N1E	0-6"	.45-90 Winchester center fire gun shell Headstamp: W.R.A. (Win. Repeat. Arms Co.)	ca. 1886
320-605	3N1E	0-6"	Aqua glass, opalized bottle neck fragment	ca. 1880-1920s
320-598	3N1E	0-6"	White Improved Earthenware	ca. 1850s -1900
Cut nails*	3N1E = 59.6% cut nails; Based on Index #1 "Nails Analysis" notion:			ca. 1891
Amethyst glass fragments	3N1E= 62% (63/101 fragments found at site makes for notion: "Pre-1917"			
320-060	3N2E	0-6"	Lee workwear metal button	1927-1935
320-063	3N2E	0-6"	.30 gun shell HS: REM UMC 25-3	1911-1934
320-064	3N2E	0-6"	.25-35 gun shell	1895 or later
Cut nails	3N2E = 43% cut nails; Based on Index #1 Nails Analysis Notion			ca. 1897
320-070	3N2E	0-6"	Aqua glass side panel fragments (2) (medicinal elixir)	ca. 1890s
320-077	3N2E	0-6"	Aqua glass/opalized windowpane(17)	ca 1880-1920s
320-250	3N3E	0-6"	.45 Automatic. Colt revolver shell	1912
320-251	3N3E	0-6"	.38 rimfire HS: "U" gun shell	1912 or later
320-216	3N3E	0-6"	Whole Alka-Seltzer bottle	1937
320-269	3N3E	0-6"	White glass bottle base frag.	1870-1920s
320-270	3N3E	0-6"	White glass bottle neck frag.	1870-1920s
320-271	3N3E	0-6"	White glass fragments (7)	1870-1920s
Cut nails	3N3E = 37% cut nails; Based on Index #1 Nails Analysis Notion			ca. 1896

* Regarding NAILS: A total of 415 nails were collected from the Feature 2 Trench, of which 182 were cut nails (43.8%) versus 233 wire nails (56%). Highest nail count went to Unit 3N3E, having 90 cut and 152 wire nails).

Early Brick Building's Implications

Especially in the early decades of California history, brick and stone buildings were desirable for their fire safety. However, brick and stone structures have always been more expensive to build than wood structures. This is why brick and stone structures have always been in the "minority" both in cities and in the countryside. This was so in Sacramento, Marysville, Red Bluff, and San Francisco. About the early types of buildings in San Francisco, for instance, in Oscar Lewis's (1866:143) *San Francisco: Mission to Metropolis*, "The number of buildings in the City of San Francisco on August 1, 1865 was 15,518 of which 12,268 were of wood and 3,250 of brick or stone." This translates to only 26.4% of the buildings. Lewis (1966:157) added, "In 1876 San Francisco had 27,000 buildings, of which 4,500 were of brick or stone and the remainder of wood." This translates to the lesser percentage of 16.6%.

In rural California, such as we have at the Hi Good site, rough cabins with field stone and mud chimneys were very common. Brick chimneys with fireplace hearths were less common. Rural cabins sometimes had a small cast iron stove set inside, from which a vertical stove pipe vented up through the roof. Upon conducting a casual search for related structures in Tehama County, only one image (Fig. 340 below) of an early cabin that dates to the 1860's could be found that possessed a center placed chimney along one of its walls, similar to the chimney in the vintage "Hi Good Cabin" photo (Fig. 108 above).



Figure 341. circa 1855. Father Paul Mark Schwan stands at back entrance door on the north side of the former Henry Gerke house, with downstairs winery cellar made of bricks. Photo by author on December 6, 2001.

Figure 340. 1860's cabin with center placed chimney similar to the Minnie Leininger c. 1920 "Hi Good Cabin" with chimney photo. Above is a 2007 rendering by Janice Newton of the 1860's sketch by Helen Tanner Brodt of Butte Creek Meadows, Tehama County, California, which appeared in the *Californiana Vol. 3(1)* 1969. Red Bluff: Tehama County Library, p. 11.

Early Benton City (also known as Lassen's) did have at least one brick house that dates back to Hi Good's era. It is former Henry Gerke's brick house with wine cellar, which this researcher was permitted to visit and photograph (Fig. 340 above). It was built ca. 1855, which was after Gerke obtained the land from Peter Lassen in 1852. The ownership of the building and property today belongs to the Trappist monks of Abbey of New Clairvaux of Vina, CA.

Eight miles to the north of Hi Good's Cabin, in the Town of Tehama, that Hi Good frequented often, is another all brick structure (Fig. 342). It is today's Tehama County Museum, built in 1859. If records can be found about where its original 136,508 bricks came from, clues may come forward about the origin of the Hi Good Cabin's bricks. Were they brought in by steamers from Sacramento or by oxen pulling wagons filled with the bricks? Or procured locally perhaps from the riverboat town of Tehama? (See below Dan L. Mosier [2003] resource in "Five More Brick Related Resources.")



Figure 342. Masonic Molino Lodge #150 of Free and Accepted Masons (upstairs) and Tehama School (downstairs in 1859. The original construction involved 136,508 bricks! (See same structure about one year later, Fig. 90 in Ch. 2, page 137). This building is still extant and serves today as the Tehama County Museum, City of Tehama.

Some Key Points and Resources Available For Future Brick Study

One of the more informative resources is William C. Lazarus' 1965 essay from *Florida Anthropologist*, Vol XVIII, No. 3, Part 2, pp. 69-84. Lazarus' article concluded with:

Experience gained in this study indicates that good identification of bricks as to manufacturer, site of manufacture and relative time of manufacture is feasible and may be of great assistance to historical archaeologists. Excavations at old brick yards could be very significant if historical data is available for time correlations.

About securing time or dating correlations, Lazarus's essay emphasized how helpful whole brick size measurements can be. Evidently at many sites in Florida, for instance, whole brick specimens have been, according to Lazarus, "very difficult to find." All total at CA-TEH-2105H, five whole bricks were collected, one of which, specimen 320-411, is broken in two pieces. The nine specimens listed below are whole bricks, brick fragments, and mortar fragments recovered from the trench units and from Feature 1. Also, two mortar fragments only were taken from Unit 4N10E.

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description
Bricks and Mortar Collected From CA-TEH-2105H 5 whole bricks, 6 brick fragments, and 10 mortar fragments were collected as specimens			
320-409	3N1E	0-6"	Brick (whole)
320-410	3N2E	0-6"	1/2 brick w/ glaze
320-411	3N3E	0-6"	Brick (whole, but broken two pieces)
320-218	3N3E	0-6"	Brick fragments (3)
320-406	Feature 1	Surface	Brick (whole) porous
320-407	Feature 1	Surface	Brick (fragment)
320-347	Feature 1	0-48"	Brick (2 whole)
320-217	3N3E	0-6"	mortar fragments (10)
320-208	4N10E	0-6"	mortar fragments (2)

Determination of whole brick measurements can be used, for example, to create a data base of index numbers similar to the South Index Numbers data base used in Florida. The South Index was started by Stanley South (1964). Index numbers allow other sites with bricks to be compared to help provide time periods, places of brick manufacturing, et cetera.

Seven points learned for future brick interpreting are:

1. About brick measurements - Basic to any serious study of brick, is consideration of the proportions of common building brick. Generally speaking, the width of a brick is twice its thickness and its length is equal to or a little more than twice its width, that is, 1:2:4 proportions.

2. About the Index Numbers system - This appears to be a convenient means for identifying the basic brick traditions and it demonstrates a capability to identify changes of standards within the traditions when such standards do exist. For example, the South Index Number method involves simply obtaining the numerical sums of the length, width and thickness dimensions of whole bricks, expressed in measurements down to one eighths of an inch.

3. About dating and comparing brick traditions - The Lazarus article provides tables that list "Dated Brick and Tile From The Pensacola, Florida sites."

4. About "stamped" bricks -Many old bricks in the Pensacola area were "stamped," such as "M Bonifay." At the Hi Good Cabin site, to date, none of the bricks observed were stamped. But "stamped" names on bricks has been a tradition.

5. About describing bricks by color: Color descriptions are helpful, such as dull red, pink, cream, light colored buff, tan, and gray colors. [Note: Some of the photographs taken of the bricks at the Hi Good site were taken when they were wet. In that condition, they appeared to be an "orange-red."]

6. About finding good clay deposits and/or field kilns - Because of the excellence of the clays, Pensacola became an important brick making center prior to the Civil War.

What can be said that parallels this in northern California? Did Sacramento have a corner on the early market in California because the clays were good there? What about in the town of Tehama or Red Bluff?

Also, kilns are used to make bricks. Are there any local field kiln site locations known? From Bailey (1966:101), "Common clay, mostly alluvial soil, was quarried in the late 1800's, from several localities (of Cascade range, Modoc plateau and Great Basin of NE CA) near the early towns of the region. It was burned in field kilns to make bricks for local buildings [Edgar H. Bailey, ed., 1966 *Geology of Northern California*. US Geological Survey. San Francisco: CA Division of Mines and Geology.]

Brick types from the Hi Good Cabin site - The bricks observed were of two types. One is a better made, commercial brick. The other is either a less well made or possibly older brick that tends to disintegrate. One-half brick specimen (320-410) is described in the field notes as "blue glazed" and "of the commercial type."

7. About brick mineral signatures - What minerals, such as mica (or Franciscan chert perhaps) are present in small or large quantities all bricks that are unique of a particular region? Franciscan chert was said to be a raw material found in some of the local bricks. This author believes that Franciscan chert is found naturally on the west side of the Sacramento Valley.

More Brick Related Resources

Touted by several as undoubtedly the best reference for archaeologists, with terrific bibliography is Karl Gurcke's (1987) seminal work on bricks. Karl Gurcke is a Cultural Resource Specialist with Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park, P. O. Box 517 Skagway, AK 99840.

There is also the California Bricks web site by Netfirms:
<<http://calbricks.netfirms.com/brickhistory.html>>

Of interest for further investigation is Mosier's (2003) introductory essay about California brick making history. Apparently, Sacramento was a hub for early brick making. Did oxen teams and/or early steamers haul bricks from Sacramento to Tehama? Mosier's data includes:

A. The first common brick was made in 1847 by George Zins at Sutterville, Sacramento County, and by a Mr. Tyler in San Diego County. Zins's house built in 1849 was first brick house in Sacramento.

B. By 1854, Sacramento had 500 brick buildings. Just within the city limits, there were 30 brickyards containing 40 brick machines capable of producing more than 250,000 bricks per day. Some of the early brick makers were Mr. Harnett, Samuel Carlisle, P.B. Cornwall, F. Burke, Polk and Todd, Pettit and Queen, Fountain Brothers, and Callahan and Ryan.

C. Also in 1854, John Ryan produced brick for the Sacramento and San Francisco markets from his brickyard at 13th and Y streets in Sacramento. This was believed to be the first commercial brickyard in California. He employed 20 and produced 2,000,000 bricks per year.

Another resource is: BRICK AND TILE BIBLIOGRAPHY, made available through “retired” archaeologist K. Kris Hirst, part of his Tennessee Archaeology Net Bibliography Page. Web site address <http://www.mtsu.edu/~kesmith/TNARCHNET/Pubs/Res_Bib.html>

Hirst provides publication assistance to scientists, with special attention to archaeology and related fields. The e-mail to contact Ms. Hirst is: hirst@inav.net

Dr. Peter Schiffman’s informative e-mail received 11/26/2003, is reprinted below. The author first learned of Professor Schiffman as a resource, when he reviewed the educational video, “The Obsidian Trail,” which includes an interview with him.

Hi Richard:

I got your letter requesting information on potential mineralogical work on bricks and XRF Geochemistry on obsidian.

About Obsidian - Regarding the latter, I am sorry to say that our XRF went out of commission about a years ago. The tube burnt out -and we didn’t have enough funds (approx. \$25K to replace it and the power supply). I’m not sure where the best place to procure these analyses now. I’d suggest you contact Kelly McGuire at Far Western fwarg@farawestern.com

About Bricks -Regarding a petrographic study of your bricks: This is potentially something which a geology student might wish to undertake as a paid job or possibly an internship. If you want to send me a more detailed description and electronic version of the project you have in mind, I’d be happy to circulate it to our students via e-mail, and see if you get any bites.

Dr. Peter Schiffman, Professor of Geology.
Director, Electron Microprobe Analytical Facility
Department of Geology
University of California, Davis 95616
530-752-3669 (office)
530-752-6582 (laboratory)
530-752-752-0951

One last brick related resource is to contact:

Mr. Charles P. Watson, M.A.
President and Chief Geologist
Advanced Geologic Exploration, Inc.
180 Main Street, P.O. Box 1956, Chester, CA 96020
Voice: (530) 258-4228 Fax (530) 258-4339
E-mail: cwatson@advancedgeologic.com
Web site: advancedgeologic.com

The "Hi Good Cabin" Structure: Its History and Demise"
(circa 1866 - ca.1937)

"1866" is the probable year when the "Hi Good Cabin" was built in Acorn Hollow, for it was in late 1866 that Hi Good began his new career as sheep operator, and he needed a shepherd. Hi Good "obtained" the Indian boy, "Ned," from Samuel and Margaret Dicus who came from Missouri. They had the Indian orphan named "Ned" with them. The Dicus couple were new arrivals to Deer Creek in 1866. This has been determined from (1) letters received from the Dicus family relative, Mrs. Reita Marsh, of Springfield, MO (Frances Leininger Collection), and (2) from one 4/26/1941 newspaper article found, researched and written by *Bee* staff writer, Harry Potter Bagley. Bagley interviewed respected Butte County peace officer, Mr. J. A. "Teddy" Peck (1864-1944). Mr. Peck, in turn, had secured the Indian Ned/Dicus family origin account from Obe Field (1810 - 1887), who, according to Simeon Moak (1923:31) was one of Hi Good's "boon companion." (See Ch. 2 of this report, "Probable Origin of Indian Ned.").

Based on how other similar cabins quickly degrade once abandoned or were salvaged, it is probable that one or two of the structure's larger corner posts were first pulled down from the weight of the center roof beams. The wood pieces invariably separated from the fireplace hearth, such that young ten year old rancher boys—Normie, Wes, and John were three of them—no longer could go explore inside or "play fort." For maybe five years, the brick chimney tower stood as a lone sentinel on the flat. Then the tower probably got some help. Bulls or cows browsed and brushed by it. Maybe some one's truck fender pushed on it. A rider with rope might have lassoed it and with his horse pulled back on it. It "falls" down about 1937, and the last of the structure is completely gone.

The one challenge that the cabin still stood in the 1960s was Fred Wikoff's testimony (see page 186). However, he may have seen another structure, the Feature 5 "tack room," for example, before it collapsed and was gone.

Feature 3 Brick Alignment

(Unit 2S12E)



Figure 343. Feature 3 Unit 2S12E, lies in the middle of the “ranch road.” Photo looks towards the south. Photo taken by Dr. Eric Ritter on 2/07/2004.



Figure 344. Screening and digging at Unit 2S12E on 2/21/2004.

Feature 3 Interpretations

The Feature 3 “Brick Alignment” was observed in the middle of the ranch road (See Fig. 343) known as the Moak Trail. Unit 2S12E was excavated in February, 2004, to investigate the curious anomaly. About twelve bricks were exposed in the unit and photographed (Fig. 344).

It is likely these bricks were put here, maybe with gravel, to strengthen the ranch road at this relative low spot in what can be very muddy, almost adobe-like conditions for wagons or motorized vehicles to cross. Upon arriving in the morning of Saturday, 2/28/2004, this unit was filled with standing water from the previous night’s rain. There is probably no association with a chimney or early cabin remains. There may have been extra bricks laying on the flat from the collapsed chimney tower that someone used. None of these bricks were collected.

Seven artifacts, a low yield, were recovered, as listed below. No period of use (dates) could be established for them, except to note that the one cut nail is of the earlier type as opposed to wire nail.

Two glass buttons (white and brown) seem to be an extension of Unit 4N10E from where the only other two similar glass buttons (both white) were recovered (See Fig. 262 on page 390). A fifth glass (or shell) button was also found in 2007, nearby in Unit 1S3E.

As for the two upholstery tacks (sizes 4 and 8), one other such tack, size 8 was found at the site in Unit 3N1E (See Fig. 298 on page 420).

<u>Specimen Number</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Depth</u>	<u>Horizontal Description</u>	<u>Dates</u>
320-053	2S12E	0-6"	Button (glass) white 4 hole (Width 7/16" or 18 lines)	n. d. "
320-611	2S12E	0-6"	Button (glass) brown 4 hole (Width 7/16" or 18 lines)	"
320-054	2S12E	0-6"	Cut nail (1) 7d	"
320-055	2S12E	0-6"	Upholstery tack? (Size 8)	"
320-058	2S12E	0-6"	Upholstery tack? (Size 4)	"
320-056	2S12E	0-6"	Amber glass body Frag.(1)	"
320-057	2S12E	0-6"	Amber glass bottle Frag.(1)	"



Figure 345.
Feature 3 “Brick Alignment.”
Photo by author on 2/21/2004.

Feature 4 The Road Segments

“Two roads diverged in a wood, and I____
I took the one less traveled by,
And that has made all the difference.”
--Robert Frost (1874-1963)



Figure 346. This photo shows Road segment #4, which starts at the twin gate posts (foreground), and continues northeast for 100 feet. It ends on the road at the point where the Aermotor windmill stands adjacent the road. These three photos were taken on 11/21/2006.

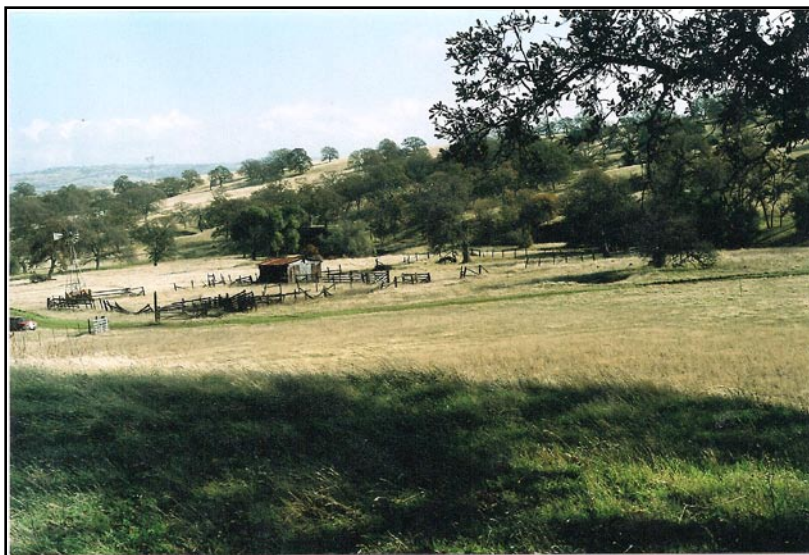


Figure 347. Road segments #2 and #3 follow the ranch road visible in the distance from right to left. Road segment #2 is that portion of the road in front of the old blue oak (right side). Road segment #3 is the remaining 160 feet portion of the road, which passes in front of the Corral, Feed Shed, and Windmill complex and ends at the twin gate posts (far left).

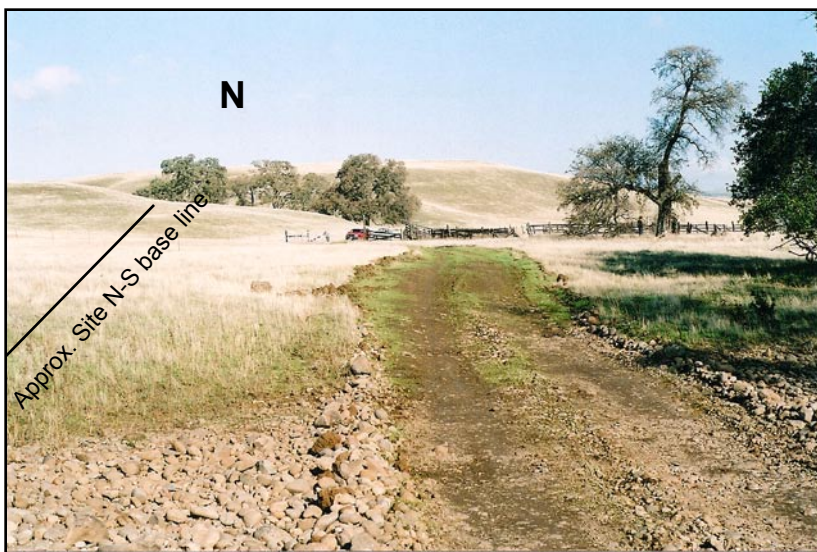


Figure 348. This photo looks north at Road segment #1, and was taken from the north bank of the Acorn Hollow seasonal wash. Road segment #1 extends down this road for 200 feet. It ends on that part of the road near where the old blue oak tree in this distance can be seen (right side). Unit 2S12E's locale is situated middle distant of this ranch road, the Moak Trail. The most northerly portion of Unit 2S12E is Road segment #2.

Feature 4 Interpretations

Feature 4 is the “ranch road” that traverses the entire flat of the Hi Good Cabin site. It is currently a rural road of dirt and gravel. On maps this same road is named the “Moak Jeep Road Trail” and rated for “4WD” use (See Fig. 122 on page 194 in VIII: “California Trails History”).

For manageable investigation purposes, Feature 4 was divided into four segments. Several artifacts were collected (See Table 1 below). The method used for identifying and collecting the artifacts involved metal detector sweeps by teams who worked back and forth across the respective road segment and perpendicular to it. The teams first located, mapped, and pin flagged each ferrous metal hit. Second, the teams returned and collected all artifacts judged as having diagnostic or interpretive potential. This resulted in 76 specimens catalogued of which: 34 artifacts were recovered from Road seg. #1, 26 artifacts from Road seg. #2, 28 artifacts from Road seg. #3, and 12 artifacts were collected from Road seg. #4.

Road Segments and Associations Defined

Road segment #1 (See Fig. 348 bottom photo on opposing page), the farthest south segment, was where the most artifacts were collected of all four road segments. It was also the longest road segment, some two hundred feet in length. It enters onto the flat from the south, starting at the north bank of the seasonal Acorn Hollow wash. Road seg. #1, continues north where it terminated just before the south edge of Unit 2S12E (with Feature 3 “Brick Alignment”). The likely associations for Road seg. #1 artifacts collected were the Feature 3 “Brick Alignment” and the Feature 5 “Collapsed Structure” (See maps).

Road segment #2 (See Fig. 347 middle photo) was the shortest of the four road segments, being about 80 feet long. Typographically, Unit 2S12E was between the very wheel ruts of Road seg. #2. Also, impacting Road seg. #2 partially was the eastern edge of Unit 4N10E (with Feature 6 “Ashy Deposit”). Road segment #2’s termination line was made at the point where the ranch road passed the Feature 1 “Depression” located east of the road.

Road segment #3 (See Fig. 347 middle) covered a 160 feet distance, more or less. It ended at the gate posts of the Feature 8 “Corral, Feed Shed, and Windmill” complex. Road seg. #3’s artifacts found had potential associations with Unit 6N2E E 1/2 (Feature 7 “Ashy Deposit”) on its west side and the Feature 8 complex that it approached on its north and east sides.

Road segment #4 (See Fig. 346, top photo) was only closely associated with Feature 8, which it skirted alongside the corral fence for about 100 feet distance. From the twin posts, Road seg. #4 ran in a northeasterly direction.

Earlier Road Route Discovered

During the 2007 site field work, it was found that Road segment #1 from which we had been collecting, was apparently not part of the original ranch road used by wagons and motorized vehicles to enter and egress “Hi Good’s flat.” Evidently, in about 1945, the road “cut” was made that is used today. This is the part of the ranch road today that diverts and slopes down from the Leininger-Rock Quarry Road. Prior to this time, the point for driving wagons and/or early motorized vehicles across the Acorn Hollow seasonal wash was about one mile farther downstream. On 2/17/2007, the author succeeded in having John Aulabaugh (Fig. 349) pay a visit to the site. The Aulabaugh clan are long time residents of Vina and Tehama County. John was born in 1933 and knows about everyone in Vina. On that Saturday, the writer secured his taped interview. It deserves to be mentioned here that two years prior, in October, 2005, this researcher had learned from Darrell Mullins that “One member of the local Aulabaugh family had found .44 bullets up on the red rimrock” (Burrill notes 10/16/2005). The author has since learned that neither John nor Bob Aulabaugh had kept them nor could they provide



Figure 349. Mr. John Aulabaugh (born 1933) visiting the site. Photo by author, 2/17/2007.

any more details.

Two insights shared by John Aulabaugh on 2/17/2007, were these:

When I was a little old, was when I realized it was the Moak Trail. We always called it the Bible Trail.*

Well, the road has changed some. The old road is a little bit different. This old cut back didn't used to be here. The road came up here from the bottom. It followed closer to the creek. This here was put in later when they made that cut back, basically [it ends up] pretty close to the same place.

*The "Bible Trail" refers to the historical figure, William "Bill" Morse Bible (1877-1950). John Aulabaugh's younger brother, Bob Aulabaugh, now in Olympia, WA, has since confirmed with maps received that Bible's Cabin camp was five miles up the Moak Trail east of the study area and on the north side of the trail in Section 8 (Morris Flat area) of the adjacent T25N, Range 1E of the Diablo. Meridian (See Figures 351 & 352).

It was evident that there is a swale or indented road cut that is faintly discernible in the distance when standing and looking SW from the site's datum (See Fig. 350 below). This swale's trajectory crosses the flat diagonally and used to intersect with the present ranch road at about the spot of the blue oak with Feature 1 Depression (See blue oak in Fig. 348, right side). This is both where Road Seg. #2 begins and agrees with Mr. Aulabaugh's recollection (See also map Fig. 1 above).



Figure 350. This photo was taken at was Hi Good Cabin site on 10/4/2003, and looks to the southeast. The black lines show from where the earlier road is said to have entered the flat and went diagonally across it.



Figure 351. Pictured (Left to right) Clyde Speegle (1902-1940) and William Morse Bible (1877-1950) standing in front of the Bill Bible Cabin. Former Vina local Robert W. Aulabaugh wrote to this researcher: “Bill Bible Home. It was north of the trail and was facing to the south. There were two buildings and as I recall the one they are standing in front of was the first to fall.” Photo courtesy of Frances Leiningner.

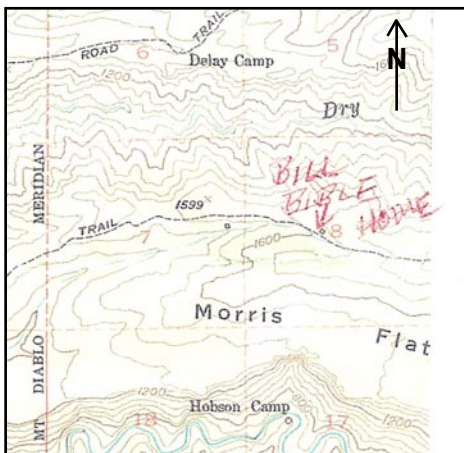


Figure 352. “Bill Bible’s Home.” Hand written on this 1953 quadrangle map by former Vina resident Robert W. Aulabaugh confirms the location of the old Bill Bible Place. The map’s small cabin icon is clearly placed on the north side of the ‘Moak Jeep Trail’ and to the left of the number “8,” for Section 8 of the respective Township 25N, R1E.

Artifact Interpretations

Diagnostic Personal Group items found in Feature 4 road segments comprised a mix of 21 spent gun shell fragments. This was 32% of the armament pieces found at the site. One vintage metal button (320-517) recovered from Road segment #2 is associated with Unit 4N10E wherein three similar vintage metal buttons were also found (See all four metal buttons in Figures 260 & 261 on page 390).

Wagon/Buggy artifacts found - As expected --because of the fact that a ranch road runs across the study area flat-- about 20 Wagon/Buggy related artifacts were recovered from the site all total, of which three diagnostic wagon parts came from Feature 4 road segments (See Table 6 below). Thirteen more diagnostic wagon parts are listed in Ch. 5 "Industrial Group" on pages 425, 430-431 with Figures 304, 311 and 312. Four of these come from the site's NE quadrant also close to the Feature 4 ranch road. One partial wagon brake pedal (320-344) had been inadvertently tossed into the refuse hole, Feature 1.

Why were several Wagon/Buggy parts found at the site? Over time, wagons apparently serviced those who lived and worked at the study area. Obe Field, for example, was one of these. Obe was also a teamster. It is known he was still living "somewhere" in Vina as late as 1885, which is the year when Herbert Kraft became the first to receive the Deed (D) for all of Section 21, from the Central Pacific Railroad Company (See VI: "Land History" as well as Obe Field sketch on pages 145-151). Thus, it is possible but not confirmed that some of these wagon parts may have come from an Obe Field's wagon!

Access to and from the study area by riding in a wagon was a time saver as opposed to tramping up or down the 1.8 miles distant access road through Acorn Hollow to Mayhew's Crossing (See Ch. 2 Figures 58 and 60 maps; also Anderson (1909:10) referenced ". . . a store at the Mayhew stage station"). Wagons brought in ranch supplies. Locals would walk or ride in regularly to Mayhew's store to check whether they received any mail. Mayhew's was on the Shasta Road also known as the Wagon Road. The California Stage Company line followed the Shasta Road with major hubs in Marysville, California to Portland, Oregon. From the side bar data provided in Ch. 2, 106, "In 1856, the stage left from Marysville, "every day at 2 p.m." (McNamar 1992:41). Those who lived and worked at the study area and had wagons, would have likely used them to transport ranching supplies and/or personal items desired from the commercial hub of Tehama, which was the closest river boat town with warehouses, north eight miles distant (See Ch. 2 Figures 88 and 89, page 136).

Keeping with Hi Good's situation, the archival data (Moak 1923:30-33) reveals that Good relied on his horse, Buck, rather than wagons, to procure vegetables from his garden maintained on his headquarters property in Section 33, 1 1/2 miles due south. It is told how Hi Good, who was also athletic and a good trumper, to obtain the produce for himself, for Obe Field living with him (in 1870) and his sheep camp crew, would make a bee line route when returning. Because he had to cross angular lava rock strewn hills, Good would lead Buck, by the bridle-reins (Anderson 1909:84). The one horse tack related item found in Road segment #4, a trigger snap fragment (320-547), is for a hasp to a lead rope used to lead docile animals. At first there was the thought that Good might have used it. However, this one is also made of an aluminum alloy. It would not have been in use during Hi Good's era.

Again, as also described in the Industrial Group section, the ranch road (also known as Moak's Trail) that traverses the Hi Good Cabin's flat fools the visitor who has not traveled the entire length of this trail. The Moak (or "Bill Bible" road) changes drastically to a 4WD road less than one mile east of the site. That is because the road's black dirt observed at the site changes in the foothills to ancient and angular lava cap rocks (see Fig. 118). The only other way to navigate the upper reaches of the Moak Trail is to either walk it or by having strong and sturdy pack animals.

This introduces what some of the other artifacts collected at the site confirms, that the "road" here at the Hi Good Cabin site was also a short-lived staging area for pack trains to haul supplies. The sidebar data provided on this next page (above) tells that Good, in April of 1866, started his pack train from Chico, and from there to the miners and to the *Owyhee Avalanche* newspaper in Silver City, Idaho, a distance of 500 miles one way.

Possible Pack Train Artifacts —In the Industrial Group interpretations, Fig. 305 illustrates the one 1/2" diameter burr (320-561) found in Unit 6N2E E1/2, that was very possibly used to attach panniers, canvas bags, and the like, to the pack saddle carried by a beast of burden. News Flash! In 2007, adjacent and on the west side of Road segment #3, two "shoes" were recovered, small enough to have been used on a donkey or burro.

Hi Good's Pack Train Route from California to Idaho

The big silver strike in Idaho occurred in 1862. The Chico to Idaho Humboldt Road was completed in 1865 with weekly saddle trains that took passengers and mail. On July 11, 1865, the first stage from Chico to Ruby City passed through Susanville (Amesbury 1967:29-30). The Moak Trail was conducive for only strong and sturdy pack animals.

Good's Pack Train Route to Idaho -1866 April 28, The *Chico Weekly Courant* reported that "On Monday of this week, the travel Northward of this week was opened by Hi Good's train of five wagons and fifty pack animals . . ." [The parties] ". . . started from or passed through Chico route, over the Chico and Idaho route for different section of Nevada, Idaho, and Montana." This was the Humboldt Wagon Road (much of Hwy. 32 today). In about 1866, the Humboldt Wagon road went over the summit then down across Big Meadows, up the Gold Run Road and into Richmond (a larger community than Susanville). The route next headed north and skirted through SE Oregon.

Kimball and his crew's history making trip with sheep to Idaho - It is probable that Hi Good turned to sheep as a result of Gorham Gates Kimball, John W. Burgess and George Hoag success story in 1865, in herding some 3,700 sheep from Red Bluff to Boise City, Idaho. Upon reading Wentworth's (1954:52) details in Kimball's 1865 journal, the "rest of the crew" are not forgotten to history, namely: Indians Dick and Buck, two tireless working dogs, Jim and Flora, as well as six riding horses utilized. Kimball's trail map is also insightful with its details in Wentworth's (1954:65) publication. Early sheep industry accounts include Wentworth 1951a, 1951b, 1954; Briggs 1996; McNabb 1983, as well as this researcher's interviews of sheep man Jack Haslem now published in all four issues in 2007 of the *Suffolk News*, Vol. 14, numbers 71, 72, 73 & 74 (See Bibliography).

Dating Interpretations

Gun cartridges -As for older artifacts found at the site, significant is the cluster of six .44 Henry Flat gun cartridges recovered from Road segment #4. The four with the "H" on their respective headstamp were made as early as 1860. The Ch. 5 map about the firearms distribution shows that only Unit 4N10E had a larger cluster (having 10). Road segment #4 area also is in the vicinity of the windmill structure. Recall that the windmill is the most likely place where an early hand dug well might have been. Hence, this site data indicate that the Road segment #4/windmill area is a prime area to conduct future excavation and data recovery.

Amethyst glass notion -Keeping with the subject of where to dig in the future and older gun shells found, Road segment #3 was found to be perhaps the second best place to keep investigating. Of the five amethyst glass fragments to be recovered from Feature 4, four were from Road segment #3 (while Road segment #2 had one found). Amethyst glass provides the notion for "pre-1920" artifacts to be likely found (Adkison 2002:1:22). So, corroborating this notion, sure enough, was one more .56-.46 Spencer "necked type" gun cartridge fragment (320-533), with 1866 - 1919 period use, that was found in Road segment #3.

The 14 other, more recent gun shell pieces found in the Feature 4 road segments were largely of the types that hunters and individual passerby likely were using when target practicing. For example, specimens 320-550 and 320-551 are “minie ball” lead of .54 caliber. Their dates were interpreted by the gun authorities consulted as “modern.” Jim Wages, gunsmithing expert for Lassen Community College commented on 5/31/2006, about the minie ball pieces that:

“These were possibly supply ammo that were shot in the ground by someone, perhaps target practicing. The knurling lines mean they are both ‘swadged’ and modern, probably somebody out there target practicing.”

Four of the modern gun shell types were also determined to be “time markers.” They are:

- “1945” - .30 caliber brass shell “military” casing (320-552) with headstamp: “S. L. & 45” (Salt Lake, US military arsenal, made in 1945. Collected from Road segment #4.
- “1984” for one; “1989” for three - .223 caliber military center fire gun shells (4 total) The respective year of manufacture for each is stamped on its headstamps: “1984, 1989, 1989 and 1989.” All four collected from Road segment #1.

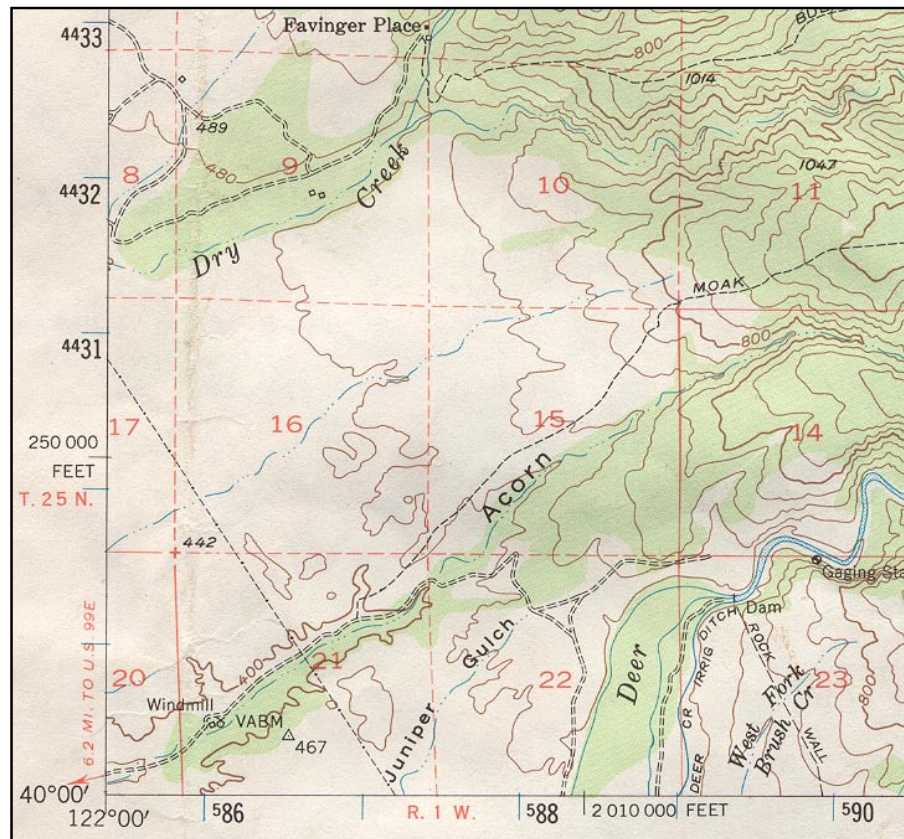


Figure 353.

Map: 1953 “Panther Spring” Quadrangle U.S. Geological Survey, Tehama County, California, shows the windmill with an adjacent structure (feed shed?) in Section 21. Shown also is the “Moak Jeep Road Trail.” Its trail head: (1) traverses the “Hi Good Cabin” flat (2) continues NE and keeps on Deer Creek’s north bank ridge line to Deep Hole Camp; (3) trail then continues north to Lassen Emigrants’ Trail and Obe Field’s Spring (T26N,R2E). Pack trains would continue through Deer Creek Meadows to Big Meadows, east to Susanville and NE to the miners in Idaho.

Table 6 Feature 4 Road Segments Artifacts Count

* Nails also recovered from Feature 4 are listed in Table 14 on page 529).

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description	Dates
ROAD SEGMENT #1:				
320-486	Road Seg. #1	0-6"	12 g. shotgun; Rem-Peters	1934, 1960 or later
320-487	Road Seg. #1	0-6"	.223 Military Cf HS: L.C. '89	1989
320-488	Road Seg. #1	0-6"	.223 Military Cf HS: L.C. '89	1989
320-489	Road Seg. #1	0-6"	.223 Military Cf HS: L.C. '89	1989
320-490	Road Seg. #1	0-6"	.223 Military Cf HS: L.C. '84	1984
320-492	Road Seg. #1	0-6"	.22 "Super X" long rifle (W)	1960 or later
320-493	Road Seg. #1	0-6"	.22 "Super X" long rifle (W)	1960 or later
320-494	Road Seg. #1	0-6"	.22 long rifle	1960 or later
320-494	Road Seg. #1	0-6"	.22 long rifle	1960 or later
320-494	Road Seg. #1	0-6"	.22 long rifle, HS: "U"	1960 or later
320-497	Road Seg. # 1	0-6"	Cast iron rectangular fragment (2 1/4" x 15/16" x 1/8" thick)	no date
320-484	Road Seg. #1	0-6"	nut, size 11/16" w/ hole diam. 5/16 "	"
320-485	Road Seg. #1	0-6"	carriage bolt 3/8" shaft. length 2 5/8"	"
320-491	Road Seg. #1	0-6"	baling wire (twisted) fragments	"
320-495	Road Seg. # 1	0-6"	Metal strap. rhomboid shaped. 1 9/16" x 7/8"	"
320-496	Road Seg. #1	0-6"	Metal strap. Rectangular 1 1/4" x 3/4"	"
320-498	Road Seg. #1	0-6"	Metal strap. Rectangular 1 15/16" x 7/8"	"
320-499	Road Seg. #1	0-6"	Fence tack, length 1 1/2"	"
[320-#500-507 were fourteen nails collected in #1]				
ROAD SEGMENT #2:				
320-516	Road Seg. #2	0-6"	.410 g. shotgun shell fragment Cf	"
320-512	Road Seg. #2	0-6"	W.I.E. plate bottom fragment	1850's - 1900
320-513	Road Seg. #2	0-6"	Dark olive green bottle glass frag.	no date
320-514	Road Seg. #2	0-6"	Dark olive green bottle glass neck frag.	"
320-517	Road Seg. #2	0-6"	Button (Metal) 4 hole. width 7/16"	ca. 1800 -1860?
320-518	Road Seg. #2	0-6"	Metal strap 2 7/16" x 1 1/8"	no date
320-519	Road Seg. #2	0-6"	Metal strap (heavy) barrel hoop with 2 rivets (6 1/4" x 1 1/4" x 1/16")	"
320-511	Road Seg. #2	0-6"	Amethyst bottle glass base fragment	Pre- ca. 1920
320-509	Road Seg. #2	0-6"	Aqua (green) fragment (1)	no date
320-510	Road Seg. #2	0-6"	Aqua (light) fragment (1)	"
[320-#521-525 were thirteen nails collected in #2]				

-continued-

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description	Dates
ROAD SEGMENT #3:				
320-533	Road Seg. #3	0-6"	.56-.46 Spencer gun shell	1866 - 1919
320-527	Road Seg. #3	0-6"	Spoon Large serving spoon	no date
320-534	Road Seg. #3	0-6"	W.I.E. plate rim fragment	1850's - 1900
320-535	Road Seg. #3	0-6"	W.I.E. plate rim fragment	1850's - 1900
320-530	Road Seg. #3	0-6"	Strand separator twisted 6"	no date
320-531	Road Seg. #3	0-6"	Wire loop and twisted on one end. 3/4" x 2.5"	
320-532	Road Seg. #3	0-6"	Wire fence clip; to use with T post. 6" length	"
320-528	Road Seg. #3	0-6"	Strap for a barrel possibly 8 3/4" x 3/4"	"
320-529	Road Seg. #3	0-6"	Metal stap frag. folded into square 3/4" x 3/4"	"
320-526	Road Seg. #3	0-6"	Wagon reinforcement flat metal strap w/hole & beveled top (16 7/8" x 1 3/8" x 1/4")	"
320-537	Road Seg. #3	0-6"	Amethyst glass fragment (1) with lead seal on lip	Pre- ca. 1920
320-538	Road Seg. #3	0-6"	Amethyst glass fragments (3)	Pre- ca. 1920
[320-#540-546 were eleven nails found in #3]				
ROAD SEGMENT #4:				
320-552	Road Seg. #4	0-6"	.30 "military" HS: S. L. & 45	1945
320-553	Road Seg. #4	0-6"	.44 Henry Flat HS: "P"	1872-1878 or 1887-1944
320-554	Road Seg. #4	0-6"	.44 Henry Flat HS: "P"	1872-1878 or 1887-1944
330-555	Road Seg. #4	0-6"	.44 Henry Flat HS: "H"	1860 - 1870 probable
320-556	Road Seg. #4	0-6"	.44 Henry Flat HS: "H"	1860 - 1870 probable
320-557	Road Seg. #4	0-6"	.44 Henry Flat HS: "H"	1860 - 1870 probable
320-558	Road Seg. #4	0-6"	.44 Henry Flat HS: "H"	1860 - 1870 probable
320-550	Road Seg. #4	0-6"	Minie ball lead .54	appearance "modern"
320-551	Road Seg. #4	0-6"	Minie ball lead .54	appearance "modern"
320-549	Road Seg. #4	0-6"	Animal vaccination bottle	1959
320-547	Road Seg. #4	0-6"	Trigger snap fragment made of aluminum alloy	Probable 1950s
320-548	Road Seg. #4	0-6"	Bailing wire tie end fragment	no date
320-539	Road Seg. #4	0-6"	Aqua glass curved fragment	"
[320-509 was the one "cut" nail recovered in #4]				



Figure 354. Moak Trail runs directly across the flat of the Hi Good Cabin site, CA-TEH-2105H. Photo orientation looks south. Photograph taken by author on 11/0 8/2003.



Figure 355. "The Moaks Have Returned." Wyatt Moak (son) and Lyman Pete Moak (father) of Concow Valley (Butte County) were excavation participants at the Hi Good Cabin site. Pioneer Indian antagonist Jacob Moak (1834-1927) who fought the Mill Creek renegades was Pete Moak's great-great-grandfather. Photo taken by author on 2/14/2004.

Nails - Thirty-nine nails were recovered from all the road segments, of which 30 (76.9%) were cut nails. The most nails found in any of the four road segments were 14 nails from Road Segment #1. Of these 14, nine (64.2%) were cut (square) nails.

Vintage Artifact - From road Seg.#2 a vintage metal button (320-517) was recovered. It is invariably associated with Unit 4N10E, wherein three similar metal buttons were also collected (See Ch. 5 Personal Group Figures 260 & 261 on page 390 in Historic Artifacts section). If this metal button can be verified as a one piece cast metal button, according to the Vicki Adkison (2002:4.8) reference, this artifact would date to "ca. 1800 to 1860."

Feature 5 Collapsed Structure



Figure 356.



Figure 357. Author standing in front of the collapsed wooden structure and the same tree as seen in the preceding page photo (Fig. 356) on 12/08/2001.



Figure 358. Mike Hamilton, part owner of the study area property, touches one of the footing stones about which he heard from his father was an early line cabin. Photo by author on 12/8/2001.

Feature 5 Interpretations

Upon review of oral history testimonies, two use interpretations surfaced for the historic Feature 5 “Collapsed Structure,” namely: that it was a former line cabin and/or a tack room.

Property owner Mike Hamilton provided his recollections on two different days:

- On April 10, 2003, Mike Hamilton remarked that the Feature 5 remains of a wooden building were relocated, actually dragged here, from a nondescript location from farther downstream along the Acorn Hollow seasonal wash, to become its last resting place in about 1928. The structure was called a shepherd’s shack or line cabin.



Figure 359. Mike Hamilton.

Photo by Richard Burrill taken, 12/08/2001

- On September 27, 2003, Hamilton announced that:

“In 1936, there was another cabin brought back to here, the line shack, as this was both a cattle and sheep ranch owned by Cone and Ward. The cabin remains there were actually downstream from here about 150 yards. They moved it to this spot because in about 1936, they had quite a flood.” [See below “Addendum: Dotherow Cabin”]

Line Cabins: What Are They?

A point of beginning for interpreting the Feature 5 structure remains was to find early line cabins still standing as a basis for making comparisons. Vint cattleman Mike Hamilton provided this definition:

A line shack. It’s a western term, a place where people could come in and stay, approximately five miles apart. There was no lock on a line cabin. There was canned food. A line cabin was normally set on a “property line.” That’s where the name comes from. Sheepers, cattlemen, trappers. They brought the grub. They shared the supplies of these line cabins. That was their survival. If one of them got a broken leg, access to the line cabin was what kept them alive. But you couldn’t do it if you were an Indian. That was one of the problems. If you are doing a round up and your larders were emptied out, then that was a threat on your livelihood.

As a sheep operator for many years, Jack Haslem of Susanville remarked about line cabins: “They are, simply, small shelters to stay in at night used by shepherders.”

Yesterdays and Today's Line Cabin

The following is part of the 2007 interview of Jack Haslem: The line cabin of sheep operations are not found on a sheep rancher's headquarters place, but rather are up in the plateau and mountain country where one's herds are trailed. Line cabins today are far and few to be seen (See opposite Fig. 360). Traditionally "line cabins" are small sheds, that the bigger "short season" outfits maintain as places where their ranch "hands" can stay the night inside, as opposed to sleeping outside on the ground. Many of today's modern line cabins are "portables." They are made of prefabricated fiberglass or plastic and come "with wheels" so that they can be transported along the trail and placed "in a line" (for which line cabins get their name), along the route that the shepherders will be trailing their herds (Burrill 2007).

Eyewitness Account in 1875 - Traveler and naturalist writer, Joseph Le Conte, described seeing "line cabins" in 1875. Le Conte was not impressed by their appearance. He (1875:104) observed:

"Since leaving Yosemite we have seen no houses; in fact, no human beings but a few shepherds. As the flocks require to be driven from one pasture to another, these men live only in hastily constructed sheds, covered with boughs. In this shepherd's life there may be something pleasant when viewed through the imagination only; but in reality it is enough to produce either imbecility or insanity. The pleasant pictures drawn by the poets, of contemplative wisdom and harmless enjoyment, of affectionate care of the flock, of pensive music of pipes—these possibly, probably, once did exist; but certainly they do not exist now, at least in California."

On May 5, 2005, this research traveled the lower section of the old Peter Lassen Emigrants' Trail in Tehama County. Encountered and photographed was one of the last line cabins still extant near the spot called Tenmile (See Figures 360 & 361 opposite). The Lassen Trail was "heavily used in 1849, for about 8,000 persons but was used infrequently after 1850 because the emigrants learned of its severe hardships" (Swartzlow 1964:72). This line cabin is properly called the Robert Ward Cabin. Mr. Ward, now deceased, built the line cabin in about 1955. Robert's father was sheep rancher Gorham Cone Ward (1885-1966) of Los Molinos, who also experienced a chance encounter with Ishi in May, 1914, as related in Eva Marie Apperson's *We Knew Ishi* (1971:94-95). In the *We Knew Ishi* book, the story picks up when crossing over to Mill Creek, Ishi's party encountered some hazardous country, such that Ishi confidently knew he could show the others one of his familiar footpaths. Mrs. Apperson wrote:

"Merle [Apperson] then said, "All right old boy, Columbus took a chance, so will we. You've been here longer than I have; You surely can't lose yourself and if you do, we are still with you." He then fell in line behind Ishi who led them in a strange but easy going path. It so happened in the unfamiliar area they came upon a large band of sheep. Gorham Ward, a prominent young business man and resident of Tehama County, had just brought his sheep in for spring grazing. He was astounded at meeting them and asked if they were not lost. This was soon explained. Although he knew about the wild man, Ishi—even after introductions, Gorham was reluctant to believe, but he was grateful to find a more accessible route to his rangeland."



Figure 360. The Robert E. Ward "Line Cabin" on the old Lassen Emigrants' Trail, built in about 1955 by Robert E. Ward, now deceased. This structure has the attributes of line cabins of yesterday, namely, its wooden floor, the foot stones, its board and batten wall construction, and its roof covering of sugar pine shake shingles. Photograph by author, 5/07/2005.

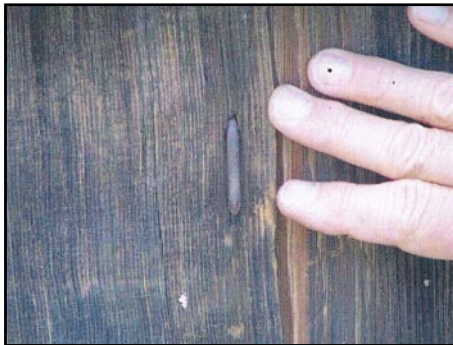


Figure 361. This nail on the outside of the Robert Ward line cabin, has been clinched. At the Hi Good Cabin site, approximately five of the nails found during 2003-2004 had also been clinched.

Tack Room Use Interpretation ("The Collapsed Structure Was Dotherow's")

It was later on when Joseph Paul Golonka (born in 1927) was recommended as an important person to interview by Frances Leininger. "I don't know why I had never thought of him earlier for you," she said. This author interviewed Mr. Golonka by telephone on December 21, 2007.

The Golonka family had moved to Vina in 1941. Joseph Golonka now resides in Red Bluff and was still lambing lambs at his sheep operation located in Gerber, Tehama County, California. Golonka said that he graduated in '42 from Filmore Hi School, today Ventura High School. His parents had bought property in Vina in 1938. He moved to Vina to be with his parents in '41. But then he went off to serve in the US Navy in the Pacific during WW II. Upon his return, he said he ran a caterpillar and helped Carmichael and other ranchers by using his caterpillar.

Mr. Golonka began:

"Roy Carmichael moved the Deth-er-age [sic] cabin on sleds to the Hi Good flat because that was where everything was. Hi Good's cabin was west of the windmill. Detherage's cabin was used for a tack room. It served for years as Carmichael's tack room. That way his saddles and gear were locked up, out of view, and were less likely to be stolen." (Underscore author's).

Upon this author relating to Frances Leininger on January 21, 2008, what Golonka had said, this triggered her long term memory. She recalled back to about 1946 with:

"When Roy Carmichael obtained his winter range property in Vina, Roy told 'Eph' Leininger [father-in-law of Frances] that he needed some kind of building set out to

serve as his tack room. 'Eph' showed Carmichael the old 'Dotherow' place. 'Eph' felt that the old Dotherow cabin on his land had become a nuisance, since teenagers were using it for wild parties. He told Roy Carmichael that he could have it."

"Where was the Dotherow place located?" this researcher asked.

Frances explained that 'Eph' Leininger over time obtained the property where the Dotherow's place once stood. It was north and west of the Hi Good." She added, "I've got the deed papers about 'Eph's original land purchase if you want to see it."

In summary, it is surmised that the "tack room" use interpretation for the Feature 5 "Collapsed Structure" has the best corroborative data. Mike Hamilton was correct, whose father had told him, that the structure was dragged to the study area. This transpired sometime during 1946 to 1951, about the time when the windmill was also installed.

Eli Dotherow (1847 - d. Feb. 28, 1930) married Naomi Elmira Tetrick Hensey (1851- d. Dec. 5, 1906) and were Vina farmers in the period, 1908 -1910. Based solely on the places of birth of their seven children, it appears that Eli Dotherow hailed from Tennessee; that he met his wife, Naomi Tetrick, who hailed from Kansas. The couple came first to Galt, California, in about 1876. This is where their first child was born named "Effie" Tennessee Dotherow. Frances Leininger remembered "Effie" the most. "She became one of my early friends in Vina. Effie had four husbands. She died in Vina." From the Lingenfelter Archives (1996), she on August 27, 1971.

The Dotherows may have come to Cana (Butte County) as early as 1881, for this is where their son Eugene Dotherow was born in Chico in 1881. It is known that during 1908 - 1910, Eli Dotherow was working as a "farmer" in Vina with family (also from the Lingenfelter Archives 1996). Their seven children were: Effie Tennessee Dotherow (b. 1876), Della Washington Dotherow (b. 1879, who married Marsene Speegle and had seven boys, inclusive of Clyde, Mel, and Homer Speegle who were with their father and Ishi during parts of the May, 1914 "return" camping trip [Burrill 2001:96-127;182-191], Eugene Dotherow (b. 1881), Elmer Dotherow (b. 1888), Lionel Dotherow (b. 1884) and Reita Dotherow (b. 1895).

Golonka added during the same 2007 phone call interview that Ephraim Leininger had been his mentor and teacher about sheep when he first arrived in Vina. His approximate words were:

"He taught us how to ride horses. He was a good neighbor. 'Eph' had two shepherders who worked for him -- Charley Walker and Bill Smith. Bill was the older of the two and was veteran of WW I."

Golonka also remembered what Charley Walker had told him that:

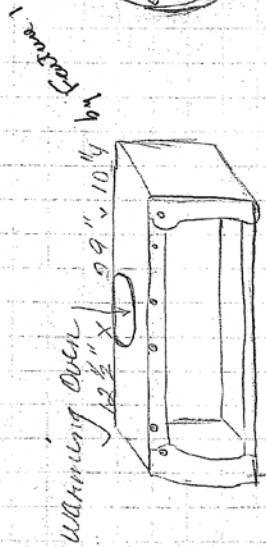
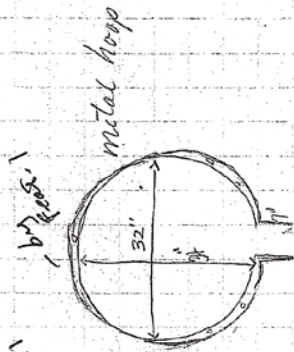
"Yes, we saw the Indians in the cañons. They broke camp when we arrived and faded away into the brush in such a hurry. 'Eph' left them several lambs for food. The Indians were still living up in the cañons in the 1930's, way after Ishi. 1937 was the last year. 'Eph' told me that Hi Good had two young boys and he sold them to somebody in Tehama.

"'Eph' told me that Hi Good was a terrible man. The Indians finally killed and hanged Hi Good. They knew he was coming back from Deer Creek."

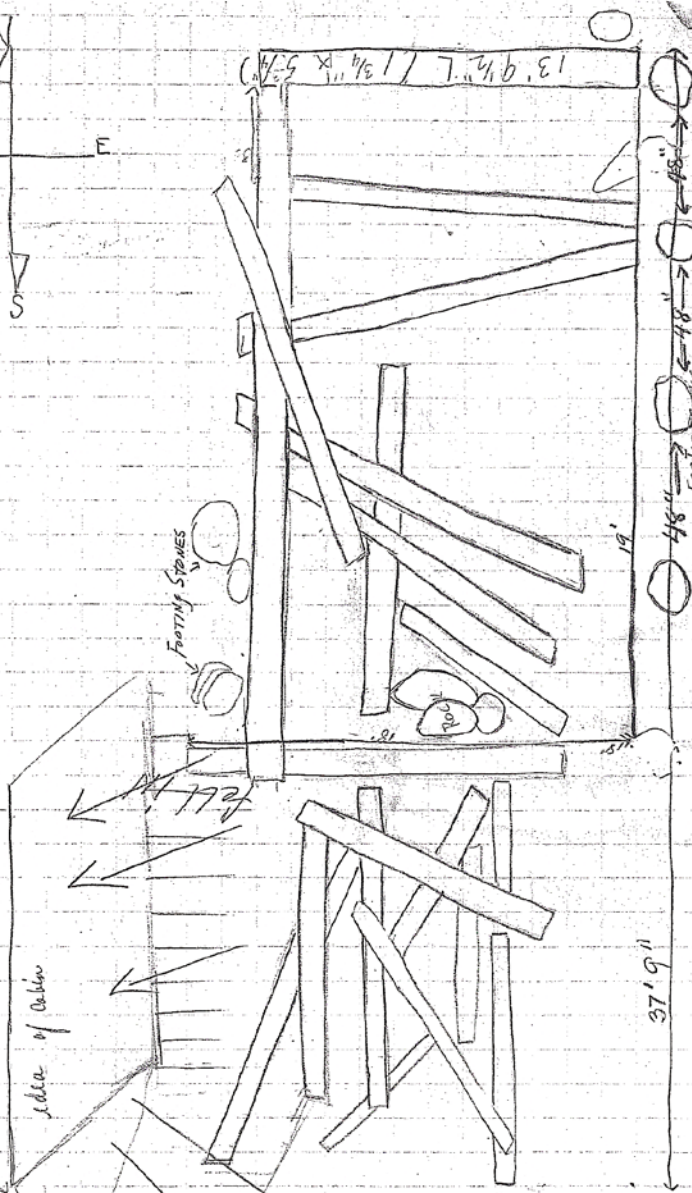
Joseph Golonka shared with this interviewer that he married his wife, Elaine Kirsteirns, in 1952. They had four children. In 2007, Joseph Golonka and his wife were living in Red Bluff, California.

GATEH-2105-H

Joyce Abbott
Date 28-04
Feature #6



direction of fall calculated by lay of boards on ground
 wings of hoop may have collapsed sideways as walls
 appear to fall out



FEATURE 5
GATEH-2105H

Feature 5 "Collapsed Structure." Drawing by Joyce Abbott.
Figure 362.

Review of Feature 5 Field Notes and Photo Record

The author first witnessed the collapsed structure (Feature 5) on December 8, 2001 (see photos, Figures 356, 357 and 358) when driven out to the study area by property owner Mike Hamilton.

Field Notes by Richard Burrill on 2/28/2004:

The author observed the collapsed remains with Joyce Abbott. She shared how she believed that some of the footing stones, which were laying in situ, were spaced 48 inches apart. About them, it is evident that to the east side (towards the corral fence side) four stones were each spaced accordingly, 48 inches apart. Two more stones were observed on the west side (See above Fig. 361 drawing).

About the lumber laying on the ground:

- Footing stones 48" apart.
- All boards are planed, probably siding lumber.
- Lumber measurement [no lengths recorded] x 1 3/4" thick x 5 7/8" wide.
- One old cut, unplaned was 2' x 6'.

Field Notes by Joyce Abbott on 2/28/2004:

- Three pieces of galvanized tin roofing in [amongst] board pile.
- Was able to determine the direction of fall of the building by the lay of the boards and their position to one another (See notes in Fig. 363).
- Determined footings for building which were 48" apart on eastern side—[On the] west 2



Figure 363. Photo looks south. Pair of possible footing stones that are 48" apart are in foreground (left).

Feature 6 Ashy Deposit (Unit 4N10E)

“Good lived in Acorn Hollow at this time
and had a fine ranch and garden on Deer Creek
about one mile and a half south.”

—Simeon Moak (1923:32)



Figure 364.

Excavating Unit 4N10E (foreground). Feature 6 associations are well illustrated in this 2/28/2004 photo, which looks west. Notice that only 30-35 feet distant are Feature 2 "Brick Scatter from Hi Good Cabin structure" (left, behind the two screeners) and Feature 7 "Ashy Deposit" in Unit 6N2E E1/2 (right side in background).

Feature 6 Ashy Deposit Interpretations

The archaeological data of Feature 6 (“Ashy Deposit” in Unit 4N10E) suggests we have found Hi Good’s sheep “camp” in Acorn Hollow. Four confirmed sheep bone fragments were recovered from here (See Ch. 8 illustrations, pages 545-548). Hi Good’s presence is further suggested based on the recovery from Unit 4N10E of all three gun ammunition types attributed to Hi Good (See Fig. 277 on page 399; Fig. 365 on next page). Moreover, the highest percentage of said ammunition cartridge types found in this same unit were significantly the .44 Henry flat type (10/12 = 83%). Henry spent cartridges all possess their telltale “sure fire” dual indentations. The archival documents clearly state that the Henry was the gun type that Hi Good last possessed and was still using at the time of his dramatic demise on May 4, 1870 (See Ch. 3 “Earliest Published Accounts.”).

They affirm that Hi Good resided for his last years in Acorn Hollow (rather than on his ranch along Deer Creek); that it was at his “camp” (Delaney 1872) where Good kept the three Yahi/Yana female prisoners as his hostages during March, April, and early May of 1870. Good had forced-march the three female hostages to his camp in mid-March of 1870, after he had shot the Indians’ “Old Doctor.”

These events, in turn, two weeks later led to Ishi’s likely involvement in the “Five Bows” ceremony as one of the five peace envoys; and Ishi being escorted with the rest of his band by Wm. Seagraves to Hi Good’s sheep camp (Waterman 1918:57-59).

The data points to Unit 4N10E and presumably its immediate vicinity as having the site’s earliest occupancy. The oldest artifacts recovered from the site were retrieved Unit 4N10E. For example, the one diagnostic, white clay (kaolin) tobacco pipe fragment found (Fig. 249), arguably has the oldest manufacturing time line. “Clay tobacco pipes . . . have been around for over 300 years” (Hitchcock 2009). The starting year is “1860,” for the six .44 Henry Flat cartridge casings with “H” on their headstamp found in this unit (See Fig. 365). Unit 4N10E had 96.5% cut (square) nails which presumes an “1889 or earlier” date (See Table 13 Nail Notions Index, page 528). Also, in 2007, the contiguous Unit 5N9E to Unit 4N10E also contained four more .44 Henry Flat cartridges.

Table 7. Nail Counts of Unit 4N10E

A total of 345 nails were collected of which 333 were square nails (96.5%) versus only 12 wire nails (3.4%).

Square (cut) Nails

333 square nails [of which only 42 (12.6%) were in good enough condition to measure]; only eight square nails were the smaller sizes from 2d to 5d used in the “final stages” of carpentry (See 320-173 below). There were no larger cut nails found. Some listed are:

320-173	4N10E	0-6”	Square nails (8) 4d
320-171	4N10E	0-6”	Square nail fragments (136)
320-181	4N10E	0-6”	Square nail fragments (155)

Wire (Round) Nails -Probable “1879 and later” introduced nails w/ Bessemer steel-making process and price of steel fell low enough for the first time to make their manufacture profitable (Adkison 2002:4.3).

Wire nails (12 total having six specimen numbers). Only two wire nails were of the smaller sizes from 2d to 5d, used in the “final stages” of carpentry. (See 320-187 below).

There were no larger nails found. Some listed include:

320-182	4N10E	0-6”	Wire nails (4) 7d
320-187	4N10E	0-6”	Wire nails (2) 5d

The silty, ashy residue may be the result of fireplace clean outs or of the sheep camp tender's repeatedly used campfire. Notice from the above "Nails from Unit 4N10E" statistics, how 87% of the nails were nail "fragments," perhaps suggesting construction breaks in addition to heat damage. The mix of ash with personal clothing items and food tins, feels like someone's living area. The growing consensus is that, most probably, this unit and vicinity comprise an "outside porch extension" of the "Hi Good Cabin" structure. It is noteworthy historically that the "structure" was named the "Hi Good Cabin" partly because Mrs. Minnie Brown Leininger, in about 1920, took the only photo that has survived of the so-named structure (See Fig. 108). "Hi Good Cabin" was the name that Minnie's husband, Ephraim Leininger (born in 1889) knew it to be, which had been passed down to him from Eph's father, Obadiah Leininger (1844-1896.).

The scientists who continue to investigate the Hi Good Cabin site have the challenge to decide whether Hi Good's personal belongings et cetera, and/or those of his "boon compatriots," or the shepherd workers, are what we have found. Provided in Ch. 3 of this report, are some significant documents to try to make better sense of it all.



ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 365. "1860" is the *terminus post quem* for these six .44 Henry Flat brass cartridge casing fragments, with "H" on their headstamp, recovered from 4N10E during February, 2004. (Left to right) 320-140, 320-141, 320-142, 320-143, 320-147, and 320-150.



Figure 366. Headstamp "H" on rimfire surface of .44 for Henry Flat gun shell stamped on behalf of its developer, Benjamin Tyler Henry. Also visible are the "surefire" dual indentations on its opposing edges.

Recovered from Unit 4N10E were four different calibers of gun shell fragments. Three were of Hi Good's known gun-types. These findings increase the probability of Hi Good's presence at the site. Involved with Hi Good was also possibly Ishi and his Yahi band's brief involvement at Good's camp in the spring of 1870, a result of the formal "Five Bows" ceremony that called for a truce (See sidebar below on page 499).

In Summary - The data retrieved from Unit 4N10E affirm that: (1) Firearm ammunitions found are of Hi Good's three known gun-types; (2) that a sheep camp's butchery station is likely in the vicinity of Unit 4N10E, based largely on the several lower limb faunal remains recovered; and (3) that predominately adult males were living and working at this early sheep camp. This last notion is based on items recovered inclusive of men's clothing and footwear accessories, and personal indulgence found.

Provided below is the select archaeological data from Unit 4N10E, which affirm these summary interpretations. The complete listing for Unit 4N10E artifacts recovered may be found in the site's Catalog on CD.

Select Data Recovery from Unit 4N10E

(1). Firearm ammunition pieces for Hi Good's three known gun types found.

Every bit as rich as any gold coins to be found were these vintage gun ammunition fragments. The .44 Henry Flat armament pieces (carefully studied by gun authorities R. H. Chamberlain of Flournoy, California, Jim Wages and John Martin, Department of Gunsmithing, Lassen Community College, Susanville, California, have "1860" as their *terminus post quem*.

Three of the four respective firearm ammunitions found in Unit 4N10E were of Hi Good's three known gun-types. For the record, the fourth gun shell type found (320-146) in Unit 4N10E was one .41 Long Colt (brass case = 1.130"), center fire with headstamp: W.R.A. (Winchester Repeating Arms). Its period of use was "circa 1895."

All three of Hi Good's firearm ammunition types were recovered from Unit 4N10E:

- I. Specimen 320-149, only early lead rifle ball found and used in muzzle-loading rifle types.
- II. Specimen 320-153, one Spencer .56 .46 brass case head fragment w/ bottle-necked shape.

[All four of the total .56-.46 Spencer gun shell fragments found at the site come from the immediate area. 320-533 came from Road Segment. #3. Mike Hamilton's two were found, with the help of a friend's metal detector, at the base of the old blue oak, approximately 50 feet distant from Unit 4N10E.]

III. Ten .44 Henry Flat gun cartridge shell pieces came from the ashy deposit of which six bear the "H" (in honor of Benjamin Tyler Henry) on their headstamps (Specimens 320-140, 320-141, 320-142, 320-143, 320-147, and 320-150, with period of likely use dates, 1860 to 1870.

Discounted as not relevant to Hi Good's presence vis-a-vis Hi Good's death on May 4, 1870 are: two with "P" on the headstamp with their respective dates of use, 1872-1878, and two .44 shell pieces that have "no letter."

Table 8. Feature 6 Armaments Count

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description	Historical Dates
320-138	4N10E	0-6"	.44 Henry Flat HS: "P"	1872-1878 probable
320-139	4N10E	0-6"	.44 Henry Flat HS: None	1860? 1872-1944
320-140	4N10E	0-6"	.44 Henry Flat HS: "H"	1860 - 1870 probable
320-141	4N10E	0-6"	.44 Henry Flat HS: "H"	1860 - 1870 probable
320-142	4N10E	0-6"	.44 Henry Flat HS: "H"	1860 - 1870 probable
320-143	4N10E	0-6"	.44 Henry Flat HS: "H"	1860 - 1870 probable
320-144	4N10E	0-6"	.44 Henry Flat HS: "P"	1872- 1878 probable
320-145	4N10E	0-6"	.44 Henry Flat HS: None	1860? 1872-1944
320-146	4N10E	0-6"	.41 Long Colt (brass case=1.130")	ca. 1895
320-147	4N10E	0-6"	.44 Henry Flat HS: "H"	1860 - 1870 probably
320-148	4N10E	0-6"	.56-.46 Spencer "necked"	1866 - 1919
320-149	4N10E	0-6"	Lead rifle ball approx. .36	[muzzle-loader era]
320-150	4N10E	0-6"	.44 Henry Flat HS: "H"	1860 - 1870 probably
Totals: 12 gun shell and 1 lead rifle ball				



Figure 367. Wayne Jobe points to yet another gun shell fragment unearthed in 4N10E on 2/28/2004. Daily Field Record notes for 2/28/2004 by Jobe reads, "2 .44 Henry spent cartridges" and "1-.41 Co."

Early Gun Shells and One Eyewitness Confession Allude To Presence of Hi Good and Ishi

Keeping with the subject of having found in Unit 4N10E, 10 Henry .44 Flat "surefire," rimfire, brass cartridge casing fragments, a possible connection to Hi Good was the eyewitness published account (see Doc. #8 by Waterman [1918:57-59] on pages 260-264) that it was a Henry Repeating Rifle that was Good's last reported weapon used to kill the "Old Doctor," in March, 1870, only to be killed himself on May 4, 1870.

How factual is the Thomas Waterman (1918:57-59)) research? How accurate was William J. Seagraves who in 1873, relocated from Tehama County to Susanville? In 1915, Seagraves traveled to the University (Berkeley) and positively identified Ishi as the same person he had witnessed in 1870. Waterman conducted his interview. Seagraves's confession recalled the "Five Bows" episode of witnessing Ishi when Ishi was about sixteen years old. Waterman's index card remarks about Seagraves's character reads, "Very old man in 1915 fairly active. Speaks with some freedom." Waterman added about him, "Evidence probably better than old Anderson's" (see Fig. 146 on page 262).

Theodora Kroeber had learned from some source, that Seagraves "was not an 'Indian killer' at all" (*Ishi In Two Worlds* 1961:88.).

Ishi came from an oral exclusive culture that was astute at making observations. About Ishi,

Theodora Kroeber (1961:93) wrote,



Figure 368. Ishi

"Ishi remembered almost everything that had happened in his lifetime. He was a willing autobiographer, patient and conscientious, yet there is not preserved for the present record the "human interest," the tragical, personal accounts in the detail and circumstantiality which he could have given them, and which some readers will be disappointed not to find. But to be questioned and to talk at length and with any intimacy of his family and people at whose death from starvation or old age or sickness he had stood by, a helpless witness and unhappy survivor, left Ishi depressed and distressed. His friends, seeing how it was with him, forebore to question him, contenting themselves with picking up so much as from time to time Ishi might, unmasked, volunteer. And in his own time and way, he told more than a little about certain aspects of the concealment."

Ishi had gained some command of the English language by 1915. Ishi never refuted openly nor in confidence what Seagraves told Waterman on that day probably in Berkeley in 1915. The Five Bows Incident was indelibly part of Ishi's memory when about sixteen years old. Ishi's comprehension of English was at its greatest proficiency. All of these factors Waterman weighed. In his 1918 monograph, Waterman quoted verbatim what Seagraves told. Seagraves and Ishi impressed Waterman with their two common gifts: both remembered almost everything that had happened in their lifetimes; both exuded virtue.

The ambush of the "Old Doctor" was not an event to ever be forgotten by Wm. Seagraves, for he had personally assisted Hi Good in killing the Old Doctor. He had been an accessory, by calling "distance" (meaning that the range to fire the Henry again was precisely right.). Mr. Seagraves, in 1915, was in the sunset of his life. He journeyed from Susanville (Lassen County) to the University of California campus to resolve whether Ishi was the same Indian he had encountered years before. Seagraves spoke from the heart, remorseful about what had transpired.

The scientist, T. T. Waterman, only published what he deemed veritable and accurate. Replication of the data was his methodology. Waterman knew he had correct data. He acted upon it.

(2). The likelihood of an early sheep camp butchery work station in the vicinity of Unit 4N10E seems possible.

This is plausible based on four reasons: (1) that five diagnostic bones were interpreted that “leaned/ compared favorably and/ or were unequivocally sheep bones” (of which four were recovered from Unit 4N10E; (2) that four “sheep” bones recovered from Unit 4N10E were also lower limb bones typically found at a butchery station; (3) one large bone fragment (320-202) found in Unit 4N10E, which had a butcher’s saw mark across it, and; (4) that one blunt tip blade (320-434) of a sheep hand-shear was found 45 feet more or less distant in the site’s SE quadrant.

[Unresolved remains 320-106, a possible butchery skinning or sticking knife tang also recovered from Unit 4N10E. See Fig. 403 on page 544 on this report.]

Table 9. Sheep Camp Butchery Station Associations Count

Faunal (non-artifacts):

<u>Specimen Number</u>	<u>Horizontal Provenience</u>	<u>Depth</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Dates</u>
320-203	4N10E	0-6”	Distal metapodial piece, “Compares favorably in the direction of sheep within family bovidae.” Dr. Frank Bayham (CSU Chico)	no date
320-206	4N10E	0-6”	1st phalanx “I’m leaning towards <i>Ovis</i> again.” —Dr. Frank Bayham	“ “
320-206	4N10E	0-6”	3st phalanx “Confirmed! Of all the pieces studied, this is most unequivocally sheep!” Dr. Frank Bayham	“ “
320-202	4N10E	0-6”	Large mammal bone (1) Butchered (saw mark) Unidentified as to species	“ “

FAUNAL (129 bone fragments, from 13 of the 33 total specimen #s (39.4%))

- * Based on this preliminary inspection, no cattle bones appear in the collection.
- * Four sheep bones confirmed from this unit (See below)
- * Confirmed butchery station was here —based on lower limbs of sheep found.

Tools:

320-106	4N10E	0-6”	Possible skinning or sticking knife tang handle fragment. Hand hammered of steel w/ five positioned rivets. Manufacturer undetermined	no date
320-106	SE quadrant	0-6”	Blunt tip blade (320-434) of a two springs sheep hand-shear model by Burgon & Ball Co. of Sheffield, England.	1730 or later

(3) Data recovered that provides the notions that adult males only were living and working at Hi Good's sheep camp.

The mix of artifacts recovered from the Unit 4N10E, ashly deposit, suggest that adult males were probably living, socializing, and working at their early sheep camp operation in and around an outdoor fireplace area. This area may have been a "side porch extension" of the Hi Good cabin structure. The early cabin structure was only 30 feet west of Unit 4N10E. Bricks from the structure's chimney tower were uncovered in the NW corner of Unit 4N10E. Also, assigned as probably from the cabin's door upright rim knob lock's internal mechanism (recovered from Unit 4N10E) is 320-119, a burnt, molded steel latch fragment.

The cluster of artifacts collected from Unit 4N10E constitute only adult male personal belonging. Neither children's nor women's articles were found, except for some decorative and undetermined aquamarine-colored glass fragments (See below). Prevalent were men's work boots accessories, clothing accessories, several gun shell pieces et cetera.

The predictable routines of the adult males were that they roused themselves up at morning's sunrise. They dressed themselves, putting on shirts with white glass buttons (320-160, 320-161) and overalls that sported metal buttons (320-158, 320-159, 320-157). They ate from white ceramic plates (320-127) with knives or forks (320-106) at breakfast and/or dinner. Their menu consisted of vegetables (brought in from the Deer Creek garden, Moak 1923:32; Anderson 1909:84), of fresh biscuits leavened by baking soda (320-168, 320-169, 320-170), mutton (320-203, 320-206), and fish (320-201), namely, sardines from tin can (See 6N2E E1/2), and seasonal King Chinook salmon gaffed from nearby Deer Creek (320-621). Likewise at dusk a campfire was made. Someone invariably lit a oil or kerosene lantern (320-133) for extra light.

These were surely men who valued their guns. They kept active cleaning, loading, and firing their weapons, and hunting game. Some pursued Indians up into the farthest canyons. More often the men used their guns to kill predator coyotes who were after their lambs. Wolves were prevalent and troublesome in the 19th century. Grizzly Bear hunting was popular in 1859 (Anderson 1909:12).

There were also those indulgences. Someone, very early on, enjoyed smoking his white clay pipe (320-112). Consumers enjoyed Tito Lash's Bitters (6N2E E1/2) from 1902-1905. Those who consumed liquor in the vicinity of Unit 4N10E, and then cast their empty glass bottles into the adjacent refuse pile were site occupants during 1940 and 1941 (See Feature 1 interpretations).

* * * * *

In review, the findings from Unit 4N10E affirm Hi Good's three known gun-types, that sheep camp butchering was apparently an activity here, and not unexpectedly, that adult males were living and working here. It remains a fact that Hi Good's only property record in Tehama County was the SE quarter of Section 33, located on the south side of Deer Creek with vegetable garden; not here in Section 21. The Unit 4N10E findings and compelling local geography appear to endorse Simeon Moak's (1923:32) description, that "Good lived in Acorn Hollow at this time and had a fine ranch and garden on Deer Creek about one mile and a half south." And now especially with the three types of early ammunitions found in Unit 4N10E that are known to have been the types that Hi Good used, the scientific "Hunting for Good" investigation now seems closer to verdict than to mistrial.

Food Diet Determinations
(Project Research Design Theme #18)

Question: Regarding [healthful] diet, can we find food remains at the site?

Findings included:

- Fresh bread biscuits or pancakes - Three likely baking powder tin lids or bottoms (320-168, 320-169, 320-170) all have 2 1/2" diameters, whose *terminus post quem* is 1889.
- Lamb (mutton) was prevalent based on faunal remains and evidence that butchery station associations were found, especially in Unit 4N10E.
- Fish diet —Seasonal fish, namely salmon from nearby Deer Creek were invariably eaten in the vicinity of Unit 4N10E. One modified gaff for salmon fishing of Deer Creek (320-621) was found approximately ten feet from Unit 4N10E, during initial surveying at the site (See Fig. 315 in the Industrial Group). Also, 320-201 are two fish vertebra found of yet undetermined species.
- Vegetables, such as corn and white beans are substantiated from the archival data. The one and only Chinese brown stoneware fragment (320-126) found at the site during 2003/2004 was likely to a food utility vessel capable of storing vegetables (See Fig. 241 of the Kitchen Group).
- "Hole-in-Cap" Gebee type tin can top for food stuffs collected from Unit 4N10E. Specimens 320-165 and 320-167 (See Figure 242 of Kitchen Group). According to Adkison (2002:2.6) dates "circa. 1880's and later."

Feature 7 Ashy Deposit
(Unit 6N2E E1/2)

The archaeological data for Feature 7 "Ashy Deposit" (Unit 6N2E E 1/2) indicates that there may have been a dump or refuse area in this vicinity of the site. Recovered was a small number of most curious Personal Group artifacts, possible camp tender cooking utensils, with an ample evidence of fairly recent ranching activities as well, such as fence repair work and some related wood construction activity.

Dating Interpretations

Based on the data recovery, dating for Feature 7 with "Ashy Deposit" is circa 1890 - 1905. Only two artifacts were recovered from Unit 6N2E E 1/2 that could be dated to within a fairly narrow time frame. They were: "1866 or later" for the one can key opener found (320-014) and "1902-1905" as manufacture / use period for one partial Lash's Kidney and Liver Bitters bottle (320-031 *et al*). This span of four years is based on the two factors: the particular embossed text on the bottle and that this particular Lash's Bitters bottle had "all sides flat" (Wilson and Wilson 1969:44; See also section "Bottles and Glass Interpretations from unit 6N2E E1/2").

There were no amethyst glass fragments found in Unit 6N2E E 1/2 to provide the notion of "pre- ca. 1920" artifacts.

There was one opalized, aqua-colored, perfectly flat, 1/8" thick window pane fragment found (320-048) in Unit 6N2E E 1/2. This fragment matches several other opalized window pane fragments probably having come from the Hi Good Cabin structure, as recovered from the Feature 2 Trench. Therefore, this one fragment is likely datable to Hi Good's era, circa 1866 - 1870. For the record, catalogued inside its same specimen (320-048) zip lock baggie, were two more flat aqua glass fragments. They are very tiny. They are not as thick. And, significantly, neither of them is opalized. Thereby, in this researcher's opinion, these two cannot be dated with any reliability to 1880's -1920 (See Adkison 2002:1.22; see also section "Dating Notions / Aqua Glass Notions.").

Nails - With 61.8% cut (square), this is fairly close to the entire site's percentage of 63.2% cut nails collected. This indicates both early and later use. Until the site's overall variability for nails has been determined, no dating by nail types is possible.

The dating notion from all of the above is that Feature 7 with "Ashy Deposit" invariably has predictably some artifacts that span circa 1890 - 1905.

1. Notion for a fairly early sheep camp tender's station. A camp tender is one of the crew of a sheep operation who does the cooking, washing of dishes and laundry, and general assists the sheep-herders with all of their backup needs. The ashy deposit observed in Unit 6N2E E 1/2 and mixed with evidence of some mutton (one sheep bone, 320-566, was confirmed) tableware fragments, can key fragments (for opening fish cans), as well as eight cast iron pieces that may be stove grates and / or stove air regulators are all objects that suggest a camp tender's presence.

The eight possible stove parts (see list below), however, were shown and studied without any success by the staff of two separate antique business establishments who specialized in early tools and antique stoves. No stove parts, no stove company or brand names, nor years of manufacture were determined from their study of the eight cast iron objects.

Table 10. Feature 10 Nail Type Percent Counts (Unit 6N2E E1/2)

A total of 314 nails was collected from Unit 6N2E1/2 of which 194 are cut nails (61.8%) versus only 120 that are wire nails (38.2%).

Cut (Square) Nails:

Square nails (194 total) having 13 specimen #s, of which 174 were found 0-6" & 20 were found 6-12". High number of fragment nails/no heads. Some listed are:

320-018	6N2E	E1/2	0-6"	Cut nails (3) 16d
320-018	6N2E	E1/2	0-6"	Cut nails (23) 7d
320-020	6N2E	E1/2	0-6"	Cut nail fragments (68)
320-019	6N2E	E1/2	0-6"	Cut nail fragments (53) No heads
320-569	6N2E	E1/4	6-12"	Cut nail fragments (6)
320-570	6N2E	E1/4	6-12"	Cut nail fragments (6)
320-574	6N2E	E1/4	6-12"	Cut nail (1) 12d

Wire (Round) Nails:

Wire nails (120 total) having 13 specimen #s, of which 118 were found 0-6" & 2 were found 6-12". Some listed include:

320-016	6N2E	E1/2	0-6"	Wire nail (1) 8d
320-023	6N2E	E1/2	0-6"	Wire nails (2) 20d
	6N2E	E1/2	0-6"	Wire nails (2) 16d
	6N2E	E1/2	0-6"	Wire nails (14) 16d
	6N2E	E1/2	0-6"	Wire nails (10) 10d
	6N2E	E1/2	0-6"	Wire nails (13) 8d
	6N2E	E1/2	0-6"	Wire nail (1) 7d
	6N2E	E1/2	0-6"	Wire nails (44) 6d
	6N2E	E1/2	0-6"	Wire nails (23) 5d
	6N2E	E1/2	0-6"	Wire nails (8) 3d
320-024	6N2E	E1/2	0-6"	Wire nails (1) 6d
320-575	6N2E	E1/4	6-12"	Wire nail (1) 2d
320-576	6N2E	E1/4	6-12"	Wire nail (1) 9d

Lassen County sheep rancher and authority, Jack Haslem, is familiar with sheep operations in Tehama County. A photograph of the site's topography was shown to him and it was described for him how Hi Good's headquarters ranch, with garden, was south in Section 33, and that his purported sheep "camp" was located about 1 1/2 miles north in Section 21 from 1866 to 1870. Mr. Haslem reconstructed what Hi Good's earlier sheep operations would have pretty much entailed. Haslem said:

"For that type of operation, I would say you would have maybe two men, especially with the size of the cabin out there, 14' x 14'. One is shepherd. He has a gun, looking for predators, counts his markers every day. One black sheep for every 50 or for every 100. One is a camp tender, who does the cooking, washing the dishes, does laundry."

Jack Haslem described also how the camp tender assisted the shepherders in the mountains during the summer grazing sheep cycle. He continued, "His task was to relocate the sheep camp sites. Hi Good may have assigned his camp tender to provide two tents: one to live in, and one to keep the provisions in."

The plateau and mountain camp sites, such as Deer Creek Meadows, were not amenable to the standard sheep wagon of the day. Instead they would use pack animals. Here, Hi Good no doubt applied his 1866 experiences and knowledge from handling a pack train with supplies to the Idaho mines (See also Industrial Group below).

Jack Haslem added, "The camp tender's job was to be bringing the right grub to Deer Creek Meadows and be in charge of the tents. The Dutch oven was too heavy for the trailing camps. One light stove made of tin was used, which stood about 18" high, and about a foot wide."

Two other sources about the "camp tender" were retired Tehama County Sheriff and historian, Lyle A. Williams (Briggs ed.1990:66) and Joxe Mallea-Olaetxe (2000:67). The latter researched and wrote an informative biography about Basque sheepherder and businessman, Ignacio Urrutia, who founded Idaho Meat Market in Susanville, CA. Williams (Briggs 1990:66) wrote: "The camp tender would come every week with supplies for the herder and his dogs" Similarly, Urrutia told his biographer (Mallea-Olaetxe 2000:67) that: "The camp tender came about every one or two weeks, bringing the mail and the provisions. It was an important visit, because he not only brought news from the outside world but moved the sheepherder's camp as well."



Figures 369 and 370. The camp tender cooked using the Dutch oven. Often two were used at the same time for making meals. The cast iron Dutch oven comes with a sturdy bale, tight fitting lid, and its telltale three legs.

About the legs, Jack Haslem explained, "There is an art to cooking with Dutch ovens. You bury them deep enough so you have coals about one inch deep on top of the lip. Their three legs are so you can set them on top of coals. The whole thing sets in coals." Photos by author, January, 2007.

Camp Tender Cooking Strategies

- About salt containers — “We used to salt the meat (mutton), roll it in a blanket, so it would keep a week or more.” —J. T. Hollenbeck [Wentworth 1951b:1].
- Dutch ovens - (See Figures 67 & 68) with lid and poker — Jack Haslem: “There is an art to cooking with Dutch ovens. The whole thing sets in the coals. Bread and potatoes I’ve cooked over the years. Mutton, roasts and potatoes, onions, carrots. The “12” [embossed on the cast iron cover] means it has a foot diameter. Its center has a handle on the tapered lid. It comes with a poker that is about 2 1/2 feet long with a hook on its end.
“For baking the famous shepherd bread, he opened a trench with the shovel, where he built a fire. By then, the dough was rising for the second time in the Dutch oven. When the fire subsided into a nice bed of coals, the lamb stew with potatoes and peppers was first cooked. Then the bread went in the trench, and the Dutch oven was covered with a layer of dirt to maintain the heat. After an hour or so, the big, round, golden loaves were ready to be eaten. Great big slabs were cut and dipped into the rich sauce of the stew. Urrutia added, “Natural food, the best you have ever eaten” (Mallea-Olaetxe 2000:67).
- About cooking observed in 1875 regarding a “pot buried in the hot ashes” at a sheep operation Joseph Le Conte (1875[1960]:79) wrote:
August 9, 1875 -. About 12 N. We saw a shepherd’s camp, and rode up in hopes of buying a sheep. No one at home; but there is much sheep-meat hanging about and drying. As we came nearer, a delicious fragrance assailed our nostrils, and set our salivaries in action. Here is a pot nearly buried in the hot ashes, and closely covered. On removing the cover a fragrant steam arose . . . mutton stew, deliciously seasoned!
- Use in 1865 of the Dutch oven and Indian “Dick cooking beans” is referenced by Kimball, Burgess, Hoag et al., (Wentworth 1954:56).
- Tin plates - Hollenbeck (1882) recalled about the “Joe Cone” place at Windy Hollow that “there was a tin plate, nailed through the center to the table. We all used to guess why he did this” (Wentworth (1951b:2).
- Chinese cook - Hollenbeck (1882) described “Joe Cone” as having a Chinese cook at the home camp, which was supposed to explain anything unusual [regarding meals served] in those days” (Wentworth (1951b:2).

Table 11. Camp Tender Station Associations

The artifacts recovered from Unit 6N2E E1/2 that support the possible camp tender work station are:

Faunal Remains

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description	Date
320-566	6N2E E 1/4	6-12"	Sheep's acetabulum	no date
320-568	6N2E E 1/4	6-12"	Large. mammal fragments(36)	" "
320-021	6N2E E 1/2	0-6"	Small mammal fragments (17)	" "
			Large mammal bone fragment (1)	" "

Tableware

320-029	6N2E E 1/2	0-6"	W.IE. fragment (1)	1850's -1900
320-030	6N2E E 1/2	0-6"	W.I.E. fragment (1)	1850's -1900

Comments: "White improved earthenware was popular from 1850's to 1900 but overall impression of earthenware is of late 19th century, too late to be Hi Good."—Barbara Woodrum

320-028	6N2E E 1/2	0-6"	Salt glazed earthenware fragment (1)	no date
320-562	6N2E NE 1/4	6-12"	Salt glazed earthenware fragments (3)	no date

Food containers/Other

320-014	6N2E E 1/2	0-6"	Can key opener (sardine cans. etc.) key head width 1" key length (broken) 3"	1866 and later
320-452	NE Quadrant	0-6"	Can key opened lid w/rolled can lid Key head width 1" Key length: approx. 4" Probably sardine can	" "

Comments: In 1866, J. Osterhoudt patented the tin can with a key opener that you can find on sardine cans <<http://inventors.about.com>> Adkison (2002:2.3) affirmed that "the most common were the sardine cans." The can key required the removal of the entire top of the can. Two were found with identical head size (width 1 inch): one in Unit 6N2E E 1/2 and one in the NE quadrant.

Cooking Stove Parts

320-399	Feature 1	Surface	Shepherd's Stove Warmer	no date
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Comments: This one part was found and collected 65 feet distant from 6N2E E1/2 and could have been part of the camp tender's cooking equipment.

Besides the one piece of a shepherd's stove warmer (above), that a camp tender may have used, there were eight cast iron objects that are possibly stove fragments, yet, for the most part, remain undistinguished. Six of these were found only a short distance from Unit 6N2E E1/2. In 2007, one decorative cast iron piece was also found close to Unit 6N2E E1/2 by Road Segment #3 that may be a stove.

The eight (listed below) possible stove fragments were first shown to antiques and tools expert, Mr. Wes Creager of San José, CA, on 11/27/2006. About 320-437 and 320-438, he remarked, "These cast iron fragments set over something, best guess a stove. Possibly with that radius, ceded into something to stay there fixed." Added thought discussed about these two was "Its function may have been as an air regulator for a stove."

Wes Creager recommended further analysis be pursued by contacting Tom Lawson of Buckeye Appliances, 714 W. Frémont Street, Stockton, CA 95203; (209) 464-9643. These eight specimens (320-437, 320-438, 320-439, 320-444, 320-440, 320-536, 320-212, and 320-213) were subsequently mailed and studied by Tom Lawson and his staff. Their response on 2/13/2007 (for all eight) as to whether they are stove parts was "All are undistinguished."

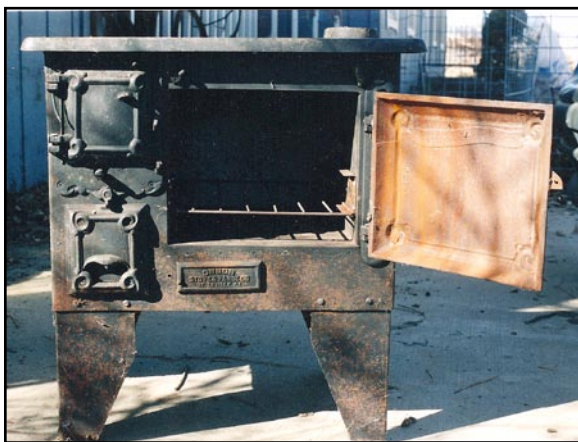


Figure 370. Sheep wagon stove that the camp tender used. This is an Orbon Stove of Orbon Stove & Range Co., Belleville, Illinois. Photo permission of Jack Haslem, its owner. Jack Haslem: "This sheep wagon stove belonged to an uncle of mine. It went from a sheep wagon to a homesteader's cabin, then to a bunkhouse and then to my mother and now to my wife Pat."

2. Notion of a brief early 1900's period of curious leisurely/recreational pursuits at Unit 6N2E E1/2.

There is a listing of curious and different Personal Group artifacts in the Appendix so small in number, that they are difficult to interpret but do hint of early 1900's leisure and recreational pursuits. They are:

- One bottle of indulgence (Lash's Kidney and Liver Bitters.
"The Best Cathartic and Blood Purifier.
- "Miniature" perfumer (amber glass)
- A decorative or ornamental star fragment, maybe off a hat band or saddlery gear.
- Stoneware ink bottle lip and neck fragments, yet still undetermined.
- Note: One possible addition is the one .12 gauge cf: Peters No. 2 Target gun shell fragment with period range 1887 to 1934 (listed in the Appendix).

3. There are ranching activities apparent, fence repair and some construction activity.

- wood screws (construction)
- baling wire (fencing & general repairs)

(See Catalog on CD)



Figure 372. Feature 7 "Ashy Deposit" on 2/28/2004 . View toward west.
Photo by Susan Oilar, using Rollie Magic 120 PAN b & w film.

Feature 8
“Corral, Feed Shed, and Windmill”
Interpretations



Figure 372. Photo taken by author, 11/21/2006.



Figure 374. Feature 8. Photo looks NE, taken by author on 2/17/2007. Lassen Peak is barely in view, in the distant horizon, just to the left of the left corner eve of the feed shed.

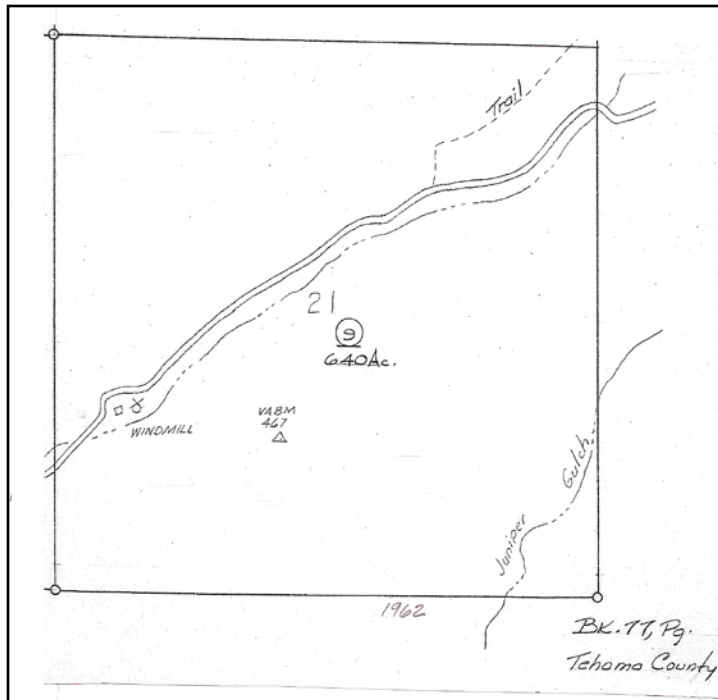


Figure 375.
Map made in "1962" of Section 21 in T. 25N, R1W, which denotes the existence of both a windmill and one structure, either the corral or feed shed. Provided by Tehama County Assessor's Office.

Feature 8 Interpretations

Only one artifact was collected during 2003-2004 from Feature 8 (See below Fig. 328 map), a World War II military issue canteen (320-356), which likely belonged to George Roberts of Tehama County. A friend of the family, Karen Bacquet verified its history. A photo of the canteen (Fig. 382) as well as a copy of Ms. Bacquet's letter are reprinted in the Personal Group section of this report. There are undoubtedly many more artifacts in Feature 8 that metal detector sweeps could detect.

"1951" appears to be the year when the Feature 8 Aermotor tower with windmill was erected on the outside NE corner of the corral. This determination is largely based on the date, "8-30-51" found pressed in the surface of the windmill tower's square concrete foundation (See Fig. 383 below) along with "XO." Jeff Lerch of Chico, who visited the site on 3/3/2007 and 3/17/2007, pointed out the "time marker" to this researcher and others present. During the 1970s, Lerch had worked "day wages" for C. Roy Carmichael and shared that the "XO" was, indeed, the livestock brand used by Carmichael.*

* R. H. Chamberlain (9/3/2007) also confirmed that C. Roy Carmichael (1896-1992) had the "XO" brand. However, when the brand records went state wide [in 1917], it was learned that someone else already had the "XO." So Roy put a "continuous bar" over his XO.

It is probable that the feed shed was also built in 1951, and no later than 1953. This is surmised from the USGS "Panther Spring Quadrangle" map made in 1953 (See Fig. 353) Notice that the 1953 map shows two small icons, side-by-side. One is the icon for the windmill, so named on the map. The second icon for a structure, and positioned west of the windmill icon, is presumably signifying the corral or the feed shed.

The purpose for constructing the ranch complex of corral, feed shed, and windmill served cattle on a winter range, holding pens for vaccination and branding, stock chute for loading and unloading stock animals, and a feed shed with hay and salt station. A windmill pumped water into two concrete troughs to serve the cattle and/or horses [Note: The Acorn Hollow wash only has water after sufficient rain storms.].

Roy and Laura Carmichael "came on the scene" as the new owners of Section 21 (and other holdings) on March 1, 1946, which was after the Hi Good Cabin structure had entirely disintegrated, with the exception of the surface brick scatter. In 1951, observing the brick scatter on the flat would have been the only hint that an early structure with chimney had once stood there. Note: Approximately 200 bricks were retrieved from Feature 1 Depression, of which three whole bricks were collected (See Feature 2 discussion).

By 1973, this complex in Section 21, had fallen into disuse. The corral's fencing is mostly collapsed today. The stock chute appears in even worth condition. The feed shed is only used presently for storage. According to Mike Hamilton, the windmill has been out of commission since about 1973. Its heyday apparently dates back to when Charles Roy Carmichael and wife Laura became the new owners. Carmichael used his summer range for cattle for many years in Portola (Plumas County) where he also owned properties.

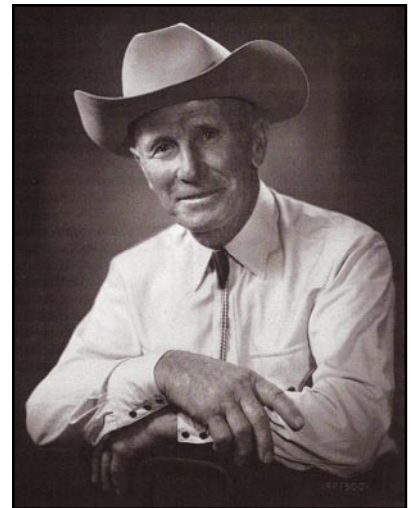


Figure 376.
C. Roy Carmichael
Reprinted courtesy of
Mrs. Frances V. Leininger.

Many Early Tehama Country Records Purged in about 1980 - This researcher attempted to secure earlier appraisal tax records for Section 21, without success, for those years preceding the Carmichael's ownership of the properties. Catherine Ranberg-Coombs with the Tehama County Assessor's Office explained, "In 1979, this is approximately the year when the records were purged having to do with Appraisal Records for Tehama County." This was also confirmed on 11/15/2007, by long time staff member, Anita Weston Gonzalez. Also, this is the understanding by County Assessor Mark Colombo.

I. Corral - Length 240' x width 100' (north end) 141' (south end). It is believed that the "fenced" corral was built at the same time, or shortly after the windmill was installed to service the cattle operation on the property (See below Fig. 377). Unlike cattle, the sheep that were lambled and nurtured earlier at Hi Good's sheep camp, are herding creatures. They naturally stay together. Two loyal sheepherder dogs, which Hi Good owned, according to Simeon Moak (1923: 23), would be all that was needed to keep the valued "wool-crop" close by (See below).

Hi Good owned sheep dogs —In August, 1865, Hi Good apparently had two or more "shepherd dogs," based on this description by Simeon Moak (1923:23):

We got to Good's place after dark and we were so tired we lay down without any supper. The Indians had a large white dog that had disappeared in the fight [at Three Knolls on Mill Creek]. Just as we lay down the shepherd dogs began to fight so I struck a light and here was that Indian dog.



Figure 377. Corral in foreground of Feature 8. Photo taken by the author looking easterly on 10/4/2003.

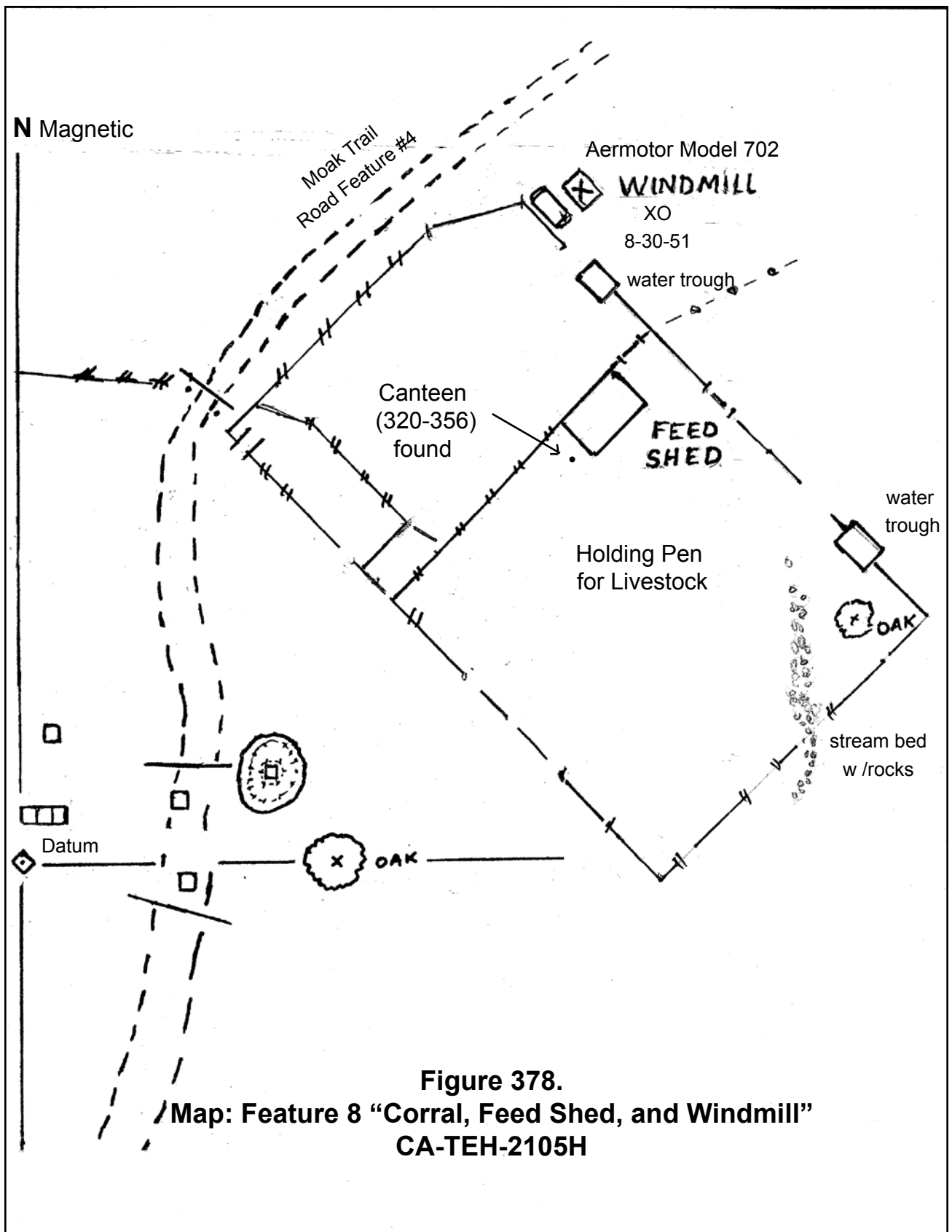


Figure 378.
Map: Feature 8 "Corral, Feed Shed, and Windmill"
CA-TEH-2105H

II. Feed Shed -Length 23' x Width 18.' It is probable that the feed shed was built shortly after the windmill was installed and no later than 1962 (See maps, Figures 353 and Fig. 375).

Two Feed Shed Curiosities

Observed in the feed shed's interior were both hand hewn timbers and one, maybe two non-descript livestock brands.

- Four hand hewn timbers - Two upright posts and two joined together beam pieces that are set on top of the uprights are of hand hewn lumber, and may have been salvaged from the earlier "Hi Good Cabin" structure. The two uprights are about 8 foot tall. The total length of the two eve cross beams is about 22 feet.

- More livestock brands -Partial, unidentified brand marks were observed that were "hot ironed" into one of the feed shed boards (See Fig. 379).



Figure 379.

Branding History & Identifications - In Tehama County, cattle brands, not sheep, began to be recorded in 1856, the same year when Tehama County formed. William Allen recorded the first Tehama County cattle brand on July 1, 1856 (Grimes 1983:91). In the sheep industry, sheep men paint brand amongst their own herds today. "Sometimes, markings were made by cropping the end of ears or marking a small "v" or a slit in the ear on the right, left or on both sides" --Jack Haslem. Sheep branding has never been registered with any public agency.

Branding of one's animals is important in proving ownership. It is a deterrent to theft. Each brand is by necessity different than all the others and often conveys the character of the owner (See Fig. 380). It is told that Hernando Cortés of Spain first introduced branding in the New World in 1541. He brought cattle stamped with his mark of three crosses (+++)

Brand designs throughout CA were originally registered at the county level until 1917. Pre-1917 registering of brands was done with the "Tehama County Live Stock Association." Fig. 381 shows the front cover of the organization's 1907 *Register*. Since 1917, the State of California is involved (CA Food & Agricultural Code).

CATTLE BRANDS OF CALIFORNIA		
Brand	date	Brand Owner
A	1856 (July 1)	William Allen (Tehama Co.)
OO	1856 (July 14)	P. W. Hayes (Tehama Co.)
EF	1856 (July 26)	William G. Chard (Tehama Co.)
EF	1857	George W. Hoag (Tehama Co.)
EF	1858	V. E. Geiger (Paskenta) (Agent for the Norne Lackee)
EF	1859	Joseph Spencer Cone (Red Bluff)
EF	1859	James. M. Ide (Red Bluff)
EF	1866	Marvil Salisbury (Tehama Co.)
EF	1916	Smith Crowder (Tehama Co.)
EF	ca. 1946	C. Roy Carmichael Vina/Portola
EF	--	Hulsman Ranch (Susanville)
EF	--	Frances V. Leininger (Vina)
EF	--	Tod Leininger (Vina)
EF	--	Bert Owens (Red Bluff)
EF	--	George U. Roney (Chico)
EF	--	Jerry Stephens (Vina)
EF	--	Jo Ellen M. Hall (Chico)
EF	--	Fred Hamilton (Vina)
EF	--	Mike Hamilton (Vina)
EF	--	Jim Ellis

Figure 380.



Figure 381. Reprinted from p. 88 of the book by Cheryl Conard Haas (2005) *Too Many Irons In The Fire*. Red Bluff, CA: Canyon Vista Ranch.

III. Windmill - Aermotor Model "A" 702 (Figures 382 and 384)- Height: approx. 35.' Water tank: n10 1/2' x 4' with capacity: 750 gallons. Concrete base" 8' x 8.' Two concrete water troughs: 15' 11" x 6' 11" (outside measurements). The oldest map found that shows the windmill near to the SW corner of Section 21, is the 1953, USGS "Panther Spring" Quadrangle map (Fig. 353). And a 1962 map of Section 21 from the Tehama County's Assessor's Office, shows the same windmill alongside a building west of it, which invariable denotes the feed shed structure (Fig. 375).

The aforementioned "1951" cement impression with Carmichael's original livestock brand found in the tower's concrete foundation's southwest corner was a significant "time marker" discovery (Fig. 383). It establishes, likely to the week, August/September, when the tower with windmill were installed. One does not mount a windmill tower on wet cement!



Figure 382. Aermotor Model "A" 702 windmill looks north. Photo by author on 11/21/2007.

The Aermotor Windmill Identified - The Aermotor "tower" with "windmill" on top, is almost certainly the Model "A" 702, which first went on sale beginning in 1933. The tower -plus- windmill structure probably stands at 35 feet. It was 1939 or so when many California ranchers, such as Carmichael, learned first-hand about the Aermotor models, for '39 was a premium year for Aermotor in the West, with the World's Fair being held in San Francisco. The Aermotor Model "A" 702, featured replaceable bearings and screw-type wheel arms. According to the web site (<http://au.geocities.com/ozwindmills/aermotor.htm>), "Aermotor dealers and families, attending the 'Century of Progress' World's Fair were allowed to camp in the Aermotor factory yard and eat in the company restaurant." It is perhaps more than a coincidence that in the adjacent Feature 1 "well with refuse" depression, one rusted California license plate embossed with "CALIFORNIA WORLD'S FAIR '39," was collected (320-384).

Aermotor locations - In 1951, the manufacturing plant was still in Chicago (from 1904 to 1963). By 1963 it had apparently "fully" moved to Arrow, Oklahoma. Now its U.S. Office is in San Angelo, Texas.



Figure 383. Discovered in 2007 on the SW corner of the windmill tower's cement slab are: "XO" and "8-30-51." The "51" on the right side (above) is barely discernible. Photo by author on 1/4/2009.



The Mathematical Genius - The Aermotor's "eighteen sails" (vanes) is a familiar trait in the industry. For every stroke (of the pump) the propeller rotates three times, which is part of how its proper machine name is the "Mathematical" windmill, invented in 1888, by its engineering genius, Thomas B. Perry. It was businessman La Verne Noyes who teamed up with Perry and made the Aermotor Company world renown. The web site with more Aermotor Company's history is:

<<http://au.geocities/ozwindmills/aermotor.htm>>

One Sail Came Off and Was Found -At this writing, the propeller has seventeen of its original eighteen sails (See Fig. 384). The windmill's one missing sail was discovered inside the feed shed. The propeller, with a rush of wind across the Vina Plain, still spins. And sometimes an eerie, creaking noise is heard when the vertical stabilizer rotates.

Barely perceptible is the dull red paint on the windmill's vertical stabilizer, which reads:
"THE AERMOTOR CO. CHICAGO.

Where the windmill stands today, it remains quite conceivable that an early hand dug well once operated there. The view of Figure 385 (below) taken in 2003, looks northward. Below the blue oaks on the hillside, a green swath is clearly visible. This is physical evidence that rain runoff drains to where the windmill stands, thus contributing to the ground water's table.



Figure 384. Photo taken 3/3/2007



Figure 385. The best location for a hand dug well appears to have been where the windmill stands today. Behind the windmill and in front of the blue oaks, a green swath reveals rain water runoff.

This view of the feed shed (left) shows the hand hewn upright posts.

Foreground shows one of two concrete water troughs (each 15' 11" x 6' 11") that used to be fed by the pumping action of the windmill.

Photo taken looking north by Roger Anderson on 5/15/2003.

Background Research That Identified Aermotor's Model 702

On January 11, 2007, a return telephone call was received from Aermotor historian Robert Brasher from his office in San Angelo, Texas. In response to the author's January 2 letter with photos of the tower with aermotor windmill in Feature 8, Brasher's key remarks were:

- "Based on your pictures that you sent me, I'm 99 per cent sure it is a 702 model, which was built starting in 1933. My best guess is, it looks like a 27 foot tall tower, and above it is an eight long Model "A" 702 windmill." (Regarding how tall it is, it was explained to the author that two separate entities are involved: the bottom part called the "tower" and the top part called the "windmill." Hence, the two added means it is a 35 feet tall structure.)

- About the tower, Robert Brasher said, "At the ground level, you see the four corner posts that go up. It looks like two inch angle iron. If the angle iron is 2 1/2 inches, it would be only a 10 foot high tower."

"Now by looking at the sails, they are 29" long, then it's an eight footer [diameter for the propeller]. If the sails are 36 1/2 inches, its a ten footer. "

- "There are two ways to determine what model you have, which are:

1. By crawling up on the tower, you will find stamped in the casting in the motor the model #, which is the red part up on top. Its wheel is screwed into the hub of the motor. It will reads "A" 702 (which means you have an eight foot size from one end to the other end) or "B" 702 (which means you have a ten footer).

2. The wheel arms have twelve of them straight. That is the 702 model. If you have six wheel arms, that are "U" or "V" shaped, then you have a 602 model, which was made from 1925 to 1933" [Note: 1915 is the earliest date listed for the 602 Model according to the web site that shows "The Aermotor Company History -USA"].

<<http://au.geocities.com/ozwindmills/Aermotor.htm>>

Lastly, when this researcher inquired, over the phone, whether their Aermotor Company in Texas might still have records for bills of sale, et cetera for windmills sold in California in about 1945, Robert Brasher flatly responded, "There's no record back then of who bought what."



Figure 386. Here we have part of the corral, an example of rancher's ingenuity, "making do"! Jerry-rigged "to hold the outfit together" (the gate) is a strand of "Mormon buckskin" (baling wire), barbed wire, a piece of chain, nails, a burr, a turnbuckle connected to a bridle buckle, and more.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DATING DETERMINATIONS

I. Absolute Dating (“Timer Markers”)

II. Dating Notions



Figure 387a & b This 1911 Liberty (Morgan) dime was discovered in 2007 in Unit 1S3E (above left).

(Right) This is what the reverse side of this same type of dime looks like. Photo from author's coin collection.

A second coin, also found on March 17, 2007, and from the new Unit 1S3E. One was a 1926-S Lincoln Penny.



Figure 388. This "1939" California license plate (320-384) was found on 11/8/2003 in Feature 1 Depression/ Refuse Fill in Level II, 48-60."

Top reads, "CALIFORNIA WORLD'S FAIR 39"



Figure 389. This near mint condition "1939" CA License Plate is owned by Francis Musser of Genesee, Plumas County, California, that shows its original brilliant colors: embossed in bright yellow for the letters and numbers with navy blue background. Photo secured by author, 2005.

I. Time Markers

Table 12. "Time Markers"

Year	Specimen Number(s)	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description
<u>1911</u>	[Found in 2007]	1S3E	0-6"	Coin, U.S. Liberty (Morgan) dime 1911 ¹
<u>1912</u>	320-250	3N3E	0-6"	Gun shell .45 Automa. Colt revolver
<u>1926</u>	[Found in 2007]	1S3E	0-6"	Coin, U.S. Lincoln penny, 1926-S
<u>1935</u>	320-281	Feature 1	0-48	Bottle (tablets & salts) ²
<u>1937</u>	320-216	3N3E	0-6"	Bottle, Alka Seltzer Co. w/ 12 Diamond (O-I) 7 ³
<u>1939</u>	320-384	Feature 1	48-60"	California License Plate with motto "California World's Fair '39" ⁴
<u>1940</u>	320-277	Feature 1	0-48"	Bottle liquor (whole) ⁵ w/ Diamond (O-I) '40
<u>1940</u>	320-278	Feature 1	0-48"	Bottle liquor (whole) w/ Diamond (O-I) '40
<u>1940</u>	320-280	Feature 1	0-48"	Bottle liquor (whole) w/ Diamond (O-I) '40
<u>1940</u>	320-361	Feature 1	72-84"	Bottle liquor (whole) w/ Diamond (O-I) '40
<u>1941</u>	320-276	Feature 1	0-48"	Bottle liquor (whole) w /Diamond (O-I) '41
<u>1941</u>	320-364	Feature 1	72 - 84"	Clear glass base frag. w/ 20 Diamond (O-I) '41

¹ See Figures 386 and 387 (opposite).

² See Figures 171 and 211 on page 352.

³ See Figures 208 and 205 on pages 345-347.

⁴ See Figures 388 and 389 (opposite).

⁵ See Figure 120 on page 357.

<u>1941</u>	320-396	Feature 1	84-90"	Bottle liquor (whole) ⁶ SCHENLEY with Glass Containers, Inc. '41
<u>1941</u>	320-290	Feature 1	0-48"	Bottle base/body frag. Coca-Cola Co., w/ 2 Diamond (0-I) 41 ⁷
<u>1941</u>	320-279	Feature 1	0-48"	Wine bottle, Lt green ⁸ Roma Wine. Fresno w/ 20 Diamond (0-I) 1
<u>1945</u>	320-552	Road Seg. #4	0-6"	Gun shell .32 Military ⁹
<u>1947</u>	320-398	Feature 1	84 - 90"	Beer bottle, amber w/ 20 Diamond (0-I) '47 Also w/"Duraglas" script and stippling ¹⁰
<u>1951</u>	320-365	Feature 1	72-84"	Bottle, amber shade ¹¹ Animal vaccination w/ 7 Diamond (0-I) 1
<u>1959</u>	320-549	Road Seg. #4	0-6"	Bottle, amber shade ¹² Animal vaccination w/ 7 Diamond (I) 9
<u>1963</u>	320-283	Feature 1	0-48"	Bottle, amber shade ¹³ Animal vaccination w/ 7 Diamond (I) 3
<u>1984</u>	320-490	Road Seg #1	0-6" 0-6"	Gun shell .223 Military
<u>1989</u>	320-487	Road Seg #1	0-6" 0-6"	Gun shell .223 Military
<u>1989</u>	320-488	Road Seg #1	0-6" 0-6"	Gun shell .223 Military
<u>1989</u>	320-489	Road Seg #1	0-6" 0-6"	Gun shell .223 Military

⁶ See Figure 233 on page 366.

⁷ See Figure 395 with interpretations on page 534 (below).

⁸ See Figures 214 and 215 on page 353.

⁹ This brass cartridge shell casing was made in "1945" at the U.S. Military munitions factory in Salt Lake City, Utah, as claimed by John Martin of the Department of Gunsmithing, Lassen College, Susanville, CA.

¹⁰ See Figure 171 (page 320) and Figures 234 and 235 on page 367. "The Duraglas (script) mark first appeared in 1940. On beer bottles, it was used in conjunction with stippling (Bill Lockhart 2004 "The Dating Game" Bottles and Extras).

¹¹ See Figures 216 and 217 on pages 354-355 respectively.

¹² See Figures 216 and 218 on pages 354-355 respectively.

¹³ See Figures 216 and 219 on pages 354-355 respectively.

II. Dating Notions

COMMON CUT NAILS



ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 390.
S. D. Kimbark's Catalogue (n. d.)

A. Nail Analysis (Temporal Notions and Uses)

It is significant that great quantities of nails were found. And why was this the case? The nails collected were also informative because a relative dating notion of the site's overall age could be determined by calculating the percentage of cut (square) versus wire (round) nails found. Also, because nails are made in varying sizes for varying functions, different stages of carpentry / construction observed can be interpreted.

Nail types: Nails occur in most United States archaeological sites in three broad types or varieties: (1) hand-wrought (hammered), (2) cut (square), and (3) wire (aka in the literature as "modern," "round," and "common," and "French"* nails. Hand-wrought nails are tapered on all four sides of the shank toward the point. Some have the "T-Head" or the "Rose-Head" nail attributes (See Adkison 2002:4:1). Cut (square) nails are tapered on two sides of the shank only, while wire (round) nails have the distinguishing trait of being round.

*The name, "French" nails, originates from the fact that the French first invented wire nail manufacturing in 1830 and completed automated wire-making machines in 1855 (Adkison 2002:4.3).

Total Numbers of Nails Collected. Regarding the site's total collection of artifacts and non-artifacts, 1,245 nails were found. This amounted to nearly a quarter (24.3%) of the total specimens collected (152/624). The percentage of site specimens collected made of metal materials that were nails, came to over half (125/214 = 58%).

Three construction enterprises at the site help explain the great number of nails. These projects involved ranching activities, inclusive of corral with feed shed construction and fence maintenance work; and work on two other structures, the Hi Good sheep camp cabin (which was constructed of board and batten style, as seen in the early "Hi Good Cabin" photo, Fig. 108) and the portable line cabin, vaguely recalled to have been relocated from downstream in 1928 or as late as probably after the big flood year, 1937.

1,245 nails were collected at the site. Cut versus wire nail types are part of this total. They were only distinguished as to type and then counted. No attempt to measure the fragment nails was undertaken. While larger, hand forged metal objects were found at the site, none of these are assigned as hand-wrought forge-hammered nails.

Almost all of the nails recovered were found in unit excavations. Metal detector sweeps of the quadrants and of Feature 4 Road Segments amounted to only 67 nails collected (67 / 1,245 = 05%).

Nail Type Total Percentages and How Age Notions Are Determined

The percentage counts - At the Hi Good site work at the 5 1/2 units and metal detector sweeps resulted in the approx. 1,245 nails / fragments collected, of which 787 or 63.2% of the total were cut (square), while the remaining 458 or 38.8% were wire (round) nails.

Again, no hand-wrought (hammered) nails were found. Why were none found? It is possible that some of the broken or fragment nails found, particularly those that were burnt, were simply unrecognizable as to the way they were made. More likely, the site is later in time than the hand wrought era.

Relative Dating Application and Explanation

Generally, since nail types are often mixed within the context, the larger the percentage of hand-wrought and/or cut (square) nails, the older the site.

About forming effective and reliable site temporal analyses by using nails collected, William Hampton Adams (2002:66-85) emphasized that historical archaeologists need to focus on the mass-production dates of nails instead of simply relying on their invention and patent dates. Significant about the greater availability through mass-production methods of the “wire” nails that began to replace cut nails are two dates: 1887 and 1890. The year 1887 was the first year when the price of steel was low enough to make wire nail manufacturing profitable due to the invention and introduction in 1879 of the Bessemer steel-making process, and 1890 is the year when the production of wire nails outpaced that of cut (square) nails.

While Adams (2002:85) announced that his model “has particular utility in dating ephemeral sites, particularly in the West,” he also cautioned that “Places like homestead cabins. . . may last too short a time and have been occupied by people too poor in material culture to produce satisfactory artifact dates.”

Generally, since nail types are often mixed within the context, the larger the percentage of hand-wrought and cut (square) nails, the older the site.

Table 13 (below) is an “Index” for age notions based on the above described nail types.

Table 13. Nail Age Notions (Index)			
Adkison (2002:4:3) from Gillio and Utah (1980). Related reference is: Adams (2002:66-88)			
Hand-wrought/Cut Nails versus Wire Nails			
<u>Age of site</u>	<u>Cut Nail type/ percentages</u>		
1886 [or earlier]	100.0% cut nails		
[Unknown]*	63.2%	“	Recovered at CA-TEH-2105H
1890	-	50.0%	“
1895	-	25.0%	“
1900	-	15.0%	“
* Remains unknown in view of site use variability.			

Temporal Notions for Hi Good Cabin Site - This researcher has been advised that the sample of nails collected during 2003-2004 is too small; hence the overall “site variability” and “age” REMAIN UNKNOWN. For the record, however, 63.2% of the nails collected at the Hi Good Cabin site were cut (square) rather than cut (wire) nails. This percentage was suggesting an age notion of “no later than “1889 thereabouts.”

Recall that Adams (2002:85) announced about his Index model that it “has particular utility in dating ephemeral (short-lived) sites, particularly in the West.” The Hi Good sheep operation was believed to have been “actively underway in Section 21 during 1866-1870, which calls for 100% cut nails thereabouts to have been used during Hi Good’s span of time. The major source for the 38.8% introduction of the later wire nails type is attributed to the subsequent property owners and/or tenants, who resided at the site post 1870.

Table 14. Nail Types Percentages Count
Recovered at Hi Good Cabin Site, 2003-2004.

Site	(Earlier type) <u>Local</u> <u>Cut Nails Total</u>	(Later type) <u>Wire Nails Total</u>	Percentage (%) <u>Cut</u>	Percentage (%) <u>Wire</u>
Four Quadrants* 28		0	100.00	0.0%
Road Seg. #4	1	0	100.0%	0.0%
4N10E	333	12	96.5%	3.4%
Road Seg. #2	12	1	92.0%	8.0%
Road Seg. #3	8	3	72.0%	28.0%
Road Seg. #1	9	5	64.0%	46.0%
6N10E E1 / 2	194	120	61.8%	38.2%
3N1E	62	42	59.6%	40.4%
Feature 2	182	233	43.8%	56.2%
3N2E	30	39	43.0%	56.0%
3N3E	90	152	38.0%	62.0%
Feature 1	29	86	25.3%	74.7%
2S12E	0	0	0	0

* Not all nails found in the metal detector sweeps were collected.

“Oldest” locals of the site are assigned. Based on the above numbers, Unit 4N10E certainly stood out as the relatively oldest unit, with Unit 6N2E E1 / 2 ranked second oldest, followed by Unit 3N1E in approximate third place. Also, the SW quadrant suggested “having some age.” Reliability for these claims (notions), of course, are dependent on whether each of the locations had a significant sampling (large enough quantity of nails collected to be of consequence). The 72% of cut nails from Road Seg. #3, for example, involved only eleven nails found. This is not significant statistically. Road Seg. #2, whose area is inclusive of Unit 4N10E, also had a high percentage (92%) of cut nails. This was only to be expected since Unit 4N10E was assigned as “oldest.” But here again, its sampling of only 13 total nails, statistically speaking, is unreliable.

Regarding the trench (3N1E, 3N2E, and 3N3E), curiosity is stirred by the trend of the percentages of cut nails increasing as they do, in a westerly direction. Observe how Unit 3N1E had the highest concentration (59.6%) of cut nails. This remains an incongruity that Unit 3N1E, the most distant unit in the trench from Unit 4N10E, would have the notion of being the older of the three. A rally of support that Unit 3N1E is, indeed, “old” came from the nearby SW quadrant, where only cut nails (100%) were found.

About the site quadrants. Only the SW quadrant (using metal detector sweeps for recovery) with 100% cut nails, is intriguing enough to mention. Of the 28 total cut nails collected from all four quadrants, 85.7% of them came from the SW quadrant (24/28). The NE quadrant had only three nails (10.7%). The SE quadrant had only one cut nail. The NW quadrant had none. One wonders just how close to the datum, and fairly close relative to 3N1E, that those 24 cut nails were found?

Also, upon carrying out the sweeps, observed were obvious “dumps” and burning areas where old wood (and nails) were concentrated.

Determined Age (Years) Notion for the Study Area

The indicated age of use for the Hi Good Cabin site area is the latter half of the 19th century. The 96.5% of cut nails in Unit 4N10E, if extrapolated, invariably brings up a much earlier year than 1889, for this unit. This author is not a mathematics whiz, but it is normally the rule that for any numerical set when the percentage level or yield “approaches” 100%, the mathematical probabilities become more variable. That is to say, the possible years “back in time” for the study area increases exponentially. A review of the list of vintage artifacts and faunal materials recovered from especially Unit 4N10E during 2003 and 2004, make for a compelling argument that the area of the site was used during the Hi Good era, 1867 through 1870.

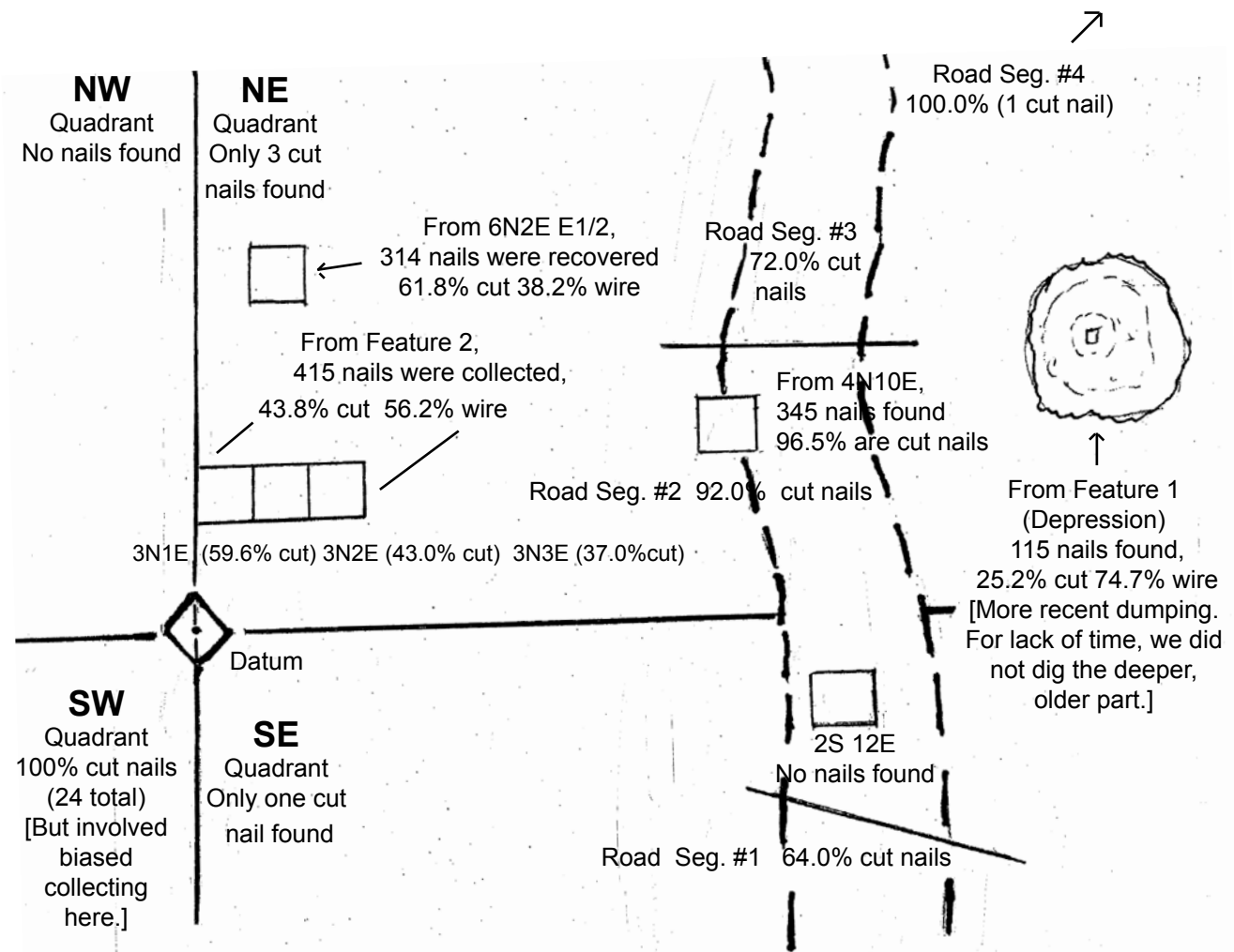


Figure 391. Map: "Nail Analysis, Hi Good Cabin Site, 2003-2004"
For the age of the entire site, 63.2% cut (square) nails recovered suggests an average age of "1889 or earlier."

This site's age notion remains "unknown" in view of the sample size and site use variability.

[Index -Adkison (2002:4:3); Gillio and Utah (1980); Adams(2002:66-88)]

Site Locations of Age Ranking Based on Cut Nails Found	
Oldest	4N10E, inclusive of Road Seg. #2
2nd oldest	6N2E E1/2
3rd oldest	3N1E
4th oldest	SW Quadrant

Nail Size Uses

Nail Functions. Uses are generally identified based on respective pennyweight sizes (Adkison 2002:4.3). The largest nails, 20d and above, are typically used for house-framing, fence construction, etc. Nails in the 6d to 16d range are general purpose, used in the different phases of construction. Generally, nails classed from 2d to 5d are used in the final stages of carpentry.



ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 392. The 2d cut nails from UNIT 3N3E.

The 2d to 5d nails “for final stages of carpentry” (Adkison 2002:4.3), were mainly from three places: Unit 3N3E at 0 -6” bottom surface (See Fig. 392 below), the Figure 1 Depression at 72-84” bottom surfaces, and 6N2E E 1/2. At 3N3E, 87 such nails were recovered (of which the cut and wire types were of about the same quantity, 43 cut and 45 wire nails). They could have been used for making boxes or barrels or some household furnishings, such as a wooden cupboard perhaps. Their precise uses remain undetermined.

Unit 6N2E E1/2 had the second highest frequency regarding the small nail numbers. Here, a total of 31 nails (all cut) at level 0 -6” were recovered, while two small nails only were found at the deeper 6 -12” level (320-571 is one cut 4d; 320-575 is one wire 2d nail).

Feature 1 Depression had two cut nails (1 -4d and 1 5d) at 0 -48” depth, but 28 wire nails (only) uncovered down at 72 -84” bottom surface.

Table 15. Nail (16d) Use Count
(General Phases of Construction Type Nails)

Number Collected	Size Pennyweight	Horizontal Provenience	Specimen Number
1	16d (cut)	Feature 1 at 0-48”	320-315
9	16d (cut)	SW quadrant	320-480
1	16d (cut)	SW quadrant	320-481
1	16d (cut)	3N1E	320-587
3	16d (cut)	6N2E E 1/2	320-018
7	16d (wire)	Feature 1 at 0-48”	320-328
2	16d (wire)	Feature 1 at 0-48”	320-332
4	16d (wire)	Feature 1 at 72-84”	320-389
2	16d (wire)	3N2E	320-089
2	16d (wire)	6N2E E 1/2	320-023
<u>14</u>	16d (wire)	6N2E E 1/2	320-023
46 total collected (of which 15 were cut nails and 31 wire nails).			

Data for likely “general construction” activity and respective location(s) is provided by Table 14 (below) involving the mainstay 16d nail of which 46 were retrieved from the study area. 30.4% (14/46) of them were collected from Unit 6N2E E 1/2. This is also from where the only wood screws were found at the site, five all total (See Fig. 399). Unit 4N10E, on the other hand, stands out as conspicuous, being the one location where no 16d nails were found. In relationships to the Hi Good Cabin structure with chimney, the Unit 4N10E environs appears to have been the porch where cleaning one’s guns and getting dressed had more priority as opposed to general construction activities.

About the 20d Nails and Larger for House-framing and Fence Construction Found

The archaeological record does not suggest that any major house framing nor related construction activities took place in earlier times. Of the 1,245 whole nails and fragments collected, only 35 nails were 20 pennyweight (d) or larger, which is .028% of the total. The following numbers breakdown in Table 4 (below) shows that 82% (29/35) of the "big" size nails came from the Feature 1 "Depression." And because they are overwhelmingly wire nails, whatever construction activities did transpire, they were more recent activities, probably in the early 1940s, as based on the other items retrieved that were datable from Feature 1.

Noteworthy, too, is that of the cut (or square) nails that are the relatively older type, only three of the bigger cut nails made the list (below). Unit 4N10E remained consistent by not having any bigger nails as was the case with 16d nails. It seems that any early cabins that were built in the study area were small enough that they did not require big nails for their construction. The more recently constructed feed shed, corral enclosure with windmill, appears to have invited more big nail usage. This may help explain why 29 bigger nails were recovered from Feature 1.

Table 16. Nail (20d-60d) Count
(House-framing/ fence Construction Type Nails)

Number Collected	Size Pennyweight Size
1	60d (wire) from Feature 1.
1	50d (wire) from Feature 1 at 72" - 84"
1	40d (wire) from Feature 1 at 0 - 48"
1	40d (wire) from 3N2E
1	30d (cut) from SW Quadrant
2	20d (cut) from Feature 1 from 0 - 48"
5	30d (wire) from Feature 1 at 0 - 48"
15	20d (wire) from Feature 1 at 0 - 48"
4	20d (wire) from Feature 1 at 72" - 84"
2	20d (wire) from 6N2E E1/2
1	20d (wire) from Road Seg. #1
1	20d (wire) from 3N3E

35 total, of which 3 were cut nails and 32 were wire nails.

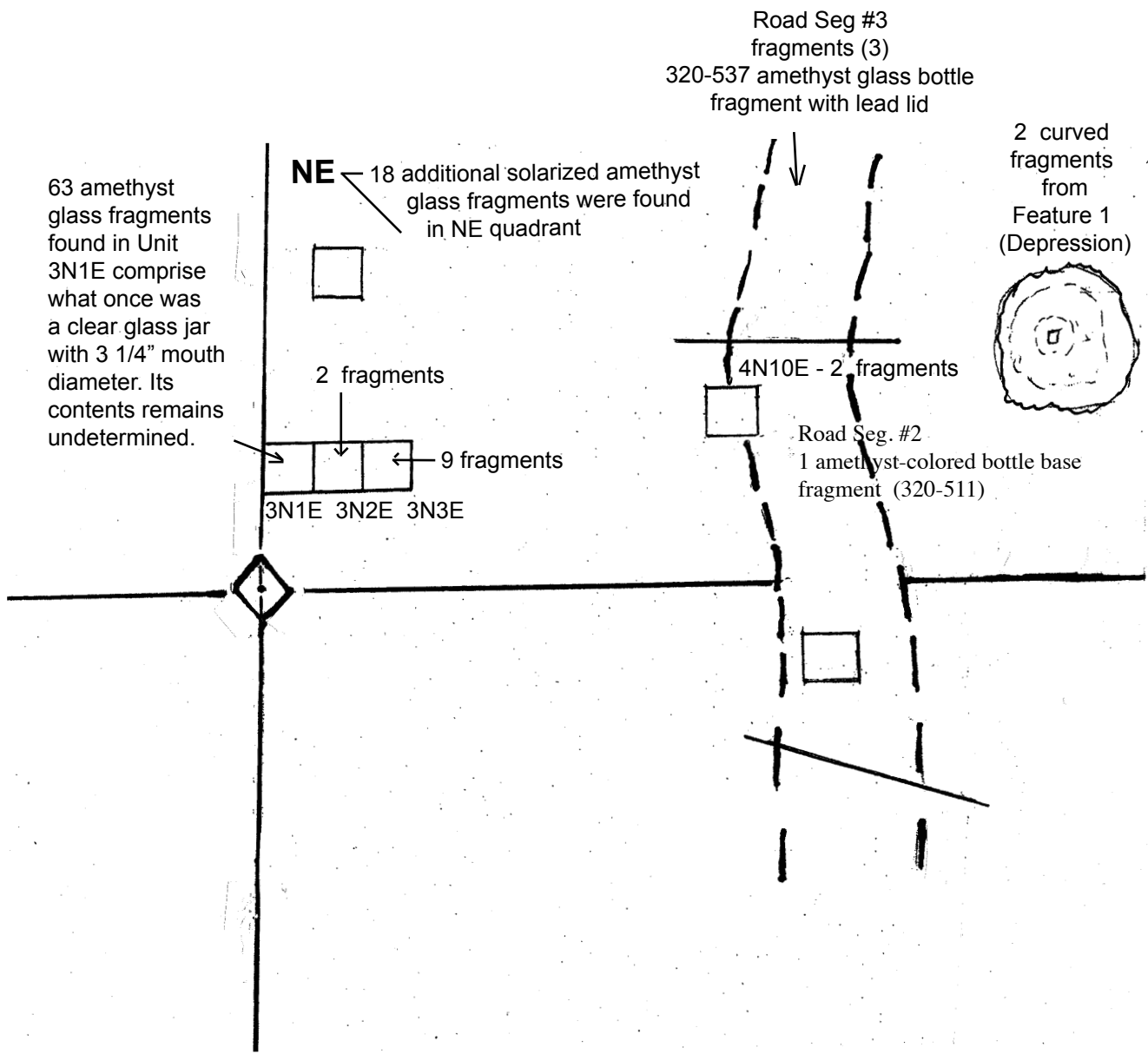


Figure 393. Map: "101 Solarized Amethyst Glass Fragments Distribution Recovered from the Hi Good Cabin site (They are site indicators that "pre-1920" vintage artifacts were deposited with them.)

B. Solarized Amethyst Glass Age Notions

Glass produced that was originally clear glass but tints over time to a purple (amethyst) color from exposure to the sun, is referred to in the literature as “solarized” amethyst glass, and is referred to here as such in this report. Archaeologists today consider solarized amethyst glass, when found at sites, as “an excellent temporal indicator. It can be reasonably dated “pre -1920” (Adkison 2002:1.22), except where containers were curated or “heirloomed.”

101 solarized amethyst glass fragments were found at the site (See Fig. 393. map). The biggest cluster were 63 pieces collected from Unit 3N1E. When taken together, they comprise at least one very shattered glass jar. Its 10 rounded rim pieces were given specimen number 320-614 (See Fig. 194).

The notion of pre-1920 for the artifacts recovered from Unit 3N1E was corroborated by the 59.6% cut nails collected. Only two solarized amethyst fragments came from Unit 4N10 [that had the site’s highest cut nails percentage, 96.5%]. It is the opalized aqua glass found in Unit 4N10E that further corroborates that Unit 4N10’s contents are “older” (See Fig. 10 Map: “Aqua Glass Distribution”).

18 Solarized amethyst fragments were found in the NE quadrant. This suggests that the NE quadrant was where pre-1920 and activities that centered around “general use” glass contents, namely: activities that involved kitchen group items, such as food and condiment jars, and recreational indulgences, such as liquor bottles. The Road Segments 2 & 3 contained five total amethyst fragments.

One other solarized amethyst glass fragment found in road segment 3 of special interest was 320-537. The amethyst glass is a bottle neck fragment that protrudes from a lip with lead seal. The height of this lead seal or band on the bottle’s lip is 1.” The bottle’s diameter mouth approaches 1.” The amethyst glass tint again dates this specimen as “pre 1920.”

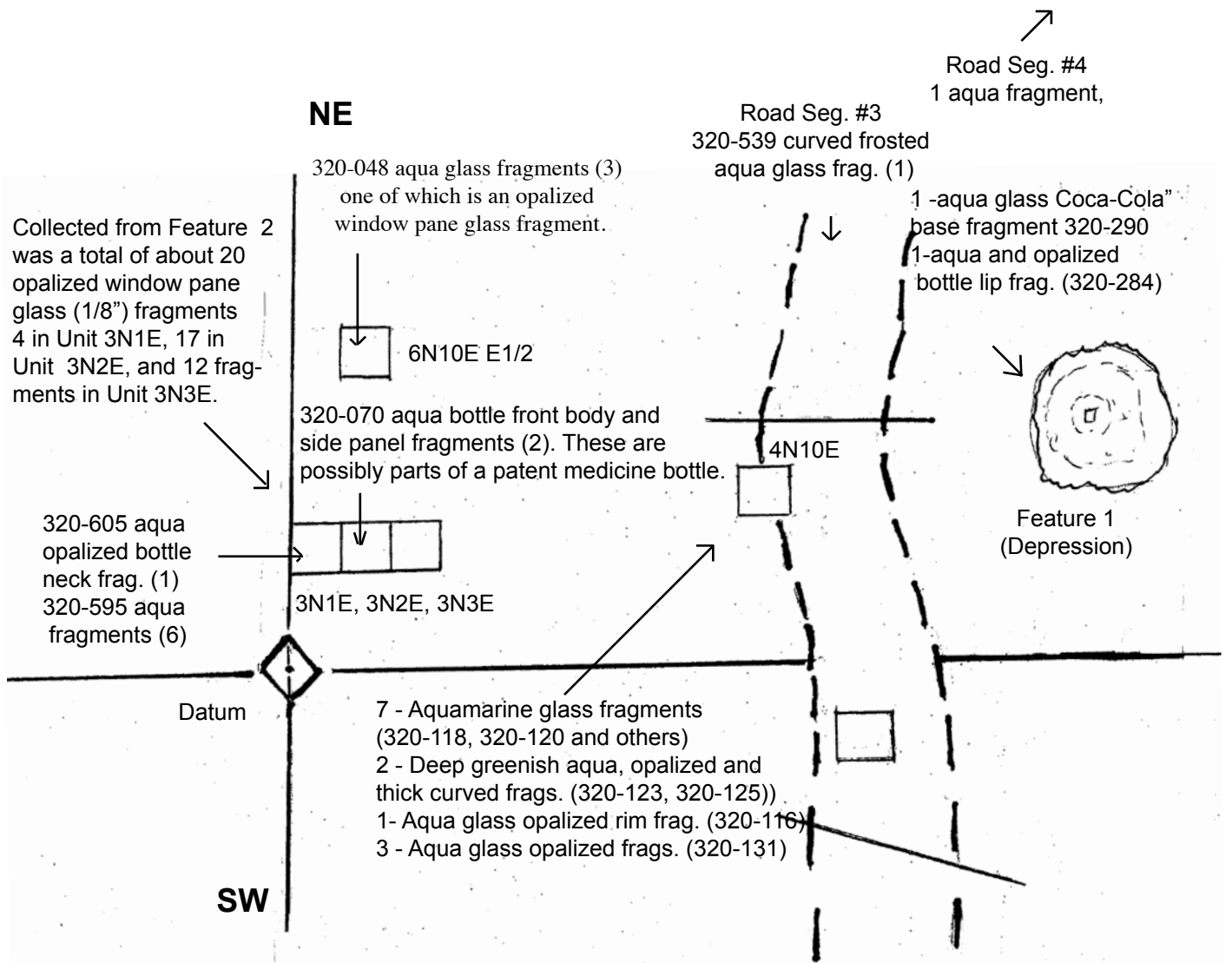


Figure 394. Map: "Aqua Glass Fragments Distribution" (for 70 fragments found at CA-TEH-2105H)

"Aqua Glass dates for general, versatile usage is 1880 to 1920" (Adkison 2002:1.22).

C. Aqua Glass Age Notions

70 aqua colored glass fragments were found at the site (See Fig. 394 Map) of which 20 are opalescent window pane glass fragments collected mainly from Feature 2 "Brick scatter." Some of these perfectly flat, 1/8" thick glass fragments may have come from a small window that faced west of the Hi Good sheep camp's cabin. One more identical window pane, aqua glass fragment was collected from Unit 6N2E E1/2. This writer believes that the projected "1880 to 1920s" years for these aqua-colored window pane glass fragments uncovered (from four different units but not from Unit 4N10E) are 1880, if not earlier. They are all opalescent. As aforementioned, the window pane glass from Unit 3N1E, is likely from the pre-1870, Hi Good Cabin structure.

Aqua colored glass is described in the literature as having been popular during 1880-1920 for "general, versatile usage" (Adkison 2002:1.22-1:23). Aqua, as well as clear, amber, and pale green, were common whiskey bottle colors (Adkison 2002:1.16). Clearer and lighter colors around 1880 became more desired for patent medicines, which were "usually aqua or light green" (Adkison 2002:1.13).

About this last description, a possible fit were the two "light" aqua colored glass fragments (320-070) recovered from Unit 3N2E (Fig. 198). This author believed they are of a patent medicine bottle or elixir. These two fragments are of a classic rectangular shaped bottle with inset panels (Adkison 2002:1.13).

Regarding the concept that aqua glass can "sometimes" be used as indicators of the 1880s -1920 time frame (Adkison 2002:1.22), this writer believes that this is especially likely when the aqua glass fragment found is also "opalized." The aqua glass Coca-Cola bottle base fragment found in Feature 1 depression/refuse fill, is a case in point. This aqua fragment was not opalescent. Rather, this bottle base fragment (with the letters "GALLUP" embossed on its base), was determined to be the later date of "1941." [Note: Determination of "1941" was only possible because retained also on the bottle body fragment was its telltale Diamond "0-1" bottle maker trademark, with "1" date code (see below Figures 395 and 396).

On the other hand, the "1880 to 1920" aqua glass time frame seems appropriate for the one small, glass blown and opalized bottle lip fragment (320-284) found in Feature 1 (Fig. 223). This bottle lip fragment, along with another lip fragment (320-285), the second one made of clear glass, may possibly be the two oldest artifacts collected from Feature 1. This writer believes they were found in the study area, maybe during a general clean up effort of the Hi Good Cabin flat area in about 1950, by the new property owner. Then they were apparently dumped into the Feature 1 depression/refuse fill, and mixed with several bottles of the 1940s and 1950s era.

Aqua-Colored Glass Artifact

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description
320-290	Feature #1	0-48"	"COCA-COLA" fragment Aqua-colored. Owens-Illinois Glass Company's trademark embossed on body of bottle; "Gallup" on bottle base. maker's trademark with codes. 1941 , bottle manufactured.

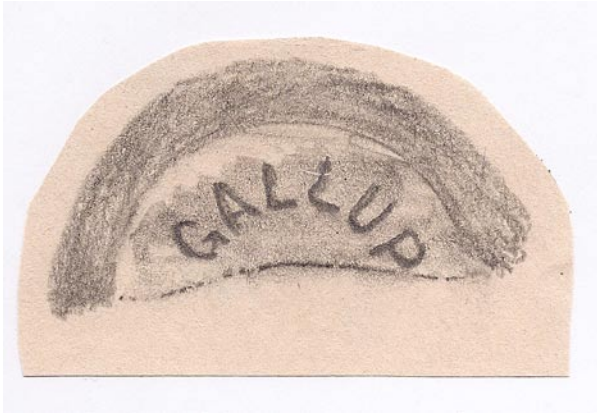


Figure 395. Actual size of "Coca-Cola" base fragment (320-290) embossed with, "GALLUP," New Mexico, the place where the drink was "bottled." Drawing by Janice Newton.



Figure 396. Actual size of maker's mark, 2 -Diamond "O-I" - 41 (Fairmont, W. VA, Owens-Illinois -1941)

Absolute Dating: *Terminus post quem* for "COCA-COLA" (that is, the company's starting point of a period, year). For when "first marketed" -1886 (Atlanta, Georgia); for year "first bottled by J. A. Biedenhorn" - 1894 (Vicksburg, Mississippi). for when "first registered its trademark for the company" - 1893; "first Coca-Cola" script -1899; "first standardized Coca-Cola bottle" invented -1915.

By custom, the Owens-Illinois Glass Company placed to the right of their maker's mark the date (year) code. To the left of their maker's mark the plant's location where the bottle was manufactured (not necessarily where bottled). One or two digits were used for both (Lockhart 2004d:1).

For this particular bottle, the number, "41" is 1941 (Toulouse 1971; Lockhart 2004d:1; Adkison 2002:1:10).

Relative Dating Soft drink bottling technology changes: 12 FL. OZ. bottles became popular in 1934 (Adkison 2002:1:18). Period when bottles were embossed with the name of the city and state where the product was bottled" -1916 -1955 and same was resumed in 1963; 'first marketed in plastic bottles" - 1970 (Adkison 2002: 1.17 & 1.18).

Plant codes: Keeping with the Owens-Illinois Glass Company practices, the "2" to the left of the maker's mark, is the plant location where the "generic" Coca Cola bottles were manufactured.] Note: The bottling "with drink" and city /state embossing on the bottle's bottom takes place normally in the respective city /state locations.]

This "2" is translated by referring to Dr. Julian Toulouse's 1971 Table 1 chart on page 395 of Toulouse's definitive work titled, *Bottle Makers and Their Marks*. Or refer to Bill Lockhart (2004d:5) who reprinted Toulouse's Table 1.

Answer: Plant #2 is Fairmont, West Virginia, with respective Dates of Operation, 1930-present (1971). Hence, after the bottle was manufactured in Fairmont, West Virginia, this bottle was shipped to Gallup, New Mexico. There it was bottled and embossed respectively "probably" in about 1941.

Future research/ resources: To determine the Absolute Dating(year, month, and even day), when the bottling in Gallup, New Mexico, occurred, recommended is Bill Porter (1996). *Coke Bottle Checklist*. (Privately printed); *Coca-Cola Collectors News* (newsletter) PMB 609, 4780 Ashford Dunwoody Road, Suite A, Atlanta, GA 30338. website: <www.cocacolaclub.org>

CHAPTER EIGHT

HI GOOD'S SHEEP CAMP WITH CABIN FINDINGS

*"It's not what you find, it's what you find out."
--David Hurst Thomas (1989:31)*

Figure 397. Referencing a sheep shear blade, veteran sheep man Jack Haslem announced, "This blunt kind is what your group found out at your dig. This one pictured here [Sears, Roebuck & Co. Catalog, 1902] is the very type you have." (See Fig.400c below). It is likely a Burgon & Ball brand (See Fig. 402 below) Photo by Richard Burrill, 2007.

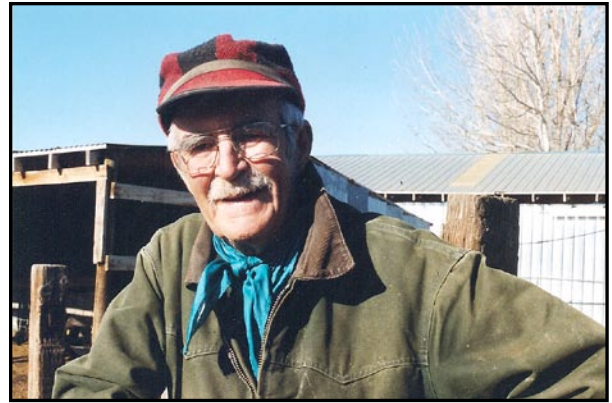


Figure 398. Blade is 6" long x 2" wide. Photograph at site. Box red and white mailing label is 4" long.



Figure 399. From the SE quadrant, Vicki Philbin unearthed this single hand sheep shear blade (320-434). Photo on February 14, 2004.

<p>Sheep Shears.</p>  <p>No. 10K4652 Great Western Sheep Shears. Double bow. Straight back and edge. Full polished blades. The shape and style used by professional shearers of the West. Don't let our low price cause you to doubt the quality of these shears. They are etched on blade as follows: "If this shear does not prove as good or better than any shear you ever had return it and money will be refunded." Weight, 11 to 14 ounces.</p> <p>Length of blade, inches. 6 6½ Price 74c 79c If by mail, postage extra, 20 cents.</p>	400 a
 <p>No. 10K4654 Great Eastern Sheep Shears. Single bow. Bent handles. Full polished and swaged. The shape and style used in the Central and Eastern States. Same quality, workmanship and finish as described under preceding number. Weight, 10 to 11 ounces.</p> <p>Length of blade, inches. 6 6½ Price 81c 85c If by mail, postage extra, 20 cents.</p>	400 b
<p>The Celebrated Burgon & Ball's BBA Hollow Ground Sheep Shears.</p>  <p>No. 10K4659 The spring is inside the bows with straight patent hollow ground blades, which insure it to be the best cutting shear on the market. It is the great champion shear; all professionals prefer this. It is also one of the finest examples of the steel worker's art. It is always cheapest to buy the best Burgon & Ball shear. We guarantee perfect satisfaction. Weight, 14 ounces.</p> <p>Size, inches. 6½ 7</p>	400 c

Figure 400a, b & c Reprinted from Sears, Roebuck & Co. Catalogue_(1902), p. 554.

I. Gun Ammunition Types Used by Hi Good and Evidence of Early Sheep Camp Operation Confirmed

Whether or not site CA-TEH-2105H contained artifacts, which contextually establishes Hi Good's historical presence, was investigated. The biographical background data researched points to Hi Good's sheep operation as involving a little less than four years, from 1866 to 1870. Yet, during the 2004 field season of collecting, some participants remarked that it seemed to them that very few artifacts collected, if any, fit Hi Good's pre-1870s era. But consider the precarious challenge at hand in "hunting" for Hi Good. For instance, the years 1866 to 2004 span 136 years of living experience. And Good's career as owner and leader of a sheep operation venture, again was short-lived, less than four years. This translates to only about .02% of the time for Hi Good's participation that the archaeologist has to work with, while 99.9% of the time involved presumably other residents. Put simply, the forecast for our team to uncover evidence of Hi Good's vintage years, let alone Hi Good's presence, was most unlikely.

Yet, with this said, the 2003 and 2004 site data presumably point to Hi Good's presence as established. This evidence involved these three parameters:

1. Firearm Pieces Attributed to Hi Good. Twenty-six vintage firearm ammunition pieces were found at the site that contextually fit Hi Good's three gun types used.

2. An early Sheep Operation confirmed at the study area. A sheep operation is confirmed based on the faunal analysis completed and three sheep-related tools recovered. The historical dating for the sheep shear blade found (320-434), likely from Sheffield, England, actually precedes Hi Good's time period. Burgon & Ball are an old Sheffield firm, for example, who originally made shears, scissors and knives, and whose origin date back to 1730. Available online: <<http://www.burgonandball.com>>

3. Contextually the oral history acclaimed Hi Good Cabin structure appears to have been a conducive living quarters in Acorn Hollow as part of "someone's" early sheep camp operation. That someone was presumably Hi Good. Besides the plethora of red bricks from the collapsed chimney, three artifact specimens contextually appear to have come from the Hi Good Cabin's door hardware as well.

About the firearm ammunition that are Hi Good known gun types) - Hi Good's presumable presence is based partly on the recovery from Unit 4N10E of all three gun ammunition types attributed to Hi Good. The firearms data are described and interpreted in this report's Ch. 5 Personal Group (on pages 397-412) and also in Ch. 6, the latter of which addresses the Unit 4N10E's Feature 6 "Ashy Deposit" (on pages 495-497).

On February 21, 2004, the first three .44 Henry Flat rimfire brass cartridge casings were found in Unit 4N10E, along with one .56 .46 Spencer "bottle-necked" cartridge type. For the record the one lead rifle ball was recovered also from Unit 4N10E for a muzzle-loader rifle on February 28, 2004. Counting property owner Mike Hamilton's four ammunition pieces that were found earlier at the site, the total count is twenty-five (25) armament pieces found at the study area that are of Hi Good's three gun types(21 that are .44 Henry Flats;* 4 that are .56 .46 Spencers, and 1 that is a lead rifle ball).

* The site's total count for .44 Henry Flat rim-fire cartridge casings increased to twenty-five in 2007, with four more were recovered from the new Unit 5N9E, which is also contiguous to Unit 4N10E.

Time frames also match - These armaments' time frames also fit Hi Good's presence in California, which was 1854-1870. Specifically, it was 1860, when Benjamin Tyler Henry ("H") first introduced his lever-action Henry repeating rifle to the world, which used, and still uses the .44 Henry Flat. And it was in 1866 when J. H. Spencer began his manufacture of his Spencer Sporting and Military Carbine. (The respective sources for these armament manufacture dates are listed on page 398).

Also, four metal buttons found in Unit 4N10E and vicinity (Road Segment 2) have early dates that fit for Hi Good's. The three one piece cast metal type dates to "ca. 1800 -1860" (Atkinson 2002:4.8), while the one with shank, two piece Sander's type dates "ca.1830 - present (Atkinson 2002:4:8).

Sheep Operation Related Artifacts

The Chapter 2 and 3 data document from earliest sources that Hi Good underwent a career transition from pioneer Indian adversary to "sheep man operator" in late 1866 until his death on May 4, 1870. That an early sheep operation was one of the events that transpired at the site is apparent by both artifacts and faunal materials found.

"We have confirmation of a sheep operation here!" proclaimed one field director, when one "blunt tip" type blade of a sheep hand shear was found in the southeast quadrant and only a few feet from the datum. This specimen (320-434) is probably of Burgon & Ball make but because of wear and long time burial, it is undiscernible. Then, on February 17, 2007, another blunt tip style sheep shear blade was recovered by Tom Keffer. He found his in the rocky bottom of the dry Acorn Hollow creek, at a spot just a little downstream from the Hi Good Cabin flat. Burgon & Ball began manufacturing in 1730 in the industrial heartland of Sheffield, England, and continues in business to this day. The blunt tip remains their hallmark product.

Another artifact found in the course of excavating that is arguably "sheep operations related," is specimen 320-106, listed in the Catalog under the Industrial Group. It appears to be a very rusted tang fragment of an early skinning or butcher's knife (See Figures 15a & 15b). This tool was recovered from unit 4N10E where in four also verifiable sheep bones were also found. While beginning the faunal materials interpreting, a butchery station in the vicinity of 4N10E is conjectured (See faunal analysis below).

Career sheep man Jack Haslem of Susanville, Lassen County, California, was interviewed on 1/30/2007 and 3/14/2007. He identified artifact specimen 320-434, as being one of the blades of the Burgon & Ball, blunt tip, two springs sheep hand shear model (See Figure 10c), reprinted from page 554 of *Sears, Roebuck & Co. Catalog* (1902 Edition [1969]). New York: Bounty Books, a division of Crown Publishers, Inc.

Mr. Haslem made these additional remarks about all three models, Figures 400a, 400b, and 400c:

- About Figures 400a & 400b — "These two sharp tipped hand shears are used for making the sheep look pretty for a show; leaving so much of the wool on the animal and smoothing it to look like silk. There are a few today who do this kind of hand shearing at sheep and wool festivals who keep this tradition alive."

- About Figure 400b — "The middle model is a one spring hand shear. I don't like this middle one because the handle is all one piece. You don't have the flexibility then. Now I've taken hand shears and even trimming hand shears, and if they are a little stiff, I've heated them with a torch and took a little of the temper out so they don't have as much grit. "

- About Figure 400c [Blunt tip type] — "Most of the hand shears that they used for shearing by hand had blunt tips with the two springs. That is the old blunt tip type of shear (See Fig. 400c) best for shearing, for the sharp tip models could puncture the hide as you are shearing. The bottom one pictured is used for taking the wool off to sell it. This blunt kind is what your group found out at your dig."



Figure 401. Jack Haslem points to same blade in relation to the blunt type blade photographed at Hi Good Cabin site.



Figure 402. Jack Haslem points to blunt tip sheep shears (middle pair) as contrasted to sharply tipped sheep shears (left and right). In the photos' right side, two types of "keepers" are displayed. Keepers "keep" the sheep hand shear blades together to protect the blades. All three pairs are double springs. The blunt tip pair of Burgon & Ball sheep shears (below) belonged to a fellow named Irving Beard from Fruita, Colorado, of Mesa County, who was a professional sheep shearer.

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description
320-106	4N10E	0-6"	Possible skinning or sticking knife tang handle fragment. Hand hammered of steel w/ five positioned rivets

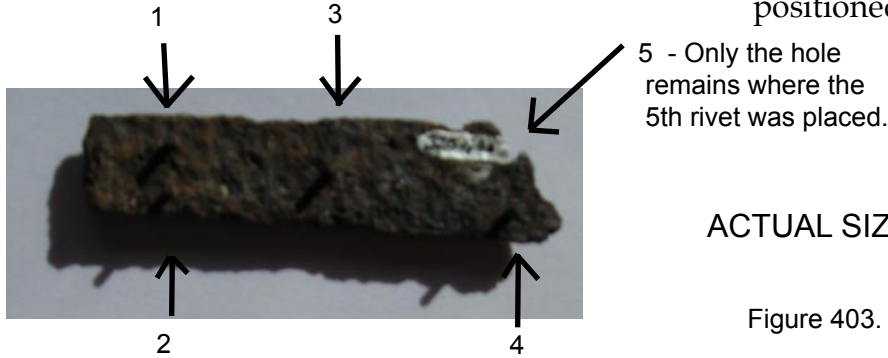


Figure 403.

Because some lower limb sheep bone elements were also collected from 4N10E, this makes a better case that a butchery station was present in this vicinity, and, predictably that butchery tools might be found there, too. One butchered bone (320-202) was also found in 4N10E. However, of what animal remains this bone is, this remains unanswered.

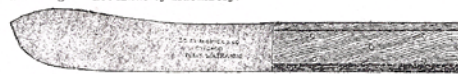
About specimen 320-106, a possible telltale clue that a skinning knife handle fragment was found, are its five rivets that, when taken together, are positioned much like the "five of dominos." This same design pattern for a butcher's knife handle (that is about three inches long with blade 5" long) was a product for sale in the *Sears, Roebuck & Company Catalogue* (1902), p. 485. Its handle size does appear small for a man's hand size. Larger sizes were also for sale. Would a fork have had five rivets, too?

SEARS, ROEBUCK & CO.'S BUTCHER KNIVES.

THE BEST MADE. Our guarantee is as follows: If any Butcher Knife, Skinning Knife or Sticking Knife purchased from us, on which our name is stamped, does not prove as good or better than any knife you ever had, return it to us and money will be cheerfully refunded without argument. Nearly the total value of these knives is in the blades.

THEY ARE INTENDED TO SELL ON THEIR QUALITY, NOT ON THEIR LOOKS.


Remember when comparing prices of these knives that the blades are all hand forged—not made by machinery.



No. 28R600 Sears, Roebuck & Co.'s Butcher Knives. Beech handle. Blades hand hammered from best quality high grade steel. They are fully warranted. Read our guarantee above.

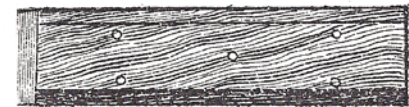
Length of blade.....	5-in.	5½-in.	6-in.	7-in.	8-in.	10-in.	12-in.
Price, each.....	12c	14c	15c	21c	27c	41c	58c

Sears, Roebuck & Co.'s Sticking Knives.



No. 28R602 Sears, Roebuck & Co.'s Sticking Knives. Beech handle, blades hand hammered from best quality high grade steel. They are fully warranted. Read our guarantee.

Length of blade.....	5-inch	5½-inch	6-inch	6½-inch
Price, each.....	12c	14c	15c	18c



Knife handle with "five of domino" rivets pattern

Comments Sears, Roebuck & Company Catalogue (1902), p. 485, includes these three butcher knife illustrations, all with unique "five of domino" rivets pattern in handle part. Moreover, uncovering a butcher knife in unit 4N10E further confirms that a sheep butchery station was an activity in this unit due to prevalent number of sheep (*Ovis aries*) lower limb bone elements collected in 4N10E, too! (See Faunal Analysis Section).

Figure 404. *Sears, Roebuck & Company Catalogue* (1902), p. 485, includes these three butchers' knife illustrations, all with the special "five of dominos" rivets pattern in their handle part.

Faunal Remains Interpretations

Early sheep camp activity was further corroborated by the significant number of sheep bones that have been professionally interpreted as such. On the morning of August 8, 2006, physical anthropology Archaeo-zoologist Frank Bayham (Fig. 405) at California State University, Chico, conducted a preliminary assessment of the entire CA-TEH-2105H faunal collection (which totals 33 specimens numerically).



Figure 405. Professor Frank Bayham on 8/8/2006, inside the CSU Chico's Anthropology Department's archaeo-zoologist, conducting his preliminary assessment of the CA-TEH-2105H faunal collection of 2003-2004. Photos by Richard Burrill.

Methodology: Seven of the nine specimens pulled by Professor Bayham were of the order artiodactyla (cloven-hoofed animals). These seven underwent a systematic process of first ascertaining whether they were closer in appearance to the deer (cervidae) family and/or closer to the goat and sheep (ovidae) family. If they were closer to the latter, the next step was to attempt to distinguish whether it was closer to sheep or closer to goat. This process was repeated for each with the ultimate goal of hopefully determining the genus and species for each.

[Provided below is an example of genus species determination abilities, involving the squirrel family.

Figure 406. Have we a tree squirrel or a ground squirrel? 320-245 specimen (middle) was collected from Feature 1 at the 0-48" depth.

First, it was determined that the small rodent skull is of the squirrel or sciuridae family.

Then, a very confident identification was made that, "We have a ground squirrel (*Spermophilus beechey*) rather than a tree squirrel (*Sciurus griseus*)." One telltale element noted about the ground squirrel species (also bottom) is the presence of two foramens above (superior) the ear (or external auditory meatus). This attribute is absent in the tree squirrel (top).



Summary of Findings

Of seven bones of the order artiodactyla (cloven animals) that were pulled because of their promising diagnostic elements, five diagnostic bones were determined to “compare favorably to sheep (*Ovis aries*), of which one was most unequivocally sheep, and only one “was not definitive. The five are:

(1) 320-566 acetabulum of the pelvis (See Figures 407 & 408) “compares favorably with sheep as opposed to goat.” (Horizontal provenience 6N2E E 1/4 Depth 6-12”).

(2) 320-203 distal metapodial piece, “Compares favorably in the direction of sheep within family bovidae.” (Fig. 409). (Horizontal provenience 4N10E depth 0-6”).

(3) 320-206 calcaneus, “leans toward direction of sheep of bovidae family, “but not definitive.” (Horizontal provenience 4N10E Depth 0-6”). (See Figures 410 & 411)

(4 and 5) Included with the same specimen number #320-206, the 1st phalanx and 3rd phalanx (also called terminal phalanx), resulted with Professor Bayham conclusion, “I’m leaning towards *Ovis* (sheep) again.” (Fig. 412) About the 3rd phalanx, “Confirmed! Of all the pieces studied, this is most unequivocally sheep!” (Fig. 413).



Figure 407. FIRST COMPARISON - Professor Frank Bayham holds the acetabulum of the pelvis (320-566) in his left hand and compares it to the acetabulum of a deer (cervidae) family.



Figure 408. SECOND COMPARISON - Professor Frank Bayham compares 320-566 this time with a sheep's pelvis. INTERPRETATION - About 320-566, “This compares favorably with sheep as opposed to goat.”

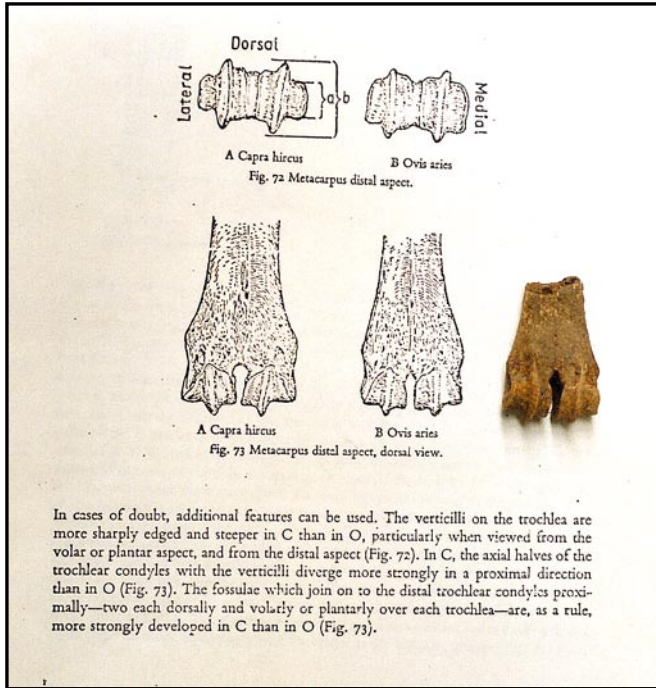
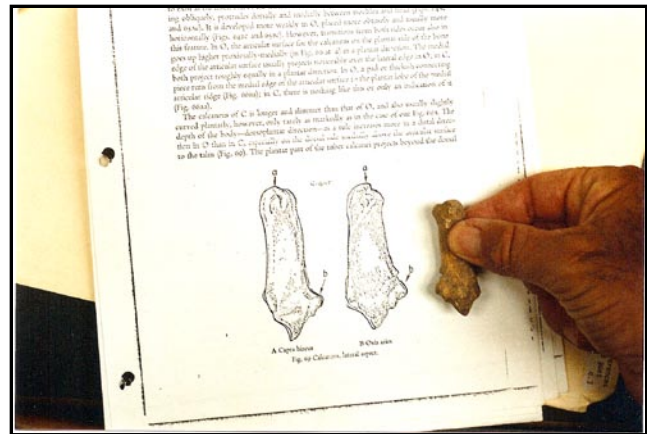


Figure 409. 320-203 distal metapodial piece, "Compares favorably in the direction of sheep within family bovidae." (Fig. 407). 320-203 found in 4N10E, was determined to be a distal metapodial piece. It was first determined as being of the bovid family as opposed to cervidae family. Next was the task of distinguishing within bovidae whether it is a goat (*Capra hircus*) or a sheep (*Ovis aries*).

Boessneck (1968:355) wrote, "The fossulae which join on to the distal trochlear condyles proximally . . . are, as a rule, more strongly developed in Capra (goat) than in Ovis (sheep)." (See Fig. 18). Professor Bayham concluded, "Compares favorably in the direction of sheep within family bovidae." From this reference book illustration, 320-203 distal metapodial piece, "Compares favorably in the direction of sheep within family bovidae.." Reference used was: J. Boessneck 1968 "Osteological differences between sheep (*Ovis aries* Linné) and goat (*Capra hircus* Linné). *Science in Archaeology*, XX:331-358.



Figures 410 & 411. Specimen 320-206 found in 4N10E was a complete calcaneus, and therefore should be fairly diagnostic. Again the process was repeated as above: first compared with deer family and then with bovidae family. Its conclusion came out, "Still similar and leans toward direction of sheep of bovidae family, but not definitive." Conclusion: 320-206 calcaneus, "leans toward direction of sheep of bovidae family, "but not definitive."

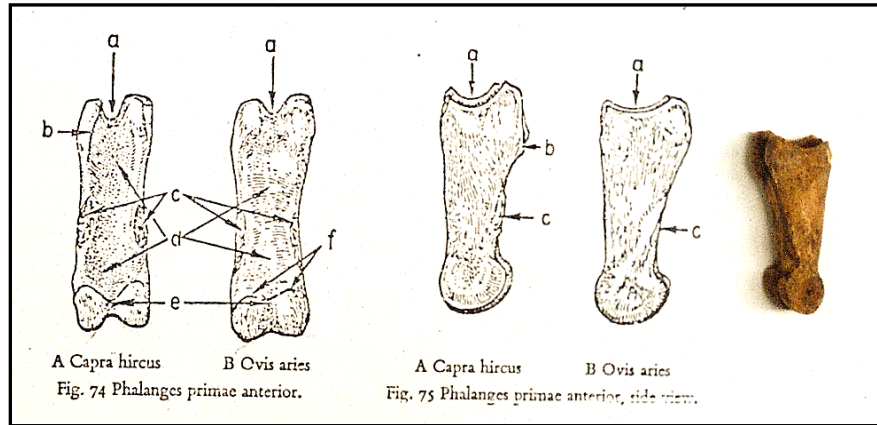


Figure 412. Also in same collection bag 320-206 found in 4N10E, were the 1st phalanx and 3rd phalanx (also called terminal phalanx). Dr. Bayham commented that, "If it is found that lower limb elements of animals are prevalent in a certain area, this often means that in that area a butchery station had been established." First the cervidae family was ruled out. The conclusion about the 1st phalanx was "I'm leaning towards Ovis (sheep) again."

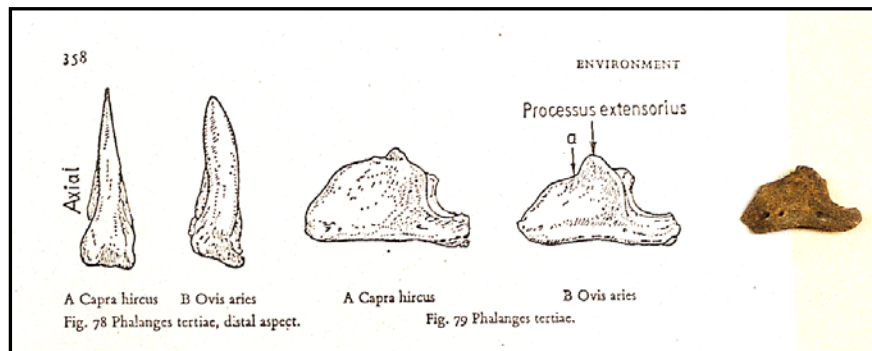


Figure 413. About the 3rd phalanx, Dr. Bayham stated, "Confirmed! Of all the pieces studied, this is most unequivocally sheep!"

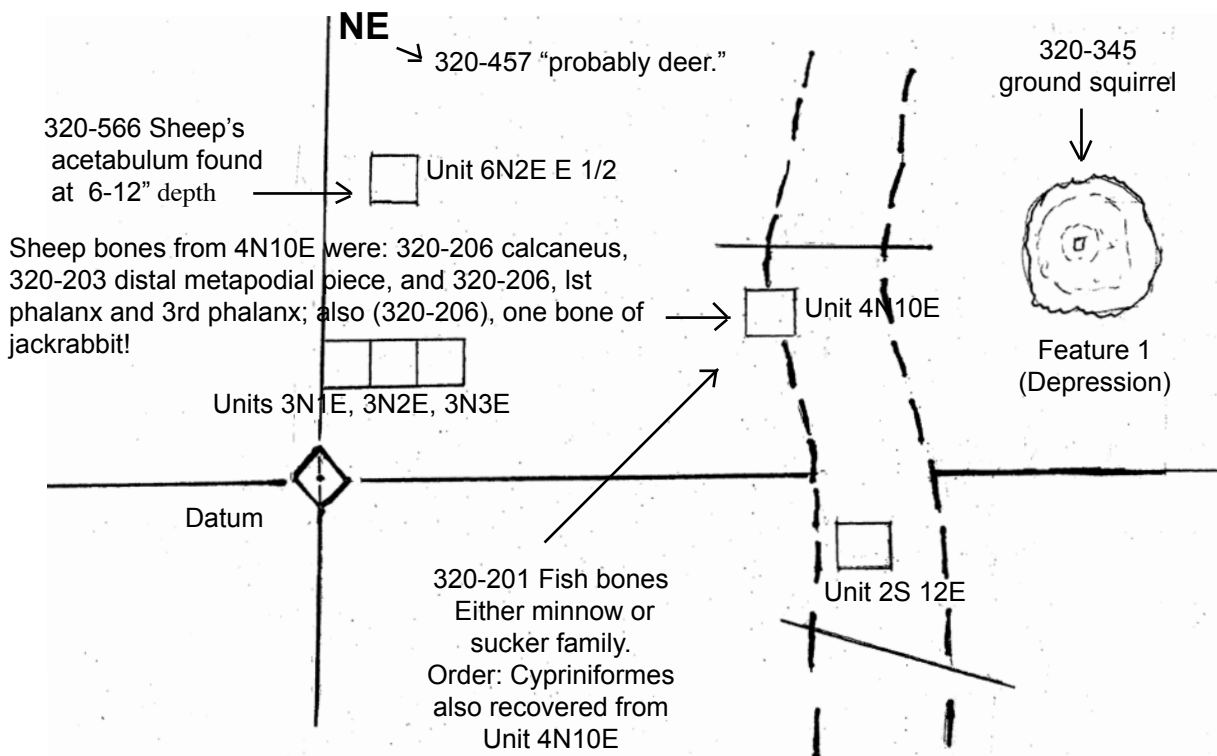


Figure 414. Map: Faunal Materials Distribution CA-TEH-2105H

Table 17 Faunal Remains Count, 2003-2004

Feature 1	0-48"	(5) Lg and small mammal bone fragments
Feature 1	48-60"	(1) Small mammal bones
Feature 1	72-84"	(1) bone fragment placed in foil packet (320-367) to be analyzed.
NE Section	0-6"	(2) [Professor Bayham determined that the "distal portion of a scapula (320-457) "appears closer and is more probably deer." It had been first excluded from being a pronghorn antelope.]
3N1E	0-6"	(60) Small mammal fragments Remark: Screen 1/8"
3N2E	0-6"	(40) Lg mammal bone fragments, 320-082
3N3E	0-6"	(55) Lg mammal bone fragments, 320-252
4N10E	0-6"	(1) butchered bone/ cut by fine saw, 320-202 [Professor Bayham said, "If it is found that lower limb elements of animals are prevalent in a certain area, this often means that in that area, a butchery station had been established."]
4N10E	0-6"	(80) mammal bone fragments 320-189
4N10E	0-6"	1/2 bag burnt bone fragments, 320-200
4N10E	0-6"	1/2 bag Lg mammal bone fragments, 320-205
4N10E	0-6"	1/2 bag misc. mammal bone fragments, 320-204
4N10E	0-6"	(2) Fish vertebra
6N2E E 1/4	6-12"	(39) Lg. mammal fragments
6N2E E 1/4	6-12"	(17) Small mammal fragments



circa 1920 Photo of the purported “Hi Good Cabin” at his 1866-1870 sheep camp.

Same photo, Figure 108 from page 178 of this report.

(Note: Its original provenience data may also be found on page 178).

“Back wall of cabin with chimney.” Hence, structure’s front with entrance (door), likely faced the creek (wash).

Notice the “white splotch” on the cabin’s side wall (at right side in the photo), now believed to have been a small window. Four fragments of thick, perfectly flat, and opalescent glass were recovered from Unit 3N1E to confirm the likelihood that there was a window in what has been established as the structure’s west facing wall.



2003 Photo, and taken looking south/southeast.

Figure 415. The same dark horizontal shadow line in the upper right of this photo appears in the vintage Hi Good Cabin photo above. The original cabin’s front door very likely faced south/southeast, towards Acorn Hollow Creek. Pictured in the foreground is a surveyor’s transit with tripod that straddles the site’s datum.

II. Cabin Structure with Associated Artifacts

Preserved by the archaeological record regarding the Hi Good period during the years 1866 to 1870, are a select number of artifacts that contextually have been assigned to his sheep camp. The sheep camp appears to have had one structure, a rough cabin, about 14' x 14', which had a large fireplace hearth of bricks and stones. To properly describe the artifacts' contextual relationships, it is requisite to first describe the cabin's location on the flat, its estimated size, orientation, as well as how these tentative conclusions were determined.

Cabin's Orientation and Dimensions

The Cabin's Orientation - Retired archaeologist Ed Clewett of Shasta College in 2004, upon visiting the Hi Good site to help in mapping, also studied the vintage Hi Good Cabin photo (Fig. 108, also reprinted on next page below). The professor noted the horizontal dark shadow line in the photo's far right side. Next from where Clewett was standing, his experienced eyes surveyed the surrounding terrain. He got the author's attention, with a copy of the vintage photo in hand. He pointed south towards the seasonal wash of Acorn Hollow. He asked whether the dark shadow in the vintage photo was the creek line?

The short of this is that Professor Clewett's hypothesis for the cabin's orientation has survived the test of time. The dark lines in Figures 108 and 415 (opposite) are invariably made by the same immediate creek and hill embankment, visible in the south. This also infers that the cabin's back wall with brick chimney faced north; the front door southeasterly, which greeted the morning sun. This challenges, however, what Tehama County locals have observed about their weather patterns. Property owner Mike Hamilton stated on 12/8/2001 that:

Also about the line cabins, most storms came in from the south in this region, so all through the Vina Plain, they put a front door in the northeast corner. That way they didn't get a direct beat on the doorway itself then. It was more protected.

The archaeological record also includes four opalized glass fragments (320-594) found in the trench Unit 3N1E (also part of the Feature 2, "brick scatter"). These largest fragments, along with nine smaller glass fragments (320-077) from Unit 3N2E, upon more study, fulfill all the requisites for old window pane glass. They are all perfectly flat. They are heavier than any of the other flat glass fragments found at the site. They all measure 1/8" thick (.125 inches), which is within the range for window pane glass thickness. The opalized glass, with its thick layer of this hydrate, may

be dated pre-1920, because more soda was used until that time" (Adkison 2002:1.23). Moreover, there is visible in Fig. 108 (at right in photo) a small white splotch that suggests a small window. It faced west, based on the above. The site data suggest that the Hi Good structure's northwest corner stood in or approached Unit 3N1E (See Figure 417 "Map of Cabin's Footprint").

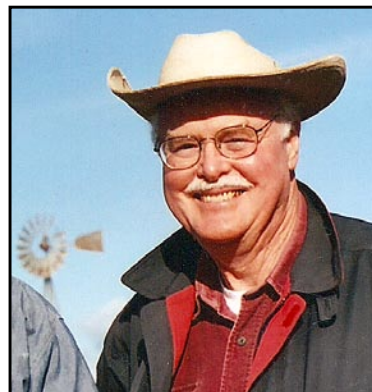


Figure 416. *Emeritus Professor Ed Clewett of Shasta College at site on 2/27/2004. Photo by author.*

Cabin Location. This structure was on the north side of Acorn Hollow's seasonal wash and down low on a flat, with hills to its north side protecting the cabin's residents from direct exposure to the stern north winds. The structure stood in the area where the site's datum was placed (See Figures 410 and 411). The several oral histories of the Hi Good location secured (See Ch. 2 Background History), along with the one exclusive "Hi Good Cabin" photograph, as taken by Minnie Brown Leininger in about 1920, lend compelling evidence that the Acorn Hollow flat in Section 21 of T. 25N, R1W, is where the Hi Good cabin originally stood. This Hi Good structure, called a "cabin" in most sources, is not to be confused with Hi Good's earlier built, "ranch house" headquarters, about 1 1/2 miles south on the south side terrace along Deer Creek in Section 33 (See maps, Figures 54 and 152).

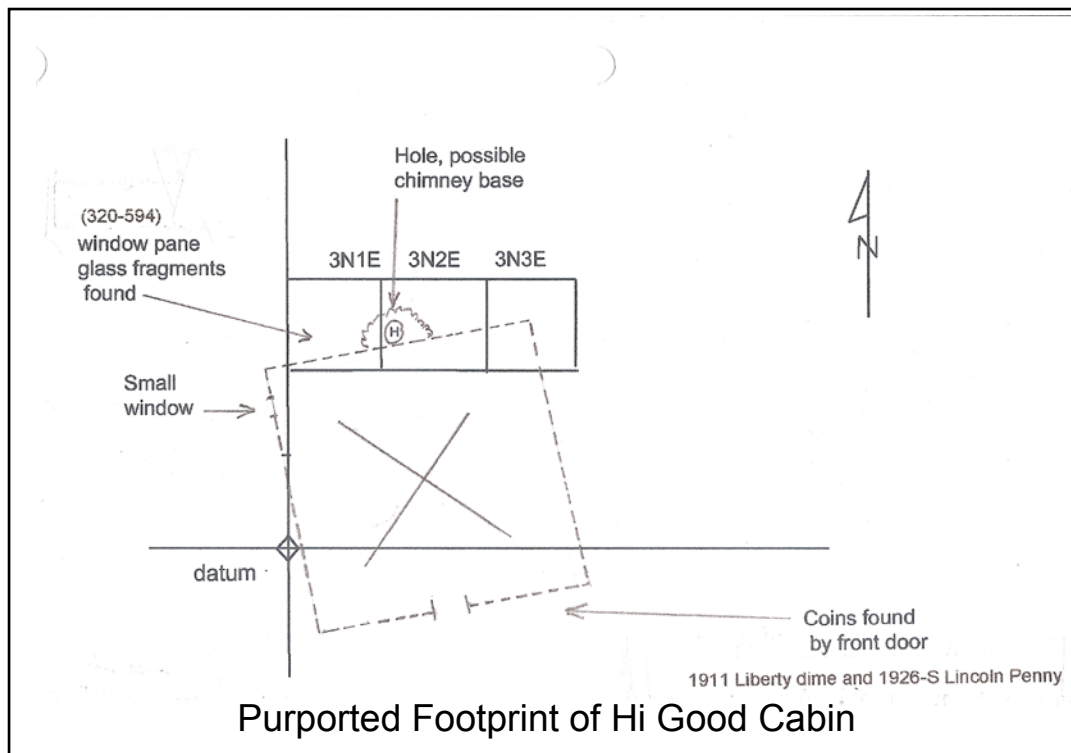


Figure 417.

Cabin Size and Dimensions Of the three people standing in front of the Cabin, Jim Stark, the Vina and Corning school teacher, is the one figure assumed to have been about 6 feet tall. This is the measure used to ascertain the approximate size/dimensions of the structure.

The cabin, built in about 1866, or a little earlier, was 14' by 14,' or perhaps a little larger, and about seven feet high at the corners. It had a red brick fireplace. Its fire hearth was of bricks and of basaltic stones with mortar. Also one prehistoric milling stone was found, to date, as part of the fire hearth [and possibly called a cobble stone instead by Moak 1923:32.] There is no record of a wooden floor, but there probably was one, especially if the structure served in any capacity as a kind of "line cabin" at a sheep camp.

The vertical chimney probably collapsed about 1937 (See Feature 2 discussion). About the brick scatter artifacts, it merits mention here that five specimen numbers (for whole brick and brick fragments and mortar fragments) are also assigned from the Hi Good structure's fireplace hearth and chimney tower. Corroboration for this, again, is the unique "Hi Good Cabin" photo (Fig. 108) that shows one quite large brick/stone chimney placed in the middle of its presumed north facing wall.

The size of the sheep camp cabin's front door is undetermined. Because of the aforementioned low corners, however, even an average sized person invariably had to stoop to enter.

From a study of Figure 108, the structure's outside walls were of milled* materials of board and batten construction. Whether the cabin's main floor, corner, and roof timbers were hand hewn remain unresolved. It is a consideration that possibly they were later recycled. Are any of these timbers one or more of the hand hewn uprights and roof beam supports today to be seen in the adjacent feed shed? The two vertical timbers are each eight feet long. Two more hand hewn pieces are cut such that they overlap each other. Together they support the feed shed's roof. Each is eleven feet long, spanning some twenty-two feet, fitted together as they are (see Fig. 385).

* It remains unlikely that the larger timbers were milled, for as early as 1851 James Paine (or Payne) who built his sawmill on the east bank of the Sacramento River a short distance above the mouth of Mill Creek "sold at an enormous price," remarked Judge Edward. J. Lewis. Pioneer Job Dye constructed his early sawmill, too, but it was at Antelope Mills a distance. Dye was selling lumber to customers in 1859 (Bauer 1970:10-11).

Specimen Number	Horizontal Provenience	Depth	Description
320-594	3N1E	0-6"	Four aqua-colored, opalescent glass fragments (1/8" thickness)



Figure 418. Four windowpane, opalescent glass fragments (320-594) are "pre-1920" glass, and likely came from a small window that was part of the Hi Good cabin's west facing wall. Such a window is suggested in the vintage "Hi Good Cabin" photo (Fig. 108) where the white splotch appears. All total, 39 similar windowpane shards were recovered: 17 smaller fragments from Unit 3N2E; 1 from Unit 3N3E, and 3 from Unit 6N2E E1/2, 0-48 inches.

Door Hardware Artifacts Found Have Been Assigned As Likely From the Hi Good Cabin

It is apparent that three specimens can be assigned the Hi Good Cabin's front door: (1) a door strap hinge (320-436), (2) three metal front and back plate fragments (320-433a, 433b, and 433c) of an upright rim knob lock, and (3) a molded steel latch piece with pin hole (320-119). The latter was probably part of the internal manual pivoting piece of the same door rim mounted lock (See below). Assigning them is based on the facts that their recovery occurred fairly close to where the cabin's front door once faced, and that both the door strap hinge (which was hand forged) and the upright rim knob lock style have been identified as Civil War era relics (see below).



Figure 419. Door or gate strap hinge fragment (320-436) recovered from the NE quadrant, has been hand-forged welded. 8" long x 7/8" width, with two 3/8" screw holes. Part of this strap hinge broke off (at its right end above). It probably had three holes punched out when red hot, not just two.

These remarks were secured about 320-436:

- Tools expert Wes Creager of Briarwood Antiques and Collectibles in San José, California, explained, "This female part of a door or gate hinge would have had a pintle and set by gravity." Note: Its male companion piece, the pintle, has not been recovered.

- Merced County rancher John Latta described it as "a hinge probably for a door or gate." Latta added, "This is like the type for a barn door to separate food from the animals."

- Farming equipment consultant and instructor at Butte College, Doug Flesher said that when red hot, it was bent on an anvil and forge welded and the holes were punched out."

Because this piece was found in the NE quadrant where two structures once stood, its heaviness as a factor, and that it was forge welded with holes punched out, it likely came from Hi Good's cabin rather than from the purported "tack room" or "line cabin" structure (see Ch. 6 Feature 5 "Collapsed Structure" discussion on pages 489-490).

Drawing by
Janice Newton.

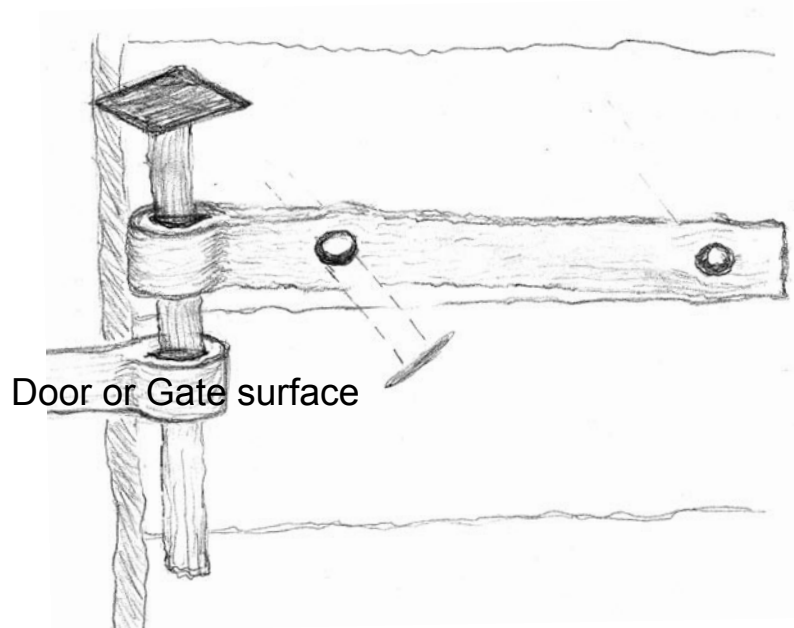
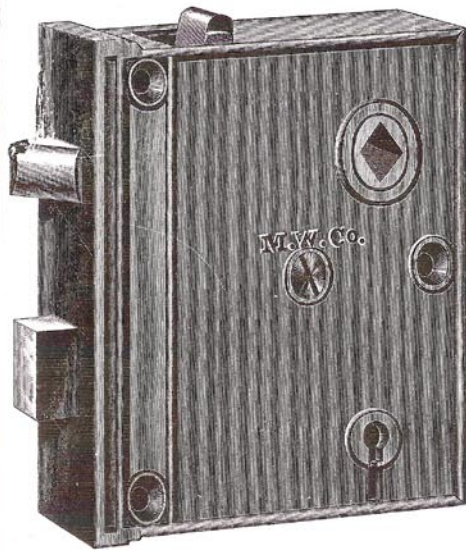
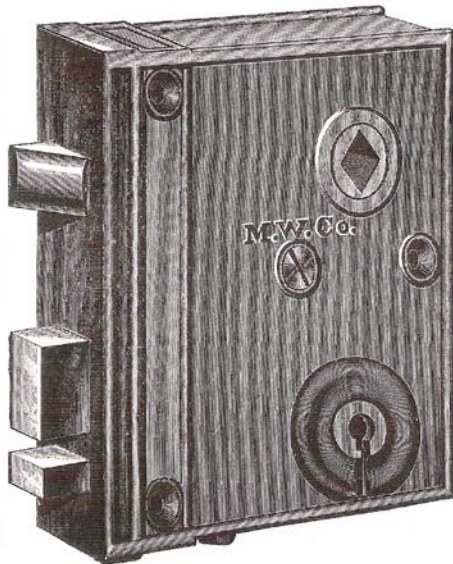


Figure 420. "This interpretation assumes a bolt or shaft with square head was dropped through a second "eye" bolt, as opposed to the more popular method by which a pintle (female part) would have protruded vertically and set by gravity. Also, the door hinge piece found is a fragment. It would have been longer and punched with a third hole, so that three heavy nails or screws would have been put into the door to attach it more securely.

Figure 421. This is a typical lower gate hinge that hangs by gravity. It is on a ranch today in Lassen County. The male bolt part through the "eye" on which the other part turns, is called the pintle. Photo by author, 2007.



Upright Rim Knob Locks.

Style of key for Lock No. 00215 $\frac{1}{2}$.Style of key for all Nos. except 00215 $\frac{1}{2}$.

JAPANNED CASE.

REVERSIBLE.

No.	SIZE.	BOLTS.	KEY.	TUMBLERS.	STOP.	PER DOZ.
001	4x3 $\frac{1}{2}$	Iron..	Iron ...	1	With...	\$3 35
01 $\frac{1}{2}$	4x3 $\frac{1}{2}$	Iron..	Brass ..	1	Without	6 30
0215	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ x3 $\frac{1}{2}$	Iron..	Brass ..	1	With...	7 00

No. 001 Reversed by Removing Cover.

Nos. 01 $\frac{1}{2}$ and 0215 Reversed by Turning Latch Bolt Half Around.

Packed half dozen in a box.

JAPANNED CASE.

WITH THUMB BOLT.

REVERSIBLE.

No.	SIZE.	BOLTS.	KEY.	TUMBLERS.	THUMB BOLT.	PER DOZ.
001 $\frac{1}{2}$	4x3 $\frac{1}{2}$	Iron..	Tinned.	1	With...	\$5 50
001 $\frac{1}{2}$	4x3 $\frac{1}{2}$	Iron..	Brass ..	1	With...	6 90
00215 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ x3 $\frac{1}{2}$	Iron..	Nickled	1	With...	7 60

Reversed by Turning Latch Bolt Half Around.

Packed half dozen in a box.

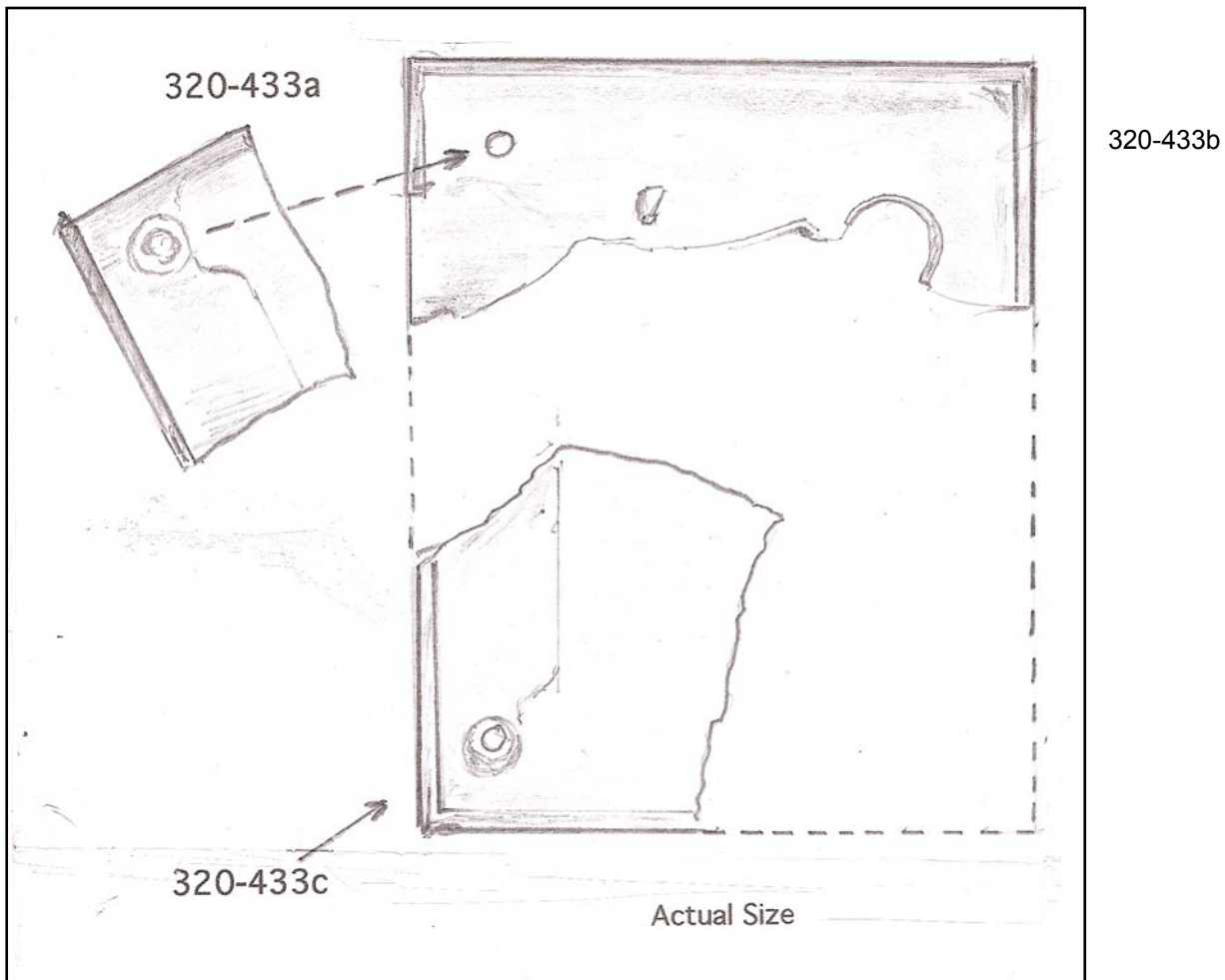
Figure 422. Regarding specimen 320-433a, 433b, & 433c. *Collectors Guide to Locks & Keys Price Guide*. Gas City, Indiana: L-W Promotions, p. 34. [No date]. Available from Clifford Moffitt of Susanville, CA. Backside reads, "For additional copies send \$3.95 to L-W Promotions, Box 69 Gas City, Indiana 46933.

Notice that the lower version of the upright rim knob locks is for a door with its hinges mounted on the right side of the door. Customarily is that the (skeleton) key hole is below the knob hole. Notice also that the "box" corner screws are both on the door "latch side," that is top left corner and bottom left corner.

Three cast iron plate fragments were found of an upright rim knob lock box or case used as early as the U. S. Civil War years. Fragment 320-433a is the orphan piece collected from the SE quadrant by aid of a White Classic II metal detector. Fragments 320-433b and 320-433c were found in the NE quadrant, and closest to Unit 4N10E. It appears that all three came from the same door lock box or case (see Fig. 416). This same type of door lock was for sale in *Sears, Roebuck & Co. Catalog* (1897:90) & (1908: 141). This lock box or case comes with a receiver that was not found at the site.



Figure 423. Owner Wes Creager of Briarwood Antiques and Collectibles in San Jose, CA, sells this same type of door lock that he believes “dates back to the Civil War.” Notice its latch (in middle foreground above) that looks like a little tongue protruding. The cast iron piece (above right) is specimen 320-433b found at the Hi Good Cabin site, with 3 1/4” length. It is a part of the back plate side, the part that goes with the end that has the hole (with square opening) for the hand knob and connecting inside and outside hand knobs.



Actual Size

Standard case size: 3 1/4" x 4"

Figure 424. This sketch illustrates the relationships of the three fragments found at the Hi Good Cabin site. They are numbered 320- 433a, 433b & 433c; parts of the box or case of an upright rim knob lock that might have been part of the cabin's front door hardware. Dimensions: 320-433a is 1" x 1 1/2," 433b has length of 3 1/4" and 433c is 1 1/2" x 1 1/2."

Comments: 320-433b and 320-433c share the same GPS location, collected the same day, 4/10/2003, in the area that would become the NE quadrant. The standard size for this type of cast iron lock box was: 3 1/4" x 4". Three separate interpretations are provided:

- Wes Creager (Tools expert): "These are part of a cast iron rim lock box of the 1850s or 1860s civil war era. The cover plate is missing. The box is also missing the receiver. Its square door knob inside part is also missing." (11/27/2006).

- Rancher John Latta of Merced County: "These are door latch fragments with no key lock on it probably." (12/2 2006).

- Cliff Moffitt, "These are mounted onto the door with screw heads on the inside for security reasons"(1/12/ 2007).

It seems more likely than not, that the Civil War era upright door rim lock parts came from Hi Good's cabin door. Good's admiring neighbor, Dan Delaney, even included this anecdotal story about Good one day hiding inside his "house" from the Indians. One can only assume Good "locked" his door for protection. Delaney (1872) wrote:

This brought the Indians frequently to the house, and frequent communications with the Indian boy, corrupted him. Promises after promises were made by the treacherous devils to bring in arms and capitulate for peace, but never complied with. Still Capt. Good held the hostages. The Indians sought, as a last resort of treachery, his protection against hostile foes, and begged the privilege to camp near the house, where no wild Indian dare venture without permission. Intending to kill him, upon one occasion, they, early in the morning commenced a noise of battle as if attacked by a numerous foe. Capt. Good was too wary to be taken by surprise, and would not venture out. Finding they had failed in their designs, and being confident that the renowned hunter had conceived their intentions, and fearing consequences which would surely come, the tribe decamped (Underscore author's).

Why the Indians did not burn the wooden structure down with Hi Good inside is unexplained. And why Delaney used the word "house" and not "cabin" for Good's structure on the flat in Acorn Hollow where he was living, is also inconsistent. For instance, in Delaney's same 1872 article he wrote that Hi Good was ". . . odd in his selection of a home, locating it where nature assumed her simplest character, amid hill and plain, free from culture, unvarnished and unimproved, existing in native simplicity and grandeur." (Underscore author's).



Figure 425. “This piece (specimen 320-119) is 3.5” x 1/8” x 1/16.” It is conceivably a manual pivoting piece of a door rim mounted lock, which always is mounted on the “inside” of the door for locking the lock without a key. This piece might go with a series of other internal pieces which, when taken together, makes the bolt to work in the lock or unlock positions.” —Cliff Moffitt, Locksmith Consultant

Comments: Its use was for pivoting but for exactly what remains undetermined. Cliff Moffitt was shown said specimen 320-119, in 2006, at his home in Susanville. Now retired, Moffitt served 25 years as a U.S. military locksmith at the former US Army Base at Herlong.

It may well be that this piece is the manual triggering mechanism that goes with the three door rim lock/latch fragments, 320-433a, 433b, and 433c.

First Moffitt used a magnet and determined that its material is metal, not brass nor aluminum. He reported, “It is steel that was molded.” Using calipers he determined that it is tapered slightly, ranging from .218 mm to .206.

Other conjectural comments by Mr. Moffitt included: “Possibly a mounted passage lock mechanism rather than a key controlled lock. When its orientation is held one way, this stationary piece is balanced to pivot perfectly; a kind of gravity controlled pivoting piece one could manipulate to lock and unlock the door from the inside. This could be the mechanism piece for controlling the manual lock when the person is ‘inside’ a cabin or outhouse, for it definitely shows wear on its one end, this end’s edges are rounded, suggesting wear from earlier movement. And it is not a padlock piece. Padlocks are portable. Door latches are mounted. If its ‘latch box’ was mounted on one side of the door, it is called a “rim lock” type. It could be a door latch part or a part to a carrying case. The purpose of the piece, whatever it is, is to move up and down, for it is heavier on one end—designed to pivot.”

Cliff Moffitt added, "Its center "hole" was for pivoting inside the lock, activating the lock." This same observation by Roy Shelley, professional clock repairman, led to the conclusion that this artifact is probably not a clock piece.

Not a clock piece probably: On June 14, 2006, the mystery piece was shown to The Clock Shop owner and clock repairman of 25 years, Roy Shelley of Redding, California. He said, "Possible a clock piece but the hole is too small for a screw to go through. The size of the object suggests it is for a lever. But the hole seems quite small. Its metal is not of hard steel for I can bend it. Yes, if it was in a fire, then all the tension has gone out of it. It doesn't seem like a part of a clock. Basically, the early 19th century clocks were of two types: (1) O-G or weight driven clocks and (2) English G clocks. Maybe it is of an old door lock?"

Not a firearm piece either probably: Armaments experts John Martin (Chair of Department of Gunsmithing, Lassen Community College, Susanville, California) and Associate Instructor in Gunsmithing Jim Wages (Susanville Police Department veteran of 35 years retired) were consulted on May 31, 2006. Both were doubtful that it is a gun piece. Jim Wages explained, "It is rather long and not compact enough like are most gun pieces."

Other Hypotheses: Still other hypotheses include a lever system piece, maybe for a scale or for maybe a sewing machine. About the latter, it may be part of a feeding mechanism for moving the cloth. Or maybe for feeding the thread in certain positions. But best guess, at this writing, for 320-119 is that it probably was part of the internal manual pivoting piece of the door rim mounted lock that conceivably was a fixture on the Hi Good's Cabin's front door.

* * * * *

CHAPTER NINE
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS
and
RECOMMENDATIONS

“There is so much bad
 In the best of us,
And so much good
 In the worst of us,
That it hardly behooves
 Any of us
To talk about the rest of us.”
 --Anonymous

Chronology

1846 February - Peter Lassen first arrived at his Mexican land grant, *Bosquejo Rancho*, on Lower Deer Creek (today's Vina, Tehama County, California). Blacksmith Dan Sill began working for Lassen by 1847.

1846 March 30 - Frémont's first encampment at Peter Lassen's Rancho happened. April 12-14 Frémont's party circulates rumors of Indian unrest. Circa April 15th and likely unbeknownst to Lassen, Kit Carson, Tom Martin and others carried out the Sacramento River Massacre. At least 175 Native people were reported killed "all in a day" (Frémont 1887:473-498; 516-517).

1848 circa Jan. 19-24 - When J. Marshall discovered gold at the new Sutter's Mill on the S. Fork of the American River.

1848, February 2 - California, NV, AZ, NM and CO were ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

1848, March 15 *The Californian* newspaper first reported that gold was discovered along the American River. The news is not widely believed in San Francisco.

1848, May 12 - Sam Brannan waved his bottle of gold in San Francisco, shouting, "Gold! Gold from the American River!"

1849 - California Gold Rush was underway; 30,000 Americans who moved west in '49; One of these was Alex Barrington.

1850 Nov. 6 - Ohioan argonaut to California named Alex Robb Barrington then in Sacramento bought his \$125 ticket to Panama on Steamer *Antelope*. Had five day lay-over in San Francisco. Dec. 4, Steamer *Antelope* arrived at Port Panama.

1850 - Joseph Goldsborough Bruff befriended Peter Lassen. On about April 16th Bruff drew his drawing "Lassen's Rancho" (Fig. 63) Together Bruff and Lassen left in search of "Gold Lake," and on October 1, when exploring Snowstorm Canyon (Smoke Creek) they discovered the "Hieoglyphic Defile" (Figures 35 & 36).

1854 - approx. year when "Ishi" and "Indian Ned" were born. Also, Irish-American adventurer, Alex Barrington, age 24, in St. Marys, Ohio, successfully recruited Harmon Good, age 18, to go with him to California. About 1854, Barrington's Feb. 29, 1856 letter read: "We had just arrived in Shasta after 300 or 400 miles of a hunting and prospecting tramp through Coast Range mountains from Sac. City to Shasta."

1857, Feb. 4 - Proof of Claim made in Marysville by Harmon Augustus Good for 160 acres on south bank of Deer Creek.

1857 - Growing unrest over the "Indian problem" caused Hi Good, Robert Anderson, and others to begin hunting the Indians. The Indian War years will last until 1865 for the concerned Sacramento Valley settlers.

1858 - Removal from Battle Creek drainage of Yana Indians to Nome Lackee Reservation occurred, which included many Yahi speakers who never numbered more than "300 to 500 souls" in pre-contact times (Kroeber 1925:341).

1864 July -The Mill Creeks raided Big Meadow (today's Lake Almanor), home of the Mountain Maidus' 14-yr. old Mariah, who was captured and made a slave and wife to Chief Big Foot.

1864 late August - General Massacre begins in Millville, Shasta County, California, such that, "The whole number of surviving Yanas of pure and mixed blood was not far from fifty" (Curtin 1899:519).

1865 - Aug. 7th - Mill Creeks raided Workmans' Farm in Concow Valley. Captive Mariah was made to pack the plunder in a buckskin bag (made heavy from all the English sovereign money, watches and jewelry), which, according to Moak (1923:30): ". . . was buried under the fire on the sand bar the morning of the fight."

1865, Aug. 14 - The Mill Creeks had buried their plunder in the sand just prior to the dawn attack called the Battle of the Three Knolls. Captive and slave Mariah secreted herself in a cave along the bank to save herself. She observed and stayed hidden for two full days after the battle. She walked out and made her way back home by September, 1865.

1866 - Hi Good began his small sheep operation with winter range station in Acorn Hollow's Section 21. Good "obtained" a 12-year old Indian boy from the Dicus family; probably when Good also took out \$3,000 loan from Sam and Louis Gyle Company, located on "D" Street "Merchant District" in the riverboat town of Tehama.

1866, April 14 - Sim and Jake Moak participated in their "last" battle against the Mill Creeks (See Moak's Cove Figures 119 & 120), with Robert Anderson the posse's captain. The hunt was in retaliation for raids on Mud Creek of the homes of Albert Silva and Bolliver McKee. Place name history for Moak's Trail likely emanated in memory of this "last" battle.

1870 circa March 15 - Hi Good's party of men with two trailing dogs went some 35 miles east and into the mountain plateau country, probably above Black Rock along the Mill Creek drainage, where they surprised about fifteen "wild" Indians. Good used his Henry rifle and killed their "Old Doctor." Three females were taken hostage. To the white men all the Indians looked the same. These were not remaining Mill Creeks in hiding with plunder but rather they were the last of the Yana (or Kom'bo) who knew very little about Western conventions and had been in hiding, for they had been compromised by the devastating events of 1858 and 1864. They are made prisoners at Good's sheep camp station. The Indian boy Ned is ordered to guard them.

1870 approx. March 31 - The presentation of the Five Bows took place in Twentymile Hollow at Seagraves' cabin. One of the peace envoys was Ishi, then about 16 years of age. It was likely that the three females were relatives of Ishi's.

1870 late April - Negotiations over the release of the three became stalled. Older Indian representatives continued to make runs to camp where the hostages were being kept. Good demanded first their plunder, guns and ammunition.

1870 late April- About the three hostages, Waterman (1918:58) wrote: "These three are handed over to a white man named Carter, living about a mile from Acorn Hollow on Deer Creek . . . Nothing is known of the final disposition of these people."

1870 May 4 - Hi Good was killed.

1870, May 7 - Regarding Hi Good: "The body was found today, pierced with 10 or 12 bullets, and his head mashed with rocks." (MURDER IN TEHAMA. [1870, May 7] *Marysville Daily Appeal*).

1870, May 7 or 8 - This is about when Indian Ned was made to confess and was killed by Sandy Young.

1871, circa January 12 - Tom Cleghorn was born. His given name was Snow-flake or Snow-drop. Born he was while his young mother and grandmother were in the possession and control of Sandy Young and an unnamed companion. About this, Stephen Powers (1877:280; T. Kroeber 1961:241-242) heard from presumably Sandy Young himself, circa 1872, about the Kom'-bo (Yahi) that: "Several years ago this tribe committed a massacre near Chico, and Sandy Young, a renowned hunter of that country with a companion, captured two squaws, a mother and a daughter, who promised to guide them to the camp of the murderers."

1872, June 7 - Dan Delaney, "The Adventures of Captain Hi Good" was published in Chico's *Northern Enterprise*, p. 1/3.

1877 [1976] - Stephen Powers' *Tribes of California* was published [reprinted], inclusive of Powers' descriptions of the Kom'bo (Yahi) and of his observing the "wild-eyed lad" living in Tehama, and named "Snow-drop" by Sandy Young.

1902-1905 - This became the narrow span of years for the particular Lash's Bitters bottle found in Unit 6N2E E1/2 with Feature 7 Ashy Deposit. Span of years is based on: (1) In 1902, the company had name changed to Pacific Coast Glass Works (PCCW) and (2) Through 1905, the Lash's Bitters bottle's lettering was embossed on the bottle "with all sides flat."

1908, Nov. 10 - Long Concealment ended when hunters employed by the Oro Light Power Company discovered Grizzly-Bear's Hiding Place on terrace 500 feet above Deer Creek. An "old crone" was observed (Ishi's mother). The invaders saw three, maybe four "wild Indians" who disappeared. All of the "Indian goods" found in the *campoodie* were taken.

1909 - Indian adversary Robert A. Anderson's memoir, *Fighting The Mill Creeks* was published by Chico Record Press.

1911, August 28 - When mourning, exhausted, and hungry (not emaciated) one of the last Kom'bos (Yahi) was "captured" on what was then the outskirts of Oroville. He was kept under "protective custody" in the Butte County Jail for seven nights. Tom Waterman, who was the fifth man to join the new UC Berkeley Anthropology Dept. went to Oroville and was able to open communication with the Indian stranger. Arrangements were made and on Sept. 4, the Indian was escorted to San Francisco. The very next day, Professor Kroeber told the reporters that from now on "He shall be known as "Ishi," which means "man" in his Yahi language.

1912 - Approx. year when Professor Waterman interviewed Almira (Briggs) Brown Williams in Tehama about Hi Good.

1914, May 13-June 2 - Ishi led the anthropologists back to his "old haunts" for 19-days of camping along Deer, Mill, and Antelope creeks. This was also when Sheep man Gorham Cone Ward had a chance encounter with Ishi.

1915 - Williams Seagraves traveled from Susanville to the UC campus. Seagraves recognized "Ishi" as one of the five warriors of the Five Bows ceremony of 1870. He told Waterman about his early involvement with Hi Good. Waterman, in turn, quoted *verbatim* Seagraves's full accounting in his 1918 "Yana Indians" monograph.

1918 - Published was Thomas Waterman's first ever comprehensive Ishi biography, titled "Yana Indians" by UCFAA & E.

1920 - The year about when Minnie Leininger took the one-of-a-kind photograph of the Hi Good Cabin for local school teacher J. Stark and his wife Emma (Fig. 108). Third person in photo unrecognized. Notice the cabin had a brick chimney.

1923 - Simeon Moak published his memoir titled, *The Last Of The Mill Creeks And Early Life in Northern California*, printed in Chico, California.

1933 - Year when Aermotor's Model "A" 702 "mathematical" windmill first went on sale.

1937 - The year when the one Alka-Seltzer Company glass tube bottle, which was found in Unit 3N3E, was manufactured by the Owens-Illinois Glass Company's Plant located in Gas City, Indiana.

1938 - Year when Tom Cleghorn's photo was taken, when age 67 years old, in Thermalito, Butte County, California.

1961, Jan. 1 - Theodora Kroeber's *Ishi In Two Worlds* book was published by University of California Press.

1946, March 1 - Grantees to the "D" for Section 21 (and more) are C. Roy Carmichael and wife Laura "Lille" Carmichael [Book 172, page 359].

1951, August 30 - Date when cement was poured for windmill tower's foundation slab. This is the projected time when (1) the Aermotor windmill was installed (2) about when the structure from the Dotherow's place was dragged to the study area and used as a horse tack room, and (3) about when a hole was dug and ranch debris was deposited in it.

1971 - Eva Marie Apperson's *We Knew Ishi* book was published by Walker Lithograph Company of Red Bluff.

1980 thereabouts - Purge of many Tehama County tax records occurred. Perhaps the Coroner's report for Hi Good was destroyed at this time?

1992, August 21 - Charles Roy Carmichael died.

1993, June 14th - Estate of C. Roy Carmichael transferred Section 21 to Fred W. Hamilton Sr. [Book 1453, p. 14; 10188].

2001, Dec. 8 - Property owner Mike Hamilton first showed this researcher the Hi Good Cabin flat in Acorn Hollow.

2003, Jan. 10 - Permission was granted this researcher by Hamilton family property owners to conduct scientific excavation of the Hi Good Cabin site.

2003, September 27 - Oct. 4 & Nov. 8 - Marked the first days of field work with students at the site from Feather River College and Shasta College. The datum was placed and the North-to-South cardinal base line was aligned to Magnetic North.

2004, February 7, 14, 21 and 28, Saturdays of site excavating and collecting. On Feb. 14, the sheep hand shear blade was found that verified an early sheep operation. On Feb. 21, first three (of thirty total) .44 Henry rifle cartridges, and one .56.46 Spencer rifle cartridge (of four total) were found. On February 28, one lead rifle ball (.36 cal.) and white clay pipe fragments were found.

2006, September 7 - This researcher located Thomas and Ethel Cleghorn's grave stones in SE corner of the Old Oroville Cemetery, Row 34 #13 & #14.

2007, February 17, 24, March 3, 10, 17 and 24 - Returned to dig for six more Saturdays. Four new units were excavated.

2008, April 5, 12 and 26 - Returned to dig for three more Saturdays. Completed were 4 1/2 more units.

2008, April 6 - This researcher made an historic visit to the Mabelle Martin family home in Sacramento, and saw for the first time their family album photographs of family ancestor Tom Cleghorn.

2008, May 8 & 9 - At the 7th Annual Ishi Gathering and Seminar, three family descendants of Tom Cleghorn --Joyce Martin, Mabelle (Martin) Hayes and Maleah (Martin) Novak-- attended the bus field trip to Tehama County; and they showed publicly for the first time their Tom Cleghorn photographs, as well as told more about their blended family's history.

2009 June - Still no success in locating the Coroner's Report for Hi Good (See Recommendation #7 on page 589).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Our 2003-2004 test excavation of the Hi Good Cabin site, CA-TEH-2105H, demonstrated that spirited team work, combined with rigorous scientific methodology (see Ch. 4) can bear fruitful findings. This is the summary of the findings, inclusive of many of the Project Research Design's twenty test questions (themes). The test questions may be found on pages 22-23 of this report.

Dr. Thomas N. Layton (1997:7) wrote: "Scholarly research often leads one down unexpected paths." The Ch. 2 "Historical Background" subjects pursued led this researcher to several unexpected turns. The data collected stem from two sources: archival library and internet data (Ch. 2 & 3) and from the Hi Good Cabin site's assemblage (Chapters 5, 6, 7 & 8).

Recap of What Was Learned: About the Artifacts Recovered From CA-TEH-2105H

In appreciative hindsight of that memorable Saturday, February 14, 2004, Valentine's Day, when all of us were on task digging at the Hi Good Cabin site, CA-TEH-2105H, it was indeed a most precarious challenge for the daring at heart. Prior archival data collected by this researcher affirmed that a man named Harmon August Good, whose close friends called him "Hi," ran a small sheep operation for only four years from 1866 to 1870. Four years of living by Hi Good and his sheep camp crew, when compared with the span of 138 years (from 1866 to 2004), translated to only .28% of the site's occupancy, while 97% of the time involved presumably other residents who lived and worked at the site.

But uncovered on loving Valentine's Day was the first of a cluster of significant finds that were chanced upon that same winter's month. Found first was one corroded "blunt tip" type blade of an early sheep hand shear, which was first sign confirmation that an early sheep operation was likely underneath our feet. Test question #5 asked: Can we find data, which suggests Hi Good had a sheep raising operation underway in Section 21 in about 1867, such as tools or sheep herder living quarters?

In face of these great odds, and based on all of the site data amassed in 2003/2004, Harmon Augustus Good's presence is likely suggested.

Three parameters speak to this conclusion. They are:

1. Firearm Pieces Attributed to Hi Good. Twenty-six vintage firearm ammunition pieces were found at the site that contextually fit Hi Good's three used gun types.

2. An early Sheep Operation confirmed at the study area. A sheep operation is confirmed based on the faunal analysis completed and three sheep-related tools recovered. The historical dating for the sheep shear blade found, likely from Sheffield, England, actually precedes Hi Good's time period. Burgon & Ball is an old Sheffield firm, for example, who originally made shears, scissors and knives, and whose origin date back to 1730. Available online: <<http://www.burgonandball.com>>

3. Contextually the "local oral history acclaimed" Hi Good Cabin structure appears to have been a conducive living quarters in Acorn Hollow as part of "someone's" early sheep camp operation. That someone was presumably Hi Good. Besides the plethora of bricks from the collapsed chimney, three artifact specimens appear to have come from the Hi Good Cabin's door hardware as well.

During the 2003-2004 field seasons, the objects collected were catalogued as 627 specimens (See Table 2 on page 443). It was found that our initial eight assigned “features” embraced approx. 86.5% of the site data recovered (See Ch. 6 “Features”). For the record, additional field work was completed during 2007-2008 with two new features assigned, making ten. By definition in archaeology, a feature refers usually to a human caused, non-portable element found at a site. This site’s first eight features comprised in their numerical order: (1) one depression or hole of exposed ranch litter (2) an exposed brick scatter (3) an exposed red brick alignment, (4) the ranch road that traverses the site (5) a collapsed structure, two ashy deposits (6 & 7), and (8) the corral, feed shed and windmill complex.

Feature 1 “Depression” (pages 444-454): The depression or hole excavating efforts stopped at 90 inches bottom surface due to time constraints and mud. For at least the top portion, the hole served as a dump with mostly ranch work related debris deposited. The hypotheses that perhaps the “hole” was a hand-dug well, a root cellar, or maybe a privy are now judged as doubtful. Best guess is, again for the top layer, that 1935 to 1951 appear to have been the years when the refuse or litter was accumulating at the site until it was all gathered up and emptied into the new hole in about 1951. Ranching related and wagon part items were as dominate as the several liquor, wine, and beer bottles and cans uncovered. Personal items were less in number, such as: three ammunition firearm items (types one-9MM “Lugar” ammunition casing. Two .30.06 Springfield cartridge shells), tobacco indulgence items, and one discolored, corroded vehicle license plate embossed with “6D 712” and “CALIFORNIA WORLD’S FAIR ‘39” Thirteen additional “time markers” were identified, spanning 1935-1963, inclusive of eight whole glass liquor / wine bottles, three whole animal vaccination bottles, and two glass bottle base/body fragments, one a Coca-Cola Co., “1941”.

Why so many stone cobbles were observed in Feature 1 remains unanswered (See in Ch. 6, page 454, the seven photos). Were these possibly recycled from THE “cobble stone hearth in front of the fireplace . . .” that Simeon Moak (1923:32) described “. . . in front of the fireplace” where Hi Good’s Indian boy Ned, “. . . dug several places where he “. . . knew Good had money buried”?

Alas, this participant reports with a bit of sentimental nostalgia that at least about the top portion of the Feature 1 “Depression,” no treasure coins were found. But only a reader of this entire report who is also a stubborn optimist will continue to believe that Hi Good’s cache of gold coins still lies buried beneath that black plastic tarp that was laid down on February 28, 2004 by the archaeology students, which marks where the bottom of the digging stopped (See Ch. 6, Fig. 335, page 454). Local eye-witness Almira (Briggs) Brown Williams recalled for the curious and sleuthing Waterman, what were most probably the angry Hi Good’s last words. Professor Waterman (1918:58) was impressed and published her testimony. Using the present tense, Waterman wrote: “An Indian boy living with Good “hooks” his cache of money.”

Summary of Feature 2 “Brick Scatter” (pages 455-467): The location of the Hi Good Cabin’s footprint (See Fig. 417 map), which in size was 14’ x 14,’ more or less, was inclusive of some of the Feature 2 trench of concentrated brick scatter. The hole (H) that likely is the bottom of the chimney with fireplace and hearth (See “H” in Figures 337 & 338, page 458), appears to have been at the middle of the north facing back wall of the cabin’s footprint. The structure’s door (entrance and front of the cabin), with assigned door lock parts recovered, appears to have faced southeasterly.

The Hi Good Cabin’s footprint orientation was determined based on three sets of artifact associations (See pages 551-561), namely: (1) the dispositions of recovered clear glass, opalescent windowpane shards (2) U.S. Civil War vintage metal door hinge and upright rim knob lock fragments,

associated with front door, as well as (3) two coins found (during the 2007 field season), which, unbeknownst to their owners “may” have fallen from the occupants’ bedrolls, through the cracks in the wooden floorboards (See “1911” Liberty/Morgan dime Fig. 387 on page 522). The dime and 1926-S Lincoln penny were recovered in 2007, from Unit 1S3E, and inside the cabin and near the cabin’s front door. The precise size and dimensions of the footprint remain unresolved (See Recommendation #2 below).

Summary of Feature 3 “Brick Alignment” pages 469-472: This curious “Brick Alignment” is no longer curious. There was no association found with another structure. The yield of artifacts was minimal.

Summary of Feature 4 “Ranch Road” pages 473-483: As expected, the ranch road and its environs revealed the tip of the iceberg for Wagon/Buggy related artifacts. Three diagnostic pieces were found by metal detector sweeps along Feature 4, of about 20 total Wagon/Buggy related artifacts found at the site (Three photos of such may be viewed in Ch. 5, pages 430-431). They included, for example: one 2” square nut (320-484) with 5/16” center hole; one rounded head carriage bolt (320-485); one threaded carriage bolt (320-447); and one harness hook, for chains on a wagon tongue for a single tree (320-448). Specific time period dates for any of these wagon parts were not forthcoming. Even the cast iron wagon brake pedal (320-344), retrieved from Feature 1 refuse hole, oddly enough had no year of casting mark that was discernible.

Ranch road Feature 4 also involved the “trail less traveled” that “makes all the difference.” Thanks largely to response letters from Vina-reared Bob Aulabaugh, now living in Olympia, Washington, he provided this project with the Fig. 352 map (on page 477) and hand wrote: “ Bill Bible Home.” Unexpectedly, Bill Bible Cabin now gone, is not forgotten nor lost! The rare photograph (Fig. 351 on page 477) courtesy of Vina historian Frances Leininger, shows the original Bill Bible Cabin likely in its heyday, with Clyde Speegle and Bill Bible standing in front. Clyde Speegle (1902-1940) was likely a young friend of Ishi’s, as documented in Burrill’s *Ishi Rediscovered* (2001).

What was William A. Bible’s (1877-1950) claim to fame? Frances Leininger (2009) shared that he was a “trick shooter” for Ringling Brothers Circus! Bible also played in the silent movies in Hollywood. Bible was half-brother to Western Star Jack Hoxie. Bible also knew “Western film star” Charles “Buck” Jones. Bill Bible’s mother was Alice Speegle, whose brother (also Bill’s uncle) was Willard Speegle (1857-1932). That would be the man whose cabin appears on the 1912 map (See Fig. 132, page 224, of this report). On said map, it shows: “W. Speegle’s Cabin,” whose cabin was located about one mile due east of the Hi Good Cabin site, in the NE ¼ of Section 22, Township 25N, R1W. Willard Speegle’s life dates (Lingenfelter Archives) makes him a contemporary of Hi Good!

Lastly a second clarified perspective about this same ranch road surfaced about its earlier place name history, the Moak’s Trail (See Ch. 2, VIII: “California Trails History”).

Summary of Feature 5 “Collapsed Structure” pages 485-492: This fallen structure was apparently obtained and converted into a horse tack storage room under the direction of former owner C. Roy Carmichael. The data obtained affirms that this former structure was never a “line cabin” after all. The structure itself was apparently part of the Dotherow family place about four miles northwest of the study area, that became abandoned and available. The Dotherow structure was disassembled from the family place near Hwy 99E, and dragged across the landscape to the study area likely in about 1950. It was placed on a skid and pulled by work animals. Probable footing stones used for the structure’s foundation were identified (See Figures 358 & 362).

The preponderance of lower limb sheep bones recovered in Unit 4N10E's Ashy Deposit (Feature 6) support a sheep butchery station hypothesis. Unit 4N10E also contained artifacts and archival references that point to male occupants as early as 1865, who worked a sheep or mutton butchery sheep station (see Table 9 on page 500). There were four Civil War (or earlier) metal buttons recovered and the several .44 Henry Flat spent cartridge shells. Those cartridges with the "H" headstamp were manufactured for the Henry Repeating Rifle, of 1860-1866 vintage (Barnes and Skinner 1993:445).

Hi Good's crew in about 1870, included Obe Field, sheepherder Indian Ned, another sheepherder named Jack Brennan (Moak 1923:32). In about 1859, Anderson (1909:52) wrote that a man named "Old Man Dean" was "living with Good." Bill Sublett and George Spiers [correctly spelled Spiers] were the two "hunters" named by Wm. Seagraves for Waterman (1918:58). There remains a gap of names for tenant workers who occupied the study area after 1870. This lack of names is partly attributed to the purging of Tehama County tax records that occurred in about 1980.

Summary of Feature 6 "Ashy Deposit" pages 493-502: An apparent sheep butchery station was in the vicinity of Unit 4N10E (See data listed in Table 9 on page 500). The location and mix of artifacts lifted from the ashy deposit of Unit 4N10E appear to indicate a front or side "porch" locale, used by the original Hi Good Cabin occupants. The data suggests that this porch was their center for socializing. Imaginatively speaking, adult males arose each morning to the warmth and glow from the eastern horizon. They hunkered around their campfire, as they heated up and drank their coffee. Also the men may have dipped their baking powder biscuits into the lamb stew being kept warm inside their Dutch oven container lodged in the campfire's ashes. There, they conversed and apparently spent time dressing. The several suspender slides, vest or pant buckles, and 4-hole buttons recovered all speak to this. Or perhaps some of these accoutrements were lost during work (see page 390-354). The group discussed their plans for the new day. In camp, they likely cleaned and loaded their prized Henry and Spencer repeating rifles. Target shooting probably occurred as well (see Table 8 on page 497 of Feature 6 armaments count).

Summary of Feature 7 "Ashy Deposit" pages 503-510: The amalgam of artifactual data recovered (both archival and artifactual) demonstrate that an early active sheep camp for winter's ranging with camp tender's station likely existed in the vicinity of Unit 6N2E E1/2 and eastward to the ranch road (See Table 11, page 508). Veteran sheep man Jack Haslem believes that Good likely had a small crew of maybe three or four. One or two were shepherds. One was camp tender. They ran a "short season" type operation (See page 198). "Lambing" (assisting with the newborns) was their work in February and March.

The artifactual data for the Unit 6N2E E 1/2 greater area point to a possible early camp tender cooking station existed in this vicinity (See Table 11, page 508). Two can key openers found for sardine type cans were patented by J. Osterhoudt in "1866 and later" (Adkison 2002:3). Later, in about 1900 to 1927, a mix of Personal Group and Architectural/Structural Group artifacts found, give the notion of apparent ranch activities, such as fence repair and some construction activity, combined with leisurely/recreational pursuits. 1902-1905 is the span of years for the one partial Lash's Bitters bottle recovered.

Summary of Feature 8 "Corral, Feed Shed, and Windmill" pages 511-519): In the final analysis of this Feature, the standing windmill at the site was the Aermotor Company's model "A" 702, built starting in 1933. It was further learned that in about "late 1951" property owner C. Roy Carmichael had this windmill installed to provide water for his livestock year round.

In the scope of modern technologies, the "Mathematical" windmill became a winner worldwide. Thomas B. Perry, its engineering genius, invented his reliable machine in 1888, so that "For every stroke (of the pump) the propeller rotates three times." Wind blowing across the Vina Plain, turns

the Aeromotor's propeller (made of eighteen sails called vanes). The wind driven machine's connected, revolving and stroking shaft, pumps up the ground water, which, in turn, fills up the watering troughs for the livestock. When "electrified," that is, when the same moving shaft is run through a generator box, the current of mechanical energy conducts electricity. Harnessed wind power that is converted to make electricity this way, has benefited many rural families over time.

Summary of the Site's Dating Notion Findings

The sorting and totaling of cut (square) versus wire (common round) nails did provide relative age notions (oldest to the most recent) for the units dug. However, statistically the age of the site overall, based on these same nail types, remains unknown in view of site use variability. It cannot be ruled out that some parts (units) of the site may be as old as Hi Good's era 1866 to 1870.

Solarized amethyst glass fragments (indicators of pre-1920s) and aqua glass (popular during the 1880s-1920) were also collected and their mapped distributions noted (See Ch 7 maps, page 534-537).

Artifacts recovered in the same Unit 4N10E and vicinity that are presumably U.S. Civil War vintage, comprised the four, likely one piece cast type buttons, along with six .44 Henry Flat cartridge casings that have the "H" still discernible on their headstamps. Hence, it remains surprising that the earliest "time marker" year collected at the site was "1911." This is the 1911 U.S. Liberty (Morgan) dime that was found in the 2007 field season (See "time markers" Table 12 in Ch. 7, pages 523-524). One fired Colt revolver .45 Automa gun cartridge, with "1912" was the second oldest time maker. Third place went to the only other coin found, a "1926-S" U.S. Lincoln penny. Two whole bottles were identified by their respective glass bottle maker's marks as "1935" and "1937." The finalized partial Lash's Bitters bottle recovered from Unit 6N2E E1/2, had the tight window, 1902-1905 (See photos of the Lash's Bitters bottle with placed fragments having embossed lettering in Ch. 5, pages 332-333).

* * * * *

"The Local Indigenous Tribes" - The inherent struggle between the earth people (the California Indians) and the empire people (the Euro-American settlers) centered around two different uses for the land. The River Nomlaki, Yana, Maidu and other California indigenous tribes had established their hunter-gatherer and semi-horticultural life-style, which date back 15,000 years. This was dramatically disrupted in 1849 by the invasion of hordes of outsiders who "rushed in" with the 1848 discoveries of gold (Available on page 69 is the chart: "Estimated Numbers of Americans Moving West"). These pioneers proceeded to engage in logging, ranching and in industrialization's reshaping of the land. In the gold fields destructive hydraulic mining replaced the less destructive placer mining, such that overnight, northern California's many streams and lakes became polluted. The resultant silt and slickens unfortunately covered the vital gravel beds the salmon and steelhead use for spawning. This, in turn, threatened the indigenous tribes' very existence. The haphazard pollution of the Sacramento and San Joaquin River systems and now the foothill-living, cut off the Native peoples' vital supply of pounded and dried salmon flesh (*nooyi* in Yana). Before, this vital food source helped sustain them through the late winter/early spring months when food resources became naturally scanty.

Summary of data indicating Ishi's Kom'-bo (Yahi/Yana) band was target of Hi Good's party attack in March of 1870 - A review of what may be the strongest data points to Good having discovered Ishi's remote band in 1870, as opposed to River Nomlaki tribesmen, for instance, or perhaps a few compromised Mill Creek renegades. Three observations are:

(1) Good and his posse ambushed the Yahis' "Old Doctor" (not his correct name). The described geographical area where this ambush occurred and the three females taken as hostages, was

east of Hi Good's sheep camp approximately 35 miles distant and along Mill Creek apparently above the Black Rock landmark. Waterman's (1918:58) source was Seagraves: "The next day . . . farther up the creek . . ." [Good's group had camped the night before, it appears at Ishi's campoodie, Bay Tree village. About this village Seagraves said it was "about 25 miles from its mouth" (i.e., mouth here translates where Mill Creek empties into the Sacramento River).

(2) Eye-witness Wm. Seagraves described significantly for Waterman (1918:58) that: "The Indians in this party were loaded down with acorns and similar truck." This sounds more like Ishi's remote band of hunter-gatherers than the "Mill Creeks" refugees who were continually on the run, spoke and swore in English, used guns, and had plunder they had taken from the white settlers."

(3) Stephen Powers (1877:278-279) wrote about the "Kom'-bo" [the Yahi] that:

"When they were more numerous than now [circa 1872-1875], they occupied both Mill Creek and Deer Creek; but nowadays they live wholly in the great volcanic terraces and low mountains west of Mill Creek Meadows."

Where is this place name, "Mill Creek Meadows"? Was not Powers describing here the large "meadow" found along the north bank and just downstream from Black Rock; also upstream about nine miles from *Tuliyani* and Ishi's Bay Tree village? (See Fig. 15 "Ishi's 1913 map, page 32).

Summary of Ishi's Band of Yahis (Kom'-bos) Versus Harmon "Hi" Good. The Yahis' path crossed with Hi Good and his men probably one time; in mid March 1870. Waterman's data suggests that in 1870, Ishi was about sixteen years old. The hard data that points to this may be read in Ch. 2, I: "The Local Indigenous Tribes" (available on pages 40-42 of this report). Initially Ishi's Yahi/Yana population was about 300-400 tribe members. The removal of the Yana (some were Southern Yana or Yahi) in 1858 from the Battle Creek drainage was carried out by other Whites, not by Hi Good. Neither did the 1864 General Massacre that began in Shasta County, and worked its way into Tehama County, involve Hi Good's work (Available on pages 43-45 of this report). The one very credible account when Hi Good went *tete-a-tete* with the Yahi remains Thomas Waterman's (1918:57-58, also reprinted in Ch. 3 of this report).

This researcher determined that Waterman had two eye-witness informants about Hi Good: Almira (Briggs) Brown Williams (interviewed in about 1912) and William Jephy Seagraves (1846 - died circa 1925) who "identified" Ishi in 1915 as one of the Five Bows warriors who had confronted him in 1870. Biographical sketches about these two informants may be reviewed in this report's Ch. 2, pages 108-109 and 157-158. Presumably everything they told Waterman is placed in Ch. 3 "Earliest Published Accounts" of this report, pages 260-264.

Keep in mind that although Robert Anderson (1909) and Simeon Moak (1923) participated with Hi Good in Indian hunting campaigns, what they wrote about the curious events that led to Hi Good's death are hearsay data. They were not on the scene nor were they living in Tehama County in 1870. Almira Brown was living there. Seagraves' cabin was in Twentymile Hollow in the foothills due east of Tehama probably about three miles distant and about four miles due north of Good's sheep camp (See two broad view maps, Fig. 9 on page 21 and Fig. 152 on page 266).

In mid March of 1870, Seagraves was the one who was confronted in the night by the Five Bows warriors. They called for a truce (not necessarily a surrender) to get their three female tribe members back. The savvy Seagraves knew to escort them "down" to Hi Good's sheep camp where the three hostages were being guarded by Good's Indian boy (Ned). Seagraves would relocate permanently to Susanville in 1873. But during 1872, the data shows that he learned more about the plight

and circumstances of the three hostages presumably when visiting the river boat town of Tehama for supplies and for camaraderie. As the data reveals, Seagraves was the informant who was able to detail for Waterman in Berkeley in 1915 (with Ishi present) several concrete facts, such as that “the young woman [hostage] about this time gives birth to a baby, who is called Snowdrop.” The baby was not a girl but a boy. As truth be told in this evolving report this “wild-eyed lad in Tehama” (Powers 1877:281) was named “Snow-flake,” by none other than Sandy Young. The boy would grow up in Igo, Shasta County, and lied to become an American who voted and who owned land. This is all part of “assimilation.” His American “adopted” name, given to him for protection was Thomas James Cleghorn, born up in the mountains in 1871 - died April 9, 1959.

Thomas James Cleghorn (See Ch. 3, Fig. 160, page 276) - This IS one of the exclusive photographs of “Snow-flake” taken in 1938 in Thermalito, Butte County, when Tom Cleghorn was 67 years old. It is published for the first time in this report courtesy of the Robert Martin family members. Data secured reveals that Snow-flake’s mother’s name was “Letitia” [NLN]. Arguably, Letitia was part of Ishi’s remote Yahi/Yana band. The data points to Letitia as one of the three female hostages abducted by Hi Good’s party in March, 1870. Waterman (1918:58), quoting Five Bows participant William J. Seagraves, and writing in the first person, reported that: “The young woman about this time gives birth to a baby, who is called Snowdrop” [and] “The white man was not his father, but one of the wild Indians” (Underscore author’s).

The archival data amassed suggest that in about 1872, Stephen Powers (1877:280) interviewed Sandy Young in Tehama and subsequently wrote: “[Sandy] Young named it ‘Snow-flake,’ and it is living to this day, a wild-eyed lad in Tehama.”

Thomas Cleghorn: born circa Jan. 1871 - died on April 9, 1959. This researcher independently located the graves for both Thomas James Cleghorn and his wife, Ethel C. (Eubanks) Cleghorn in the “Old” Oroville Cemetery, in Row 34, 13 and 14 (See Figures 157a and 157b on page 274).

Summary of Native American Presence and Assimilation Over Time

A system (or model) of relatively successful assimilation strategies used by California Indians was identified from three family profiles, with respective family album photographs obtained with permissions (See Figures 55, 78, 160).

The model involves three elements or attributes. Relatively successful assimilation resulted for the Native American person when:

- (1) The person was given a white family’s last name granted by a sponsor;
- (2) A respected white family sponsor member publicly proclaimed the person was part of their family’s property’s labor force or *rancheria*; and
- (3) the respective community where the Native American person resided understood/respected/did not protest/and acknowledged that same person as part of the white blended family.

For example, with the Mary “Nannie” Hoag profile, the town folk of the Corning, Tehama County community had heard from the wife, Amanda Hoag and understood that “their” Native American Indian girl went by the name “Mary Hoag.”

Similarly, in regards to “Nellie,” the City of San Francisco of 1875 apparently heard and accepted that the Jubal and Sarah Weston family members “christened-girl” was “Nellie Weston,” part of their blended family.

Regarding the “Snow-flake,” the Yahi, California Indian lad living in the town of Tehama, apparently when about age 6 or 8 year old, he (and his mother “Letitia”) were relocated to the Igo, Shasta County community. They were “taken in” there by David Eubanks and his wife Martha (Fox) Eubanks. The Igo community heard and came to respect/and did not protest/ that the Eubanks’ family’s newly acquired California Indian lad (with mother relocated from Henleyville, Tehama County,

went by the names, "Thomas James Cleghorn" and "Letitia" (Cleghorn). Tom Cleghorn's mother, given first name only, "Letitia," however, came from the "wild" Indian band. It is hypothesized that she presumably had the permanent "111" tattoo on her chin. Her tattoo (i.e., look of wildness) and her blood relationship to her son may have led to Letitia being hid out on Thomas J. Cleghorn's owned 78.22 acres (Doc. #05635, BLM CAS 005635) in Igo mine (Pillchuck Lode in South Fork Mining District) in the mountain Section 8, of Township 31N, R6W above Igo during the 1870s to 1919 (Jolliff 2008). It is believed that Letitia died in 1919 (See Ch. 3 Fig. 162 map, page 277).

Assimilation Profiles of three California Indians:

Mary "Nannie" Hoag - Possibly Yahi. When about 12 years old, she was lassoed by an unnamed packer at Inskip Hill circa 1857. The packer "gave" his prisoner to George and Amanda Hoag who accepted "Nannie" and reared her "as family" in their Corning, Tehama County home. Mary Hoag: born circa 1845 - died circa July 24, 1932.

"Nellie" (Weston) - The endearing photo (Fig. 78 on page 127) of the tiny tot christened "Nellie" by the Jubal and Sarah Weston family, was likely one of the small children who was made an orphan during one of Hi Good's campaigns in 1862. It is the only photo discovered by this researcher of an "Indian orphan" with direct provenience to Harmon "Hi" Good. Nellie was probably one of the six children captured by Good and his party on August 3rd (See copy of Good's August 8, 1862 handwritten letter to Governor Leland Stanford, on page 239, Fig. 136b). For his August 3rd entry, it reads, in part:

"At break of day surprised a camp of about one hundred large and small, killed seventeen and wounded many more and captured six children, three boys and three girls, ranging from 1 to 8 year old. [and] We returned to camp same day, packing the children on our backs."

"Nellie" Weston: born circa 1860 - died 1875, from "consumption" (tuberculosis) in San Francisco. Her place of burial remains unresolved.

Thomas James Cleghorn (See previous page above, as well as Fig. 160 on page 276).

Local Indian presence became absorbed into the mainstream culture --Demonstrated by the 1860 Census local family rancheria listings provided in this report (See Sill's on page 118 and Keefer's on page 131), the local Native American population were then mostly assigned laborers on the white man's farms. But by the end of the 19th century, many local rancherias were dissolved or broken up. Some of the Native people found work as miners or in many phases of the lumbering and logging industry in Shasta, Trinity, Lassen, and/or Plumas counties. Some simply disappeared. Some passed as "Mexicans" as migrant fruit harvesters in California's Central Valley. Some Native people displayed an affinity for handling horses, becoming top ranch hands. Some trailed sheep flocks and/or cattle herds through Alturas to Idaho and to Montana (See Wentworth 1954). Some of the more resourceful, hard-working young Native American women found tolerable work as household domestics or nannies for the more affluent white ranch families and/or upscale households in the larger cities inclusive of the San Francisco bay area.

Summary of Things Uncovered About Hi Good

(Overview of Chapter 2, VI: "Land History," pages 159-167)

As for where precisely Hi Good placed his head at night in 1870, Good's admiring neighbor Dan Delaney (1872) described Hi Good, as:

"... odd in his selection of a home, locating it where nature assumed her simplest character, amid hill and plain, free from culture, unvarnished and unimproved, existing in native simplicity and grandeur."

Simeon Moak (1923:32) wrote: "Good lived in Acorn Hollow at this time and had a fine ranch and garden on Deer Creek about one mile and a half south." This researcher found further corroboration for the above based on the local oral histories conducted with Norman Leininger, Francis Leininger, Fred Wikoff, Ed Little, John Aulabaugh, among others (See VII: "Oral Histories). They all agreed that the Hi Good Cabin they knew of was the chosen study area in Acorn Hollow's Section 21. Arguably, the telltale gun shell fragments recovered from Unit 4N10E, have increased the probability of Hi Good's presence at the site. Significant is that three different calibers of Hi Good's known vintage gun types were all recovered within 5' x 5' Unit 4N10E (see pages 397-412 and 496-497). The site data also gives confirmation that an early sheep camp with modest cabin structure was here.

This precise spot, Unit 4N10E, is believed to have been the side porch area adjacent and on the east side of the Hi Good's Cabin structure. The site data shows that adult males dressed and no doubt conversed here. The rising morning sun warmed them, as they discussed their plans for the day, cleaned their guns, and cooked their meals. Based on the site data, breakfasts consisted of mutton, sour dough biscuits, sardines, and coffee. Fresh salmon were gilled seasonally from nearby Deer Creek. One gaff fragment, modified from likely a pitchfork, was uncovered (See Fig. 315 on page 434).

The significant number of lower limb sheep faunal remains also buried amongst gun ammunition types that Hi Good is known to have used, all found in Unit 4N10E, suggest that this same spot likely served as a butchery station at Hi Good's early sheep camp.

Land history questions and resolution: The challenge by some doubters who joined in the excavation project was how could this location be Hi Good's Cabin if there are no property records for Hi Good whatsoever in Section 21? This is now better understood. The excavation project likely uncovered Hi Good's short-lived sheep camp operation, with rough cabin in Acorn Hollow. This camp station was an extension of Hi Good's bona fide "headquarters" ranch, which was located 1 1/2 miles due south and on the south side of Deer Creek in the SE ¼ of Section 33. Good's ranch became "bona fide" on February 4, 1857, by one named "Harmon A. Good." He had reached 21 years of age, and thereby made his "Proof of Claim" at the closest U.S. General Land Office in Marysville, Yuba County, California.

From 1857 through 1870, when Good was killed at age 34, Good's sheep camp locale likely was still so remote that it was suitable and idyllic open range land, without competition by any other souls for its use, let alone wanting its ownership. Good was likely "borrowing" on it, which was the colloquial term for his day. Good used the grassy study area flat for his flock of sheep's winter range. He conducted his annual "lambing season" there from February through the end of April (See IX: "Early Sheep Operations"). Whether Hi Good ever planned to purchase the sheep camp flat in Section 21 remains an unknown. The "Harmon Augustus Good claiming the right of pre-emption" approved February 1, 1859 is the official affidavit (Figure 104 and placed on page 164) obtained from the National Archives, Washington, D.C.

A final review of the history of “checkerboarding” to attract the railroad barons to build north through Tehama County leaves it doubtful, yet possible, that Hi Good would have known about that significant event whereby every odd numbered section, inclusive of Section 21 of Lassen Township of Tehama County, was “checkerboarded” for the railroad owners.

This researcher, upon visiting Catherine Ranberg-Coombs with Tehama County Assessor’s Office in Red Bluff, was first shown the one-of-a-kind 1859 map “Lassen Township 25N, R1W.” Its official survey plat was approved August 8, 1856. In the process, it was learned that California plats are kept on file for public access and use at the BLM’s Survey Records Office in Sacramento, California.

Upon scrutiny of this 1859 map (See Fig. 103 on page 160), Catherine Ranberg-Coombs explained:

“Someone with authority sometime after 1866, and likely no later than 1870, used a different ink pen and wrote “C&ORR.” [California & Oregon Railroad Company] over every other section of the Township 25N map.”

This is good information (no pun intended), for it was found that in 1870, the California & Oregon Railroad Company consolidated with the Central Pacific, under the name, Central Pacific Railroad Company (C.P.R.R.). This means that the checkerboarding had to have been inked on the 1859 map on or before 1870. With this said, February 9, 1875 was determined to be the first time when the U. S. Government granted a patent to the C.P.R.R. for all 640 acres of Section 21; and filed in 1878 (See VI: “Land History” for Sections 21 and 33).

When the railroad first arrived: Hi Good, in his lifetime (1836-1870), never saw the railroad cross his locale at Deer Creek. The first “RR cars arrived in Tehama on August 12, 1871; and reached Red Bluff first on December 2, 1871, then Redding in 1872” (Gans scrapbook).

* * * * *

Harmon Augustus Good (1836-1870) - Teased from all the data (from both library or archival data and from the site recovered data), is that Hi Good was probably not the kind of fellow who kept his hands in the soil. He was more a dandy and a river boat gambler type. Delaney (1872) wrote that Hi Good was:

“Odd in his dress, which, though scrupulously neat, was composed of many colors, differing from the prevailing fashions, and well adapted to the showing of his well developed and symmetrical proportion.”

A review by this researcher of Hi Good’s three hand-written letters, still extant and preserved by the California State Archives indicate he had been schooled (educated), probably by his parents paying “teacher subscriptions” in Pennsylvania and/or in Ohio. His vocabulary was sophisticated. He expressed himself well to others. He was proficient at using Indian dialects. Good was athletic and often tramped long distances. He learned to be a good tracker. In the eyes of the bigger ranchers, Good would have been labeled a “nestor” or small homesteader, which is what the ranch related archaeological data recovered suggests (See copy of Good’s Aug. 8, 1862 letter, Figures 136a & 136b on pages 237-241).

Hi Good's inside contacts/associates beg more questions - Good circulated or traveled on foot, or on his horse Buck, to visit his contacts in the riverboat town of Tehama (see Figures 88 and 89, p. 136). His close friend, Sandy Young, still lived in Chico. That they were more than casual friends is suggested by Figure 100 (on page 154). Sam Gyle who also lived in Tehama was Good's money lender. Sam and his brother, Louis Abraham Gyle, both Jewish, ran their money lending and investment business as partners. Neither Hi Good nor Sam Gyle were Masons, but Louis Gyle was, so this connection is established. Sandy Young was a Mason with the Chico lodge.

Found by this researcher was one photograph and one engraving illustration, which show the precise location of the Gyle & Company Loan office on the north side of the wooden buildings that faced one another along Tehama's downtown "D" Street "Merchant District" (See Figures 88 & 89 on page 136). On August 16, 1908 Tehama's second major fire destroyed almost every "D" Street merchant building and along with the flames unfortunately almost all the merchant and City records and secrets. The Town of Tehama incorporated to a "City" in 1906.

This researcher found surprisingly very little about Sam Gyle. It will be interesting to see what new findings surface when, and if, Sam Gyle's papers are found. Following Hi Good's death, it was Samuel A. Gyle, who, on December 23, 1874, became the new owner of Harmon Good's SE ¼ of Section 33 (See page 166 of VI: "Land History"). It was learned that Sam Gyle ended up in Corning, where he died February 28, 1917. His obituary might tell more. Sam Gyle appears to have had an inside track about Hi Good's assets and his private dealings.

Questions remain: Were Indian females and Indian orphans being abducted from their tribal villages, forced-led to the town of Tehama, and kept and/or quietly "provided" to local ranchers who fancied having Indian house domestics?

Who recruited the opium dealers with their Chinese prostitution rings, part of the underground "upriver" underground steamer traffic?

According to Chambers and Wells (1882:12), Sandy Young was living in Tehama, no longer in Chico. In 1872, the pioneer anthropologist Stephen Powers (1877:281) interviewed presumably Sandy Young in Tehama, and that a nondescript resident "pointed out to Powers" the "wild-eyed lad" who Young, in 1871, had named "Snow-flake" (T. Kroeber 1961:241-242). It is this researcher's belief that Sandy Young and an "unnamed companion" (See Powers 1877:280) had the boy and his young mother in their possession and control. Also, who was the mother of "Jennie," age 8, "adopted" by Peter Morrison Cleghorn and wife Margarette? (Entries in 1880 Census TN 24N, R4W, Henleyville, Tehama Co.).

Mayhew's Crossing History Salvaged - Research uncovered "Mayhew's Crossing" stage stop/with stable and store, which, during Hi Good's era was the social center for the burgeoning Deer Creek community. One location reference was provided by Colonel Woodson (1935:21, 23) who wrote: "The old stage stopping place, on the north bank of Deer Creek, and just above the present highway bridge"

The stage station was constructed under direction of William Perry Mayhew (1816-1900) in circa. 1854. Best archival data collected to date: Preston Moore, 1938, original blue print map (Fig. 60) from Fred Robson Scrapbook, Red Bluff's Tehama Country Library[RC979.427 Office, pages. 16-17]. (See maps Fig. 58 and 60 and Fig. 62 on pages 103, 105, and 110).

Here, locals would regularly check for their mail and get the latest "stage news," as well as neighborhood gossip from Obadiah Brown and wife, Almira (Briggs) Brown (See Fig. 61 photograph of Almira Brown on page 109).

The Browns were presumably the last neighbors to converse with Hi Good before he was killed on May 4, 1870. From Moak (1923:32), it is conjectured that their last conference occurred on about April 29th. They ran the stable for teamster and owner "Uncle Billie Mayhew" (See Mayhew family data on pages 104-107).

Good's Circuit - It is surmised that Hi Good's normal circuit was from his sheep camp in Acorn Hollow, where he lived, to Mayhew's Crossing located on the north bank of Deer Creek. Then he traveled the eight miles to the Town of Tehama, to conduct business. Then he returned to Mayhew's Crossing to check his mail a second time. Next his priority was securing produce from his garden on his headquarter's ranch about two miles upstream and on the south side of Deer Creek. Upon loading his "sack of garden stuff" across Buck's saddle, he likely forded across Deer Creek and then walked his horse due south across the field of lava rocks, passing through Juniper Gulch and Ned's Draw, and arriving back at his sheep camp station (See Broad View Map on page 21 of Ch. 2 and Fig. 152 map on page 266 of Ch. 3).

The trail of the English sovereign \$\$\$ booty in the hands of the Mill Creeks - The data points to Sandy Young as the main player who kept alive the hope with Hi Good and Obe Field of finding the Robert Workman family's gold coin treasure of "English sovereigns" (See Fig. 320, obverse and reverse of an "1865" Australian sovereign, page 446). Sandy Young knew first-hand that "those Mill Creeks" still had the booty after the Aug. 14, 1865 Three Knolls fight. It happened that three days after the battle was over, Sandy Young arrived at the "recent" encampment of the Three Knolls battle site. Young had with him some of the Big Meadows Indians also employed by John Bidwell. In making a search of the battle-ground, Sandy Young unearthed one English sovereign, buried in the sand underneath the spot where a cold camp fire lay (Anderson 1909:81-82).



Figure 426. Mariah, upon escaping from Big Foot's band, walked for days. Rathbun (1973:71) wrote: "... she came onto a little ranch house where a white woman lived." [and] "The white woman . . . made a big paper placard and filled it with writing. Mariah said it hung down her back."

August 14, 1865 - Three Knolls Battle/Mariah Bill escaped - Here, it requires going back to August 14th three days prior. Residing as a captive amongst the Mill Creeks about to be attacked by Good, Anderson, Moak and company, was Mariah, a fifteen year old Mountain Maidu. According to Mariah's granddaughter, author and educator Marie Potts (1977:39-42) who wrote in her book, *The Northern Maidu*, about "Mariah's Captivity," she became a captive one day in July, 1864, when Big Foot's band made their raid in Big Meadow (today's Lake Almanor). Mariah was made Big Foot's wife and caregiver for the chief's two children. The chief also made Mariah pregnant during her ordeal (Potts 1977:41). Mariah escaped her ordeal after one year, two months of captivity.

The moment the attack at dawn began, Mariah had the wit to run to a cave in the bank of Mill Creek, which she had discovered earlier one day during one of the required practice emergency drills. She had to squeeze herself down inside the cave (Rathbun 1973:71).

As also recalled by Simeon Moak and/or from what Moak learned later from likely Mariah Bill herself, for the Moaks ran a dairy for years later near Prattville in Big Meadow, Mariah's Mountain Maidu turf. Mariah witnessed the white man, Hi Good, during the battle. She presumably recognized him upon seeing him later with Sandy Young when they visited Big Meadow on several occasions. Moak learned from Mariah that the morning of the fight, the settlers' plunder (money, watches and jewelry) that the Mill Creeks

had stolen, “. . . was buried under the fire on the sand bar.” The loot was kept in a buckskin bag. Mariah said there was at least one time when she had been ordered to pack their money. She said about its weight that, “it was all she could carry.”

Moak (1923:30) recalled that Good had told the men that he would take back with him one little girl and her mother that they had come across during the battle. The mother’s heel had been shattered by one of the flying bullets.

From either Mariah or Moak (1923:30) recalled it, “Good took a five dollar piece out of his pocket and asked the squaw in Indian, “*Cachem?*” She said, “Much, much.” But she would not tell where and we could not find it.”

Presumably because Mariah stayed put inside the small cave in the river bank for two full days after the fight and kept an eagle-eye watch of anything that might still be moving outside, Mariah escaped her Mill Creek Indian captors. On that second day after the killings, she saw some of her Mill Creek abductors returning. They went to the sand beach before her. She watched them dig up the heavy buckskin bag with booty from under the camp fire and then left. After this, then Mariah came outside and walked out of Mill Creek canyon and saved herself.

That this happened this way was corroborated by her granddaughter, Marie Potts (1977:42) who wrote:

“She stayed hidden during the horrible shooting and killing, and, after a couple of days, headed for home. It took her several more days to find her way back to the road camp . . . and it was last September, “apple picking time” in the white man’s orchards, by the time she got back to Big Meadow and her family.”

During the pitched Three Knolls battle, Good, Anderson, Moak and the others killed at least five, and wounded seven (Klauber 1865). But “eight escaped” (See below September 23, 1865 newspaper account). Also, what would remain a big problem for the Kom’bo (Yahi) in hiding was that to Young, Good, and most every white man, “all Indians looked the same,” just as to most Native Americans, “all of the *Saldus** *Whites in Yahi language* looked the same”!

* *Saldus* was the Kom’bo (or Yahi) word for “white man.” Perhaps from Spanish, *Soldado* (Sapir and Swadesh 1960:149).

One month and a few more days passed. On September 23, Sandy Young presumably read or was told about the newspaper story published (below). The informant for the Quincy, Plumas County, editor of the *Union Record* was irrefutably Mariah. It can be argued that this newspaper story was what kept Young, Hi Good and Obe Field intrigued to hopefully some day cash in on the Mill Creeks’ stolen booty.

“The Indian Raid” (1865, September 23). *The Union Record*.

“We understand information has been obtained from an Indian Mahalia, who escaped to Big Meadows that there were but five Indians who committed the murder, robberies, and caused destruction of property at Concow Valley [Workman’s Farm]. They made the trip from Mill Creek in five days. The stolen property, money [English sovereigns], watches and jewelry, was buried in the ground floor of the Cave, at the time they were attacked by the party of whites in pursuit. Several of the Indians who made their escape from the Cave returned two days afterward and dug up the treasure and carried it off. It is also stated that the party contained sixteen “Bucks,” eight of whom were killed and eight escaped. The Mahalia states she was concealed in tall grass but a short distance from the ‘slaughter scene’ and witnessed the whole affair, after which made good her escape.”

Five years pass. Hi Good retires from being a paid Indian hunter and slaver of Indian orphans. His pack train venture to Idaho presumably gave him a windfall. He becomes convinced that having a “wool crop” is the best investment for the future. In 1866, Good needs to “acquire” a sheepherder or two. Good spies an orphan Indian boy named Ned, being watched over by his new neighbors from Missouri, Samuel and Margaret Dicus [pronounced Dyke’-cuss], so he inquired of them. According to Obe Field (as told to Butte County’s peace officer “Teddy” Peck), “Mr. Dicus warned Hi Good against taking the twelve-year old lad. But Good took him anyway, and let him help herd sheep” (Bagley 1941). In the sometimes inflated Vina oral histories, up steps the ghost of Dan Sill who also knew Hi Good. Sill’s anecdotal of the same was: “Good was told he had better not employ the Indian because he was a bad one and as sure as fate some day he would kill him. Hearing this, Good laughed and said that he and the Indian would get along, all right (Moak 1923:31 and Mansfield 1918:224).

On about March 15, 1870, Capt. Hi Good, with three other men, ambushed a band of about fifteen Indians of the Kom’-bo (Yahi) tribe, who were gathering acorns along the Mill Creek drainage, likely above Black Rock. When the band’s leader called the “Old Doctor,” tried to run to save himself, Hi Good took aim with his Henry rifle. Good shot and “lever-actioned” two more rounds but kept missing his human target. William Seagraves called “distance!” for the shooter when he saw that the range was exactly right. It was the fourth shot, when Good’s bullet, a .44 Henry Flat, penetrated the Old Doctor’s back, killing him. Three females, one old woman, a young woman, and a small girl, were made captives. Good’s party returned with them all the way back to Good’s camp (about 35 miles distance) where Good ordered his Indian boy to guard them (Waterman 1918:58).

Hi Good’s neighbor and admirer, Dan Delaney (1872) wrote:

These females were held as hostages at Good’s camp for weeks, guarded by the Captain’s Indian boy, whom he had raised, and who, for years, acted as his herder, and boy of all business. No evidence of treachery had ever shown itself, but such was the seeming devotion of the boy to Good, in his person, and faithful discharge of all duties, that Capt. Good reposed in him implicit confidence. Yet this villainous, treacherous Indian was true to his savage instincts, and murdered his kind and indulgent master. Capt. Good had required the Indians who claimed the squaws in custody, to bring in all the guns and ammunition of the tribe, and when such service was performed he promised to deliver up the wives to their legitimate husbands.

This brought the Indians frequently to the house, and frequent communications with the Indian boy, corrupted him. Promises after promises were made by the treacherous devils to bring in arms and capitulate for peace, but never complied with. Still Capt. Good held the hostages.

Spring of 1870 The Presumed Wild Goose Chase

Simeon Moak (1923:31) wrote:

“All went well until the spring of 1870. Good sold a portion of his sheep for \$7000. He had borrowed \$3000 from Sam Gyle of Tehama. This sum he paid after the sale and buried the \$4000. On the 27th of April Good and his boon companions, Sandy Young and Obe Fields [sic], left on a prospecting trip. They left with the purpose in view of finding the Mill Creeks and getting their booty as it was generally known that, they had two or three thousand dollars.” (Underscore Burrill’s)

The above underscore is tied to the just aforementioned “trail of the English sovereign \$\$\$ booty in the hands of the Mill Creeks.” This writer rests his case.

One mid-March day in Chico, Sandy Young heard such enthralling news from a nondescript courier that Young probably threw down his Kampf and Young butcher’s apron and raced non-stop and as fast as his steed would take him, the eighteen miles to Hi Good’s camp station in Acorn Hollow. Sure enough, Good had three Mill Creek “savages,” all of them females, and being held prisoners (inside the cabin?). The assigned guard was Hi Good’s Indian boy, Ned. The three Mill Creek hostages comprised: “one old woman, one young woman, and one little girl” (Waterman 1918:58).

April 27, 1870 Breaking the Impasse

About what happened next, there are gaps in the published accounts. Moak’s memoir was muddled, as if to suggest that the writer did not know what exactly happened next. Moak (1923:31) only inferred that bargaining continued for weeks through to April 27th.

The real dilemma for the compromised Kom’bo (Yahi) band was that they had none of the plunder in gold coins, nor guns nor ammunition to give Hi Good, Sandy Young, and Obe Field in trade for the return of their three females.

While Delaney’s (1872) narrative said that the Indians (negotiators) who came “. . . frequently to the house, and frequent communications with the Indian boy, corrupted him,” Indian adversary Robert Anderson (1909:83) wrote honestly and with heart, it appears, that: “I have never had a doubt that he was influenced by the older Indians to turn traitor against the man who had given him a home.”

As established above that gold likely remained the white man’s #1 demand, where might they find enough gold? Perhaps Indian Ned told one of the Kom’bo representatives, or maybe one of the female hostages, that if they needed gold that he knew that Hi Good kept his cache buried somewhere inside the cabin. Did the negotiators come up with the scheme of sending Good, Young, and Field on a “prospecting” wild goose chase for the booty they did not have, as a diversion so that, in their absence, they could search and find Good’s cache to use as extra leverage against Good? This helps to explain Sim Moak’s anecdotal narrative that when the “prospectors” presumably returned with nothing, Good discovered that Indian Ned had been “cleaning” his cabin and that his views about Good had changed dramatically. Moak (1923:32) wrote:

The Indian knew Good had money buried and as soon as Good was gone he began hunting for it. In his efforts to find it he tore up the cobble stone hearth in front of the fireplace and dug several places where he thought it might be. He tore up some of the

wood floor. When Good returned on the 29th of April, he determined immediately from the condition of the house what had been going on. The Indian had taken the ashes from the fireplace and given the hearth and floor a good scrubbing.

“What has been going on here Ned?” asked Good.

“The place got so dirty I thought I would clean it up a bit,” said the Indian.

Ned’s response here rings of new confidence and defiance. Presumably, Indian Ned had come of age and was now Hi Good’s rival. It follows, too, that Hi Good realized that his Indian boy had taken his cache. Good immediately felt threatened. His stirred anger knew no bounds. Fighting words, there and then, were likely exchanged. Assault or some fisticuffs perhaps? Hi Good leaves next. He hurries away down to Mayhews’ Crossing. At the stables, Good vents his anger before Almira and Obe Brown. Writing in the present tense, Waterman (1918:58) wrote:

“An Indian boy living with Good “hooks” his cache of money. Good is very angry and threatens to “settle” with him. Shortly after that the boy murders Good with a rifle.”

Based on all the data, this researcher believes that Indian Ned’s actions that soon followed were largely a result of Indian’s Ned’s real fear for his own life; that he believed now that Hi Good his master was now going to hurt him badly if not probably kill him.

Good, angry as hell, maybe decided that the most effective, revengeful way to get back at his defiant Indian boy, without killing him, and to perhaps psychologically break down the youth’s new won independence, was to relieve Indian Ned of his guard duties, and to do so without telling him. This fits with Waterman’s (1918:58) conclusion about the Indian hostages (whose only source for this it is known was from Seagraves) that:

“These three are handed over to a white man named Carter, living about a mile from Acorn Hollow on Deer Creek Nothing is known of the final disposition of these people.”

Good’s way of doing this was to relocate the hostages out of sight from Indian Ned, which meant out of sight from the returning Indian negotiators. Waterman’s (1918:58) telling (obtained from Seagraves who was likely in the know of what “came down”) when combined with Delaney’s narrative wrote that the three hostages were removed from under Indian Ned’s guard.

Because in the perception of the older Indian negotiators who had frequented the cabin that suddenly their three females had disappeared, they view their disappearance as a violation for which Hi Good had to now pay the supreme price.

Juniper Gulch, likely place where Hi Good was killed by the Indians -The data points to the probable ambush spot where Hi Good was killed as in or near Juniper Gulch (See Fig. 152 on page 138, page 244 and Good’s #6 obituary also on page 244). From Juniper Gulch Good’s body was dragged “1 1/2 miles distant to a ravine” (i.e., Ned’s Draw).

Good was leading his horse Buck, by the reins. Buck was transporting “a sack of garden stuff” (Anderson 1909:84), probably tied across his saddle. Good was crossing this lava rock strewn plain (See Fig. 152 map on page 266; Fig. 138 with obituary page 244).

The most plausible scenario for Good's death comes from Waterman's other informant, Almira (Brown) Williams, whose data Waterman (1918:59) wrote was: ". . . private information from Mrs. G. W. Williams at Tehama." Almira and her husband, Obadiah Brown were there at the stables of Mayhews' Crossing on Deer Creek. She and her husband were likely the last locals who spoke to Good before he was struck down dead. They recalled Good's state of mind, which was one of extreme agitation. Writing in the present tense, Waterman (1918:58) wrote:

"An Indian boy living with Good "hooks" his cache of money. Good is very angry and threatens to "settle" with him. Shortly after that the boy murders Good with a rifle."

May 4, 1870

Indian Ned as Lone Assassin Debunked

Arguably, Indian Ned, maybe for the first time in his life, stood alone. Ned, who was about sixteen years old in 1870, had come of age. Ned was able to distinguish "right" from "wrong." Did one of the female prisoners, who Ned had been ordered to guard, influence him? Or maybe one of the older Indian representatives had opened Indian Ned's eyes. Presumably Ned had learned to hate the man who had "acquired" him and reared him, and who had likely abused him, and so he took preemptive action by getting Hi Good's own rifle somehow and ambushed Hi Good before he had a chance to harm or kill him.

Arguably, the data points to Indians [plural] having killed Hi Good, with Indian Ned likely the lead participant. The particular manner by which the "Indians" carried out their vengeance of killing Hi Good is revealing. Three of Hi Good's obituaries described that his head had been ". . . smashed with rocks" ("From Tehama" [1870, May 7] *Sacramento Daily Union*); ". . . his head mashed with rocks" ("Murder in Tehama" [1870, May 7] *Marysville Daily Appeal*; that his head was ". . . mashed to jelly with stones" ("Killed by Indians" [1870, May 14] *The Weekly Butte Record*). This fashion is the same cultural *modus operandi* practiced by the neighboring Maidu tribe. Anthropologists Uldall and Shipley (1966:99) described the Nisenan Maidu tribe's *K-oi* (or traditional war ceremony), which included their "finish-up fellows." They are their "back up Indians" or club-bearers. Their purpose in Hi Good's case, was to make sure that he was dead. The traditional way was pounding the victims head severely with rocks or clubs. Interestingly, in the following ethnographic transcription of the ongoing *K-oi* battle scene, it was the Maidus' club bearers who gave the orders. Uldall and Shipley (1966:99) wrote:

"Those from this side shot at the brave man of the other side. If that brave man was wounded, everybody ran. (The opposite party) pursued, shouting and beating on the mouth.

"When (they) shot a man, they said, "*tuj, tuj!* Don't waste arrows, leave (him)!" said the club bearers. That is the way they were, the finish-up fellows, they went along behind. That is the way they did when they had a war with each other . . . in the early days."

In Hi Good's case, the data points to the Indians' kind of justice (cultural logic). Hi Good had to pay the ultimate price. He had killed their "Old Doctor" using the Henry Repeating rifle. Capt. Good's party had also abducted three of their females, one just a *muchacha*. The band had motive not to just wound Good. That would not end their grudge. The traditional Maidu view about bad people was "They had to pay for their meanness" (Rathbun 1973:25). Torture was also a custom among California Indians. For what Good had meted out to them, it is this writer's belief that ritualized torture

normally would have been carried out also. But escape and safety for their remaining few trumped torturing him. So, when it all came down, the older Indians made certain that their nemesis was quite dead. They swiftly retreated into their foothill hideaways. In the early days that was the way.

Debunked is the urban legend that "Indian Ned was the lone assassin of Hi Good." That is also why Sandy Young, in January 1871, was apparently still tracking after the five Indians who had fled after their involvement in killing Hi Good. This was alluded to in Stephen Powers' (1877) *Tribes of California* essay about Ishi's tribe who Powers referred to as the Kom'bo. Anthropologist Robert Heizer explained, "The Kom'-bo, are the Yahi" (See "Editor's Notes" in Powers 1877 [1976]:451). Powers (1877:277-278) wrote:

"Now there are only five of them left . . . There are men in and around Chico who have sworn a great oath of vengeance that these five Indians shall die a bloody death; but weeks, months, and years have passed away, and brought for their oaths no fulfillment."

And Powers (1877:280) added:

"Several years ago this tribe committed a massacre near Chico, and Sandy Young, a renowned hunter of that country, with a companion, captured two squaws, a mother and a daughter, who promised to guide them to the camp of the murderers."

May 7, 1870

Hi Good's Body Was Found in the Field But No Coroner's Report Can Be Found

On May 7, 1870, three days after Hi Good's murder, his body was reported found by several of Good's friends, namely, Dan Delaney, Alfred G. Carter, Andy Post, Obe Field, and/or Obe Brown. Simeon Moak (1923:33) wrote: "As soon as Good's body was found one of the party went to Tehama to notify the coroner, while another came to Chico to notify Sandy Young." However, this coroner's report has never resurfaced. Neither the Tehama County Sheriff's Office nor the Tehama County's County Clerk's and Recorder's Office has ever been able to locate it. Who was the coroner in 1870? It has been determined that the Tehama County Sheriff was Sheriff John S. Hale, who was appointed and elected during 1869 -1871.

Vigilante justice was meted out upon Indian Ned by Sandy Young. Young's murder of Indian Ned not revealed until another Indian adversary, Robert Anderson, who also was elected to two terms as Butte County's Sheriff, admitted what came down in 1909. Anderson (1909:85) wrote:

"Friends instituted a search and the body was soon found. The Indian boy was taken to Acorn Hollow by Sandy Young and a number of others. When shown the dead body, he at first denied all knowledge of the crime; but soon his manner altered and he calmly made a full confession, and even led the whites to the spot where the fatal shots had been fired, and explained every step of the tragedy.

"After all had been told, Sandy significantly picked up his rifle, and his companions slipped away, knowing that an act of retributive justice was about to be enacted. Soon the sharp crack of the rifle rang out above the chaparral and the last chapter in the tragic death of Hi Good had been written."

In hindsight, there are several odd, even curious, interpretations about Indian Ned's purported actions and involvement in killing Hi Good. Was Indian Ned really the "treacherous Indian" that obituaries #4, #5, and #6 argued about him? (See Chapter 3, pages 243-244). Why would Indian Ned

have returned to the sheep camp to be confronted by Obe Field after having killed Hi Good with the aid of the other Indians? This may be partly explained because Indian Ned was not one of “their” tribe. They likely viewed him as a potential liability if he were allowed to retread into the hills with them. Did Indian Ned stay to be their decoy or their scapegoat?

Recall (from Ch. 2, pages 181-184 of this report) that Ephraim and Minnie Leininger’s son, Norman Leininger, when interviewed by this researcher in 2003, expressed the pioneer Willard Speegle’s family’s belief in the matter, by referencing Jackie Speegle (Willard and Maddie Speegle’s third daughter). Norman Leininger said:

“Jackie Speegle said she didn’t think Ned killed Good but that somebody else did. They put Hi Good’s watch on him just so they could hang him. Whites robbed Hi Good’s cabin too, and blamed the Indians for it and then they went up and shot the Indians.”

And also, there are Dan Delaney’s June 7, 1872, published words that speak of a cover up, in his “Adventures of Capt. Harmon Good” article. Delaney wrote: “That Indian boy is missing, no trace of him may be found, but we opine that there are those living who know where his putrid corpse lies mouldering, to the day of judgment.” Here, Delaney was surely not telling all that he knew! Rather, and according to Moak’s (1923:33) narrative, Indian Ned’s assassin(s) “cut him lose and he died. His bones lay there for two years.” (Underscore author’s).

The fundamental goal sought is to obtain more information (data) for the sake of establishing history as accurate as possible for posterity. The end result may provide posthumously long overdue justice for Indian Ned. There are no statutes of limitations for murder. Injustices should not be repeated nor perpetuated. Injustices must be ferreted and vindication obtained. Every citizen has a right to the access of public records. We remain for honest today as a society because our past is known and the people’s rights are respected.

It is a fact that beginning as early as 1863, Indian Ned, and inclusive of all California Indians, they did have some legal rights. As a result of President Abraham Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, the California legislation repealed Section 3 of the notorious 1850 Act for the Government and Protection of Indians (Magliari 2004:353 and 382). Until ‘63 in California, Section 3 allowed employers to obtain custody of Native American children and to keep them until they reached the age of 18 years for males and 15 for females. Employers were required to secure the consent of a child’s “parents or friends” and to appear with them before a justice of the peace, who would then issue a certificate of custody. However, the injustice of Section 3 in actual practice was that it quickly led to a flourishing trade in Indian children kidnapped from their parents or seized as the spoils of war by California militiamen who campaigned throughout the state during the 1850s and 1860. Sherburne Cook (1943:314-315) estimated that “between three and four thousand children . . . fell victim to kidnapers supplying the Indian labor market.”

The fact that no coroner’s report is available today suggests that it was likely destroyed a long time ago as part of a cover up scheme. The six obituaries of Hi Good include conflicting interpretations about Hi Good’s physical condition when found. Without a coroner’s report, how Hi Good actually died is all hearsay. And, in contrast, Indian Ned’s fate was to be a victim of cruel vigilante justice. No coroner’s inquest, let alone a decent burial, were afforded Indian Ned!

Recommendations #7 (See page 589 below) calls for the people to conduct a scientific exhumation of Harmon A. Good’s body, for the purpose of collecting more needed data.



Figure 427.
H. A. Good
Tombstone.
Tehama
County
Cemetery.

Culture Change/Reforms/Modernization Over Time & Economic Situations "After" Hi Good

Surviving and prospering in California's Sacramento Valley heartland points to how perseverance and grit determination won the day. While one is left impressed with the adversities faced, the tragedies endured, and the challenges of the settlers and ranchers of California, the inner strength and tenacity of the California Indians is, in this researcher's estimation even more incredible. Their venerated Trickster Coyote and teacher of the land continues to dig in with his feet: "You can try to kill us, but we'll always come back!" Lost tribes of yesterday are found tribes today. The Mechoopda Maidus' "We are still here" has become their motto of strength and forbearance.

For fifty years now the Native Americans' circle has continued its arc of becoming whole again. Greater respect for the Red Man by the non-Indians was made contagious throughout California by the ground swell of Theodora Kroeber's illuminating book, *Ishi In Two Worlds* in 1961. It was followed nine years later in 1970 with Dee Brown's prophetic nationwide best seller *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*. More redress of justice involving tribal sovereignty and more publications that expose the shame of denied and broken promises by the California Government and in U.S. history, cannot happen soon enough.

Following Hi Good's ephemeral presence (1866-1870), the site's data suggest that sheep and cattle ranching continued without any significant changes. Ranchers continued to ride horses. They still fixed their fences. The "guaranteed" Sacramento Valley heat during "those summer months" meant that trailing the flocks and herds to the mountains for the summer range became a basic part of livestock operations.

Late 19th Century - In 1887, the "sheep machine" was first invented; the mechanical energy driven sheep shear machine invented by Frederick York Wolseley in Sydney, Australia. In 1889, production reached England and the Berbert Austin Company in Birmingham, England. In the 1902 edition of *Sears, Roebuck & Co. Catalog*, this researcher found the sheep shearing machine advertised as models popular in Montana and Illinois (See Fig. 125, page 207). Sheep man Jack Haslem (2007) of Lassen County, California, said with fondness, "The best thing that happened to the sheep industry was when they came up with the bicycle shear." "Ranglers" or "machine clippers" appear to have become its popular names in Tehama County (McNabb 1983:22-28).

Ephraim "Eph" Leininger (1889 -1972) became one of the local prosperous sheep men of Vina, Tehama County. "Eph" Leininger with his brother, Leon Leininger, both had homesteads on Little Dry Creek. For years, they trailed their sheep up the old Lassen Emigrants' Trail for summer grazing in the higher mountains. Frances Leininger recalled how "Eph," her father-in-law, spoke highly of neighbor sheep man, Gorham Cone Ward of Los Molinos.

Ephraim Leininger married Minnie Brown in 1918, and they reared three sons: Clarence, Norman, and Wes Leininger. Their mother, Minnie, in about 1920, took the one-of-a-kind Hi Good Cabin photograph (See Fig. 108 on page 178). In 1943, their oldest son, Clarence, married Frances Valente. Frances has been instrumental in helping this researcher by making available rare photographs and related data that provided for better understanding of the Indian/settler relations.

Early 20th Century - Trailing to the mountains remained a basic part of livestock operations until about 1940 when motorized trucks began to be used to transport stock animals to and from the mountain meadow summer ranges. It was in the 1930s with livestock population increases that the over-grazing issue and then new restrictions on public land occurred.

In 1905, the U.S. Forest Service came into being, controlling national forest lands, and summer pasture rights were charged for. More than 10 years passed before there was much of an effect on the local wool growers, though the policy did stop, to some degree, the tramp sheep bands from eating-off choice meadows (McNabb 1983:22-28).

The 1920 Census marked the first time when a majority of Americans (50%+ 1) had shifted to urban or city living rather than rural living. This change, of course, had significant marketing implications. The benchmark for determining "urban-living" in the United States became based on the Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA), that is a city of at least 50,000 people with a surrounding rural population.

Motorized trucks to transport livestock from the Central Valley to the mountains started in earnest by 1940, which brought to a close most of the trailing of the cattle up the established cattle trails to the mountain meadows. Photographs of diesel trucks being used in California logging camp operations start to appear in about 1935.

Middle 20th Century "Specialization Comes into Vogue" - In the late 20th century, specialization has developed as the way of farming and ranching, and the trend has not been for the better. For example, most farmers are "all into the grains." They are all into haying or soybeans, or something else.

Sheep man Jack Haslem's income is 100% lambing, for example, based on lambs sold to 4-H Clubs and for meat. Sheep men who used to hand shear their own ewes began to contract with professional sheep shearers. Cattle rancher C. Roy Carmichael in Vina from 1946-1992 used to also shoe his own horses. But today many ranchers subcontract out this work to professional farriers, some of whom shoe horses year-round.

Early farms were diversified, more self-contained operations, who had several different animals, a cow for milk and cheese, hens for eggs, a terrace with truck garden vegetables and some fruit trees; a donkey who ate the thistles. Many had "weed-eaters," some sheep to keep the weeds down and worked the ditch bank. Haslem explained how:

"In this manner, the rough areas don't get the seeds consumed, so there is more seed for noxious weeds. The soils are more depleted and the farmer has to buy fertilizers for just that one kind of crop they are growing."

Early 21st Century - The situation today as a result of our nation's continued shift to specialization in the work place and the lean towards urbanization (e.g., urban sprawl) was dramatically reinforced by property owner Fred Hamilton's revealing comment when interviewed by this researcher in 2001. Fred Hamilton said:

"It's just like I was reading about a month ago. And they did a study of the population of the United States, and the portion of people who are still in ranching and farming. It's 1.3% of us that are still on ranches and farms of this entire nation who are feeding this nation."

"Cowboys Using ATV Quads for Their Cattle, and Pastures for Their Horses" - On March 9, 2008, this researcher drove "out west" in his truck from Corning to Fournoy, Tehama County, but did a "double-take" when observing what was "parked" in front of the old Fournoy Store and Post Office (3rd Fournoy Store built after 1947). Witnessed were ATV quads instead of horses. The all-terrain vehicles (ATVs) are replacing horses more and more across the ranching landscape.

Writer Robert Fears in his article published in *The Cattleman Magazine* (June 2009) documented the versatility of ATV quads for ranch work. Fears (2009) interviewed Nick Hamilton, general manager of Polaris manufacturer. Arguably, Hamilton began: "ATVs cost less to operate than maintaining a horse." He added, "If an ATV is not worked, you do not feed it."

ATV quads are used on ranches for going to the mailbox, to transport bales of hay and feed sacks for the animals, for fence building, to go out to check livestock and pastures, and yes, to herd cattle. About the latter, interviewer Fears (2009) also interviewed Dr. Ron Gill with Texas AgriLife Extension Service. Part of what Dr. Gill advised was:

“If ATVs are to be used to drive cattle, then ride them around and through the herd until the animals show no concern at the noise and sight. While building familiarity, never ride the ATV close enough to cattle to make them run. If they become disturbed, back off and give them more space. Gradually, you will be able to ride closer and closer to the cattle and eventually, you will be able to ride through the herd without causing a disturbance.”

Rebuttal: *Hmm! What about if one is without his mount when one or more of those bulls commit to charge? This researcher has come to have friends who have been ranchers and friends who are ranchers today. This is one of their questions posed.*

As with this last example of culture change by “cowboying down,” one wonders what cultural knowledge and skills of today may soon be forgotten or lost.

About this “modernization over time” concern, Mike Hamilton, when interviewed by this researcher, spoke about his perception regarding students in school nowadays:

“They don’t derive respect from history any more. We did things as Caucasians to this country what we can be really proud of. It’s history. It did happen. About the bad things, we can’t take it back, so we learn from it.

Richard Burrill: “It’s important to you guys here in Vina, in rural California, the history?”

Mike Hamilton: “Yes. In a rural setting for a majority of the people, history is important because that’s where you come from. But in an urban setting, for the most part, it’s not. Like I say, they don’t even know the name of their own capital of their own state. Or who their U.S. Representatives are. Or who anybody is. History is a real lost thing in certain settings. I mean, when you are a country boy, there’s no buttons to push, living in the country. There is no screen that pops up and tells us what to do. “And so they, the city people, are lost.”

* * * * *

The study area’s project, CA-TEH-2105H, enabled modern people to look from both afar and up close upon the life ways of ranchers (sheep and cattle) that were virgin but fleeting. At issue is that today’s rural ranchers and farmers life styles are in transition. Probably the best measure that new insights have been gained by virtue of this project is that much of what this researcher thought he knew before as facts in the beginning was whittled down to their finer edges in the process. Other subjects now stand out, because their past history for too long had been written in the history books with invisible ink. Hopefully, readers of this report may glean one or more new facts and connections, and may then apply them suitably elsewhere.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Proposed Future Excavation and Research Objectives:

1. Future sampling is needed of the six remaining units that are contiguous to vintage Unit 4N10E, which, at this writing, is likely the oldest part of the site (with 96.4% cut nails). Given below are the three contiguous units (all on the eastern side of Unit 4N10E) that have been excavated to date:

4N10E

5N9E 4N9E 3N9E N1/2

2. Future completion sampling of the entire Hi Good Cabin structure's footprint is merited because the structure's estimated dimensions "14' x 14' remain unresolved. Only Unit 1S3E has been excavated, which appears to be at or close to the cabin structure front entrance. Here two coins were recovered: one "1911" Liberty (Morgan) dime and one Lincoln Penny, "1926-s."

3. Also of Feature 2's three contiguous units, the most westerly Unit 3N1E appears to be the oldest of the trench units excavated. Why is this? Unit 3N1E was found to contain 59.6% cut nails (see Fig. 391 map). Proposed is that Unit 3N1W and 3N2W be excavated, as well as 2N1E for starters.

4. It is recalled that the windmill vicinity is the most likely place where an early hand dug well might have been. Significant was the cluster of 1860s era .44 Henry Flat gun cartridges recovered along Road segment #4 that runs alongside the windmill. Hence the windmill area is a prime area to conduct future excavation and data recovery.

5. Brick source study and analysis is encouraged for the future. Suggestions and resources for such may be found in Ch. 6, Feature 2, on pages 464-466 of this report.

6. Inspection and analysis of the Henry Repeating Rifle preserved in Oroville's Pioneer Memorial Museum is encouraged. It was determined by the author that the now city owned and managed museum has no accession record for the gun. Was it Hi Good's Henry? Is there a way to match the spent gun shells recovered at the site with this Henry rifle? Discussion with photos about this mystery weapon may be found in Ch. 5's Personal Group (firearms) section.

7. Exhumation of Hi Good's grave proposed: To collect data about precisely how Harmon A. Good was killed would bring resolution to unanswered questions about his disputed demise. Mixed reports are given in the six Hi Good obituaries (available in Ch. 3 pages 242-244) and in the Simeon Moak account (Ch. 3, pages 267-270). The Moak (1923:33) account also relates that when Good's body was found [on May 7th], "... one of the party went to Tehama to notify the coroner" But no respective coroner's report by the staff at the Tehama County's Clerk and Recorder's Office (Red Bluff) could be procured. California Public Records Act §§ 6250 - 6276.48 is designed to give the public access to such information.

The one Tehama County staff member may be mistaken, who told this researcher that Tehama County has no records that go back that far. One coroner's inquest, for example, that IS still on file goes back to May 2, 1864, for James F. Eddy, Indian Agent for Round Valley Reservation, who it was determined committed suicide at Red Bluff's Tremont Hotel (Shover 2004b:50).

Today's applied forensics can be a boon for new discoveries, leading to better interpreting of Tehama County's significant and engaging history.

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