LIBRARY
DOCUMENTS DEPT.

HE PATWIN AND THEIR NEIGHBORS

BY

A. L. KROEBER

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS IN ARCHAEOLOGY
AND ETHNOLOGY
Volume 29, No. 4, pp. 253-423, 6 figures in text, 1 map

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA
1932

C—076714

C-076714

THE PATWIN AND THEIR NEIGHBORS

BY

A. L. KROEBER

INTRODUCTION

The Patwin are the Indians west of the lower Sacramento, from near Princeton on the river and Stonyford in the hills, south to Suisun and San Pablo bays. They form part of the Wintun linguistic family, which it has been customary to divide into three main groups: the Southern or Patwin; the Central, of Glenn and Tehama counties; and the Northern, of the upper Sacramento, lower Pit, and the upper Trinity drainage. The word for person in the three languages is respectively Patwin, Wintun, and Wintu, and these terms seem suitable for the three divisions in place of cumbersome geographical designations like "Southeastern Wintun." The Patwin in particular deserve a distinctive name, since they are well marked off culturally, and in speech as well, from the Wintun and Wintu. The Wintun and Wintu more or less understand each other, but both Patwin and Wintun declare the others' language to be unintelligible.

Ethnological data on the Patwin are unsatisfactory. Powers has a chapter which is just, but sketchy.[1] Already in his time, fifty years ago, it was difficult to find southerly Patwin. Barrett collected geographical records in connection with his Pomo inquiries,[2] and later published an eye-witness account of a modern Patwin ceremony.[3] For a time before and after the world war, W. C. McKern, Research Fellow in Anthropology at the University of California, made field

[1] Tribes of California, CNAE, 3, chap. 24, 1877.

[2] The Ethno-geography of the Pomo and Neighboring Indians, UC-PAAE, 6:1-332, 1908. Cited, Ethno-geography. Patwin on pp. 290-300 and map 2. Barrett's "Southerly Wintun" are the Patwin; his "Northerly Wintun" the Central or proper Wintun.

[3] The Wintun Hesi Ceremony, UC-PAAE, 14:437-488, 1919. This is a bole hesi, that is, a modern making over of the old hesi from the angle of the dream or prophet cult which got a hold among the Patwin and Pomo as an aftermath of the 1872 Ghost Dance. Cited, Hesi.

C—076715

C-076715

studies of Patwin culture and speech, as first fruits of which there have appeared two papers on social organization and houses.[4]

How limited a picture of Patwin life these publications aggregate, is however clear from the chapters on the Wintun (including the Patwin) in my recent Handbook of the Indians of California.[5] This meagerness is particularly unfortunate, because as Dixon[6] was the first to suggest, and as had been more or less assumed and in part corroborated since, the most important ritual cult of central California, the spirit-impersonating secret society or Kuksu Cult,[7] seems to have had its most active development among the Patwin.

It appeared desirable, accordingly, to get further knowledge on the Patwin, and in the summers of 1923 and 1924 their present settlements were visited. These had shrunk to one on the river near Colusa, and four in the hills, at Rumsey, Cortina, Stonyford, and Grindstone (Elk creek), the last two in former Pomo and Wintun territory.[8] A family or two remain in upper Cache creek drainage. The population was under 200, perhaps barely 150, and no individuals were found whose ancestral home was south of the vicinity of Rumsey in the hills or more than a few miles below Grimes on the river. The southern half of the Patwin group has thus become wholly extinct. This fact should be given weight in comparative studies; although not unduly, since the survivors in the north seem to feel themselves as having been rather near dialectic relatives of the southerners, and all evidence points to so close a cultural resemblance between northern hill and northern river Patwin that the southern Patwin may be expected also to have affiliated strongly.

The surviving Patwin had their permanent habitations in three north and south belts. The first of these lay along the Sacramento on both banks.[9] (See large map.) Prime requisite for a town was a knoll sufficient to preserve the inhabitants from winter inundation.

---

[4] Functional Families of the Patwin, UC–PAAE, 13:235–258, 1922, and Patwin Houses, the same, 20:159–171, 1923.

[5] BAE–B, 78, chap. 25, 26, 1925. Cited, Handbook.

[6] The Northern Maidu, AMNH–B, 17:119–346, 1905.

[7] The designation "Kuksu Cult" was coined by me to designate the whole cluster of central Californian rituals characterized by more or less secret societies which initiate and impersonate spirits. The name was chosen because Kuksu is one of the most widely enacted personages of this set of rituals. It proves to be somewhat unfortunate because among several tribes there are Kuksu and other societies. Gifford has used the term "god-impersonating cult," which however seems to over-emphasize the idea of divinity.

[8] Barrett, Ethno-geography, 290–292, lists several other sites as still occupied in 1903–1906.

C—076716

C-076716

Back of the river lay the open plains of the Sacramento valley, ten to fifteen miles wide.[10] These held no villages. In the first range of foothills, mostly low but rather abrupt, was a second series of Patwin villages, fronting the valley, as it were, though often some miles up a tortuous little canyon. The streams rising in these hills generally do not flow the year through, and the inhabited sites were therefore determined by springs. Back of this first little range, at an elevation of several hundred feet above the plains, stretches a narrow, nearly straight valley at the foot of the main chain of the Coast Range. This valley drains both ways from an almost imperceptible divide near Leesville. From where, in the north, Stony creek takes in Grindstone and breaks eastward out of the hills, to where Bear creek flows into Cache creek in the south, it is almost fifty miles by map, and more by road. Except in the extreme north, this valley was settled with a line of Patwin villages forming the third belt occupied by the group. Cache creek from Bear creek to Capay may be regarded as a continuation of the same valley; or its lower portion, from Rumsey to Capay, can be classed with the second belt, because its valley opens directly into the Plains. A fourth Patwin habitat could perhaps be recognized in Bartlett and Long valleys, which contain affluents of upper Cache creek parallel to Bear creek; but the occupied stretch of these two valleys was short, and it is most convenient to include them in the third belt.[11]

It is clear that the Patwin were essentially lowlanders. Whether of the river, of the foothills, or of the inter-range valley, their settlements lay at an altitude of not over twelve hundred feet, in the majority of cases at less than half that height. This fact accounts for the relative cultural uniformity of the group, even though contiguity respectively to river and to hills dictated many minor divergences of custom.

It is significant in this connection that the headwaters of all larger Patwin streams were in alien possession. The head of Stony creek was Northeastern Pomo; of Cache creek—the Clear lake basin—Pomo; Putah creek, Lake Miwok and Wappo; Napa river, Wappo.

[10] Wider than this in the vicinity of Sacramento city, though here tule marshes invade the western side of the valley, whereas in the latitude of the northern Patwin the large marshes are east of the river.

[11] In the southern part of Patwin territory the topography changes. The hills are lower, the plain broader but often marshy, and the river becomes brackish bay, on which low, rolling hills abut in places. The three belts of the north are thus scarcely differentiable in the south. Yet Putah and Napa valleys open out much like Capay valley on Cache creek.

C—076717

C-076717

Ethnic Synonyms

Patwin, Southern Wintun
River Patwin, Southeastern Wintun
Koru division, Colusa district
Saka division, Grimes district
Yodoi division, Knight's Landing district
Hill Patwin, Southwestern Wintun
Wintun, Central Wintun (Nomlaki, etc.)
Wintu, Northern Wintun
Valley Maidu, Hill Maidu, together: Northwestern Maidu
Mountain Maidu, Northeastern Maidu
Nisenan, Southern Maidu (valley and hill)
Salt Pomo, Northeastern Pomo
Clear lake Pomo, Eastern (and Southeastern) Pomo
Lower lake Pomo, Southeastern Pomo

Orthography

Patwin phonetics permits fairly adequate rendering in untechnical orthography. Only L has been used for surd l (hl). For the c and tc of American Indian linguistics, sh and ch have been written where necessary, although generally s and ts suffice in Patwin, the actual sounds being more or less intermediate. Glottalized or "cracked" stops are indicated by a following apostrophe. Patwin r is tip-trilled. The vowels tend to open rather than close quality. A circumflex indicates open length; a macron, close length. Accent has not been written when it falls on the penult.

Patwin Informants

River Patwin, Grimes division: Peter Wilson, Tony Bill, William Benjamin; Colusa division: Thomas Odock (until 1916).

Hill Patwin: James Cooper, Stephen Luluk at Cortina; Julia at Guinda; Carlos Luis on Bartlett creek; John Hudson and his mother Maggie at Stonyford; William Bush and Tomaso or Jim Smith at Grindstone.

C—076718

C-076718

POLITICAL UNITS

It has gradually become clear that in the region west and northwest of the Patwin there prevailed a type of political organization which has been veiled by the shrinkage, removal, and amalgamation of the natives in recent generations, by the fact that the units were small and often nameless, that they frequently lived in several settlements, and that each settlement had a recognized headman who, as well as the group head, was called chief. Barrett was the first to bring out the relation of the settlement and subchief to the group as a whole and its chief, for some of the Yuki.[12] His Pomo geographical studies revealed such a number of inhabited sites as to make it evident that these were not all politically equivalent and independent units. Had they been such, the Pomo population would have had to be estimated at 25,000 or more. On the basis of data in his monograph, in Powers, and in earlier statements, and with reference to the topography, I therefore mapped some seventy-five Pomo groups;[13] those in the north with relative assurance, in the south tentatively. Each of these seemed to possess a small territory usually definable in terms of drainage; a principal town or settlement, often with a chief recognized by the whole group; normally, minor settlements which might or might not be occupied permanently; and sometimes a specific name, but more often none other than the designation of the principal town. Each group acted as a homogeneous unit in matters of land ownership, trespass, war, major ceremonies, and the entertainment entailed by them. The average population I estimated at not far from a hundred souls per unit. This figure may be somewhat low, since prosperous groups reached two or three hundred. For the Clear lake Pomo, Gifford has since confirmed the conjectured tribal delimitations through field inquiries and has added many illuminating details, such as the fact that a unit might be headed by two or three chiefs, each recognized by the individuals in the community related to him by blood.[14]

Goddard in two recent papers on the Wailaki, based partly on data secured before 1909, has brought out a similar type of organization.[15]

[12] Ethno-geography, 249–256. Summarized in Handbook, 163–164.

[13] Handbook, 230–234, map pl. 36.

[14] Pomo Lands on Clear Lake, and Clear Lake Pomo Society, UC–PAAE, 20:77–92, 1923, and 18:287–390, 1926. Cited, Pomo Lands, Pomo Society.

[15] Habitat of the Wailaki, and Habitat of the Pitch Indians, a Wailaki Division, UC–PAAE, 20:95–109, 1923, and 17:217–225, 1924.

C—076719

C-076719

He calls the units "sub-tribes" with reference to all the Wailaki as a "tribe," but this is merely a difference in nomenclature.

On the other side of the Patwin there are some indications that the Maidu were organized in the same way, at any rate in the mountains;[16] and more recently Gifford has found the Central Sierra Miwok of the upper foothills to possess not only units of somewhat similar type but a name for them, nena.[17] These Miwok units seem to have been somewhat smaller territorially and numerically, perhaps on account of the food supply or topography, the larger streams not being habitable in this area. The Yokuts and Western Mono have long been known to be divided into definite tribes, which however differed from those north of them in possessing names for themselves, speaking at least slightly distinct dialects, and averaging a population of several hundred souls.[18]

It is thus evident that in much of central California[19] there prevailed a type of political organization into what may be called "tribelets": groups of small size, definitely owning a restricted territory, nameless except for their tract or its best known spot, speaking usually a dialect identical with that of several of their neighbors, but wholly autonomous. This more definite concept must replace the vaguer one of the "village" or "village community." If the tribelet was concentrated in one settlement, as among the Clear lake Pomo, the village and the tribelet happened to coincide. But as Barrett's and Goddard's maps show, this was most frequently not the case, espe-

[16] Handbook, 396–398.

[17] AA, 28:389, 1926. Cited, Lineages. The etymology of nena is not given. A northern hill Miwok translated the possessive form nena-sü as "calling," that is, probably, "his name."

[18] Handbook, 474, 585.

[19] Not in all California. In the northwest, society was non-political, or virtually so, cohesion determined by blood or personal ties or by town co-residence. In southern California, the mountain and desert peoples lived in lineage groups, each possessing a territory, a chief, and a fetish bundle or set of religious paraphernalia (Strong, Aboriginal Society in Southern California, UC–PAAE, 26, 1929). These groups can be conceived either as clans or as tribelets, according as the factor of consanguinity or of autonomous territoriality is emphasized. The coast plain peoples of southern California lived in larger villages, which both Strong and Gifford (Lineages) reasonably consider to be aggregations of several lineage groups, as among the Pomo. The Colorado river Yumans form true large tribes in the sense of those of the Plains, but Gifford (Lineages) suggests that these may have formed out of aggregations of once locally separate lineages which now survive as clans in the larger tribal body. I concur fully in Gifford's interpretations. Any seeming difference is due to the fact that he was concerned with showing the local lineage as the structural element historically underlying all California societies, whereas I am dealing descriptively with the political or population units as actually found in certain areas only. Gifford's "lineages" seem identical with the Northeastern "family hunting bands" of Speck and others, except for differences of coloring due to subsistence habits reflecting the environment.

C—076720

C-076720

cially in hill country. Usually, therefore, the village was but an incident in the history and consciousness of the tribelet. The latter was the functioning unit.

The presumption that the Patwin political organization was like that of their neighbors is borne out by all the data secured. Ordinarily, data on political structure are difficult to get. Most Californian informants think in terms of places, and indiscriminately list dozens of "rancherias"—that is, spots inhabited at one time or another—within what can have been the territory of but one or two tribelets. Occasionally an informant thinks of tribal tracts or their main settlements, but this mostly when it becomes a question of people at a distance. Only now and then can an informant be brought to organize his knowledge and to subordinate detail to the larger unit. In general, in this north central California area, the best index seems to be afforded by the dance house. Settlements with a dance house appear to have been the residences of head chiefs of tribelets; those without, to have been subordinate to these centers. The older Indians usually know without hesitation whether a village had a dance house. Some errors may have crept into the record by use of this indication, through post-Caucasian settlements having built dance houses or long abandoned settlements having had theirs forgotten. But on the whole the criterion checks well with the scattering other sources of information.

RIVER PATWIN TRIBELETS

The river Patwin (see large map) comprised three dialect groups, which may be called those of Colusa, Grimes, and Knight's Landing, or the Koru', Sāka, and Yo'doi districts. The last group is extinct, the first nearly so. The centers or "capital towns" of tribelets were as follows, the order being downstream, and settlements lying all on the west bank of the Sacramento unless the contrary is specified.

Colusa Dialect

1, K'eti', on the site of the present Princeton. This must have been at the very boundary of Patwin territory (see large map), because Tutu and Tsaka, variously placed from less than a mile to 4 miles upstream, are said to have spoken Maidu. K'eti' spoke the same as Colusa.

2, Ts'a', three miles below Princeton.

3, Wa'itere, two or three miles above the present Katsi'l or "Colusa rancheria" which lies seven miles above Colusa.

4, Katsi'l the former, less than a mile below the present Katsi'l reservation, is said to have had a dance house, but this may have been post-Caucasian.

C—076721

C-076721

Sôma, two miles below modern Katsi'l, somewhat off the river. This is not certain as an independent unit.

5, Tatno, two or three miles farther down, perhaps two miles above Colusa.

6, Koru', in Colusa city, which takes its name therefrom. This was the most important community within the dialect or district, and built a weir across the river.

7, Kukui, one and one-half miles below.

Some miles downstream was the southern boundary of Kukui and of the Colusa dialect. Kapaya ("stream") at the mouth of Sycamore slough, still belonged, according to one account, although a war tradition given below makes the Ko'doi (12) people settle here temporarily. On the east side, however, Nopba ("eat deer") at Meridian, and Hopoba somewhat above, both upstream of Sycamore slough, were small settlements that spoke the Grimes dialect; whose main towns follow.

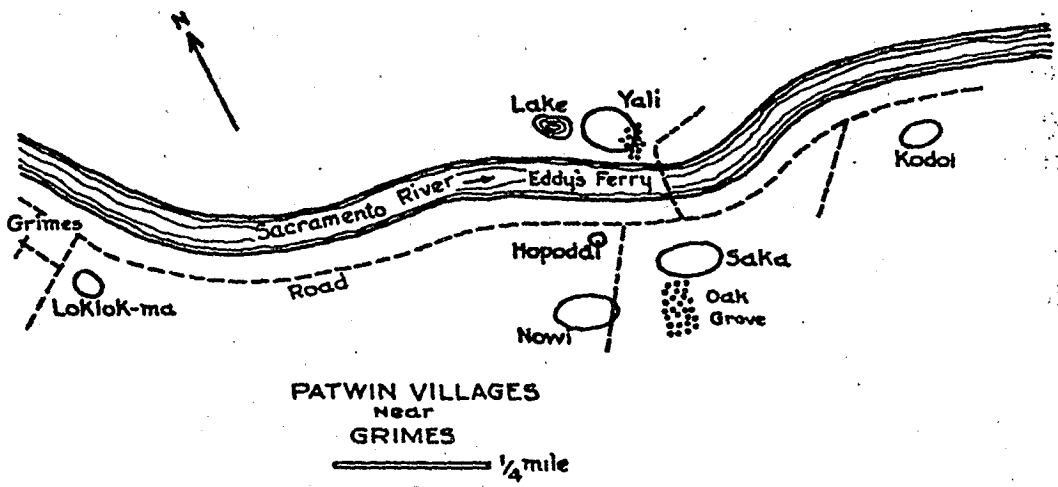

Fig. 1. Former River Patwin towns in the vicinity of Grimes.

Grimes Dialect

8, Lo'klokma-ti'nbe, in the southern outskirts of Grimes, was the first settlement with a dance house[20] (fig. 1).

9, Nōwi(-dihi),[21] a mile below.

10, Sāka, almost coterminous with Nōwi, little more than 100 yards separating them, at Eddy's ferry. This was the second weir town of the Patwin, and the metropolis of the dialect. It had two dance houses.

11, Yali, directly opposite on the east bank, is said once to have been larger than Sāka, but appears to have decayed earlier.

12, Ko'doi(-dihi), a mile below Sāka, on the J. Brown place. Important in myth. This makes five independent towns within about two miles of river frontage (see sketch map in figure 1).

---

[20] Here were born the wife of one of my informants, her mother, and the latter's father, indicating mixed patrilocal and matrilocal residence.

[21] Suffixes like -dihi, -sel, do not disturb the accent, which remains, unless written otherwise, on the penult of the stem. But -Labe seems to draw the accent one syllable toward itself.

C—076722

C-076722

T'inik(-dihi), east side, more or less opposite Kodoi, is reported as having and as not having had a dance house.

13, No'matsapin, five miles more or less downstream from Sāka.

14, Kusêmpu, on the east side, perhaps a mile downstream.

15, Tsaki, seven or eight miles down from Sāka, is not quite certain as a dance house town.

16, P'ālo, one or two miles downstream, some three miles above Kirkville and near the boundary of Colusa and Yolo counties, was another large town, and the center of the last tribelet of the Grimes dialect. Budu, at Kirkville, on the east side, may still have belonged to it.[22]

Knight's Landing Dialect

For the Knight's Landing dialect, informations begins to fail.

17, Hololum, between Kirkville and Knight's Landing, was a large town and therefore probably seat of a tribelet.

18, Yo'doi, whence Yolo town and county take their name, was at Knight's Landing and was the metropolis of its dialect. Unlike Koru' and Sāka, it built no weir, the river being too deep. Beyond it, my Grimes and Colusa informants' knowledge runs out.

Not much over five miles in an airline from Knight's Landing, but perhaps a dozen by the stream windings, the Sacramento receives the Feather, which is a Maidu-Nisenan stream, and from whose mouth down, or a little above, the Nisenan extended to below Sacramento city (see large map). It is likely that they held both banks. Opposite Sacramento city the great Yolo basin marsh begins to follow the river down just beyond its west bank, and any west side villages there were in this stretch may be conjectured to have belonged to the Nisenan of the east side of the valley; and below them, to the Plains Miwok. This would put the next valley Patwin in the low, barren Montezuma hills, or more probably in the region of Suisun bay and Carquinez straits, where the river has been superseded by brackish bay, and the land's edge is either definite hill or tidal marsh. So different a topography from that afforded by the Princeton-Knight's Landing stretch of the Sacramento indicates a somewhat divergent cultural coloring for this lower Patwin area, in spite of what the surviving Patwin of the north vaguely say about uniformity of these southernmost Patwin with themselves.

[22] Most of the foregoing, and some additional settlements, are given in the Nisenan pronunciation, and in approximate but not correct sequence, in The Valley Nisenan, UC-PAAE, 24:258, 1929. Nisenan information, as just cited, puts Patwin Woshoyok, Tulik, and K'umpe in descending order on the Sacramento below Knight's Landing, and has Nisenan villages begin with Wolok at the mouth of the Feather.

C—076723

C-076723

Especially within the boundaries of the Grimes dialect there is evident a grouping of the tribelet centers in clusters, suggestive of that of the larger Yurok villages, and due perhaps to a town life more intensive than the hill Patwin were wont to lead; though even among them, as well as the Pomo, there are instances of separate friendly tribelets having their chief villages close together; compare the Little Stony creek area, and Cache creek about Guinda, as described below, and the Pomo of Clear lake.

There are some indications in the war stories given below that at least on some occasions the Patwin of the Colusa and Grimes dialect groups respectively fought as units. Also, it is difficult to avoid the inference that, with only one fish weir to a group, all the towns within the group participated in the use of this weir. However, these occasions of larger group activities need not have superseded the autonomy of each town or tribelet.

HILL PATWIN TRIBELETS

The hill Patwin (see large map) regularly designate their tribelets, when they are thinking in terms of people rather than land, by names ending in -sel.[23]

The hill tribelets will be listed from south to north.

South of Cache creek, data fail, although it may be conjectured that important and repeatedly mentioned towns like Suskol, Tuluka, Ula-to, Topai-dihi,[24] Liwai-to represent the tribelet capitals.

For Lower Cache creek, where Barrett puts Pulupulu, Churup, Kachituli, the situation is obscure, because these sites lie in the open plain, which farther north held no permanent villages. Yet it is possible that the size of Cache creek made its lower banks habitable the year through. C. H. Merriam gives Kopā' (=Kope), whence the Copeh of Gibbs and Powell's "Copehan" (=Wintun) family, as a village in the broad flat part of Capay valley, near Brooks.[25] This would put it above Moso, which Barrett locates at the town of Capay. I was also told of Hacha, three miles below Capay.

Kisi lies upstream on Cache creek. Like Moso and Kope, it may be a tribal center.

19, 20, Barrett's Imil near Guinda is situated in a definite valley that looks like a good tribal territory. A Cortina informant mentioned Sūya to me as the principal town in this district, half a mile north of Guinda. Subsequently, an old woman from this stretch of Cache creek gave me a list of eighteen inhabited

[23] This suffix thus corresponds to Pomo -poma and -napo, Yuki -no'm, Wappo -noma, Wailaki -kaiya and -kiyahang. It has not been heard used by the river Patwin, who on the other hand more frequently give the names of settlements with the suffixes -dihi (home) or -Labe (place).

[24] So Barrett; cf. Powers, 219, Topai-di-sel.

[25] AA, 31:136–137, 1929. Capay, while often pronounced Kapē, may go back to a Spanish rendering of Patwin kapa'i, "stream."

C—076724

C-076724

sites from about three miles above Rumsey to five or six miles below Guinda, and then mentioned Imil ("blackberries") and Sūya as the only two possessing dance houses. They are barely two miles apart.

21, Above Rumsey, Cache creek valley turns into canyon, so that when Lopa and Tebti (confluence) are encountered some miles up, the latter at the mouth of Bear creek, a new tribelet is perhaps involved, which probably owned some miles up Bear creek.

22, Up Bear creek Barrett gives Suku, which I recorded as Sukui, two or three miles above Sulphur creek and the main settlement of the Sukui-sel, the proper Bear creek tribelet. The head of Bear creek is specifically assigned to the Chuhelmem people of the head of Stony creek drainage; which is plausible enough in view of the continuity of the valleys.

Above Bear creek, Cache creek once more flows through a canyon, which seems to have been uninhabited, neither Barrett nor I obtaining names of settlements.

23, Toward the mouth of Bartlett[26] creek, a mile and a half below it, Barrett refers to a village of which he did not record the name. This is probably the Kuikui mentioned to me by a Long valley informant as on Cache creek a couple of miles below the mouth of Bartlett, at which stood a settlement Opi. This stretch looks like the seat of a tribelet. Next above it on Cache creek drainage were the three Lower Lake or Southeastern Pomo tribes[27] and the Lake Miwok. The Pomo tribelet on the island of Elem, owning Sulphur Bank, was called MoL-sel ("black-willow people") by the Patwin, whence Powers' Makhelchel.[28] The Lower Lake island (Koi) Pomo were known to the Patwin as T'ul-sel.

24, On Bartlett creek, at the mouth of Long Valley creek, was Tebti. Helu'-supet or Helu'sapet, downstream within two or three miles of Cache creek, seems to have been a settlement of the Tebti-sel.

25, Up Long Valley creek, some five miles more or less, at A'li-ma-ti'nbe, were the Lol-sel, as the Tebti-sel called them. In return the Lol-sel called them Tse'npol-sel.[29] Lol means tobacco.

26, Up Bartlett creek, three miles from Tebti according to some accounts, six miles and in Indian valley according to others, was LoLi, said to have had a dance house.

27, South of Cache creek, in Morgan valley, which drains into the Putah, was a separate Patwin tribelet, one of whose settlements, perhaps the principal, was Wa'i-taluk. The Tsenpo-sel of Tebti called them Wor-pa'ntibe.

28–30, On Stony creek drainage there were at least three Patwin tribelets. The uppermost centered at 28, Tsuhel-mem or Chuhel-mem, on Indian creek above Ladoga; later at Kabal-mem or Kabel-mem. Below Ladoga was 29, Edī' (Edī'-La, Edī'-Labe). Little Stony creek belonged to a third tribe, whose principal settlement was at 30, Ba'hka(Labe), not far from the mouth of Indian creek,

---

[26] Locally and on some maps, Bartlett creek is known as Cache creek. The outlet of Clear lake, which carries much the most water, is however entitled to the name, and the long but thin tributary is here called only Bartlett creek.

[27] Gifford, Pomo Lands, map, p. 79.

[28] Ch. 23. He inclines to consider them Patwin.

[29] Powers, 219, gives the Ol-po-sel, Chen-po-sel, and Wilak-sel ("upper," "lower," and "plains" people—the last word means literally "land") as on Cache creek in order downstream, and the Chenpo-sel as in enmity with the Lol-sel (p. 221). His three terms may refer specifically to true tribelets or generically to groups of them in areas. I heard a Guinda informant use Chen-sel, "stream people," of the people of her part of Cache creek as a whole; a Bartlett creek man called them Wu'luk-sel.

C—076725

C-076725

with Kula'(-La, -Labe) some miles up as a second village; also Dikikala'i, downstream from Bahka, inhabited later. All three of these last sites are said to have had dance houses (perhaps not synchronously), but the authority of the head chief at Bahka was acknowledged. Wor-sel, "south people," was used either for all three tribelets by themselves, or more specifically for the Tsuhelmem one; the others were spoken of sometimes as E'di-sel and Ku'la-sel.[30]

In the first foothills fronting the plains, between the foregoing hill tribelets and the river Patwin, groups were fewer. The known ones are again listed from south to north.

31, South of Cortina, Yakut, on Sand creek, was perhaps independent.

32, Near Cortina creek, the modern settlement is at Let(-Labe), "squirrel." Before about 1883, the central site was Wa'ikau, on main Cortina creek, whence the tribal name Wa'ikau-sel.[31] One informant mentioned Kotu, "mushroom" (whence Indian Koti-na, Spanish and American Cortina),[32] one and a half or two miles upstream from Waikau, as the main village before Waikau. Salt creek and Mountain house seem to have belonged to the Cortina tribelet.

33, There is no information, and perhaps was no other group, until the vicinity of Sites, east of Chuhel-mem and Edi. Here a tribelet had its center at Pone (Poni-La, Pona-La), on Grapevine canyon or road, three or more miles north of Sites.

34, Another tribe seem to have been the Potba-sel of Potba(-Labe), at a spring in a gully, half a dozen miles north of the last. Beyond were Wintun.

SALT POMO

The same scheme of grouping into tribelets appears to apply to the neighbors of the Patwin: the Northeastern or Salt Pomo, the Valley Maidu, probably the Wintun.

The Northeastern or Salt Pomo[33] of upper Stony creek constituted one people, with its center at Bahkamtaṭi, Patwin To'ro-di-La, near Stonyford. The Patwin called them No'min-sel or To'rodi-sel.[34]

WINTUN TRIBELETS

Stony creek below these Pomo was Wintun (see large map). There were probably several tribelets in the stretch down to where the stream turns east and breaks through the hills into the plain. I was

[30] There were mentioned people east across from Ladoga toward Sites, although Midus(-Labe) lies on Indian creek between Tsuhelmem and Edi; the latter perhaps as a synonym of Kula-sel, since Mitsawis(-Labe) is on Little Stony creek. Another informant denied dance houses or tribal identity to the two settlements, and attributed Ta(-Labe), two miles east from Midus, to the Edi-sel.

[31] Barrett, Ethno-geography, 296, says that the Waikau people came there from Sites (Pone, no. 33).

[32] This seems a doubtful etymology.

[33] Barrett, Ethno-geography, 239–245.

[34] This disposes of my tentative classification of them into two or three tribelets, Handbook, 232, map pl. 36.

C—076726

C-076726

unable to find an older informant native to this district except a decrepit woman who reeled off place names without being able to identify them.

1, Dahchi'mchini, upstream of Brisco creek and four miles above Elk creek, is usually mentioned as the home of the Wintun chief farthest up Stony creek;[35] and the Patwin speak of the Dahchi'mchini-sel.

Brisco creek seems large enough possibly to have held a tribelet, but the stretch of main stream between the last and the next is short. Barrett gives Toba at the mouth of Brisco creek, but my informants did not recognize the name, except one who identified it as a spot near Sonsatik, a rock pile a couple of miles above Elk creek.

2, Tolokai or Doloke at the mouth of Elk creek, at the town of the same name, more probably was the seat of an independent group.

3, Where Grindstone creek comes into Stony, near the present rancheria, was Pomtididi, and the Patwin speak of the Pomtididi-sel. A Thomas creek Wintun also attributed a separate group to Grindstone creek, although he could not name it.

4, Next north, on the North fork of Stony creek, was a tribe whose principal seat was Kalaiel, at Newville. The only name obtained was Kalaiel-wintun.

5, Somewhere down Stony creek, at a "butte" named Son-pom, were the Soninmak. The name suggests Maidu Su'nusi, D below.

North of them were the Pelti-kewel,[36] according to one informant, whereas another made these the Maidu on the Sacramento.

6, South of Stony creek, in fact three or four miles south of Fruto, a Patwin informant put a place he called Sohpu's-Labe; and two or three miles farther south still, Nomê'lmim-Labe. Both of these were inhabited by independent groups that spoke Wintun, he maintained. There may well have been a tribelet in these foothills behind Willows, corresponding to Pone in being intermediate between the plains and the secondary valley of Stony creek.

7, The next stream to the north of Stony creek is Thomas creek. Farthest up were the Nom-kewel, "west people," as they called themselves, or Nomlaka,[37] as the river Wintun knew them, with their largest village at Lo-pom, south of Thomas creek.

8, Closely associated with them, but mainly north of Thomas creek and more downstream, to below the town of Paskenta, were the Walti-kewel. The chief lived at Noitikel, Kenkopol, or Saipanti, which are close together.

Below these tribes, Thomas creek flows through a featureless, undiversified peneplain, which seems to have held no settlements.

9, Near the mouth of Thomas creek on the Sacramento, at O'lwenem, were the Olwenem-wintun, part of the Pu'i-ma'k, who claimed inland to include the present Corning.

10, Near-by, downstream, on the river, at Squaw Hill Ferry, was the village of Mī'tenek, seemingly seat of a tribe.

---

[35] Barrett, p. 290, map 2, puts it in the same place. He gives Shaipetel farther up, on the boundary toward Salt Pomo, near the confluence of Stony and Little Stony creeks, but my Pomo informant claimed this area for his people, and a Patwin, who called the place Shaitepel, confirmed. The Salt Pomo-Wintun boundary is formed by a canyon on Stony creek, some five miles below Stonyford.

[36] The Wintun equivalents of Patwin -sel are -kewel, -laka, and -mak.

[37] This and the next group mainly constitute the "Nomlaki" of Round Valley reservation.

C—076727

C-076727

From Mi'tenek south to the beginning of Patwin territory near Princeton, that is, for the full length of Glenn county, there is no certain information as to Wintun on the river, and both banks seem to have been Maidu.

11, On the east bank of the Sacramento, near Vina and the mouth of Deer creek, probably a little downstream from Olwenem, was Pelmem, seat of the Pelmem-we. The ending seems Maidu, the name of the place Wintun.[38]

12, Farther upstream, at Tehama, was Tehêmet, a tribelet it appears. These people also were Pui-mak, but this term means only "easterners."

13, Where Redbank creek comes in, below Red Bluff, were the Dā-mak, whose speech, while still Central Wintun, approached that of the Northern Wintu.

14, In the hills once more, the people of Elder creek, next north of Thomas creek, were called Wai-kewel, "north people," by the Nom-kewel and Walti-kewel. This may be a geographical or a political designation. Elder creek seems smaller than Thomas and might have harbored but one tribelet.

15, Beyond, Chuidau, on the south fork of Cottonwood creek, was still Wintun. With the middle fork the "Northern Wintun" or Wintu, of different speech, are said to have begun. These are all Wai-laka, northerners, a term of variable significance which the Americans retained for the Athabascan Wailaki west over the main coast range.

This list of Wintun political units probably contains some errors of omission and commission, but the number of tribelets is probably not far below the true total for the division. The indicated population would be two to three thousand.

VALLEY MAIDU AND NEIGHBORS

I add also the following list of named Maidu and Wintun districts furnished by a Mī'tenek Wintun half-breed who has most of his life been associated with the Chico Maidu.[39] This classification differs somewhat in character from other data and should be used with reserve; yet it undoubtedly has a basis of some sort. It is tempting to look upon its tracts as the territories of tribelets like those under discussion. (See large map, lettered areas.)

Maidu Areas

A, Shī'da-wi, between the Sacramento and lower Pine creek, including Nord. Principal town at the south end, near the bridge to Hamilton.

B, Mu'lī, on the Sacramento between Pine and Chico creeks. Main village on a knoll half a mile from Chico creek.

C, Ts'ê'no or Ch'ê'no, on the west side of the river, about opposite the mouth of Chico creek, where the Northern Electric crosses.

---

[38] Probably the Yahi Bale-ha, Handbook, 344, 345.

[39] William Conway. He did not refer to C and E, which were mentioned, along with Momingwi for F, by Mrs. Sandy Wilson of Chico.

C—076728

C-076728

D, Su''nūsi,[40] on the Sacramento from Chico creek to the Llano Seco or Parrott grant opposite about Jacinto or a couple of miles above; inland to Little Chico creek and nearly to Dayton. This tract was said to take in both sides of the river.

E, Batsi', near Jacinto, on the west side, opposite (and including ?) the Llano Seco grant.

F, Pi'nhuk (main settlement), at Butte City on the Sacramento; extending downstream about six miles (which would correspond approximately with the northern limit assigned to themselves by the Patwin); upstream, presumably to Maidu Su'nusi or Batsi; east, about three miles; possibly taking in the west bank of the Sacramento also. A Maidu informant gave Moming-wi as Butte City. This may represent a separate unit or a settlement belonging to Pinhuk.

This makes about six Maidu units actually on the Sacramento, with an airline frontage of about thirty miles, and taking in both banks. These were the only true Maidu on the river, though their Nisenan kinsmen ("Southern Maidu") held the stream from the mouth of Feather river to below Sacramento city.

G, Micho'pdo, from Dayton to Chico, east of Little Chico creek.

H, O'da-wi, from Chico city water tank to the foothills, and from Edgar slough (the next water course northwest of Butte creek) to Sandy gulch.

I, E'sken,[41] from Durham to the foothills, and Butte creek to Clear creek. (This corresponds approximately with the Esquon grant.)

J, Shi'udu, from Clear creek to Feather river, and from near Oroville to past Liveoak. This seems a stretch of territory unduly long for a single group.

K, Kū'lu, east of the last, from Feather river toward the foothills about as far as the Oroville branch of the Southern Pacific railroad; and from Oroville inclusive south not quite to Marysville. This again is unduly large for a tribelet territory. Shiudu and Kulu are not known as villages, and the names may be those of tracts.[42]

L, Yū'pu, from the Southern Pacific bridge over the Feather north of Marysville to about two miles south of the city, and from a short distance west of the Feather to the foothills. The main village was at Yuba city. This tract probably was Nisenan; the foregoing are all Maidu.[43]

---

[40] Cf. Dixon, Northern Maidu, map pl. 38, where the same names occur for "villages": Sunusi, Michopdo, Otaki, Yupu. Cf. also Powers, 282, Otaki the inhabitants of Otakumni (*sic*).

[41] Powers, 282; Eskin.

[42] The principal valley Maidu villages on Feather river in order downstream (Dixon, Kroeber Nisenan, Handbook) would seem to have been Ololopa or Ololokpai; Botoko; Bauka or Boka; Bayu (perhaps above Botoko); and in the Honcut district which dialectically seems doubtful or intermediate between Maidu and Nisenan: Honkut (= Henokbo ?); Tomcho.

[43] The principal valley Nisenan tribelets might be reconstructed in downstream sequence as follows (from Dixon, Powers, Kroeber Handbook and Nisenan): Yupu at mouth of Yuba into Feather; Mimal; Sisum; Hok or Hoko; Yukulme; Olash or Ola at mouth of Bear into Feather; Kochuk or (and) Yokol-Liman-Hokok; Wolok or Ola at mouth of Feather into Sacramento; Leuchi; Wijüna; Totola or Nawean; Pujune on American river just above its mouth; Sek or Sekumne, Kadema, and perhaps others, up American; Sama, below Sacramento city. Near Freeport on the Sacramento the Plains Miwok began with Walak. This aggregates about fifteen tribelets each for the valley Maidu and the valley Nisenan—probably too small a number; but the total may be assumed to have been not more than twice as great. Tribelets and their main villages were large in the valley.

C—076729

C-076729

Wintun Areas

(M = 10), Mi'tenek, on the west side of the river, from Squaw Hill Ferry to Thomas creek.

(N = 11), Pelmem, at Vina, from the river to the foothills, and from Deer creek presumably to Pine creek; adjoined Shidawi (A).

(O = 12), Pu'imak, the people of Tehama, west side.

(P = 13 ?), Ho'ida, the people on the east side of the river midway between Tehama and Red Bluff.

Yahi Areas

Q, Ko'mbo-ma, from Mill creek (south ?) and from Ward's sheep camp to "the top of" the foothills. Kombo has been previously obtained as a Maidu name for the Yahi.

R, Mū'nmun,[44] adjoining and allied to the last; from Mud creek north to Rock creek, and up Pine creek, from about the railroad and highway east to (into ?) the foothills. This determination is not clear geographically, and it is not wholly certain whether the group was Maidu or Yahi.

Uninhabited

Uninhabited but hunted over by all groups in the vicinity: Marysville Buttes and the flat country for some miles around them, north nearly to Dayton.

This last accords with all statements made to me by the Patwin and with the evidence presented by Dixon.[45] The whole region between the Patwin Sacramento and the Maidu Feather, in fact farther north, up Butte creek almost to Dayton and Durham, was merely a hunting and fishing ground for the riparian villages that virtually surrounded it. This is a large tract to have remained unsettled and unowned: fifty miles long from north to south, ten to fifteen broad in the middle.

Patwin names for some of the larger Maidu and Nisenan towns are:

Mits'ok, Michopdo, near Chico
Esk'en, Esken or Eskini, Esquon
Bôka, Boka or Bauka, near Gridley
Yûpul, Yupu, at Yuba city
Hôk, Hoko, at Sutter's settlement
Yu''kulmi, Yukulme or Yikulme
Tanku, at mouth of Feather, which would make it Wolok or Ola; according to another informant, Dānku was east of Marysville and spoke the same as Yûpul.

The Grimes district people say that they traveled and visited as far upstream as the Colusa district, down to Knight's Landing, west to Cortina, east to Yûpul.

---

[44] Compare the Yahi term Munmun'i, Handbook, 345.

[45] Map, pl. 38, also p. 195 fn.

C—076730

C-076730

OCCUPATION OF THE SACRAMENTO RIVER

Putting together all Patwin, Wintun, Maidu, Nisenan, and Yana data, one can hardly avoid the conclusion that all along the Sacramento both banks of any given stretch were held by the same people. For the Patwin this has been expressly stated above. For the Maidu and Wintun, the pertinent data as to settlements—not necessarily tribelets—in order upstream, are as follows, Patwin, Wintun, and Maidu sources being indicated by P, W, M.

Tutu and Tsaki (P), the latter perhaps two miles above Princeton on the west side, near a "round lake" or circular slough, probably spoke Maidu.

Môma (P) or Momi-ng-wi (M), in the vicinity of Butte City, but on the west side, was Maidu. It lay on Pā'kasala (P), another circular slough, probably Packer island but possibly Beehive bend.

Pinhuk (M), also near Butte City, but on the east side, has already been mentioned as Maidu.

Batsi (M), on the west side near Jacinto, opposite Llano Seco grant, language not mentioned.

Su'nūsi (M) has already been mentioned as the Maidu tract between (Big) Chico creek and Llano Seco grant and extending across the river.

Ts'eno (M) or Ts'êno (P), on the west side, above Jacinto, more or less opposite the mouth of (Big) Chico creek, was Maidu.

Mulī (M), east side, between Big Chico creek and Sandy creek, Maidu.

Shīda-wi (M), Maidu, east side, near Hamilton, owning up to Pine creek. The west side is probably understood to be included, as no other inhabitants are mentioned.

So far everything appears Maidu. Now begin the Wintun on both banks:

Mītenek (M,W), west side, at Squaw Hill ferry, below Vina.

Pelmem (M) or Pelmem-we (W), at Vina and mouth of Deer creek, east side, territory adjoining that of Shīda-wi.

Olwenem (W), near the mouth of Thomas creek, west side.

Tehêmet (W), at Tehama, east side; people known as Pui-mak (W,M).

Ho'ida, east side, above Tehama, speech not specified.

Da-mak, west side, mouth of Redbank creek, language beginning to approach Northern Wintu.

So far as evidence goes, then, it seems that the Sacramento nowhere served as a boundary, but in all stretches had its facing banks, and the territory for some miles back of them, held by one people. This is in accord with the manner of occupation of the Klamath, Eel, Russian, Pit, San Joaquin, Kern, Colorado, and other streams. The occupants of the Sacramento, in order downstream, were the Wintu to Cottonwood creek; the Wintun to below Vina; the Northwestern Valley [illegible] to Princeton; the Patwin to below Knight's Landing;

C—076731

C-076731

the Valley Nisenan or Southern Maidu from just above the mouth of Feather river to below Sacramento city; the Plains Miwok from about Freeport down.

MIGRATIONS

There are several indications, in the region covered by this paper, of populational movements which, though insignificant per se, are of interest because on the whole Californian peoples seem to have shifted residence so slowly as to appear rooted to their soil. There may be cited:

The pre-Caucasian conquest of Alexander valley on Russian river by the Wappo from the Pomo.[46]

The movement of the Lile'ek Wappo to Clear lake. This seems to have begun on sufferance and resulted in war with the Eastern Pomo.[47]

The movement of the Northern Pomo of Komli in Ukiah valley to Komli and Noboral on Clear lake, as a result of feud with the Central Pomo of Shokadjal in Ukiah valley.[48]

The other Northern Pomo tribelet on Clear lake, Maiyi,[49] may owe its peculiar juxtaposition to Eastern Pomo groups to a similar migration on which tradition has become silent.

The tribelet constituting the Northeastern Pomo evidently represents a similar ancient drift across the main Coast range, apparently from the Northern Pomo. The dialect might have acquired its specialization rather rapidly through contact with Patwin, Wintun, and Yuki and isolation from other Pomo, so that a very remote antiquity need not be assumed.

The one Huchnom village, Ukumna-no'm, at the head of Russian river, whose drainage otherwise is Pomo, might also be mentioned, though here the distance is slight.

The Yuki who settled for a time among the Salt Pomo, as discussed below under the latter tribe, also come into consideration, even though the shift may have been post-American.

Finally, there is the story of the civil war in river Patwin Nowidihi, resulting in the migration of one faction to the hill Patwin and Southeastern Pomo, where they became absorbed, as related in the section on War.

---

[46] Barrett, Ethno-geography, 205.

[47] *Ibid.*, 192, 272; also Gifford, Pomo Lands, 78.

[48] Ethno-geography, 138; Loeb, Folkways, 207.

[49] Ethno-geography, 155.

C—076732

C-076732

RIVER PATWIN CULTURE

DRESS AND BEHAVIOR

Men went wholly naked. Women wore a skirt or apron of the flat tule, posak'. Basket caps and moccasins were not worn. A man fishing would put a feather or rabbit fur blanket over one shoulder, covering himself to the hips.

Men let their hair grow, usually coiling it on top of the head and pushing through it a bone hair pin sharp at both ends. They also wore hair nets. Women cut (burned ?) their hair all around at the level of the bottom of the ear.

Women tattooed on the breast only. Among the Maidu, men tattooed the breast, women face and breast.

Men sweated and bathed in the late afternoon. Old men sometimes slept in the sweat-house, or worked at their nets in it.

The usual sitting position of men and women was clasping the drawn up knees. Men also sat cross-legged or squatted.

Going to fish or bringing a message, men habitually ran.

Men and women swam with a breast or a dog paddle stroke.

Wood was mostly brought in by men. Water was carried by either men or women. The basket was set on the head.

Terms of vilifications were p'ore' and dukarasami'we'. Then they fought, seizing each other's hair and perhaps clubbing. In a scuffle, the Patwin looked down, not up, and did not use their fists.

SEX

When puberty comes on a girl she is known as dokoya; at subsequent menstruations she is yutu. She eats no meat or fat. For four days she does not leave the house, except at night; and wears in her hair a pointed stick with which to scratch herself, instead of using her nails. She is not sung over, nor is there a dance, though it is known that the Wintun and Maidu made one.

After parturition, a woman observes the meat and fat prohibition for about a month. Her husband does not; but the Patwin say that among the Maidu he too is under taboo, eating only fish.

C—076733

C-076733

The baby basket, kowa, is of dogwood sticks, twined with co. The bottom is round. It could be rolled to make the child sle. This appears to be the Pomo type of sitting cradle.[50]

Twins, p'an, were reared. Note was taken which was the oldest.

The umbilical cord was buried. If cut too short, the child did n live long.

Marriage was by arrangement of one's elders. If a girl wanted particular boy, her parents might initiate negotiations. One informa was married thus:

> When my mother suggested marrying a certain girl, I walked off. Then stepfather brought fish and game to the girl's father. Soon her mother brou us pinole and said: "I don't know: I asked her twice and she said nothing." They proceeded, and $20 or $30 in beads was given her people. One evening was told to go to her house. After half a month or more I said: "I want to go home." My wife said: "I don't know if my mother will let me. I will ask in the morning." Next day, I went home, then returned, and in the evening she went with me. Her mother said: "Do not fear any longer. Help them to cook and work." When we arrived, my stepfather was glad. After two or three months, we returned to live with her parents.

A young couple was free as to residence, but the man was expected to get wood and do chores for his wife's family.

For two or three years after marriage both man and woman were ashamed to talk to the parent-in-law of opposite sex. If they did speak, they looked down. The Patwin know that the hill Maidu are more rigorous. If a Maidu man was about to enter, he coughed, and his mother-in-law turned her back and covered her face.

First intercourse with one's wife was anal.

There were berdaches.

THE DEAD

The dead were buried. Only people killed at a distance were cremated. According to a hill informant, the river people set a corpse upright, then pushed the head down, broke the back, wrapped the body in a skin, and put it in the grave.

Cemeteries were usually at one end of a town.

The dead went west, though the Maidu were known to say that theirs went to the Marysville Buttes.

Mourners cried the whole night, then slept in the day. They would cry perhaps for a month, perhaps for a year, as they went to get wood. A widow painted her face black for about a year. For perhaps some weeks she talked little or not at all, sat thinking, and did not laugh.

---

[50] Handbook, 358.

C—076734

C-076734

The Maidu custom of a widow pitching her face was known by the Patwin but not practiced.

The hair was cut in mourning. It was kept for the long-haired dādu impersonation in the hesi.

The Patwin and Wintun-Wintu practices of property destruction, as told by a Colusa informant, have been given in Handbook, 360.

SOCIETY

Inheritance, according to my informants, was from the father, which confirms what McKern says about patrilineal "functional families" or sere.[51] However, the bond with the mother's brother was close, especially in religious matters, and my informants more often mentioned receiving a "function"—power or office—from him than from their father's brother. The term sere, besides its specific meaning, denotes any body of kin or associates. Thus, netsu'-sere, "my relatives, my family"; and I once heard Katsi'l-sere, "the people of Katsil town." I obtained nothing on the "functional family" organization of McKern; but as he says, his is a well systematized or theoretical account; and my informants were concrete minded.

The kinship system has been given by Gifford.[52] It operates with a smaller number of terms than any other in California. Gifford also found both the theory and a case of practice of one-sided cross-cousin marriage—a man to his mother's brother's daughter.[53]

There might be several chiefs in a town, but one was head.[54] Thus Sāka had a principal chief and two others; it also had two dance houses.[55]

TRADE AND VALUATIONS

Obsidian, k'osa, came from the west; also from the east, from near Wheatland and from the (Marysville ?) Buttes. It was gone after, or the people of those localities brought it to trade.

Shell beads came from the coast via the hill Patwin. Yellowhammer headbands and woodpecker scalp belts, diak', were given for them; also cordage, which the hill people wanted for deer nets. The Maidu in turn gave yellowhammer and woodpecker feathers for beads.

[51] Functional Families, 238, 240, 246.

[52] Californian Kinship Terminologies, UC-PAAE, 18:94, 1922.

[53] A well known Miwok practice. Cf. also Nisenan, 265.

[54] Gifford, Pomo Society, 338, 339, 343, found that Shigom and other Pomo towns had two or three coordinate chiefs, each being head over his kinsmen. Cf. Nisenan, 264.

[55] McKern, Functional Families, 242, discusses chieftainship in detail.

C—076735

C-076735

Bows all came from the north. Iris string seems not to have reached the river Patwin.

Shell beads were counted, not measured. Ordinary ones, hihi, were worth ten cents, good ones, gûtsi, about half an inch thick, forty cents. They were counted by units of eight. The value given may refer to such units, since another account puts the thick beads at ten cents. There appears also to have been a larger unit equated with $4. This last was the standard price for all ceremonial teachings.

For a wife $8 was said to be paid; several times as much according to another informant.

A bow was worth $4. For a coyote fur quiver with arrows $8 was given the hill people.

Burnt cylindrical magnesite beads, tulu'r, were measured across the palm. If this just enclosed their length, they were worth $4.

Dentalia seem to have been unknown.

The wing and tail feathers of thirty yellowhammers, which would make a band a fathom long, were worth $4.

Woodpecker scalp belts brought $40, $60, $100, $200. The standard was $4 for each warp in a fathom belt.

Bear skins, used as beds, mats, and treasures, were rated at $8, or more for a long, soft-furred black bear hide. These are said to have been the principal skins that were traded in. Some informants call the grizzly tsuku'i and the cinnamon or black bear uyu'm. Others make tsuku'i include all bears except the uyu'm, a black silky-haired "water bear," sometimes seen rearing out of "lakes." There is a story of a man who shot one by borrowing his sister's child in its basket to lie on the bank and lure the uyu'm by its crying.

A man's net sack, t'u'iti, for carrying acorns and fish, nearly a yard long, was worth $2.

GAMES

The guessing game, kuru'-piri, was played by two men on a side, each holding two bones wrapped in grass. The smooth bone was called man, the string-wrapped one woman. The wrapped bone was guessed for. Clapping and pointing meant a guess that the two "women" were in adjacent hands of the two hiders; clapping and spreading one's hands, that they were both outside. Pointing to one's left (the hiders' right) meant that both were thought to be in the left hand. If, however, they were both inside, or outside, only one point

C—076736

C-076736

was made; that is, probably, one player retired. Exclamations were also used: tep for right, wei for left.

Yo'tsoho was played with a bunch of sticks that were taken away by fours. The remainder was guessed for.[56]

Sa'kmoho-piri was shinny, the goals being a hole at each end of the field. There was much struggling and wrestling in the play, but holding an opponent meant losing one's stick. A myth, below, makes girls play shinny.

Women also played a sort of ring-and-pin, gata, apparently a small bow of a stick and cord, with which the player tried to catch a billet that her opponent threw.

Women's dice, tela, were of wood, 6 or 8 in number, and were thrown sideways.[57]

PLANT FOOD

Food bins were 6–7 feet in diameter, 7–8 feet high, made of sticks set side by side in the ground and here and there interlaced with courses of willows. They were roofed with tules and were reached from the top by a ladder of willows, presumably with lashed rungs. There were no supports to keep the structure off the ground, since there were few mice and no rats. The food was put in by layers, separated by tule mats: whole acorns, seeds, powdered salmon, shelled acorns, etc. Sometimes great holes were dug, lined with mats, and similarly used for storage.

The acorns used were the ordinary ī and long LO of the valley oaks, of which the large, spreading kind were called daLā'm and the smaller ones botok. The acorn, LāyI, of the hill and mountain oak, mī, was also gathered in some places, as above Arbuckle. Live oak acorns were not used ordinarily. Acorn lands were free to all within the tribelet.

The mortar, ts'obok, was of oak,[58] of stone only in the hills. Stone mortars were found in the Marysville Buttes but were left because they had belonged to people who were dead. The pestle, t'aki, was an unworked cobble from the hills, where rolled stones up to a foot and a half long were to be found.

Leaching was done in a sand basin with cold water. It was continued an hour or more, until the acorns no longer tasted bitter. While

[56] Handbook, 849; Nisenan, 263.
[57] Nisenan, 288.
[58] McKern, Patwin Houses, 165.

C—076737

C-076737

still damp, the meal was creased in parallels, each section was slapped and lifted adhering to the palm, and the sand on the under side washed off with a little water dashed against it.[59]

Acorn soup or gruel, yiwit, required three baskets to cook well. The hot stones were picked up with two sticks and first dipped into a basket of water to remove the ashes, then dropped into the acorns. They were removed from this with two paddles, ts'iwik, of oak, a foot and a half long, with blades the size of a palm. Then the gruel was carefully poured into another basket so as to leave behind the fragments of rock that had become detached. It was usually drunk from a basketry dipper. There were no worked spoons.

Acorn bread, t'īpa, was cooked in an earth oven. A basin was dug, about a foot across, and a fire built in it and allowed to die down. Then the pit was lined with sycamore or grape leaves, the dough laid on in one large loaf, leaves put over it, then a layer of earth, and a new fire built on top. It might be left overnight; or tested by prodding until the dough no longer yielded to the stick. It came out as a hard, hot cake, which was pried over into a basket tray with a couple of sticks.

Pinole or seed tracts, in distinction from acorn lands, were privately owned. One informant remembered a fight between downstream people who were beating in seeds near the present Katsil and an upstream man who asserted that he had received the land from his paternal uncle.

The principal seeds were of t'inīk, a low herb with russet flowers and black seeds ripening about April, growing near the river; kô't, which has yellow flowers (probably a Composita), and was the chief product of the plains away from the river; and wild oats, simīya (Sp. semilla), which were parched in baskets before grinding. All the pinoles were eaten as dry flour.

Some blackberries and elderberries and occasionally wild grapes were gathered. In the tules, a root or bulb, soplok, was got. The stalk of this grows about two feet high and has a white flower. New tule shoots were eaten.

Buckeyes, hazelnuts, manzanitas, and brodiaeas seem not to have been available in quantity in the valley and informants know little of them.

---

[59] The northwestern tribes leach with hot water, probably because their acorns contain more tannin. They use much tan oak.

C—076738

C-076738

ANIMAL FOOD AND ITS TAKING

A variety of animal foods eaten in various neighboring regions were not used. Besides lampreys and frogs, these included snakes, dogs, coyotes, badgers, probably skunks; also grasshoppers, angleworms, caterpillars. The Wintun are said to have eaten worms: one informant knew their method of working a stick back and forth in the ground. The Maidu of Hok once fed him grasshoppers, which he took for powdered salmon until he saw an eye, when he spat out the mouthful.

On the other hand wild honey, mu'lumulu, was eaten along with the grubs; and a sweet "black honey," pokdan, that comes from balls like marbles made by a "horsefly." Bear and grizzly bear, uyu'm and tsuku'i, were eaten.

The following fish were taken: salmon, hur; sturgeon, nês; perch, ts'ôte; chub, gama''; sucker, ō'bali; hardhead, doku; pike, dogo'; small salmon, sāli; "trout," a'pali. Carp, bass, and catfish appear to have been introduced, since they have no Patwin names. Lamprey eels are said to have been uncommon and small and not to have been eaten. The salmon ran from spring to midsummer. Sturgeon sometimes broke through nets.

Various nets were used, whose principle is not always clear from the descriptions.[60] A short seine was held out from shore by a pole and drawn in to enclose the fish. What was perhaps a gill net was fastened at the ends to sticks and held vertically from two tule rafts. When a fish was felt, the poles were released and lifted, so that they came together. Again, a net was dived with by three or four men, who quickly brought together the two end poles of dogwood, t'a, and rolled one around the other, closing the net. A small-mesh net was about four feet across the opening, the bag somewhat deeper, and was fastened to two poles, one bisecting the other, which was bent in a half circle. The fisherman stood in water up to his hip with the net down. When a school of minnows entered, he lifted the net and the fish slid down into the point of the bag. This was open and inserted into a t'u'iti net sack in the fisherman's hand, the orifice of the sack being held open by an oak hoop.

Some fishing places were privately owned, and were used only with consent, part of the catch being given the owner.

[60] McKern, Functional Families, 248, 252, distinguishes methods of fishing for salmon from those for other fish.

C—076739

C-076739

Fish dams or weirs, bôno, were built only at Koru and Sāka. Posts six or eight inches across were driven in with stones and tied with grapevine. Then willows were set about an inch apart all the way across. Several gates were left, down behind which were floated pens or corrals that had been woven on land. When salmon were seen by fire light at night, a man dived into the pen with a bag net whose mouth was formed by two sticks about four feet long tied together at the ends. He spread these sticks in the middle, clapped them over the salmon as it lay on the bottom, and brought them together to enclose the fish. Similar nets were used for other fish in sloughs and "lakes." Sturgeon usually lay against the farthest side of the pen. The diver carried a cord having a loop at one end and a wooden handle at the other. He slipped the wood around the sturgeon's tail and through the loop, forming a noose. The fish pulled him along, but as soon as he came to the surface a rope was thrown him. The weirs were built in summer and maintained until the water rose.

Salmon were dried at the fish camp. They were skinned, slit with a mussel shell into strips two or three fingers wide, and hung in the sun on lines of grapevine. No smoke was used in curing. The dried strips were put into temporary receptacles of tule. In midsummer, when fishing was over, these were floated downstream on tule rafts or otherwise carried home. Either the strips, or powder into which they had been pounded, were stored in the granaries. The powder was eaten dry, like seed pinole; the strips were cooked in an earth oven, like acorn bread, with a little water sprinkled on, and, absorbing steam, came out almost like fresh salmon.

Fishhooks were of bone, about an inch long, sharp at both ends, tied in the middle, and were baited for chub and perch. Pike were caught with a similar unbaited hook, which was cast and cast at night until the fish took it.

Pike, which were dried for winter, were also taken wading at the edge of the tules with the harpoon, Luci t'up. This implement was not used for salmon in the river, although the Maidu upstream so used it.

Fish poison is said not to have been used.

Sturgeon as well as salmon after drying was reduced to powder for preservation. Deer too, though preserved as jerky, was pulverized before eating.

Frogs were passed by, but river turtles, anus, were roasted alive on coals and tasted like duck. River mussels were got by diving to

[61] The same, 248, has data on weirs. See also Nisenan, 262.

C—076740

C-076740

the bottom and feeling for them. Several were generally brought up at one dive.

Mudhens were caught with a net some thirty feet long by perhaps seven broad, attached to three cross sticks. It was pegged down lightly in shallow water, so as not to show. A rope led from the far end of the middle pole to several men in hiding fifty or a hundred yards away. When the birds, approaching shore to feed on grass, had swum across the net, it was raised by a pull and fell over them.

Geese[62] were caught similarly, except that two or more nets were rigged to the pull rope, and these were spread on the ground. In front of each net were set decoys: goose skins stuffed with grass on a frame of sticks.[63] When geese alit, the men at the end of the rope ran as hard as they could. As the net had first to be raised and then dropped over the birds, success depended on quickness of the pull.

Ducks[62] were netted as they flew along sloughs at night. Two rows of willow poles were set across the channel, the first low, the second taller. The net hung, or rather drooped, between. As the ducks struck the higher or curtain part of the net, they fell into the bag and were enmeshed. Men in balsas gathered them in. Swans were occasionally caught in these nets, but were not separately hunted.

Quail were taken in a tunnel-like net, some ten yards long, a foot or two across, held open by hoops. Several men "made medicine" by tapping two sticks together as they gently drove the quail in without alarming them to break into flight. If one bird entered, the others followed, and a concealed hunter leaped to the mouth of the net.[64]

Eagles, sul, and condors, molok, were shot, not netted, according to most informants; though one told of a spring noose on a bent-over live oak sapling. Condors used to be abundant on the Marysville Buttes, and were thought to "lay young birds," not eggs.

Deer were netted. The cord was of wild hemp, *Apocynum*, ts'ebi, gathered in fall. The mesh was a foot or more, so that the deer were caught by the shoulders. The net seems to have been a fathom wide, since it was stretched from about two to about eight feet above ground. It was so long, perhaps two hundred, three hundred, or four hundred feet, that two men had to carry it. A number of men hid. When a deer leaped, they called to each other, closed in on it, and drove it into the net. The first to reach the animal threw it and broke its neck:

[62] Goose and duck taking are discussed by McKern, Functional Families, 249. See also Nisenan, 263; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 195.

[63] Handbook, 359.

[64] Cf. Barrett, Pomo Indian Basketry, UC–PAAE, 7, pl. 28, fig. 3, 1908.

C—076741

C-076741

it was not clubbed. Deer are said to have been abundant along the river.

The deer mask, kui, was a head fastened to the wearer's hair with a skewer, the hide falling over the neck. The hunter's back was not covered with a hide, and he carried his bow under his arm. Several men might go out together, one wearing the decoy, the others near by. Bucks sometimes came up close to "play" or fight. The hunter then had to turn his rump to the animal, in order not to have his false head knocked off. For four days before, the hunter abstained from his wife, stayed in the sweat-house, toward evening sweated, bathed, and only then ate and drank.

Bear were shot, or attacked with the hand spear, sak.

SALT AND TOBACCO

Salt was burned from "salt grass," wêL, in the plains. A fire was built in a hole a foot and a half deep. Heavy sticks were laid on it, then a pile of grass. Soon the salt "melted" and could be heard dripping. The one who looked in said "Stop"—by this time the wood had burned through. After several hours of cooling, a large, hard, blackish cake was taken out and broken to divide. It was kept to be ground as needed. Its taste was not like modern salt.[65]

Tobacco, lol, grew wild along the river, and was not cultivated. It was soaked, pulled, dried, and stored in a sack. The pipe, dopo, was made of the hard wood of irit, a small tree growing in the river bottom. The pipe was from one to two feet long, with the end some two inches across, so that as the bowl burned it could be cleaned out and enlarged. The bore was made by forcing a willow through the pith; later, wire was used.

WEAPONS

Bows were normally imported from the north, and were sinew-backed. (This indicates bows of yew, which does not grow in Patwin territory.) The arrow release was primary. The bow was held horizontally, the head vertically. Some men are said to have had such heavy bows that they drew with the feet. Arrows were of k'ati brush. Arrows, also spears, were poisoned with the body of a white spider. Rattlesnake poison was not used. So strong was the spider poison that a half inch wound would kill a deer.[66] Arrows were straightened by hand after warming over a fire, and smoothed by being drawn between two sticks.

C—076742

C-076742

The quiver, sehan, was usually of fox, coyote, or wolf fur. Like other skins, they were simply rubbed with a stone.

The spear is discussed under War.

TEXTILES

Coiled baskets were on foundation of willow, pukum, with a wrapping of roots of se't, a flat, sharp grass, probably *Carex*, growing in the sand; and were worked with a deerbone awl, tūp. Patterns were normally in black, not red as among the Maidu and often among the Pomo. Perhaps the redbud, *Cercis occidentalis*, is not common in the valley. The black, according to one informant, was made of the roots, pabō'yo, of a plant titsil growing a foot or two high. The roots were reddish but turned black on being buried in hot ashes a few days. Another informant described this plant as a sedge or grass, with shorter roots than se't: on brief burial, the roots came out more or less brown.[67]

Shallow and other baskets of split tule were also made. These were of little value and wore out quickly.

Baskets feathered with woodpecker scalps were known, but apparently they were less important, especially in comparison with the Pomo, than feathered belts and headdresses. According to McKern, feathered baskets were called tara't-ok, a derivative word from tara't, the name of the woodpecker-scalp visor worn by the dādu dancer,[68] and mentioned again below.

Fur blankets were of jackrabbit skins, sewn together with a bone needle and wild hemp (*Apocynum*) string. It is said that cottontail skins were not used; perhaps because too much sewing would be involved. The usual style of Californian rabbit blanket, woven of twisted strips of fur, was denied by one informant, although he knew it from the Grindstone Wintun.[69]

---

[67] R. E. Merrill, Plants used in Basketry, UC-PAAE, 20:215–42, 1923, on the basis of an examination of baskets in the University Museum, lists the following as used by the "Wintun" (Patwin, Wintun, and Wintu): *Rhus diversiloba*, poison oak, for warp; *Cercis occidentalis*, redbud, for red pattern, stem for foundation, sapwood for wrapping; *Salix* sp., for warp, weft, and foundation; plus several plants obviously used only in basketry of the northern California type made by the Wintu. *Carex* is not mentioned for any "Wintun" group. Cf. also Nisenan, 262, 286, 287.

[68] Functional Families, 250. He mentions also coiled oval baskets. See Handbook, 358.

[69] It is possible that the needle and cord served to insert wefts in a woven fur-strip blanket of the usual type, rather than for sewing together whole hides, as the informant was understood to say. Yet the woven feather blanket of the [illegible] displaced the woven rabbit blanket from the

C—076743

C-076743

Goose-feather blankets were made from the soft feathers on the rump. These were laid, one at a time, between two threads and lashed in by a wrapping thread. The whole cord appears then to have been woven with cross strings.[70]

Belts, todai, of scarlet woodpecker scalp feathers, were the greatest treasures of the Patwin, who, along with some of the Maidu, specialized in these objects of splendor as the Pomo did in feather-covered baskets. The belts were worn only by women, the full length fathom ones being wrapped twice around the body. The broadest were about eight fingers wide. Some showed a pattern worked in green head feathers of the mallard. The process of manufacture is not quite clear. It seems that the loose scalp feathers were glued together with soaproot, titsyu, then worked into a wild hemp cord, perhaps by the same process as the goose down in the blankets; or possibly spun into the cord. This cord was used as a warp stretched between two sticks.[71] A wooden needle with weft thread was passed back and forth, with a throw, as the informant illustrated, not by picking the warps. If this is correct, a shed is indicated, and in the absence of all loom weaving from the area, a Spanish improvement of a simpler native process is suggested. It also seems that feathers were inserted during the weaving. Not everyone could make these belts—only such people as had learned the art from their relatives.[72]

These belts are almost certainly connected historically with the woodpecker headbands of the northwest California tribes, even though the intervening groups did without, owing presumably to relative cultural poverty. It is well to note, however, that the northwestern ornaments were headbands of buckskin to which whole scalps were glued and stitched.

The Patwin also had a woodpecker headdress, called tara't and worn by the dādu spirit in the hesi, rhomboidal in shape, fringed with crow or other black feathers, and put on something like a visor. One is preserved in the Salem museum.

---

[70] Nisenan, 260; Dixon, 148; Willoughby, AA, 24:432–437, 1922. The latter interprets his illustrated specimens as Maidu (read to include Nisenan), but they may just as well be Patwin.

[71] From the data under Trade and Valuations, it follows that the belts were from ten to fifty warps wide; and that their value when completed was at the rate of one larger ($4) unit of shell beads per contained warp.

[72] McKern, Functional Families, 250. He calls the belts diya'k. Dixon, 149. As regards the loom with shed device, compare the Nisenan (p. 263) spindle-whorl—also unique for California and possibly of Spanish origin.

C—076744

C-076744

BOATS

Tule rafts, nu', were made of foot-thick bundles of Laka, the round tule, wrapped around and lashed with grapevine. There are said to have been no poles inserted through the bundles as fastening. The edges were built up into gunwales, so that goods could be piled between. The prow was elevated, the stern flat. Large boats for travel downstream might be twenty feet long and six or more in beam. Those for crossing the river were smaller. All were quickly made. There was no bladed paddle, but plain willow poles were paddled with. In the tules, progress was by poling. It was impossible to travel upstream with these balsas.

HOUSES AND WELLS

Houses have been fully described by McKern.[78] It need only be added that many towns had a well, a large open hole dug in a low place. No great depth was necessary, owing to proximity of the river.

VARIOUS IMPLEMENTS AND PROCESSES

The fire drill, sori', was of willow or other wood.

The sawaya was a flaked ax. Informants never saw one: steel axes of course were among the earliest imports. The sawaya felled trees. It took six days to make a dance house. It was also used in rough butchering, and to break bones for the marrow. Pieces of meat were cut with a river mussel shell.

The river Patwin made surprisingly little use of skins. Deer hides were often left. If taken, they were used undressed as floor mats, the hair side up. Buckskin seems not to have been worked, although the mountain Maidu were known to make moccasins and leggings. Furs were dressed by rubbing the inner side with a roughish stone, especially for quivers. Otter (?) skins, kaki', were used for tobacco sacks, and badger, maru''t, fur was made into dance headbands. Beaver skins, ti'mi-tu, "diver," were not used.

Rope and string were prevailingly of wild hemp, *Apocynum*, but milkweed, bok, *Asclepias*, was used for fish line on account of its strength.

[78] Patwin Houses, UC-PAAE, 20:159–71, 1924. Towns with two dance-houses are mentioned, thus Sāka; cf. Nisenan, 264; though Pomo Shigom, with 235 inhabitants and three chiefs, had but one, according to Gifford, Pomo Society, 389.

C—076745

C-076745

Women used a packstrap, latsuk, woven or braided of wild h cord. They also slung on a conical, twined, burden basket, a whereas men used the t'u'iti net sack, carried in the hand. Firew and other gross loads were lashed with grapevine and this then al over the forehead, the hands helping to steady the pack. The carry net was not used, it is said, but is attributed to the hill Patwin a called duhuhmen-Lube.

The flute, lôlol, was of elder and had four holes. It was play lying down, outdoors or in the sweat-house.

The drum, holwa, was best made of sycamore.[74] It was eight ten feet long, two or two and one-half feet broad, hollowed out und neath by chopping, lay at the back of the dance house pointing to the door,[75] and was stamped on, but at present is thumped with a stick.

TIME AND ASTRONOMY

The Patwin moon count is "seasonal" rather than descriptive of the individual moons. This comes out more consistently in the hills than on the river, and is a feature with Maidu analogues.[76] Basically, there seem to have been about half a dozen seasonal periods recognized, with an attempt to fit a pair of moons to each. The ending -bo of several month names suggests the Maidu -bō-m. I give the calendar as it was obtained from one river and one hill informant, the former partially substantiated by incomplete lists from other men. None of these counts appears to be authentically correct: the only full one numbered fourteen "moons." I incline to consider the two ben san, "big moons" or perhaps "long suns," as being synonyms for the solstitial months. One informant put walwal and sa'labir between fall and winter—the period for which the lists are not "seasonal" and vary most. He also knew wanhini as the time of the hesi ceremony and growing grass, about April. No informant was certain of the beginning of the count. One stated that old men would string 12 sticks, of palm length, hang them in the sweat-house, where arguments prevailed on such matters, and remove one with each moon. A year was called tepupa.

---

[74] McKern, Functional Families, 249. He calls the drum chobo'k, the drummer ho'lwatu; in Patwin Houses, 169, he gives holwa or hwaLa in esoteric language during the hesi. His data are in the Colusa dialect, mine mostly in that of Grimes.

[75] McKern, Patwin Houses, 169, says it extended *across* the back of the house.

[76] Handbook, 438; Nisenan, 286.

C—076746

C-076746

River Patwin	*Hill Patwin*
pohôwil, ben san	kutsui pohôwil ("little summer")
tseri pohôwil	ben pohôwil ("big summer")
bahyai san (acorns begin ripen)	kutsui ka'ideni ("fall")
kadā'ni bo (acorns ripe)	ben ka'ideni
yati san ("clouds," small rain)	saltu san ("spirit moon," *viz.*, dances)
t'ulki san (last acorns)	
pomsin bo, ben san ("winter")	kutsui pomsin ("winter")
t'iwi san (deer netted)	ben pomsin
kūk wanhini bo	kutsui wanheni ("spring")
wanhini bo ("spring")	ben wanheni
olhini bo	kutsui olheni ("ripening")
soro' san (seeds ripen)	ben olheni

Star names, hill forms asterisked: Stars, LARA'K, *to'samen. Morning star, ta'ti-mên, *ta'ti-men. Evening star, si'wa-men (seining in slough), *nombo to'samen pal werêbos ("west star now comes"). Milky way, kāno yeme (antelope's road), *pùt (ashes). Pleiades, poto'ni, *potô'n. Orion, se'deu notiLi (coyote carries on head), *kom. Ursa major, tsawa, *latco' (stick for knocking off acorns). Polaris, wayelbo LARA'K, *waibo to'samen (these mean "north star" and may be translations of our term).

An aurora was said to be old people in camp cracking acorns, īme ka'ltepuro.

An eclipse was called peri, "(bear) swallows it"; people shouted. In the hills people would say: sila'i sana'r tseru't t'ilô'kibes, grizzly-bear moon eating makes-it-dark.

SHAMANISM

Shamans, mali-yo'mta, became such through instruction by an older relative, as among the Pomo and Nisenan, not from a vision, as with the Maidu. I could learn little about spirit helpers, except that they were called saltu, the same as the spirits impersonated in ceremonies.[77]

His mother's brother had taught his powers to one informant, but the latter was afraid to accept them, or at least to put them into practice.

A typical treatment ran as follows: The shaman felt and pressed to diagnose, then sang, sitting at the patient's feet facing east and keeping time by rubbing or tapping two sticks. He would ask a rela-

[77] Among the Wintun and Wintu, shamans' spirits are called yapai-tu, which among the Patwin denotes dancers. Handbook, 361; and Wintun section

C—076747

C-076747

tive where the sun stood when the person took ill. He might then go out and bring his medicine, prepare it in a basket, and administer it to the patient; or this might be done later. He put on feathers and danced, making four turns around the patient. Sometimes the shaman sucked—most frequently blood, often drawn from cuts in the temple made with obsidian; occasionally a bit of fine hemp string, or a black one. Medicine was more regularly used than sucking. The shaman stayed on long, bathing nightly, often for many days, until the patient told his kin that he was better and the doctor might go. Before leaving, the shaman told the ill person's mother to feed him but little meat or fish. He was likely to return, perhaps twice, to see his patient's progress. Fees were high, around $30 or $40 for a serious illness.

For a snake bite, the sufferer was given something vile (excrement) to drink. The shaman then ran off, returned with a basketful of medicine, and bandaged the wounded ankle with it.

An informant who was sick with something that made his skin full of holes, was cured by sucking.

A shaman that lost patients came under the suspicion of being a poisoner or witch and was no longer called. He was not killed.

"Poison" was o'se'L.

At Grindstone, the modern settlement in Wintun territory occupied mostly by hill Patwin, a Wintun shaman is said, on instructions from his sāltu, to have sucked something from close to the heart of a woman nearly dead. He exhibited it in his hand and accused the present head of the Salt Pomo of having made her ill with something he had hung in the road (*sic*).

Some men would go about at night, alone or in couples, hooting like owls. Those who could distinguish them from real owls, might sit in a shadow to shoot them. Once a group of people were asleep outdoors. As one of the witches approached, an informant's older relative got a nose-bleed. Then he saw the poisoner come crawling, like a snake. He shot, and the witch ran. The company went to the river to "wash" themselves, with sand and with water, to rub off the evil effects. In the morning they found the arrow and followed a trace of blood to a wallow that looked as if a hog had been killed. Some days later Maidu from the lower Feather came and told of a man who had died from a shot in the side of the chest.

Somewhat analogous to these wizards were the grizzly bear shamans, napa, who disguised themselves in a hide closed in front like a jacket, and watched along the trail with bow and arrow to kill.

C—076748

C-076748

Generic malice was imputed as motive. One of these people from Cortina once came to the river at P'ālo, and near No'matsapin attacked one of three Kosêmpu men fishing and making a tule boat. He cut him on the thigh. Returning home, he said, "I caught my older brother (lābi-tcu). If it had been anyone else, I would have killed him; but I recognized him." Specific instances regarding such evil practices are usually attributed to neighboring groups.

The term for these "were-bears" is more likely to be the origin of the name of the river and city and county Napa than the Pomo word for harpoon gig, tentatively suggested by Barrett;[78] especially since Napa city was a Patwin settlement (Chimenukme).

Charmstones (plummet-shaped worked stones) were called "thunders," k'imir, and were thought to be little ones that had fallen down from over-crowding in the sky. Most people would not touch one when found, but a shaman or wizard would keep it and hang it by a string from a pole set by his salmon net or weir, after tying a bit of goose down at one end. This end had an "eye," with which it saw and called the salmon.[79]

Thunder was said to be a woman running.

To make rain, one burns either oak galls; or uno, the pear-shaped, whitish fruit of a fig-like tree in the hills; or a diving bird's nest from the tules. To bring on a dry period, a coyote is skinned completely and set up with its mouth open to the north, from which fair-weather winds blow.

The following illustrates the connection between shamanism and cults. One of my informants had been shot in the hand and flank by his own shotgun as he crawled through a fence. His father and father's mother were sent for. His father, though head of the Waisāltu spirit society, had not learned the medicine that goes with this cult. But his paternal grandmother had learned it from the former head, for whom she cooked during performances; and she imparted it to her son, who treated his son. The medicine (probably angelica root) was put on the wound; also it was burned and the charcoal applied. Two songs went with it, one for healing, the other for allaying the pain. His wife, who attended the patient, had to eat the same saltless food as he until he was well; and he might not cohabit with her. His mother-in-law and others in the house ate what they pleased because they cooked separately outdoors.

[78] Ethno-geography, 293; Kroeber, Place Names, UC-PAAE, 12:50, 1916.

[79] Handbook, 361 (Colusa informant).

C—076749

C-076749

LUCK, DREAMS, INSANITY

One who had killed a person must stay in the house four days. A man who had been wounded or bitten by a snake or bear must remain away from fishing places four days, lest he drive away the salmon. A certain man caught nothing because he had allowed his injured son-in-law to come where he fished. Being told the reason, he dreamed that night of his net being dry and high, with salmon running under it. He was convinced as to cause.

If one dreamed of being bitten, one stayed home the next day, else was likely to be actually bitten.

After dreaming of dead relatives, one put food in the fire and told them to stay away and not trouble one. Some people, however, longing for their dead kin, kept thinking of them, dreamed of them more and more, and became ill, perhaps died.

These are some dreams of one old man:

1. Once I died, after a long sickness. I went west, carrying a small bow. At the hills the road forked into three, to the southwest, west, and northwest. I was wondering which to take. Then I went northwest and saw people camped. I returned and wondered again. I was about to take the western road when I heard a shout behind me. A man came up and said: "You forgot your bow and arrow." So I went home and saw my father and mother crying and myself lying there. So I crept up, like a down-feather in the wind, and lay on myself. After a time I stirred. My father said: "You were dead two hours."—This is evidently the dream or delirium of an ill man considering dying, but without strong emotion. West is where the dead go.

2. Often I dream I run, spread my arms, rise, and soar like a buzzard. The feeling is fine. Sometimes I do not quite soar, but only get started and skim low.

3. Whenever I dream I have been at a big time (dance, festival), I feel lonely the next day and where I live seems wrong. My family notice and ask what is the matter, but I do not tell.

Ghosts were called mo''lawin. An informant once saw some. He was with a companion when they saw a crowd of women, playing as they approached. The two men hid; but soon the women stopped, as if they smelled the men. When these looked again, the women had vanished.

Haiba was given as the word for soul, and seL for shadow.

For luck at gambling, one tries to find koto, a water being. Some find his bow and arrows, which are of stone.

The informant just quoted as to dreams, when a boy at Nomatsapin, got into the habit of dreaming nightly of koto,[80] who took him into

[80] This koto spirit is impersonated by the Patwin and Maidu; see sections on Kuksu cults.

C—076750

C-076750

the water, under the tule roots. Finally he told the youth to burn crane feathers and he would desist from him. Next day the informant shot a crane, burned the feathers, and had peace. He had got quite thin from the koto's visitations, but would not tell his father what was troubling him.

There are several terms for psychiatric conditions. Most of them refer to spirits. The ordinary word for crazy is ko'to'a—compare the koto water being just mentioned. Onôna is also used. Oke''a'a seems to be applied to a person whom we would call possessed. Su'la'a, also waik'o, is the name for persons ceremonially crazy, who shout, hang the head, bleed from the nose, and walk off across the surface of the river, into the tules, and perhaps come back at the end of a day carrying a live duck, chickenhawk, or snake. They remain out of their minds for three days.[81]

One informant told how he once began to go crazy. A mother's brother, who later died insane, persuaded him that he could throw his voice as far as he wanted to. The nephew then believed that he could be heard in Chico. He confessed to an American physician whom he happened to consult for something else, and being told that he must stop or die, he discontinued the practice.

HILL PATWIN CULTURE[82]

DRESS AND MANNERS

Dress was much as among the river people: no shoes, no hats, men naked. Women according to some statements went nude, according to others wore two aprons of deer skin, kola'i, the hair being left on (*sic*—which would be without known parallel in California). Men sometimes tied a fur around the body, "like a vest"; evidently for warmth, not decency. The hair net, tsoro, was worn.

True buckskin, koltsis, was made by the hill people, though its use is not clear. The hair was scraped off with a convenient stone broken in two. The hides were dressed in the familiar way, by smearing on brains in the sun. Mostly the working was by rubbing two pieces of

[81] The regular duration of a major ceremony. The whole performance is analogous to the insane wandering off of the wai-saltu initiates—see below under Kuksu cult. The sula'a-waik'o appear to be kuksu society initiates. Though the information recorded on this society mentions no such demonstration, a Maidu (see Initiations, Autobiographies), who was initiated into kuksu among the Patwin, said that on the last night he was taught the waiko.

[82] Calendar and astronomy, war, and bole cult are discussed in connection with the river Patwin data under those heads.

C—076751

C-076751

the skin together, "like washing"; but a stick was also used. Men or women dressed skins.

Rabbit-fur blankets were worn, but their greatest worth was as bedding. The rabbits were driven into long nets, which sometimes took a fox or wildcat also. Jackrabbits were best for blankets. The skin was cut in a long spiral, then rolled on the thigh with a string, making a sort of two-ply cord with the fur mostly out. After drying, this fur cord was stretched back and forth between two horizontal sticks, supported a couple of feet off the ground, and a weft of wild hemp cord was twined in.

Woodpecker belts were made here as well as on the river.

The packstrap was a band of wild hemp.

There were polite circumlocutions: winana boti batale, "I am going out," for voiding, used before visitors or in public; and e'unahase, "come outside," an invitation to cohabit.

Greetings are: pal-mi henebo mi, now you have come, or simply henebo mi; the answer is: ôn, he'nesu, yes, I came. Or one might say: Laik mi henebo, healthy you come. A person arriving said: paL-tcu henebos, nī'kase, well, I have come, my friend. This was answered with: piu'r mi hen, ni'-kase, really you came, my friend. The parting remarks are: harāte sai mi, you are going? Answer: ôn, harāte bosu, kalelbet, kayuntselte, yes, I am going, it is far, I am going afoot.

DEATH

As soon as a person died, two men broke his back. A round hole was dug with sharp sticks, about six feet deep, with a somewhat deeper niche undercut on the south. The corpse was wrapped in a long rabbit net, and beads to the value of perhaps $20 or $60 were put with it. The dead man's bow, clothing, and personal effects were burned. The body was thrown into the grave. It "bounced like a ball" and rolled down into the niche. The grave was then filled and the mourners sang for several hours.

Women relatives cut their hair with a flint over a stick; men did not cut it. Women did not pitch their face. For a year none of the relatives sang. If a death occurred during a dance, this stopped. If people wanted a dance half a year or so after a death, they asked the survivors, who would agree. They might be given $10 worth of beads. But the mourning family did not participate until the year was up.

C—076752

C-076752

The Bartlett and Long Valley Patwin, whose easiest communications were with the Pomo to the west, burned their dead, like these people.

ADOLESCENCE

Accounts as to the girls' adolescence rite vary, and practices may have differed locally, or have been earlier abandoned in some regions. The Cortina informant denied a dance. The girl, pi'tê-sa-ru, merely stayed indoors five days, was forbidden to look out, and "fasted." A Sites informant credited a dance to the Wintun but not to his own people. His term for the girl, bāhLa, is Wintun. The Little Stony creek informant, who was oldest and best informed ceremonially, however described a public dance, to'koyu or to'koi tono. The girl is called tokoi, an adult woman at menstruation pe'La-bumbu or petê'-ra-bumbu. It would be said, pa'-hkati-upu to'koi yā'pai ka'di-bum; wī'ta'-aro, to'koi-ya-bum pi: from-Little-Stony-creek-rancheria adolescence dance they-will-bring-news-of; is-grown, will-dance-adolescence, she. The girl is first kept in the house for about five days and forbidden meat. Then people are summoned. They dance outdoors. Men and women catch hands and form a ring which revolves. This is the tsuslê'le yāpai. Another dance that is made at this time, by women only, is the lôle tono. (This is the widespread dance usually associated with Kuksu cult performances as a supplement or interlude, but here brought into a new connection.) The women hold hands and dance standing. As they pause, they shout wō; this is done four times to each dance.

It is curious that while four is the ritual number of the river Patwin and Pomo, and therefore no doubt of the hill Patwin—as the last statement would also indicate—nevertheless both the above mentions of the length of the girl's confinement specify five days. Five seems associated with adolescence observances through most of California.[83]

SOCIETY

A chief furnished the bulk of entertainment for visitors at a dance. This was an important practical consideration at every ceremony; much as a dance, besides having its religious sanctity and importance, was also the principal stated occasion for amusement, excitement, and relaxation. A chief might therefore have several wives, although the Patwin in general were monogamous. He also received food contribu-

[83] Handbook, 863.

C—076753

C-076753

tions when there was plenty; but made up by helping out his people in time of hunger.

A wife was paid for, $40 in native property being specified. Cortina. If two young people took to living together, the man might be slow about looking up his mother-in-law, and might send a relative to learn "how she was talking." Residence was with either the husband's or the wife's people, usually for a time alternately with both.

Names of men are: Kisi, Luluk, Kuksu.

VALUATIONS

The following are values in dollar equivalents of beads, for which cord or yellowhammer or woodpecker feathers were sometimes substituted: a northern bow, $15–$25; a woodpecker scalp belt, $60–$70; a yellowhammer headband about four feet long, $4; a wildcat skin stuffed full of tobacco, $2; a large sack of acorns, $3–$4; to mourners for their sanction to a dance, $10; instruction to a ritual song or office, $4; a wife, $40.

SHAMANISM

Nothing is said by the hill Patwin about learning to be a shaman from an older relative, but they tell of the spirits, sāltu, that make him dream, yetêwe. Among the spirits are those of the water holes in the tules, land, water, mountains, springs, and sky (tsok, wilak, mem, tôL, muke, pa'ntipombo). These say to a man: "You will be a shaman," and give him a song and his whistle and cocoon rattle. Sāltu me yetê'weta bôs, the spirit gave me a dream, a man might say. One informant resisted when the spirits tried to make him dream. He choked and spat blood every other day.

The rattle is called the same as the cocoons, sokô'kai, of about 10 of which it is made, interspersed with feathers. They are filled with bits of obsidian.

There were were-bears, called molok silai, "condor grizzlies." Some men grew to be bears, some merely dressed in their hides.

A man bitten by a rattlesnake immediately calls out to the deities: tāke nentsu LantsU bānada'utet ti'wilna tse'riboti, father, mother-my, younger-sibling-my, I-offer-food, rattlesnake I-am-bit-by. This pleases both the deities and the snake and weakens the poison. On returning, his relatives make the actual offering, and any good shaman is sent for; there are usually several in a town. The shaman sucks the swollen part, drawing out both blood and poison before the latter spreads.

C—076754

C-076754

The blood is often thick, coming out in strings like young rattlesnakes. If the poison is strong, the shaman's mouth swells.

The killing of unsuccessful shamans is denied. They merely lost repute, it is said.

Poison is usel, and a poisoner yom-ba (shaman-food ?).

A Cortina incident:

I was with several men hunting deer. One of them had a grudge against another. He told us that he would kill him. The victim was lying on his back snoring. As I dozed, a companion nudged me. I saw the poisoner creep up and drop something into the sleeper's open mouth. Then he kicked him, so the sleeper would start and swallow the poison, while he ran back and hid. Next day the victim was sick and coughing and could not hunt. In a week he was dead. Some men would do this even to their own relatives.

Measles, pu'ile, smallpox, sūpe, eyesickness, and occasionally consumption, tsi'tsuro, were all known before the Americans came, it is said.[84] There was no whooping cough, rheumatism, or paralysis: people bent with age until they died. There was no venereal disease: the Mexicans brought it in. People had fits, mu'ka-ro, from dreaming of spirits, or from eating fat when under taboo, and might become crazy, po'myo-ta-bôs, and die; they did not become insane and remain so. Death in childbirth, ila'itsumam Lolo' pakapa-ro lumbom, was rare. Blind is kusā-ro, deaf o'lia-ro, lame paLū-ro, left-handed ta'ua-ro, bald tatLeu-ro. Of a berdache it would be said pa'nā-ro bôbum pi, he has two (sexes). Twins, pan, were due to the pregnant mother over-exerting.

HOUSES[85]

Three kinds of structures were distinguished: the Lut or dance house; the kula or earth-covered dwelling; and the kewe'l of thatch or bark, used in camping and by menstruating women. There were no separate sweat-houses. If one wanted to sweat other than as required in a ceremony, the kula dwelling was used, the women and children removing until the house had cooled again. At that, many of the hill Patwin, those at Sites and Cortina for instance, having their settlements determined by springs rather than streams, could not well have sweated habitually in summer; and they say they did not, after the creeks ran dry for the season.

The kula, being earth-covered, was however a pretty substantial dwelling for a Californian hill group in the dry interior, and may be

[84] Epidemics of smallpox and probably measles traveled northward during the Mexican or even the Spanish period.

[85] Compare for the river, McKern, Patwin Houses, UC-PAAE, 20:159–71, 1923.

C—076755

C-076755

looked upon as due to river Patwin influence. The door, like that of the dance house, was always to the east. It could be closed with a deer hide, and the smoke hole with a slab of stone, when the inmates wanted to be warm at night. They slept naked, men and women on opposite sides of the house. There was no other entrance. The house was dug out several feet. There was a forked oak center post, from which everything sloped to the edges. About four main rafters were spoken of, which may be the stringers to the door which the Wintun mention for their assembly house. It is said to have taken half a month to build a kula. This must be because it was a private dwelling. The Wintun earth house, being an affair of a settlement, even though "owned" by its headman, was completed in a day by the kin community.

The kewel was of pine needles, covered with digger-pine bark; other materials may also have been used.

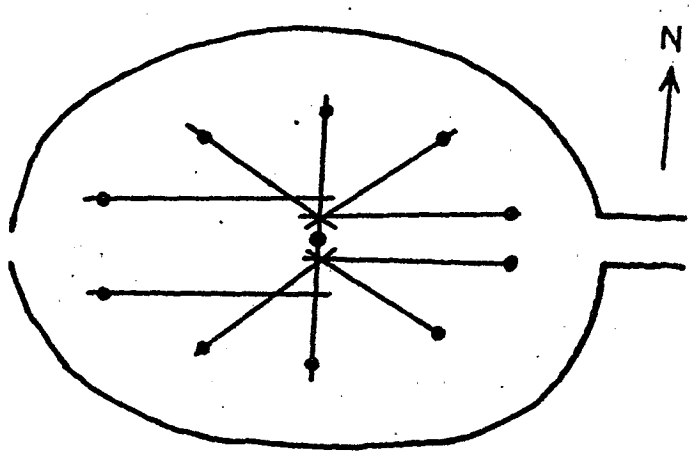

Fig. 2. Plan of modern dance house at Cortina.

A modern dance house at Cortina is markedly oval, faces east, has a rear door, and is dug out two feet, the earth being piled up in a heavy embankment around for a full yard. There is one center post and ten medial ones. A structural weakness, in view of the heavy roof of dirt, is the fact that eight of the ten main rafters rest not in the fork of the main post but at a distance of from one to three feet from it on the two cross rafters (fig. 2).

ANIMAL FOOD

The following meats were not eaten: dog, coyote; condor, buzzard; frogs, lizards, snakes; caterpillars. Animals that were consumed by

C—076756

C-076756

include grizzly bears (except by some people, who feared they might be human beings in disguise), bears, pumas, wildcats, foxes, wolves, young skunks ("old ones too strong"); eagles, crows; turtles; angle-worms; grasshoppers. The last were taken in hot weather by sprinkling rows of willows laid on the ground. These attracted the insects in numbers and were then set on fire. In general, the animals avoided were reptiles and those that feed on carrion. The list of rejected species is smaller than among the river Patwin.

Deer were driven into a brush corral, tôkta; sometimes into nets and snares; often shot. Dogs were used in hunting. Antelope were crept up on and surrounded and shot in the plains, a little flock being got at once, this way.

Most of the hill Patwin had little opportunity to fish on a large scale except in their neighbors' territory. Salmon, for instance, ran up Stony creek through Wintun as far as Salt Pomo territory. Perch; suckers, hoyo; pike, tsues; hardheads, de'lbutil, were the chief varieties to be had at home. They were dived for in holes. Hooks are said not to have been used. The harpoon head was of bone. Nets were either short seines attached to a stick at each end, or the usual small dip-net fastened to a half-hoop at the end of a handle—two or three of which might be held abreast by as many men, the fish often being driven with poles.

PLANT FOOD

The acorns preferred were sai, from the hill oaks. Next in importance were LÔ, long acorns from the stream bottoms. Mūle, from white oaks in the hills; kope, somewhat larger, from black oaks in the hills; and sāsa, short, striped acorns, were also used.[86] Acorns and other fruits named trees with the addition of tôk; as, LÔ tôk; or sumu tôk, sugar pine.

Acorn bread was made as on the river, except that the loaf is described as sometimes a full two feet across, lasting a household several days.

Of kori, seeds ground and eaten dry, there were t'ini'k, with black seeds like gunpowder; koL, with snowball flowers; kolo't, with leaves like rabbit ears; la, with yellow flowers; payī'L; and t'ului, sinīya (cf. river Patwin simīya, wild oats), kūl, kolkol, and tabal.

[86] LO appears to be *Quercus lobata*, valley oak; kope, *Q. kelloggii*, California black oak: sāsa, *Q. wislizenii*, interior live oak; sai and mūle are not identifiable [illegible] scrub oak, and *Q. douglasii*.

C—076757

C-076757

Among bulbs and roots or "Indian potatoes" there were pela, tus (sweet), buswai (onions), p'osoi, Lereu, eli. They were either boiled or baked in ashes.

Sumu, sugar-pine nuts from the mountains, and sanak, digger-pine nuts from the foothills, were extracted from the cones by breaking these with a stone after they had been twisted off or cut with a flint, knocked down, or gathered up; and then roasted. They were eaten raw or baked. Juniper berries, mon, were eaten dried or made into pinole.

Baka', buckeyes, were used; also elderberries, kau, boiled whole and stirred; wild grapes, kap, eaten raw; and manzanita berries (êye and epum, the large and small varieties), which were dried, ground, and eaten as flour or baked into "bread," while a drink was made by pouring water on the pounded berries.

The slab mortar of the Pomo is encountered among the hill Patwin. After the slab had worn into a hole a few inches deep, work was easier. The basketry hopper was held down with the legs. Holes in bed rock were also used for pounding acorns. The pestle was an unworked cobble.

Leaching was done with cold water in a sand basin, a fan or three-cornered mat of tule being held to break the impact of the water.

Storage bins, tsubi, like those on the river, were set on the ground or even dug into it, with a lining of deer hides in the latter case; a small trench around them afforded drainage. They were of sticks and bark, roofed with bark and pine needles, as high as one's head, and of size according to the supply. Acorns, which were kept whole or shelled, were sometimes simply piled along a wall of the house.

There appears to have been no private ownership of land, but there were rights to patches of oaks which lasted as long as the claim was made visible by hanging anything on the trees after they began bearing. Such claims were heritable by the immediate relatives. The land or trees or the crop on them could not be sold. Gathered and hulled acorns were sold, $3 or $4 in beads being given for the equivalent of a large sackful. Within a settlement, however, food was divided, not sold. A settlement might have rights to a little valley of bulbs. Then only their relatives would come to dig; others would have to ask permission.

Winter from about Christmas to April was the hard time of the year, between cold and shortage of food; but informants know of no famines. It was so cold sometimes that bows could not be fully drawn.

C—076758

C-076758

SALT AND TOBACCO

Salt was scraped from the stones in certain creeks in the Cortina region, and sold to the people farther west. The northern hill Patwin probably got their salt from the great deposit in Salt Pomo territory. The river Patwin method of burning salt from grass was known but not followed.

Tobacco was not cultivated, and was gathered chiefly along streams in the valley. It was sold to the west. It was kept in wildcat or squirrel, tsumuk, skins. The pipe was of elder or ash, according to Cortina and Sites informants, a foot or two long, the bowl about an inch and a half in diameter. This would hold a considerable quantity of the strong wild tobacco, enough, as the Indians say, to "make the head dizzy." The bore was probably made with a hard stick, both the woods used having a definite pith.

IMPLEMENTS

Tools were of the simplest. Timbers were cut, as hides were scraped free of hair, with a split stone. To butcher a deer, a handy "rock was bust open." There were chisels of elk antler, brought to an edge by rubbing on stone.

The fire drill was of digger pine in a hearth of elder.

Accounts as to bows vary, except that all say they were sinew-backed. They were traded a good deal; Cortina got them especially from the Lower Lake Pomo;[87] the northern tribelets from the Wintun. Cortina made their own of buckeye, Little Stony and Indian creeks of juniper or dogwood (t'a). Arrows, which were of elder, dogwood, or tatsi, a bitter tasting weed growing in creeks, were straightened by hand. Obsidian for the heads occurs from the vicinity of Cortina west and south.

WAR

While the Patwin, like the Pomo, and in distinction from the Wintun and Yuki, were not much addicted to scalp celebrations, they fought frequently, apparently more readily than the Pomo.

The cause of war alleged by them in general statements is poaching, and the instances that follow bear this out on the whole. This fact

[87] Probably yew bows from the north, such as the Upper Lake Pomo imported.

C—076759

C-076759

necessitates the modification, for this area at least, of the interpretation to which I had previously inclined,[88] that Californian warfare most often resulted from desire to avenge deaths attributed to witchcraft.

War customs on the river and in the hills were the same, except that river informants denied armor, scalping, and a victory dance. This denial may be the result of an earlier disintegration of their culture, or may rest on an actual difference in custom.

There were at least three kinds of fighting: attacks on individuals or parties caught poaching; pitched battles; and dawn attacks on sleeping towns, when the attempt was to massacre the population and burn houses and stored food. Captives were not taken except now and then a child or young woman to be marched home and killed there at leisure with cruelty. Women were despatched with nearly the same alacrity as men. In the hills, whole scalps were taken, not heads as among the Yuki and Kato.

Three separate informants volunteered the statement that chiefs did not fight and were not attacked. This statement probably excludes massacres. In formal battle chiefs stood behind or at the side of the line. One or more shamans skilled in extracting arrows were also available in the rear. If the battle was indecisive, that is presumably if no one was killed, the two chiefs would come forward after a time, hold up their hands, wave their men back, and walk between the lines. The chiefs also arranged permanent peace, going back and forth between their peoples, keeping them quiet, until gifts of equal value had been exchanged. Then one side might invite the other to come home to dinner with them. All this evidences a special position and considerable authority for the chief.

The war leader was not an official, but a brave man, who could shoot true and dodge well, perhaps wore armor. He was called yeto; the chief, sêktu. War was ti'tLa-piri or ti'tLapita; enemies, yutsen.

The prime weapon was the bow, a secondary one the spear, sak. This was perhaps four feet long, with an obsidian head of five or six inches. It was thrust or hurled. It was consistently referred to by informants and was therefore probably a more important weapon than

[88] Handbook, 451, 843. The problem is rediscussed in the opening paragraphs of my A Kato War, in Schmidt Festschrift, 394–400, 1928. The Kato-Yuki war there related began over trespass in an obsidian quarry. Of nine known Pomo wars, five were attributed to poaching, one to witchcraft, one to both offenses, and two are obscure as to original cause. Two Yurok wars, Handbook, 51, 52, were due to witchcraft. Of the eleven Patwin-Wintun wars related in this section, the causes are as follows: poaching, five; revenge, one; trivial quarrel, one; unspecified, four.

C—076760

C-076760

the scattering allusions in Californian literature have suggested. On the other hand all informants denied the use of clubs. One specified that the spear was used particularly by pursuers, who edged to the right, so that the pursued would have to turn completely back before he could shoot at them; then the spear was thrown into his back at eight or ten yards. The spear was used also in bear hunting. Both spearheads and arrowheads were called simply "obsidian," k'osa on the river, doko in the hills. The characteristic fighting position was with one leg back, flexed, probably to turn and dodge better.

Armor, which is authenticated only for the hills, was either an elk hide tunic from neck to knees, possibly with sleeves; or a waistcoat of rods twined with cord and filled with pitch. This last reached from hips to armpits, perhaps partly over the face, and was called terpa'nansok. It was awkward to run or climb in. In a mêlée or pursuit, a brave man might rush in and try to push over the hampered wearer of an elkskin tunic.

In the hills, boys were trained. One by one they were made to stand out and were then shot at four times with a dull or padded arrow at close range. They were told to watch the bowman's movements, the flight of the arrow, and to bend their body or raise their legs. They might be hit once or twice in four shots. If they dodged four times in succession, they were commended. There was similar practice in avoiding hurled spears.

A river informant used to be told in the sweat-house to keep away from women and tobacco on account of war. "There is no telling when it will come. It may be near now. If you smoke, you will choke as you run, and bleed to death when wounded. When you are old, you can smoke constantly; you are useless for fighting then."

The war celebration of the hills, sihi tono, "glad dance," was performed outdoors by men and women. The scalp hung on a tall pole and was shot at. Finally a fire was kindled, and pole and scalp allowed to fall in. Relatives of persons killed set baskets of food around the fire to be consumed.

River and hill informants agree that fights never took place at hesi performances or other "big times." This may not argue any tacit truce, but merely unfavorable opportunity for attack when large numbers were assembled, people likely to be awake at daybreak, and neutrals likely to be involved who would be certain to retaliate on the aggressors for any loss suffered. Unfriendly tribes would of course not be invited, and those that had to pass through hostile territory

C—076761

C-076761

would be unlikely to come. Thus a festival would more or automatically be immune.

The following are instances of fighting. Narratives 1–6 are fr the river Patwin, 7–9 from the hill Patwin, 10–11 from the Wintun

RIVER PATWIN WAR STORIES

1. Two men of Kodoi below Grimes were roasting fish and fell out over stick to use as spit. They fought. Their relatives joined. There were casualt and the town was split. One party went off to Kapaya at the mouth of Sy more slough, built them a town there and put up a dance house. After a ye they went to K'akaka, on Dry slough, four miles from the river. Next ye they went to Lenma, west of Williams in the hills, still looking for a land f themselves. After another year they went west over the mountains to th Lower Lake Pomo. There they settled and finally lost their language. Ma years ago only one old woman among them remembered Patwin from the day of her youth.

2. At Kosempu a man who did not belong to that town killed a man fro Tatno above Colusa. He clubbed him to death in the sweat-house. When th victim's relatives came to Kosempu to inquire after him, the people of th place took them apart and told them, "We did not kill him." However, thi was the cause of an attack by Tatno (and Koru ?) on Kosempu when I was a baby. In the excitement, my mother left me in the tunnel of our house, but went back and got me. The women all took refuge with a white man near-by. The Kosempu people shot back with arrows and there were some wounded.

3. East of Williams are two tule lakes, Kusa and Sawa', with large perch. The Koru people went there under their chief Tsere't. He claimed these lakes and was angry when people from downstream came to fish and their women to gather seeds. Colusa people had already caught fish when the southerners arrived and were invited to take some and cook for themselves. My (maternal?) uncle from Tsatsi heard one northerner say to another: "Can you shoot that crow in the tree?" Then my uncle thought, "Now a fight will begin." The man addressed said he could, missed the bird, shot again, but this time aimed at a southerner. With that the one-sided fight was on. My uncle was shot in the breast, but the arrow did not penetrate to the heart. He made for the water, dived, hid under the willows with only his mouth above water, and drew out the arrow. Many of the southern men were killed. After the northerners came back from the pursuit, my uncle heard them talk of finishing him, but the man who had shot him said it was not necessary as he had hit him in the heart. Then they argued whether to kill or spare the southern women. Some said to kill them, as they would breed more enemies. So they slaughtered them all except one tall woman who outran the pursuing men and got home. Then there was wailing through the southern river towns and the babies died for lack of milk.

Waikau and Hokum, the war leaders of Saka, were angry. They assembled the people in the dance house and told them all to bring arrows for hunting ducks in the lakes west of Colusa. They told them this so as not to alarm them. Then they went upstream. They found the northern men fishing in one place and the women seed-gathering in another, below Kuku'i. They surrounded and killed all the women. Only one was spared to carry the news

C—076762

C-076762

home. Waikau and Hokum told her their names and bade her tell that now the score was even. If Koru wanted more fight, they should come down. The woman arrived at Koru crying. The few men in the town ran to take the news to those fishing, who came home leaving or throwing away their fish.

4. Wa'ikau[89] was a famous fighter of Saka. He rarely missed with the bow. His friend Hôkum also helped him. They were not chiefs, but led Saka and Nowi both against Koru and when the Cortina people were massacred at Po'kmaton, the "lake" on Sycamore slough four miles east of College City and Arbuckle, where they had gone to meet the river people and fish. The river people sent a few men ahead, who reported that they had been spoken to unkindly. The main body then waited until all the Cortina men except the chief were in the water, when they surrounded and killed most of them in the water like ducks. A few got out and ran away. Two Cortina brothers escaped because Hôkum, who was heading the pursuit, had his arrows give out on him. He ran alongside the lagging brother and called to him: "Tell them my name, Hôkum. I did it. Tell them we want to get more of you. We want to fight again. Tell them also his name, Waikau. He is with me." This story was told my informant's father by the two escaped brothers when they were old men. Hôkum and Waikau were not chiefs, but prominent fighting men.

This massacre was for revenge, not for poaching, since the lake belonged to all the neighboring groups, any of whom would fish there. Sāka and the Grimes towns as far as Nomatsapin[90] had had war with Koru, and a Cortina man married at Koru had fought with his wife's people.

5. The Nisenan of Hôk once came, armed with single-shot Winchesters, to destroy Yali and Nowi. Some of them crossed at Sakai and they attacked the two towns simultaneously. The inhabitants all escaped, except one man who lingered to watch and was wounded. Hôkum and Waikau wanted to make a night attack on Hôk (Sutter's Fort) in reprisal, but were dissuaded.

6. The P'alo people captured a tall young man from the Feather river Maidu and brought him home tied, with a feathered hairpin, walwali, through his "head" (hair). They were going to keep him a few days while they planned how to kill him; but an old woman, in revenge for slain relatives, clubbed him to death.—Another version of the captive incident makes it refer to a small boy captured by people of the Colusa group from a town in the Grimes district (cf. story 2, above), and has all the women beat him dead.

HILL PATWIN WAR STORIES

7. About fifteen men from Pone went down to the plains (river territory) to hunt elk. Their wildcat skin quivers were loaded with arrows and they carried net sacks on their backs hung from straps over the forehead. They ran down some elk, but the mosquitos troubled them until they set the grass on fire. The river Indians, seeing the smoke, came to drive them away. Sometimes in these fights no one was killed; but this time the river people won, ran the Pone people home, and killed all but two who hid in a rock hole. There were 25 or 30 of the river people, but the two Pone men had 60 arrows each and

[89] This is also the name of the chief settlement at Cortina. Cf. the preceding story.

[90] This mention, as well as the tenor of both stories 3 and 4, indicates that the tribelets or towns composing the Colusa and Grimes dialects sometimes

C—076763

C-076763

killed many. The others camped about all night and got reinforcements from the river. They tried to roll rocks into the cave and throw fire into it. Finally one of the two brothers was shot under the arm. During the morning the other one was killed. The dead of the river people lay about in heaps. The survivors crushed the two brothers with rocks and rolled them into the fire.

Sometimes in such an attack they would shoot at each other through the smoke of the burning plains.

8. Another time when the Pone people had been hunting in the plains and had set fire to the grass to protect themselves from the mosquitos, the river people from about Waitere saw the smoke, gathered their men, and came up to the hills. The Pone people had returned and had gone to the house of an under-chief to smoke and drink; he had mountain lion and bear skins to sit on. There they sat up until about midnight, then lay down to sleep. With the first daylight the attack came. The river people threw bundles of chamise brush (toro) in the door and smoke hole, and into the other houses also. The inmates began to dig out from underneath each house. Some succeeded in crawling out with their bows without being seen, by help of the smoke. When they got farther away from the blaze, the river people saw them and began to shoot and call out: "Where is your brave man? Bring him out, don't hide him! We came to fight!" By now it was daylight. None of the Pone people were killed but the river people lost three. They carried them half way home and left them.

9. This was a war between Chuhelmem and Cortina (both hill Patwin). The Chuhelmem chief sent six women with burden baskets (aba') and seed beaters (pata'i) to gather (ka'nito) near Mountain House (Tsi'li). They were to camp there. Ten armed men were to protect them. In the morning the women went out to sweep the seeds. The men were on the hill to guard them, but soon ceased watching and went hunting. Then the Cortina people came up, caught the six women, killed all of them, and drove the scattered men home. By noon they arrived at Chuhelmem. One of them was crippled with an arrow which he had drawn out himself.

Of two Chuhelmem men who were being pursued, one was being left behind. As they ran through the hills, he called to his companion to drop his arrows for him. He was soon surrounded in an open glade. His enemies stood about with their arrows on the string. He parried the arrows with his bow, raised his legs, and dodged. When they could not strike him with arrows, they said, "The best man will draw blood on him," seized their spears, shouted Yi! and ran at him. But not one succeeded in touching him. Then they called, "The best man will seize him." They made a rush. But he leaped over the first man who plunged to grasp him, darted through the brush, shook them off, and arrived home safely.

Then the Chuhelmem people went after the bodies of the women. About ten men carried them home while others acted as guard.

After a few days Chuhelmem sent for Pone (Sites) and Pahka (Little Stony). About a hundred assembled from the three tribes. They planned to go to Cortina and burn the town. However, when they came near Leesville, they saw men and women digging bulbs and women seed-gathering. Some of the men were picking clover. The war party rushed into the valley with a great noise, and the Cortina people ran. Five of a group of six men who had been digging were killed. One woman was captured. Half way home a man said

C—076764

C-076764

WINTUN WAR STORIES

10. The chief of Lopom had a wife among the Yuki. He went to the summit to visit his wife and boy. His boy told him: "Go home; they will kill you here." He would not believe the boy. While they were playing grass game, the Yuki killed him and his partner. Then his people, and all the Wintun as far as Elder creek, gathered in a war party and went up to Government Flat where the road from Paskenta to Covelo crosses the summit. They found a Yuki settlement in a big basin at the foot of Black Butte, somewhat to the south, opposite the head of Grindstone creek. They were having a dance. The war party came close, surrounded the village, and at daybreak rushed it with spears and bows. Some were shot down as they got up, others as they reached the men stationed around the town. Everyone was killed except some children who had hidden in the brush. These were hunted out and taken home. Then they made the war dance, and the children were given away to chiefs of distant towns. The Yuki (who seem to have been those of South fork of Middle fork of Eel river) are said to have been driven all the way to Round Valley for refuge. This happened before the Americans came. My father took part.

11. The Nomlaki waged a persistent and successful war against the Puimak at Tehama. The Tehêmet people had tied grapevine across the trails leading to their town to trip the attackers and make it easy to shoot them. The hill people cut the vines and attacked so hard that Tehêmet moved across the river to Los Molinos. The hill people found a hip-deep ford a little below Tehêmet, by which they crossed. They surrounded the town, attacked it, and killed a number. They scalped a few, especially the wearers of armor. Returning across the river, they made the victory dance in a flat. The Puimak attacked them but the hill people were numerous and refused to flee. The Puimak would not venture up into the hills but tried to catch hill men in the valley. This war was about elk and antelope hunting rights.

MYTHOLOGY

No attempt was made to get myths from the Patwin, but several volunteered fragments of traditions. The first of these, the partial cosmogony of the river Patwin, evinces resemblances to the creation story of the valley Maidu[91] and one definite contrast. The creator is not all-knowing, beneficent, planning, mainly in antithesis to foolish or tricky Coyote; he is not even anthropomorphic. He is Katit or Yekyek, the "bullet-hawk," the equivalent of Nisenan and Miwok Wekwek[92] and Yokuts Limik,[93] the prairie falcon, who is in high honor as far away as the head of the San Joaquin valley.

[91] Dixon, Maidu Myths, AMNH–B, 17:33–118, 1902; esp. 39–45.

[92] C. Hart Merriam, The Dawn of the World, 1910. Wekwek appears in Hill, Plains, Lake, and Coast Miwok tales.

[93] UC–PAAE, 4:167–250, 1907; Handbook, 510.

C—076765

C-076765

It appears from this that a conclusion must be modified which Loeb and I have advocated;[94] namely that the concept of the all-powerful, dignified, anthropomorphic creator was developed in connection with the Kuksu cults. The valley Maidu indeed call their creator Earth Initiate, that is, "world member of the secret society"; and the Yuki creator is impersonated in a dance. But these prove to be rather exceptional and perhaps secondary associations; and when the evidence is brought together, it seems that a high-god type of creator was imagined only by a limited number of groups: the Kato,[95] Yuki,[96] Wintu and perhaps Wintun,[97] Valley and to some extent Hill and Mountain Maidu,[98] and perhaps some of the Pomo.[99] These groups live in a restricted zone stretching across northern California. And finally, half of them—the Wintun, Wintu, Mountain Maidu—are without any Kuksu cult. Conversely, the river Patwin, a representative Kuksu group, hold to a zoomorphic creator equalled by Coyote.[100]

Inasmuch as still farther north, with the Yana, Achomawi, and Shasta, animal creators are to the fore, and tribes like the Yurok and Karok have culture bringers and monster ridders but no creators as such, the anthropomorphic creator myths of north central California must be construed as a local growth. The distribution of this concept coincides only in part with that of the initiating societies (map, fig. 5). The two are probably connected in origin, but by no means reflexes of each other.

THE TALES

1. *The Creation.*—River Patwin, Grimes group. There was a great flood which drowned everyone. The birds flew to the sky. There Katit, or Yekyek, the bullet-hawk (falcon), drew a feather from the right arm of each, and killed them all, except four pairs. With him were Sede-tsiak, Old Man Coyote, who was his āpe, mother's brother; and Anūs, Turtle. Coyote suggested that Turtle dive. They tied a long line to his ankle and in the evening he dived. At last the line ran to the end: they reached an arm into the water to let him go as far as he could. Then they began to draw him up. It was morning when he

[94] Handbook, 183, 382; Loeb, The Creator Concept among the Indians of N. C. Cal., AA, 28:467–93, 1926.

[95] Goddard, Kato Texts, UC–PAAE, 5:65–238, 1909; Handbook, 155.

[96] Handbook, 182, 206.

[97] J. Curtin, Creation Myths of Primitive America. The precise provenience of tales is not mentioned.

[98] Dixon, Maidu Myths, as cited.

[99] Barrett, A Composite Myth of the Pomo Indians, JAFL, 19:37–51; Loeb, Creator Concept, as above; de Angulo and Freeland, JAFL, 41:251, 1928.

[100] The second Patwin tale which brings in Yayo'me-win, the self-made person,

C—076766

C-076766

came to the surface. They made a fire for him, and asked if he had reached bottom. He said he had not; but Katit with a little stick scraped the dirt from under his nails and patted it flat in his palm. Telling Coyote and Turtle to go to sleep, he put the little disk of earth through the sky-hole onto the water. The water went down: in the morning the world was dry. Then, on successive days, Katit sent out each of the pairs of four birds he had not killed. They were to fly south along the river to the ocean, then west, north, east, south, all around the world and back upstream. On the first day went Tsetset, the bird hawk; on the second, Ku'itkuit, a wading bird with curved bill, who reported water encircling the world; on the third Itsi't, a hawk that hovers and plunges—Katit had told him to eat grass if he found it; on the fourth, Lukuku, the dove, who was to eat pinole seeds.

After eight days Coyote was lonely and wanted to make man. Katit said, "You do it. You are old and wise." So Coyote made a brush fence. Into it he put a pair of elder sticks wrapped together with grass. At night Katit awoke. "Mother's brother, wake up," he said, "they are talking!" All night he listened. In the morning talk was going on all around them.

After four days, Coyote wanted to know how people would live. Katit said: "You know how to make it." That night Coyote made all the animals and plants (a long enumeration follows). After four days, Katit wanted to know how people would eat. That night Coyote made the ways of preparing food (another enumeration). After four days more, Katit asked how they would cook with fire. Coyote took a drill, had Katit hold the hearth, and drilled fire. From the feathers which Katit had plucked out of the birds which came to the sky, Coyote made towns; and when he had gone about the world making them, he showed human beings how to grind, soak, and parch their food.

Another version shows these variants. As each kind of birds reached him, Katit made them "talk." If he disliked their speech, he killed them and used their skins to make a rope (for the diving). Tsetsek and Kuitkuit were the only ones spared. Turtle just touched bottom, so that he could scrape it a little. When drawn up, he asked: "Why did you not let out more rope, so that I could have got good hold of the earth?" Buzzard and dove are the messengers sent out (there is of course Biblical influence in this passage): the first eats corpses, the second brings flowers. Katit makes the Coast Range and the Sierra Nevada, strewing earth as he travels. He has a pinch left over, drops it in the middle, and it becomes the Marysville Buttes.

2. *The Creation.*—Hill Patwin, Little Stony creek. In the beginning there lived a spirit, Yayo'me-win, "of himself a person." He could stand on the wind, and walk on the water which covered everything. He made himself into a person. With him were Se'deu-tsia'k, Coyote Old Man, and an assistant, Utiye'ltebo Yayo'me-win. This one questioned Coyote how they were to make things; and when Coyote could do nothing, he asked Yayo'me-win who knew and told him.—Light, sa'nibe, was brought by these three from far in the east where it was kept.—Earthquake said the land, wilak, would shake, hu'iluki. His shaking it made the mountains, but splashed the water all over the earth and people were drowned. There was also a great fire that swept the earth.—Coyote offered to take people across the ocean. He failed the first time, but then got across. There they tried vainly to kill him with knives; with a rolling dance drum; and with acorn soup poisoned with menstrual blood. Coyote would not let his followers take this, but drank it into a tube he had put in his body.—At first people had no fingers, but Lizard insisted that his sons

C—076767

C-076767

3. *Primeval Race.*—Hill Patwin, Little Stony creek. Originally food prepared and came right to one. So did wood and water. No one died, were no babies born; nobody worked or traveled. These people fingers and had none. Then they were destroyed: it was Coyote who them to perish.

4. *Ascent to the Sky.*—River Patwin, Grimes group. (Matter in is variations in a second version.) At Kodoi a girl was being kept house during her adolescence. After two days her playmates came and her to play shinny, hoitsohopiri, with them. Her mother said she was ready. They kept calling her; then the girl went out to them. Soon Ha'k the Whirlwind, came, whirled her around and up, and took her to the After a time the girl went out to leach acorns with her husband's sister. old woman told them to take sand for the leaching basin only where there a good, high bank. The girl however dug downward, in spite of her sister-in-law telling her not to. She dug through, and looking down the hole, saw world. When she saw her mother, she became sad and cried. Then husband asked his mother, "Why is she crying?" At night the girl told So he said: "It is well. Tomorrow I will take you down." The next day gave her a (shell-inlaid) pestle and said: "Keep the pestle always to your and you will remain. If you let others use it, you will come back here." When it was night, her husband brought her down. The house was dark, and called "Mother!" Her mother, who thought her dead, answered: "Stop! are trying to be bad to me." The girl said: "Mother, it is I," and called her name.

Once when the girl was away from the house (at play), a neighbor wanting to pound acorns came to borrow a pestle. Her mother finally lent her the girl's. (When the girl returned, she said: "Mother, this time I shall die for good.") That night she died: she went back to the sky.

5. *The Condors.*—River Patwin, Grimes group. It was at Kodoi. Nearly everybody had gone off, the women to gather seeds, the men to fish. Two old men had been in the sweat-house four days without water. They called for water. Some boys were playing outside, but brought none. The old men called and called. Then the boys saw them pick up and break twigs. Then they saw them stick the twigs into their arms, where they turned into feathers. The old men were turning into condors. They circled about in the house, mounting; and first one, and then the other, flew out at the smoke hole. There they sat a while, then rose, circled, and flew off to the Marysville Buttes. The boys told the people what they had seen.—This tradition was also obtained from two informants. Apparently the little group now concentrated at Katsil know a limited stock of stories which they tell one another over and over.

6. *The Disobedient Kuksu Novices.*—Hill Patwin, Little Stony creek. During a Kuksu initiation, the old men watchers had become tired and gone out. One of the youths lying there took a stick, instead of his head-scratcher, and dug the dirt from under his finger nails. Then he said: "Look! Down feathers are growing under my nails." Some of his companions tried, and before long all of them were imitating. The down kept growing on them until they had wings. "What shall you be?" they said to one another. One said, "I shall be a honker, do'rkai. And you?" "I shall a small goose, kerê'kai." Another said he would be a honker too, and one or two were going to be large cranes, tsoro''k. Their leader said nothing, but as their speech became mere noises, he [illegible] Then the people

C—076768

C-076768

the smoke hole, then little geese and cranes, and last of all an eagle. The people threw up baskets of water, calling: Come back! come back! You are turning into something." But they flew off.

If they had used their Kuksu scratching sticks this would not have happened. But they would not believe, and were worn out from the long stay inside, and the watchers failed to watch them, and so they were transformed.

7. *Rattlesnake and Grizzly.*—Hill Patwin, Little Stony creek. Two men went up into the hot mountains. They then stayed three or four days, inhaling their tobacco smoke, and without eating or drinking. Then one said: "We have been here a long time now. I shall be the rattlesnake. I shall live under rocks and bite people." Then the other said: "If you are like that, I will bite people too: I will become the grizzly bear." These two never drink.

8. *Married to a Grizzly.*—River Patwin, Grimes group. A Colusa girl would not marry, though her parents wished her to. She went with a party of women to gather sêt roots for basket coiling at Onolai, the Marysville Buttes. She was pulling roots when a grizzly came, looking like a man but with his canine teeth outside his lip. He talked to her, told her to sit and rest while he dug for her, and got her an enormous bunch, digging with his hands. "It is plenty, I must go," she said. Then he took hold of her, played with her, and laid her down. "Don't tell," he said; "come again and I will get you more." She agreed, and the women shouted for her to come home. "Oh, but you have many roots. Did someone help you?" the women said to her. She denied, but they cried: "Yes! see how many there are! Four or five people must have dug for you." She became pregnant; her mother questioned her; she gave birth to a pair of cubs. All said: "I know her!" The cubs played about like pups, eating acorns. People began to strike them. Then their father took them away to Onolai.

9. *The Elk.*—River Patwin, Grimes group. Four miles west of Nowi is a lake, Suku'i-dihi, where the elk used to water and were hunted. Once a man was lying in wait there. He saw the dust of approaching elk; two bulls were in the lead. When they came to the water, each of the two drew out four hairpins, let down his head and antlers and the skin of his body, and stepped out as a man. They waded into the water to bathe and rubbed themselves. Then they bound on their hairnets,[101] drew on their skins and heads, skewered them on, and went off as elk. The man shot one. The other ran, met the herd, and the man heard it say: "Sa'-koma's father is dead." They went off crying. That man never ate meat again. He would hunt but gave away his kill.

10. *The Antelopes.*—At Kodoi an old man was always following the girls when they went out to gather, trying to peep. Once a group of them were out. "Who is that there?" one of them asked. "Oh, that old man." "Well, I am tired of him. I am going to run away." "I too." "And I." "Who will take home our baskets?" One of them said she would. Then the others turned into antelopes, ka. They ran west, north, east, then far south. The old man ran after them. As he ran he turned into an antelope buck. The one girl brought home the baskets crying. "Where are they?" they asked her. She told, and all the girls' mothers wept.

11. *Origin of the Hesi.*—I obtained this story from two Grimes and one Colusa informant. It seems to be taken over from the Maidu or Nisenan, whom one of the versions makes the actors.

---

[101] This [illegible] is that of a dancer with a bulky headdress. He first binds [illegible] the base of the headdress.

C—076769

C-076769

A. The hesi began in Onolai-toL, the Marysville Buttes, among the animals. They had sung the four sweating songs (of the hesi), and ran to plunge in the water. Then others (human beings) ambushed the swimmers and ran into the house, and killed them all. The animals were deer. Hence there are no deer on the Buttes.[102]

B. Deer hunters on the east side of the Buttes once heard talk, dancing, a drum in the ground. Then they saw them come out of the dance house, and that they were deer. They killed them and took the meat home. But one of the hunters remembered the songs he had heard and made the (hesi) dance. The Maidu say that the dead go to the Marysville Buttes.

C. The people of Yupul (Yuba city, Nisenan) were camped on Onolai, the Marysville Buttes. They saw a light and thought it must be Patwin. Then they realized it was light shining from a dance house door. Two of them looked in. The elk and all the animals were dancing. A great sturgeon was standing like a post. The two told the others and they all listened. Toward morning the animals all danced four times before (while ?) sweating, and then came out to bathe. The Yupul men were lying hidden about. Some of them shouted, and all the animals were ashamed and died. That is how they got the hesi. The place is called Lut, dance house, today; it is a hillock.

12. *Origin of Death.*—Colusa Patwin, obviously from the Maidu.[103] Katit and Coyote were the first beings. Katit wanted to do well for people; they were to swim and renew their bodies. Coyote was bad. He said, "No, my nephew, that would not do. (The world) would be too full." So Katit agreed. Coyote wanted a memorial burning for the dead, and began to gather property for it. His son was the swiftest runner. Katit laid scouring rush, sohi, on the path, it turned to a rattlesnake, bit the young man, and he died. Now Coyote wanted to change back to Katit's plan. But Katit said, "No; you will have a good time at the gathering a year from now."

MODERN BOLE RELIGION

Since many years, the hesi and related Kuksu performances have been abandoned by the Patwin for bole[104] cult practices, corresponding to the maru′ dances of the Pomo. The bole cult seems an outgrowth of the ghost dance movement of 1872 acting on the old Kuksu cult. The society, initiation, and "high" or "dangerous" features of the latter are omitted in the bole. The dance house, drum, môki dancer are retained. The t'uya "big-head" impersonator is replaced by a somewhat similarly appareled t'uya or t'osa "bull-head" dancer.[105] Of ghost dance features there remain communication by dreams with

[102] But there are, actually, I am told.

[103] The mourning anniversary ceremony is a Maidu but not a Patwin custom! Abstract given in Handbook, 362.

[104] Bole in Patwin, bola in Wintun, often slurred to boli and bole. The etymology is not clear, but seems to connote dreaming: bô-s is dream.

[105] The great spherical headdress of the t'uya was made of slender rods each

C—076770

C-076770

beings in heaven who are sometimes spoken of as spirits (saltu), sometimes as people; occasional dancing by women who juggle balls; and the personal or prophetic character of the cult, its songs and dances being dreamed by individuals, sometimes adolescents, and taught to the performers. The doctrine of the return of the dead to this earth—the kernel of the original pure ghost dance which originated in Nevada in 1870-72—seems mostly forgotten or altered.

Prominent in the shaping at least of the later Patwin bole was Sasa or Salvador of Cortina. He is the person who acted as môki and directed and gave the hesi—really a bole hesi—of 1906 described by Barrett,[106] and delivered the speeches recorded. His orations are famous to this day among all the Patwin. About 1908, when he visited the University, he was a large-headed and enormous-chested man apparently nearer eighty than seventy, who had last seen San Francisco before it was American; evidently a person of reserve, energy, intensity, and well able to have dominated and persuaded his fellows.

The early precursor, or Californian, ghost dance of 1872, related to but not to be confounded with the better known great one of 1890, has its known history outlined in the Handbook of California Indians.[107] Since then, a number of new contributions have been made to the subject, ranging from the Klamath to the Yokuts.[108] It is clear that a movement by Yokuts carried dances, soon after 1870, from Pleasanton in Costano territory to the hill Miwok and hill Nisenan, a large proportion of the dances since practiced by these two groups having their origin at this time.[109] While there is little specific ghost dance element in these dances, the period of their appearance as well as the propagandizing character of the movement, leave little doubt that this was a ghost dance reflex. Various of its features, such as the presence of a kuksui dancer, show that a kuksu-hesi element also entered. This would then be a more southerly counterpart of the bole-maru movement. The precise relations of the two to each other,

---

106 The Wintun Hesi Ceremony, UC-PAAE, 14:437–488, 1919.—Handbook pl. 77, shows performers in this "modern hesi."

107 Handbook, 868–873, map fig. 71.

108 Gifford, Miwok Cults, UC-PAAE, 18:391–408, 1926; Southern Maidu Religious Ceremonies, AA, 29:214–247, 1927; Pomo Society, previously cited, 347, 349, 369; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 394; Spier, The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon, UW-PA, 2:39–56, 1927; Gayton, The Ghost Dance of 1870 in S. C. Calif., UC-PAAE, 28:57–82, 1930.

109 In fact, so overwhelmingly are the elements of Kuksu-Hesi type among the Hill Nisenan and Miwok associated with this 1872 movement, that it has become at best doubtful whether they, along with the northern valley Yokuts, Costano, and Salinans, can any longer be considered as having participated at [illegible] cult religion—contrary to the treatment and map

C—076771

C-076771

and of both to the original, return-of-the-dead ghost dance, are far from clear, and can perhaps be recovered only through a systematic field study with that objective in view.[110] I therefore append without interpretation such scattered Patwin notes as I obtained. Their inconsistencies are typical: the cult has evidently varied from decade to decade and place to place.

It may be added that the Patwin bole hesi retains many aspects of the old hesi, whereas among other groups, on the whole, the modern bole-maru type ceremonies differ more from the old native rituals. This by the way suggests that the entire movement in the northern half of California, at least since about 1875, is due to Patwin stimuli.

RIVER PATWIN STATEMENTS

Informant PW. I do not know where bole came from. It came from heaven. I was about 20, big enough to dance, when it came in. Here at Katsil only a few dance at a time, abreast, men and women. At Parker island above Princeton they danced bole in a circle, holding hands. No, I have heard nothing about the dead returning or the end of the world.

I did hear of one old man, before the white people were in the country, who predicted that the people would eat new foods. "You young men will yet eat sãltu ba'ash (spirit food, white man's food)," he said.[111]

Informant WB. The first bole I knew was a man from Kosempu. One night he was on the road with others driving cattle to Yuba city, when the owl spoke to him and told him to go home soon. After three days his nose bled, and finally a string came out of it, as the owl had predicted to him. On his return to Kosempu he called everyone together and preached from the assembly-house top, giving a moonlight demonstration of making a human-like ghost (saltu koikoro, "spirit that takes or possesses") appear from a clump of elders, come to the assembly house, return, and vanish. Nevertheless the people never liked this man. He was always pale and clammy-handed, and after four years he died. He was the first bole maker and "invented a language" (set of ritual phrases) for it.

My grown-up sister dreamed when I was a boy and made me a dress according to her dream, namely a long shirt such as children then wore, without trousers.

I now have a (ritual) outfit from D, including his split elder-stick rattle; and am singing leader.

I was told: "They (the spirits) keep drawing us. When we are all gone, we shall all return." The "spirit-men," boli, said: "Your old folks want to see you. They will come to the next dance. You had better dance. If you don't, you will never rejoin them." But we dancers never saw our dead; we say only "human spirits." At Rumsey they saw sedeu sektu (coyote chief), their god. On the river they saw "human gods," such as katit (falcon), who is the best, because he does not call and draw people away (to die).

---

110 Practically all information to date has been obtained incidental to studies

C—076772

C-076772

HILL PATWIN STATEMENTS

Informant JC, hill Patwin of Cortina. Nowadays, they dream about dances. The other-world people tell them to do so and so, and then they do that way. Sometimes a fifteen-year-old boy (dreams) bole. At Rumsey there are two women now who are like that. Here, the chief, Salvador (Sasa) dreamed about these things and told the people. He had sense. In the dance there are four women on a side, who dance and catch balls (juggle), sometimes two at a time.[112] Bole comes from dreams about the air-people, the dead, who tell what should be done. When we die, we are well if (they ?) help (us ?); if not, we go to a bad place. I think Salvador was the first to dream this kind. He took it (his doctrine) to the river (Patwin), and told them about it as a hesi dance, but they made fun of him: "Oh, he just made that up." He put up the dance house (here ?) and made speeches. He could speak well.

Informant SL of Cortina, half-"brother" of Sasa. Boli came from the north when I was 10–12 years old. I heard nothing about the end of the world or the dead returning. The only "word" (doctrine) in boli was about its songs and dances (i.e., its ritual). Sasa was a wonderful talker; he could make anyone cry when he made a speech.

Informant WB, hill Patwin of Sites. I think boli came from Lake county (the Pomo).

Informant JS, hill Patwin of Little Stony creek. In regard to the dead, I was told that those who did not dance, but were always going hunting or working, would go straight up above. Singers and saltu (spirits, dancers) would go north to the sky. Some would go to a southern place in the sky over a thin string above the ocean. Nothing could blow them off this. These beliefs were held before any bole hesi was made.

Nowadays they dance the t'osa tono, the bullhead dance. It is something like the hesi, but is not the hesi. It came here from Waitere on the river. They had it there, it was their dance, it was not known here at first, but it came here before my day. Now they call it boli. One man dreams it, then he gives it to the others to practice; that is the boli hesi.

In the boli of today, two or three moki appear in the dance house. They call for a dinner and it is served to pay them. The food somehow passes on to the saltu, and this makes the diners healthy. When one eats heartily, the spirits are satisfied; if not, they become angry and make one dream. Those who "know" the saltu do not eat three meals, but only dinner. All dreamers eat sparingly and no grease.

Boli singers have cocoon rattles. At times they hand sticks to the spectators, who then pay them (tsena'ioro), perhaps slipping a coin into their vest pocket as they move about singing.

Valley Maidu statements on bole are given below, in the second of the sections on these people.

---

112 This is almost certainly a remnant from pure ghost dance—cf. balls as typical Arapaho ghost dance paraphernalia. The feature reappears among the Maidu—see section on them, below.

C—076773

C-076773

BOLE DANCE HOUSES

The bole dance houses at Cortina, Stonyford, and Grindstone w to be fairly faithful reproductions of the old Hesi dance houses, ex that the one at Stonyford is covered with brush only and therefore lighter construction. The foot drums (holwa) are of the proper m and in the right place before the rear door, extending toward t center post, but are carpentered of boards like a coffin instead of bei dug out of a section of log. I have not seen bole costumes, but so of them at least are of gunny sacks and turkey feathers and colore cloth—sorry imitations of the môki and t'uya dresses of old.

KUKSU CULTS

I use this coined designation for the entire set of dances and rites performed by initiates belonging to an organization or society. This cult was much more elaborate on the river than in the hills, and the two are therefore best presented separately.

The river Patwin were unique among Californian groups, so far as known, in possessing three initiatory societies:[113] the wai-saltu or north spirits, the kuksu, and the hesi. All these had counterparts elsewhere, as the following tabulation shows; but no other group had more than two organizations.[114]

	Ghost type	*Kuksu type*	*Hesi type*
Kato	Tiyinang	(Taikomol)[115]	———
Yuki, Huchnom	Hulk'ilal	Taikomol	———
Pomo	Hahluigak	Guksu	———
Coast Miwok	Wale	Kuksu	———
Lake Miwok	Ulup	(Kuksu)	———
Salt Pomo	———?	(Gakum)	Saltu-ke
N. Hill Patwin	(Hesi)	(Hesi)	Hesi[116]
River Patwin	Wai-saltu[117]	Kuksu	Hesi
Valley Maidu	——	(Kuksu ?)	Hesi
Hill Maidu	——	?	?
Valley Nisenan	——	Temeya	Akit
Plains Miwok	?	Temeya ?	?
Wintun, Hill Nisenan, Hill Miwok	No societies		
N. Valley Yokuts, Salinan, Costano	No evidence of societies		

[113] These societies might also be construed as "orders," "degrees," or "branches" of a single society. This would perhaps come nearer the native

C—076774

C-076774

The river Patwin thus mark the point of greatest elaboration of initiating cults in California. Of the three societies, the kuksu is apparently found nearly everywhere. The ghost society is characteristic of the Pomo-Yuki area, and extends east to the Patwin, but not beyond. The hesi type of organization on the other hand belongs to the Sacramento valley and does not extend to the Pomo-Yuki.

In each area, the society characteristic of it is the one which tends to have the widest membership, and to be restricted to males, thus approximating a men's tribal society. This is true of the ghosts among the Pomo and the hesi among Patwin and Maidu. The second society in each area is more restricted, esoteric, often includes some women, and is "dangerous," that is, pretends to kill or harm new members and then revivify them as the essential act of initiation. This more esoteric society is generally the kuksu. But among the river Patwin, who have three societies, the ghost (their wai-saltu or grizzly bear), is also limited, esoteric, and resurrecting. Its place or value in the general socio-religious scheme is therefore quite different from that which it has in its Pomo-Yuki area of characterization.

The variety of different dances, exhibitions or performances, and spirit impersonations is greater in the hesi type than in either ghost or kuksu societies. This gives the Sacramento valley cults a somewhat different cast from the western ones.

The valley Maidu cults, the first to have been described in detail,[118] are fairly parallel to those of the Patwin, except for lacking a ghost type society, but show features which are evidently local peculiarities. The most striking of these valley Maidu traits is the holding of the

---

individuals. At other points, however, native attitude varied. Thus all three Patwin organizations used the same ceremonial house, while the two Pomo organizations held their respective rituals in distinct structures of different type, though even there the kuksu head was also ghost director. Psychologically the problem of orders versus societies is of some importance; but it can hardly be answered conclusively as yet for lack of sufficient evidence. Analytically, the distinction matters less, and inasmuch as the concept of separate societies seems to make for simpler and clearer description, it has been followed here.

[114] Since this was written, Loeb has found the Lower Lake Pomo, who live nearest the Patwin, to have three societies.

[115] Yuki name; Kato name unrecorded.

[116] Includes Ghost and Kuksu features.

[117] Grizzly bear at Colusa.

[118] Dixon, The Northern Maidu, 283–333. Some of the other principal Kuksu cult accounts are: Handbook, 364–384, 855–859, pl. 74 (general); 156 (Kato); 183–191, 204–206, 216 (Yuki, Huchnom, Coast Yuki); 260–266 (Pomo); 384–390 (Patwin); 432–437 (Maidu); Barrett, Ceremonies of the Pomo Indians, UC-PAAE, 12:397–441, 1917; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 338–394; Nisenan, 266–72;

C—076775

C-076775

more important ceremonies in winter in an approximately regular sequence. Elsewhere, dances come prevailingly in summer and without much calendrical order. The number of recorded dances, at a rate of ceremonies as distinct from dance performances or interludes is also greater among the valley Maidu than elsewhere. This is contrary to expectability, on account of the peripheral position of the valley Maidu to the society cult system as a whole; especially so for Chico, where the available information was chiefly collected. It is possible that Chico, having become an Indian refuge after American settlement through the protection afforded by the Bidwells, prospered relatively to other Indian communities and drew to itself some of their ceremonies which it did not originally possess. Even the sequence organization might possibly date from this period, especially since the Chico cults seem for many years to have been under the direction of one man of unusual personality. Whatever their age and cause, these valley Maidu features must be regarded as local specializations.

The total area of the "Kuksu cult" religion, if this be defined as rituals performed by members of initiating societies, proves to be considerably smaller than heretofore believed, as represented for instance in the Handbook of California Indians.[119] This religion was definitely lacking among the (Central) Wintun and among the hill Nisenan and hill Miwok. There is no positive evidence of the existence of societies anywhere south of San Francisco bay. Even the scant records of dances like kuksui, hiwe, and lole in this area are all subsequent to 1872, when the first ghost dance had entered California and a native missionizing movement was active.

On the other hand, elements which one is likely to regard as specific "Kuksu cult" features on account of their appearing regularly in society rites—the earth-covered dance house and foot drum, for instance—have a wider distribution than societies. It is therefore an open question whether these are elements of Kuksu cult origin, or whether they originated independently of society rituals, perhaps earlier than these, and were subsequently incorporated into them. The same holds of certain dance regalia, and equally of certain specific dances, such as the condor, creeper, temeya. In short, the most practical criterion of "Kuksu cult" seems to be initiating societies; and the occurrence of these is geographically quite restricted.

As to the history of this cult system, the kuksu society is the most widely spread one within it and thus more or less justifies the applica-

C—076776

C-076776

tion of the term Kuksu to the cult as a whole. Whether it is the most ancient society in the entire system, is less clear, there being no other indication, such as that of etymology, to corroborate that of widest distribution. The center of ghost society and emphasis on initiation, is Pomo-Patwin; of hesi and emphasis on showy performances, Patwin-Maidu. The Patwin, who participate in most features, may have been the chief originators of most; or they may, on account of their central situation, have been the most favored recipients and readiest acceptors. Probably both alternatives are partially true. The akit seems likely to have a Nisenan origin; the hesi, Patwin; the ghosts, Pomo, with change to wai-saltu form among the Patwin. Coast and Lake Miwok, Wappo, and Kato and Yuki cults adhered to those of Pomo type and no doubt grew up in interaction with them, probably on the whole more often influenced than influencing. The whole problem of the history of the cult is considered more fully in the final section.

The Patwin data will be presented according to societies, in the order wai-saltu, kuksu, hesi, the last including undifferentiated or unspecified dances.

RIVER PATWIN WAI-SALTU SOCIETY

The wai-saltu or north spirits perform the ceremony called wai-yapai, north dance. This is separate both from the group of dances associated with the hesi and from the kuksu ritual. It appears to have an initiation of its own, though what seems to be such was not so designated by informants; at any rate only those who belong can participate, or even be present at part of the ceremony. The wai-saltu therefore evidently formed a separate organization. This is in some respects the counterpart of the Pomo kuhma or hahluigak and Yuki hulk'ilal, the old native ghost society as distinct from the modern revivalistic ghost dance. One Patwin informant stated that the wai-saltu acted like ghosts, and their get-up, cry, and actions appear to bear out the same idea. But the ghost concept is not so clear in the Patwin mind as it is in the mind of the Pomo and Yuki, who consistently speak of the performers as representing ghosts or "devils," that is, spirits of deceased human beings. The Patwin do however look upon the ceremony as powerful and dangerous as compared with the hesi. The wai-saltu performers are supposed to go actually insane; the Pomo-Yuki ghosts are merely strange and terrifyingly queer. In both cases the performers are numerous, simply

C—076777

C-076777

Not all the Patwin practiced the wai-saltu. On the river, those the Colusa district did not, substituting the grizzly bear ceremony an equivalent: the two rituals were "brothers." In the Grimes district the wai-saltu was performed; to the south, about Knight's Landing, information is not available. For the Cortina hill Patwin, a wai-saltu ceremony is reported. For the northern hill Patwin there is no mention of a wai-saltu ceremony, in spite of their proximity to the Pomo. The northern valley Maidu made a wai-ma ceremony and gave it an honored place in their cycle, shortly before the second annual hesi. The Patwin however declare that the Chico Maidu waima was different from their own wai-saltu, and the available Maidu accounts bear this out. The ghost and danger associations of the Pomo, Yuki, and Grimes Patwin ceremonies seem to have been lacking among the Maidu. At the same time the Maidu name wai-ma seems derived from Patwin wai, north.

As to the local equation of wai-saltu and grizzly bear ceremonies among the river Patwin, it is significant that during the wai-saltu ceremony grizzlies are supposed to be abroad, and that grizzly songs are sung to revive exhausted or "dead" wai-saltu performers.

References to the north recur throughout the wai-saltu, just as the kuksu is associated with the south. Two roof entrances or windows respectively to the north and south of the median line of the dance house roofs are used in the two ceremonies and are named for them.

Some Patwin informants restrict the wai-saltu ceremony to men, but one explicitly mentions women participants or members. Children are not taken in; the initiates are adult.

The ceremony lasts three elapsed or four counted days. The performers are completely blackened with charcoal, which disguises them, and wear little or nothing but a feather headdress and perhaps a tule skirt or clout. Their shout is rendered as a prolonged ha or o–o–o or ho–ho–ho–ho.

On the last afternoon they sweat intensely, bleed at the mouth or nose, become demented, run out and off, and sometimes fall into swamps where they lie helpless and drown, to be ritualistically brought to life later, in the dance house. Each performer is followed by relatives, who watch and "herd" him and try finally to drive him back to the dance house for ritual doctoring to restore him to sanity. The performer may let himself in by dropping through the north roof-entrance. While not so stated, this performance is evidently the

C—076778

C-076778

insanity is the equivalent of the stabbing or shooting in kuksu and the killing in the hill form of hesi. The central act is that which Loeb, in regard to the Pomo ghost ritual, has called "death and resurrection" for initiation or acquirement of an esoteric status.

The older members seem not to go crazy, but presumably direct the people who guard the wandering novices. The head master or director, the tautu, lies still in the dance house, reciting and perhaps partly enacting a formula which relates to the travels of the spirit wai-saltu and is probably the esoteric myth explanatory of the rite.

Two informants mentioned a wai-ma performance in which deer are represented on the last evening of a ceremony. One specified this as coming in the hesi. The reference seems to be to a mythical rite of the deer in the Marysville Buttes, which generally is associated with the origin of the hesi.[120] Wherever this Patwin enactment or performance actually falls, it probably has some connection with the Maidu waima.

The data on the wai-saltu are none too full and somewhat scattering, but may never be supplemented. It seems best therefore to present them *in extenso,* in spite of certain repetitions and minor inconsistencies, to allow of future analysis and checking among informants.

Informants' Statements

Wai-saltu: Informant WB.—My father was director of the wai-saltu. This was more severe than the hesi. It was like the moki in that it could be performed only by men that knew it well. Only grown up men took part. They were naked, completely blackened with charcoal, and unrecognizable. They wore a bunch of feathers on their heads, smaller than in the hesi. This was a strong and dangerous ceremony and they had to be paid heavily to make it. I saw it only once, as a boy, at Kosempu, the largest village.

My father paid to learn this ceremony. He sat in his (maternal) uncle's seat four times to learn it. He succeeded this uncle as director. He had to be given eight days' notice to get ready to make the ceremony (probably for ritual preparation); and during the four days of the dance itself he ate only one meal each day, lying nearly the whole time behind the center post. No children were allowed in the ceremony. Some women were admitted. My sister and two or three other women joined in the dance sets. Like the men performers they were forbidden to eat fat. Not only had one to pay to be present at a ceremony, but he was struck if he talked. My father got a seat (wole, "floor," plus the knowledge that goes with it) each time that he paid. In this way he learned it all.

The payments received for the making of a wai-saltu ceremony are divided (among the members) according to seats. If the town chief is brusque and unpopular, he is left out; otherwise he is given a considerable share as reimbursement for his outlay in providing entertainment. Thus he is "made solid."

C—076779

C-076779

At Kosempu there was a chief who was given nothing. The next one was p[illegible] Then he orated, saying he would try to do right by the people.

The director does not dress up or take part in the dancing; he merely directs. He also teaches the ceremony for payment. A director might not give his knowledge to more than one man. His fee was four lots of beads each reckoned as equivalent to one dollar; I think each lot was of 150, but I am not sure. Complete knowledge was obtained when the fee had been paid four times. (This would make 2400 beads for instruction entitling to succession to the directorship.)

The director is called wai-saltu sektu or tautu. For many hours on each of the four days he lies (in the dance house) without sitting up or even touching his body. He watches and gives orders, but does not put on costume or perform. It is he who names the series of ponds and places to which the wai-saltu (spirits) go north on their way home. It was this post that my father got from his uncle, a relative of my mother, who was also my wife's father. (Apparently a form of cross-cousin marriage in two successive generations.)

One of the three roof openings in the dance house is to the north of the center post and is called wai-saltu olpes. The wor-elbo olpes is in the corresponding place on the southern side. The third opening is also on the southern side, but nearer the front of the house, abreast the fireplace, and serves as a smoke-hole for the large fires in ceremonial sweating, and has no name beyond olpes, above-door.

The performers' headdress is of crow feathers. They wear a skirt and two bandoliers (?) of shredded posak tule. They are painted coal black; when they hold out their black hands to collect pay from those who enter the dance house, it is terrifying. Their bodies are heavily rubbed with angelica root, dum. Twice a day they burn angelica root, not in the fireplace, but at a spot in a particular wole. All the performers are dressed alike. There are several sets of them, each performing to different songs, but there are no separate names for these sets or songs.

About mid-afternoon of the last day of the ceremony they sweat and dance four times. A (false) head is put on a pole and raised through the wai-saltu roof door, so that it can be seen from the outside, bobbing up through the hole, as if it were the head of a very tall dancer. With the fourth dance the director, who has been lying down, sits up. Then the dancers begin to bleed at the nose and mouth, some after one circuit, some after two. They leave the dance house by the (ground-level) door and wander off, crying ho-o-o-o, and shaking their heads from side to side. They are unconscious. Each one has to be followed by a relative to extricate him if he runs into a swamp. All this time the singing continues in the dance house. Gradually the dancers are herded back to the dance house, or pulled out of the water, carried home, and laid on tules outside the door. Finally they are all deposited in a row inside, in front of the drum. When the last one has been brought in, a curing shaman, mali-yomta, restores them to consciousness. It is the director of the ceremony who makes them sick (unconscious); it is the shaman who cures them. Sickly men are urged to enter the ceremony in order that they may sweat and bleed out their illness. The singing has gone on uninterruptedly and stops only when the last dancer has been brought to the dance-house and the curing begins.

One performer related to me had a kinsman to guard him who was too old to follow him into the tule swamp when he was unconscious. The old man had

C—076780

C-076780

before they found the young man, lying under water beneath the vegetation of the swamp. He was brought back and restored.

Wai-saltu means north spirit, and they are so called because they come from the north. When they (the spirit impersonators) have finished dancing in the ceremony they (the spirits) travel back to the north. For instance, when they have danced at Kosempu, the wai-saltu go to Hoyor, a mound near Willows. This is their dance house, and there they go in and sing. Then they go north to a lake basin where there are geese. From there they go on to another place, Kubapolpul, red charcoal basin, where they bathe. Then they go on to Kuba-LULA, red charcoal dance house place, which is their home.

When the (mythical) wai-saltu arrive at their dance house in the far north, they say:

heneh-chu, I have come
k'ali-puru chu hene, rope heart I have come.

They mean that their hearts are as large as a fathom of rope is long.

The wai-saltu director has power outside the dance. He has a large bow and arrows with which to "catch green-horns" (harm inquisitive non-initiates). While my father was director, he went about with such a bow. North of Colusa he met a young man who asked about the bow, and whom he allowed to examine and handle it. Later, the chief of the village in the vicinity noticed it and made inquiries. That same night a friend of my father reproached him a little (for endangering these innocent people). My father replied that he had to do what he had done, it was part of his office. Both the men who had examined the bow died; the chief soon, the young man in the spring following the summer of the ceremony.

The director was under taboos. He might not carry all the way home any game or fish of his own taking; he might carry it part way. While the ceremony was being performed, he ate only food specially cooked for him by a kinswoman, and drank only water brought up from the river in a special basket. This basket was set aside and allowed to stand until no ripples showed, before he might drink from it.

This ceremony was not made at Colusa. It was made at Chico (i.e., as the wai-ma) but differently. It was not performed frequently at Grimes.

Wai-saltu: Informant PW.—The wai yapai, north dance, or wai-ma yapai, is made by the wai-saltu. By the old people they were sometimes called molok saltu, condor spirits. The wai-saltu are like ghosts; they shout for three nights and days. Their call is a long ha, or o-o-o-o. They are painted black with charcoal, and wear a large headdress of blue-crane or swan feathers. This is a great dance but it is not a good one. They have a medicine for sweating. They sweat so hard that when they come out of the dance house their chests are red and their noses bleed. Then they run off. There is a story of saltu eta, "the saltu buried" by his companions in a lake north of Yalidihi when he ran off after the sweating.

I have not made this ceremony but I have seen it. On the last afternoon of the three days the wai-saltu came out of the dance house, and were crazy. The wai-saltu whistled from a long distance off. I could hear the drum and two singers in the dance house. Then I heard them calling out that we (the uninitiated) were to stay indoors (in the living houses) and by no means to come out. After a time I heard someone calling to a whistling dancer, "Let, Let, Let! (Stop!)." I heard him stop as he went into the dance house. Then they began to orate; they called everybody to come (into the dance house).

C—076781

C-076781

black over the whole face and body, and unrecognizable. After that special singing began; the singers were not blackened.

(The following seems to refer to a dance distinct from the wai-ma performance.)

The wai-ma yapai (dance) belongs to the floor-space or seat in the (dance house called) tiloki wole. Wai-ma means north. It comes on the last day of the hesi. The performers are deer. They wear a headdress of blue-crane wing (or a headdress made of blue-crane wing feathers). They do not whistle, but call i'hhaha, i'hhaha, while they dance. They step high, then jam the leg down hard. They also wear a deer mask. This is not a real dance, the performers merely moving about the dance house. The wai-ma make both of these performances.

Wai-saltu: Informant T.—The wai-saltu are from far in the north, from the side of the ocean there. There are only men in the ceremony. They are painted black over the whole body, and wear no feathers except a round bunch on the head. With this is a stick tipped with quail plumes. They wear no skirt, sitting in the tules strewn around the drum. They eat no meat, else they would quickly die; and they constantly chew angelica root. They are in the dance house for three days. On the last day they become crazy, bleed at the mouth, and run outdoors. They are counted as they leave, so that the return of all may be accounted for. They have to be herded, because if they have no relatives to follow them they are likely to fall into the water and drown. Sometimes relatives will pay to have a member exempted from running out. When they are finally led or driven back to the dance house, they let themselves fall in at (the north) one of the roof openings, or sit down over it. They are then taken indoors, laid down, and doctored to restore them to health and sanity.

The last time this ceremony was made, at Kosempu, one performer was lost from the crowd and got into the water weeds at Tsopol-dihi opposite Nowi-dihi.[121] He was missed from the count as the others returned, and searched for, but was found only toward morning. When brought back to the dance house he was dead and quite stiff. A doctor said he would try to bring him to life. All who were present joined in his song, which was about the grizzly bear in the north. After a time the man stirred and revived.

When this ceremony is made, all the people must gather in the village and not camp in the country, on account of the grizzly bears which are on their way north at this time. Once four men who had not been notified of the ceremony were netting ducks at Sycamore slough. One of them heard the ho-ho-ho-ho shout, came back to the others, and said that the wai-saltu were abroad. When the others heard the shouting, they all went into their tule hut, closed the door, and tried to burrow themselves in. Soon a grizzly bear came and broke down the door of their hut.

Angelica root, dum, is not only chewed but thrown on the fire during every dance. This is a powerful root. Rubbed on the feet, it prevents rattlesnake bites; and burnt at night, it keeps one from dreaming of the dead.

Bat, damhālai, is the one who commenced the wai-saltu performance. It makes good crops of acorns and seeds. One man in it (evidently the director) is lying down nearly all the time. At night he puts on a long cloak, which no one may look at. This is like the long cloak of the taɮa-saltu or môki in the hesi. He goes out with a basket of acorn meal to rub on the oaks. This makes

C—076782

C-076782

them bear acorns. He has one companion, with a bow and arrow, to guard him against grizzly bears. Sometimes they see grizzlies and have to return without having smeared meal on the trees.[122]

The wai-saltu dance in winter. It always brings a north wind. When the dance is made it stops raining.[123] It is made irregularly, not every year.

The heads of the wai-saltu are he who has learned all the songs; the one who watches the grizzlies; and the doctor (to revive the performers).

Two men go about to catch the prospective wai-saltu (for initiation). Some enter voluntarily; and some never become wai-saltu.

I went into the wai-saltu three times. The first time it was held at Kosempu. I was already married and living at Nomatsapin. My parents did not want me to take part, but I went in with my three brothers. I paid $4 in beads—more than a fathom length. One has to pay the first time one makes it. I went out of my mind along with the others on the last day. I do not know how I got in at the roof hole. Then many of us were lying about in the dance house, and were doctored until we were well. The second and third times the ceremony was also made at Kosempu (but apparently the informant did not pay or go crazy).

Wai-saltu: Informant O.—This informant belonged to the Colusa district, which practised the grizzly bear in place of the wai-saltu ceremony. He had probably witnessed the latter at Kosempu. His account, Handbook, p. 385, while far from complete, adds some details of the climax of the initiation. The account of the deer enactment seems to refer to the same act as that told of by informant PW, but was construed as referring to the wai-ma, as informant O was understood to call the wai-saltu; not to the hesi.

Additional notes from this informant are: The wai-ma (read wai-saltu ?) of Grimes and the grizzly bear (sika) ceremonies were Lanpipel, brothers. A man who "belonged" to either (had been initiated) had to attend the ceremonies of the other, wherever he might be or have come from. The Chico wai-ma was different.

Grizzly Bear Ceremony

The Colusa grizzly bear or sika ceremony has not been held for a long time. Knowledge and direction of it were in the hands of a single lineage or sere,[124] that is, of a yaitu and his assistant and prospective successor. The drumming[125] and singing for the sika are also said to have been heritable (purchasable) property. A reference to napa performers in the sika[126] is unclear; my Grimes informants spoke of the napa as bear-shamans, such as are familiar from most of California. It seems rather as if the sika director were supposed to control actual grizzly bears, and as if his performers or assistants were the ones likely to be attacked and killed. This "killing" or dying is characteristic of the Grimes wai-saltu, and of the kuksu everywhere in

[122] These statements are the informant's reply to a question about bear shamans.

[123] South wind brings rain in California, north wind clearing weather.

[124] McKern, Functional Families, 247.

[125] [illegible]

C—076783

C-076783

Patwin territory, and is what constitutes initiation. I reproduce verbatim the statement obtained from the Colusa informant in 1916:

> I am a singer for the sika. Only my family sings this. I got it from my father. I also sing hesi, but anyone who has a good voice and has learned the songs may sing hesi. The sika songs I own. I never saw the sika; they stopped making it. The grizzly bear dancers have a place selected for getting the staves, shāi, which they carry in the dance. Sometimes (real) bears are there and prevent them. Sometimes they kill one (of the dancers); then he is not buried until the ceremony is ended. These bear dancers are called napa. They are not saltu (spirit impersonators).[127]

It seems most likely from this that at Colusa there was a bear initiation and therefore bear society, with the novices believed to be hurt or killed as in kuksu, wai-saltu, and the hill Patwin hesi. That the novices are not reckoned as saltu is expectable; neither are the kuksu nor wai-saltu novices so reckoned. But their being napa bear shamans is not clear. Perhaps the novices became, and their instructors were, napa as the result of being attacked by bears; and of course the "real" bears must have been one or more of the full initiates dressed in bear skins. Bear impersonators (dancers) and were-bears (shamans) tend to be confused in information or associated in the native mind.[128] As to attack and mutilation, the same informant had kuksu enactors cut to pieces by kuksu himself, in the hill country.[129]

Bear impersonations and ceremonies have a wider distribution than wai-saltu, and in some groups associate with kuksu instead of wai-saltu. Bear is present in place of wai-saltu among the valley Maidu, at Colusa, and at Cortina (silai). The eastern and northern Pomo have a bear impersonator as one of the four in their kuksu (kuksu, shalnis, bear, great-powerful), and a bear ceremony.[130] Among the central coast Pomo, the shanis is a bear impersonator.[131] The northern hill Patwin incorporate certain wai-saltu features in their hesi, but not under that name. The Nisenan are not known to have either bear or north spirits.

This makes the specific wai-saltu an affair of one division of the river Patwin, and therefore an apparently late specialization of their

---

[127] Handbook, 386. The locality there given, Grindstone creek, is erroneous, since it is Wintun, and the Wintun had no kuksu. The Little Stony creek Patwin, most of whose survivors have moved to Grindstone rancheria, must be meant.

[128] Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 335–338.

[129] For k'aima and yu'ke, which may be associated with grizzly bear, see the sections below on Spirit Impersonations and Relation to Shamanism.

[130] Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 355, 376, 400.

[131] Loeb, ibid., p. 367, summarizes that the coast Pomo shanis-bear "gave

C—076784

C-076784

own. On the other hand, its generic ghost features ally it with the ghost society which is universal in the Pomo-Yuki area. The probable explanation is that the wai-saltu is both ancient and recent. It is a partial survival of the ghost initiation of the western tribes, worked over into a new form locally, and further altered by influences from the grizzly bear cult with which it came to be associated and equated.

The history of the grizzly bear ceremony is more obscure, because in the west its associations are kuksu, with the Patwin ghosts, among the Maidu unclear.[132]

RIVER PATWIN KUKSU SOCIETY

The kuksu initiation is separate from both the hesi and the wai-saltu. Like the latter, it makes members of what might be considered either a distinct degree or order, or a separate society. Also like the wai-saltu, it is considered "bad," that is, potentially dangerous. This is because the central act of initiation is a shooting or stabbing supposed seriously to wound the novices, after which they slowly convalesce during a prolonged period of confinement in the dance house. This is therefore another rite approximating the death and resurrection type. Two of my informants, as will be seen in the accounts below, told gravely of the severity of the shooting; one of them, a member, went so far as to show me a rather unconvincing scar. The third, also an initiate, without any prompting revealed the nature of the deception used.

Apparently the kuksu ritual, like the wai-saltu, is made chiefly[133] when novices are to be initiated. The initiatory shooting is the most dramatic and spectacular act in the performance. There were women as well as men initiates, though fewer. The initiates seem to have been youths rather than adolescents. In the one biographic case recorded, kuksu initiation preceded that into the wai-saltu. The normal order of admission was evidently hesi, kuksu, wai-saltu. An adult could belong to all three organizations; but there appears to have been no rule that he ought to. The proportion of adult males holding the three memberships is not known.

Selection was probably roughly hereditary; normally, older members would want their sons, maternal nephews, or other kinsmen to participate and succeed them, in both kuksu and wai-saltu. I thoroughly doubt that the number of adherents was limited in any one

[illegible] Maidu Kuksu Cults below.

C—076785

C-076785

locality, or that membership was looked upon as a privilege w must be restricted. A man with several sons and nephews w probably wish at least one of them to belong. Their actual indu might be by himself, by their other older kinsmen, or by both joi McKern's concept of the functional family or lineage undoubt applies in this case as in others; only it must not be construed rigorously. The Patwin recognize the principle of inheritance to extent: one does not, speaking generally, come into any knowled power, or public status except as successor to a kinsman. On other hand there is little if any idea that a particular power, functi or office is a privilege, honor, or exclusive proprietary right which lineage wishes to guard jealously.

The kuksu impersonator had two assistants called limo. The three were reckoned saltu or spirits. The other members, on any given occasion, seem not to have worn costume or impersonated spirits. It seems, however, that any member who had been shot by kuksu could enact him. They "received his name," that is, were or could be called kuksu. If an esoteric individual name was given, the fact is not clear in my data. The costume of the kuksu and limo was simple; perhaps the most distinctive accoutrement was the former's staff.

Kuksu is associated with the south and wai-saltu with the north, both in the pertinent mythology and in their employment of special roof openings. They contrast with the hesi group of rituals in their adult initiation, the supposed severity of initiation, the admission of women, relative paucity of spirit impersonations and regalia, a period of seclusion for novices, and a more definitely esoteric cast.

Waik'o

There was a performance called waiko, waik'o, or waiko' which was not mentioned to me in direct connection with kuksu or any other society or ceremony, but which I infer to be a kuksu society ritual. The climax feature seems to have been a going "insane" of the performers, who walked on the surface of water, wandered away, and caught live animals with their hands. This performance roughly parallels the insanity, flight, and "drowning" of the wai-saltu. Further, the waik'o appears to have contained dancing. The ritual was evidently important and more data are badly needed. I add the few indications available.

An account of the insanity called waik'o or sula'a has been given above in the paragraphs on Luck, Dr [illegible]

C—076786

C-076786

Maidu informant F in his ritual autobiography, given below under Valley Maidu Kuksu Cults, mentions being taught to dance the waik'o on the last night of his initiation into kuksu among the Patwin, and that it was not a spirit impersonation but a "training dance" or initiation.

The valley Nisenan[134] remember waiko' and okea as "dances" formerly made by themselves. Women as well as men took part—as in their temeya-kuksu.

Toto

In some way associated with kuksu, or an appanage of it, is the toto dance. This is a "common" dance; women are permitted to see it, and, according to some informants, participate. It persisted for some time after kuksu rituals ceased. This is probably the reason why two informants first mentioned the kuksu[135] as director of the toto. One of them stated that the woirelbo tautu (director, master) was in charge of the toto, and then added that sometimes he made the kuksu. Woirelbo olpes is the name of the southern roof hole used in the kuksu. This is the only case known among the river Patwin of a separate minor dance associated with either kuksu or wai-saltu. The toto has a fairly wide ethnic range, being reported from hill Patwin, valley Maidu, Lake Miwok, Pomo. Its association with kuksu may be secondary among the river Patwin.

Informants' Statements

Kuksu: Informant WB.—The director of the kuksu is called woirelbo tautu, and has charge of the toto dance as well as of the kuksu. This director "hired" a kuksu and two assistants (arranged for them to perform the parts). Then they (presumably the initiated members) went about seizing prospective initiates, both young men and young women. These were kept in the dance house for a long period, perhaps two or three months. They were initiated by being shot in the navel and then cured. It was the cure and convalescence that took so long. They were shot with a flint-headed arrow drawn far back in the bow. It entered the belly and drew blood. Those that were shot by kuksu became kuksu and could shoot others thereafter, and received a new name, that is, they became (were called) kuksu. Those became kuksu whose dead relatives had been kuksu before them.[136] Those who were shot by kuksu's assistants did not become kuksu.[137]

---

[134] Nisenan, 269.

[135] Handbook, 386. Kuksu's "punishing" is of course only colloquial for "wounding," that is, the initiating shooting. The reference to Grindstone is to be construed as not to the Wintun originally there but to the northern hill Patwin of whom some have now been moved to the Grindstone settlement.

[136] This means probably that the older kuksu members would designate their blood kin to be "caught," and would encourage and advise them during the

C—076787

C-076787

The novices were laid over the south roof opening, held there against the struggles, and shot from the inside of the dance house. Others were taken outdoors to be shot. After the shooting they were all carried into the dance house, laid out, and cured with a special medicine by a shaman. They were also instructed during the long period of confinement that followed. They were not allowed to roll themselves over, but were turned on request. They were forbidden to dig into the ground or pluck weeds, lest the world dry up.

Two young men once picked bits of stalks out of the floor of the sweat house just to see whether the prediction would come true; then there was a drought and all the grain dried up. The white ranchers learned of the cause from the Indians, blamed the director of the ceremony (at Kosempu), and said they would hang him if he came to Grimes. When he had to pass through the town, he took care to hide himself under blankets in the bottom of a wagon, with his relatives sitting on him.

This was the last time the ceremony was made by the Patwin, and all the tautu are dead now. There were twelve people initiated in this performance, including two young women who were stripped naked like the men, and were shot along with them. One of the ten men (viz., informant PW) was not shot, because he had been sleeping with his older relative who was temeyu, and in this way he became temeyu or doorkeeper for kuksu. The doorkeeper's business was to see that no one in the dance house escaped.

Some people were much afraid of being shot. Once a man in the audience called to his kin to follow him, dashed for the door, struggled with the temeyu, threw him aside, and escaped, followed by the crowd at large.

The kuksu was called kuksu saltu. He wore a feather headdress and not much else.

Kuksu: Informant T.—Kuksu marks (tsewā) persons. They are held over the roof hole while he sings, aims at them with an arrow, and shoots them in the belly. The arrow has a flint point and goes in about so far (half an inch). Blood flows. From two to four men hold each person who is shot. Others are taken outdoors where all can see them, and are stabbed in the belly with a spear (sak); these are held from behind. When the stabbing or shooting is about to take place, the people see a person held, hear the song that goes with the shooting, and all cry. A dozen or more may be shot at one ceremony. Sometimes the shooting is spread over two days. I was marked (shot) at Nomatsapin when I was already grown up, but before I was taken into the wai-saltu. Two or three women were marked also. We stayed in the dance house for a month afterward. At this time they also punched a hole through the septum of our noses. In dancing kuksu they wear a stick through this hole with feathers twisted on it. The shooting does not hurt much because of the medicine that they make for it immediately after.

If an "unmarked" man is found in the dance house at the ceremony, he has to be marked (initiated), or pay a high fee, equivalent to ten or twelve dollars. I was scared when they took me, but could not help myself. I am kuksu now and could shoot others. (The informant's belly showed a slight scar about an inch to the left of the navel. He stated that the arrow hung in the flesh by the flint point and had to be pulled out.)

This ceremony is not made to help the acorns grow or for any such purpose. They just want to mark certain people.

C—076788

C-076788

After the marked people are let out of the dance house, they must observe taboos for several months. They may not drink out of any vessel but their own. This has a hole punched through it near the edge and is worn on a string around the neck. Acorn mush must be eaten with an individual mussel shell spoon which also has a hole punched through it. If they drink at the river they must shut their eyes as they bend down so as not to see their own face in the water. They must not sit down on a rock; this prohibition lasts a year. They must not lie on their back during the day because they are now marked on the belly, but must rest lying on the side; though at night they may sleep on the back if they wish.

Sometimes the shooting is not through the roof but inside the dance house. Sometimes additional ones are caught outdoors after the others have already been shot. Then their captors call out that they have them. Such prospects are hurried in and shot quickly. Such late comers are given his own name by kuksu, that is, kuksu. Others receive no names (*sic*).

The present temeyu (informant PW) was shot along with the others (*sic*). Afterwards they said, "What shall we do for him?" As his (maternal ?) uncle had been temeyu, they said, "We will make him temeyu." So they hung his uncle's ceremonial cape over his head, drew it off again, and gave him the name Temeyu. He is sometimes called that today.

Kuksu: Informant PW.—Kuksu lives far south in the ocean. His impersonator wears on top of his head a bunch of long crow wing-feathers attached to a hoop of white oak. He carries a long stick painted black but otherwise undecorated. He has his face and body blackened and is unrecognizable. He prepares himself outdoors in the brush. Late in the morning he approaches the dance house. He does not dance, but runs and turns and circles four times. He enters the dance house and again turns and circles four times, then sits down. He lays a bundle of short sticks before the chief. The chief says, "Let all pay. He has come here and we will contribute beads and rope." All go to their houses and bring in a payment and lay it down. Later in the day the kuksu perhaps leaves the dance house, to return after an interval. He stays in or frequents the dance house for three days. All this time he does not dance but merely "enters."

Sometimes the kuksu wears a long hairpin, p'aka, sharpened at both ends. This he can use to strike with. Sometimes, however, he does not stab anyone, the actual shooting or stabbing being done by two limo, or limo-saltu. These wear a headnet, pute', filled with down, uyu; a yellowhammer headband; and on the occiput a headdress called toiti. This toïti[138] is made of magpie tail feathers attached to a cord coiled spirally or within a small hoop; the bunch of long magpie feathers is surrounded by shorter crow feathers.

The shooting is done as follows: A grass dummy was used formerly; in recent times clothes are stuffed to represent a man. A dummy is thrown across the (southern) roof opening and held down during a pretended scuffle. Meanwhile, the two limo have been dancing (in the dance house) and capering about with their bows, aiming upward. Finally they shoot, drawing the bowstring hard. The novices (who apparently have been in the scuffling crowd that surrounds the dummy) are then supported and carried into the dance

[138] Corresponding to the Maidu un'uni, or lāya; see below, Valley Maidu Kuksu Cults, Regalia.

C—076789

C-076789

house, being told in a whisper to close their eyes; they are laid down, and bandage of tule is tied over their belly. This bandage has been dipped in blood of a dog previously killed.

The stabbing is done similarly. It takes place either outdoors or within the dance house. The supposed victim is held fast—at the main post near the drum, if the performance is indoors. The two limo dance up to him, brandishing their spears and making thrusting motions with the point approaching nearer each time. The novice is told to close his eyes. The final stab is a mere tap, but the men holding the novice drag down on him and tell him to let himself go. He is laid down and one of the blood-dipped tule bands applied. The spectators wail and cry, and there is great excitement; those in the dance house can hear the running around on the roof.

After four days the relatives of the novices are told that these are very sick. The relatives cry and are then told to hunt and bring game to the dance house; for after these first four days the novices may eat meat and fat again. They are fed by two old men who, starting at the rear of the dance house, each go down the length of one side of the wole. After feeding the novices, these old men wash their hands and mouths, which the novices are not allowed to do for themselves. After another four days they may eat salt; but they are kept in the dance house for a considerable time longer, perhaps a month. During all this time they must not roll themselves over or leave the dance house alone. They tap on the ground, one of the watchers comes, and they whisper to him their need. If they have to leave the dance house a watcher covers them and conducts them out and back again, since if they looked about they would blast the growing things they saw.[139] The two watchers are called ko'yuma' chime'n, from koyuma, to wash. They are not saltu. Every morning and again every afternoon these two watchers warm the dance house. Then they go to the novices' homes, bring warm water, and wash the novices. They also bring in food from the novices' homes. In feeding the novices, they first take and themselves eat a pinch of food from the vessel of each. They speak in a low voice and do not allow the novices to talk loudly. The novices are called ilain che'riba, "young men." If they become restless before their period of confinement is over, they are allowed to gamble, those on one side of the dance house against those on the other.[140] They gamble for their hairpins, which are ornamented with quail plumes; but these pins are later restored to the losers. The novices are forbidden to scratch their heads with their fingers but must use a stick (perhaps the hairpins just mentioned).

After the period of confinement is over, they are under restrictions for a year. They go to their various homes but are supposed to refrain from doing a number of things. For instance, after the last ceremony the old men forbade them to work for the white settlers. They may also not drink directly out of a well (sapi) or the river, but must carry the water home before drinking.

The last kuksu performance was made at No'matsapin. Fifteen or twenty were initiated, including two women. The initiates are called Le's-piri, "pierced, marked." The corresponding word in the Colusa dialect is ta'u-piri. Those who have been through the shooting ceremony are performers and must take part when the ceremony is made. If they are not Les-piri, they may not take part. The ceremony is also called hampa, enclosing, shutting in; or pes hampa,

[139] A common Californian concept as regards adolescent girls.

C—076790

C-076790

closing the door on, imprisoning. Liti'ku-piri is a name (either) for the initiates (or the ceremony).

At Chico the Maidu made the kuksu differently. They caught the initiates, but kept them in the dance house for only four days and did not shoot them.[141]

RIVER PATWIN HESI SOCIETY[142]

The hesi is ranked by the Patwin as the greatest of their ceremonies, and is "gentle" rather than dangerous, beginning the ceremonial training of boys. It is in the hesi that the greatest variety of spirit performers enter, and it seems to be primarily or wholly to it that a special Patwin system of "seating" members and officials pertains.

For the hesi or dance society as such I learned no designation from the Patwin. They speak either of the dance house, Lut, in which its activities are conducted, or of such and such a class of its members. The officials as a whole are known as the wôle, that is, the "floors" or seats or places which they occupy in the dance house. A ceremony or complex of rites is called a huya by the Colusa division, a particular dance a tono; the Grimes group seem not to distinguish huya and tono, but call both ceremonies and dances yā'pai, and a dancer yā'pai-tu. A spirit is everywhere a sāltu. Since many dancers impersonate spirits, and most spirits dance, the two terms sāltu and yāpai-tu tend to be used somewhat interchangeably.[143] Thus the same informant will once affirm and then deny that a particular performer is a spirit, according as he uses the term sāltu now in the looser and again in its specific sense.[144] Ben-ta yapai, great dance, is said specifically of the hesi but also of any major ceremony.

Membership Grades

Virtually, there are four grades of hesi membership recognized by the Patwin, although I have not heard one of them so state, and

[141] This may, but does not necessarily, confirm the conjecture basable on the passage in Dixon, 323, that the Maidu had a kuksu society separate from the hesi society. See below, under Valley Maidu Kuksu Cults, Initiations.

[142] Strictly, the hesi itself seems to be a ceremony rather than a society. It might therefore be more accurate to speak of a spirit-impersonating dance society of which the hesi performance was the most important function, rather than of a "hesi society." Still, McKern, Functional Families, 245, says that the society was called hesi.

[143] Yapai-tu denotes a shaman's spirit in Wintun and Wintu.

[144] This indefiniteness recurs in the terminology for "chief" and "town" in most of the languages of the region. The tribelet chief and settlement chief, or chief and headman, are both simply "chiefs"; and the main village or town of a tribelet, dependent though permanent settlements, and temporary camps, are all "houses" or "places" and their occupants "people" of so and so. [illegible] lineage, or almost any

C—076791

C-076791

they have only two terms, yompu or initiate, and tautu or director. The yompu consisted both of novices who were learning and of grown men who were experienced dancers and spirit enactors. The tautu were fewer and ranked higher in that they possessed some special esoteric knowledge above that common to the full-fledged yompu. They could apparently also be subdivided: into those who owned and directed some particular spirit enactment within a ceremony, and the few, or the sole individual, capable of directing the entire ceremonial complex which constituted the hesi. To use an analogy, the yompu were apprentices and journeymen; the tautu, master-workmen and guild-heads.

Boys were "caught" when a hesi was made and were "put into" it, that is, they witnessed the performance from the side of the enactors. It is also said that only such boys were taken inside as had relatives that belonged. One informant told how at about the age of fourteen he had been put into the hesi by his mother's brother, who wanted him to be his successor and to inherit his t'uya costume, for wearing which he was paid, like all spirit impersonators. This being "put in" to learn to help an older member was called sano'. The boys now saw for the first time everything that went on. Before this they had perhaps believed the performers to be actual spirits. They now helped carry things, and did minor parts of the men's work, such as chewing the butts of feathers until they were soft enough to be folded into the net of the moki's cape. They stayed in the dance house for the three days of the dance and one more, four in all, ate no meat or fat, and drank water only mornings and evenings. They were given moral advice, such as not to be stubborn or trouble makers; then they would live long. There is no mention of any mythological or strictly ritualistic instruction.

A boy thus seems to have assisted his older relative in refurbishing, assembling, and putting on the costume or costumes which the latter personally owned. In this way he acquired familiarity with its parts, and saw the whole used. There seems to have been no outright training in dancing; the steps and postures were "picked up." Besides, "a new dancer could always follow" a more experienced one.

Technically, perhaps, the novice was now a yompu or initiated member; but he might go through another hesi or two before dancing, and then he would take one of the less conspicuous parts. Thus, after having assisted a t'uya impersonator, the youth might begin by dancing the dādu spirit, and only at a later ceremony perform the t'uya.

C—076792

C-076792

In the instance mentioned above, it was after two "seasons" of dancing gratis that the young man began to be paid like the older men when he performed in his uncle's t'uya costume. Now at any rate he was a full yompu.

It is evident that the Patwin did not disturb the serene dignity and splendor of their hesi by any act given over to youngsters; nor could the variety of costume and enactment have been learned effectively by any outside schooling. They inducted their new members, therefore, by having them unobtrusively come in behind the scenes until they were familiar with their parts. There is a contrast here with the Yuki, who taught their boys tediously, telling them a long creation myth and repeating songs to them over and over.[145] But to the Yuki this taikomo'l-woknam or lie-dance or "school" was the principal thing about the taikomo'l cult: the principal other performance was a semi-private doctoring of the sick. In short, the Yuki probably made much of formal initiation because their cult as such is meager; the Patwin, like the valley Maidu, made the initiation simple and practical because their hesi performance was rich.

The remark above that one could only be taken into the hesi by an older relative, agrees with McKern's statement that the cult society did not necessarily include all adult males.[146] I have however never heard of a man who had been left out, and suspect there were few. It is thoroughly in accord with all Patwin practice, too, that there should be an individual passing down of functions, even though these be for the good of the community rather than privately advantageous. On the other hand, that it was sometimes the maternal uncle who taught the boy and gave him his own outfit, indicates that strictness of male lineage was a theory which the affections or even duties of other kinship were likely to cut across in practice.

The young man was now a full yompu, and such he remained for many years, in some cases perhaps all his life. As he "picked them up," he enacted more spirit dances. It seems doubtful whether any sāltu enactments were closed to him, so far as their dress and dancing and evolutions were concerned.

With age, however, some or many of the yompu rose to a higher rank, that of master, called tau-tu in the Grimes and yai-tu in the Colusa dialect.[147] The tautu or yaitu had paid more, to one or several

[145] Handbook, 184, 189.

[146] Functional Families, 245: "included every man of any social importance."

[147] Colusa uses tau-piri to designate the kuksu initiates, who at Grimes are called Les-piri, "pierced, marked."

C—076793

C-076793

of his older relatives, and therefore knew more, and consequently occupied a higher "seat" or wôle. That is, he had acquired, nor again only from among his kin, certain esoteric knowledge or ritu "medicine" which could be acquired only through purchase by individual from individual and which related esoterically to the enactm of some spirit or the performance of some ritual. Some of th "knowledges" could be held and exercised by only one individual time in any community: that which constituted the clown-speak messenger or tsi'matu, for instance. There was a sole tautu for the spirit, and no doubt for the môki; and it is specifically stated th but one man at a time could "make" (direct) the sika or grizzly bear spirit enactment. The actual performers of these acts were quite distinct from the possessors of the ritual knowledges. Thus the sing sili-ma tautu had become such by paying his kinsman predecessor to teach him. The sili spirits themselves were enacted by such yompa or "apprentice members" as were willing to perform. They had learned nothing esoteric about the sili and merely went through the steps and running that were associated with the costume; and they were not paid for their performing. There might be a dozen or more of them. The sili-ma tautu, apparently not in spirit costume, followed his sili performers into the dance house and took all the pay which spectators had contributed on the chief's urging. Such then would be the tautu or masters as a class.

In addition there would be a tautu or yaitu as head and director of each of the major ceremonies as a whole, apparently for the hesi and certainly for the kuksu and wai-saltu. It is probable that for these positions there sometimes were several men qualified, since it is said that the incumbent might receive pay from and teach several potential successors. However this may be, only one tautu was in charge during a particular ceremony; and he did not dance or perform. The Patwin call the tautu-yaitu the "boss" of the ceremony; McKern says "ritual shaman and instructor"; and "director" seems an appropriate term.[148] The director of the hesi seems to have been the môki tautu, the man who knew the esoteric secrets of the môki impersonator.

Officials and Seats

Named officials plus the whole initiated membership occupied the southern side of the Lut, from the emergency exit and drum at the

[148] One of the terms recorded for kuksu initiates is tau-piri.

C—076794

C-076794

western end to the entrance tunnel-door at the east. The northern side of the dance house seated the spectators.[149] The southern side was divided into a number of areas called wole or floors, the same name as was given the central dancing space and, in fact, the floor of the house as a whole. These spaces along the south, though not separated by barriers, were each alloted to a group consisting of a class or group of members or officials. Each space or seat, as it might be called, had to be continuously occupied by at least one person during the progress of a ceremony. One got his right to sit in one of these wole by payment, apparently always of the standard amount of 320 common beads or $4. A person who sat by error or design in a wole that was not his, had to pay this amount, and thereafter was entitled to use the place. Eating in a place to which one had not been properly inducted was specially to be avoided as dangerous.

Theoretically, a list of the wole might be thought to equate with all the offices and classes of membership in the society. Actually, informants give the wole differently, and not always consistently themselves. All agree that the chief's place was in the middle of the south side; that the yompu or newer or plain members were at the left by the drum; and that the tsimatu or clown-speaker was at the door on the right. The Colusa informant who gave the data presented in the Handbook ranked the seats, excepting the chief's, and had initiates progressing gradually, upward from left to right (west to east) in the seats they attained; but this seems an oversystematic representation, and was denied by subsequent informants.

The subjoined table shows the series of seats as they were obtained from four informants:

1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*Nearest consensus*
				(Drum)
Yompu = Saltu	Yompu	Yapai	Yompu	Common members and spirit enactors
	Tiloki = Waima	Saltu = Yedi		Tiloki or Waima
Tsapa	Tsapa			Firetender at rest
	Woka	Posak	(3 places)	Posak
		Pima		Pima
(Hehe ?)	Muhi	.....		Singers
Sektu	Sektu	Sektu	Sektu	Chief (in middle)
Woka		(Woka ?)		Shouter
Yedi	Yedi			Yedi
	Yapai = Laipa		(? places)	Laipa
Tsimatu	Tsimatu	Tsimatu		Clown-Messenger
	Tsapa 2	Tsapa		Firetender at work
			Yaitu	Directors (Door)

[149] [illegible] 1907; Barrett Hesi 158 fig. 3

C—076795

C-076795

The following are the specific data as to each seat or rank.

Yompu or simple members, yapai or dance, and saltu or spirits, obviously equate, the ordinary members being the dancing spirits. It is therefore a contradiction when one informant also called the open floor of the middle of the house the saltu wole: a yompu became a saltu as soon as he dressed and performed. The yompu were watched by their elders that they did not eat during the ceremony.

As to the tiloki wole, it was said that any member could go there; also that it was occupied by the waima yapai, "north dance," of the deer impersonators on the last day of the hesi.

The tsapa or firetender[150] mostly has his wole put toward the rear or west end, although the fire and especially the woodpile were near the door at the east. It is said that he occupied a station close to the door when he made the sweating fire at night; and with this accords the fact that the one of the three roof holes which was "used" as smoke vent in the hesi sweating, was east of the middle on the south side.[151] Outdoors, the firetender was called tsapa-hei. Like other officials, he acquired his office and place by payment to his predecessor for instruction given.

Nothing was learned as to the posak wole, but as the word denotes tule of the kind that is used for ceremonial costumes, matting, etc., it is probably a synonym of some other place.

I suspect the same of the pima' wole, since it was stated that there one may eat at any time, as at yedi wole.

The singers were put by some informants to the left of the chief's place, and one paid to belong to this wole; whereas others stated that the singers had no wole, but were free to go about or sit among the spectators, or in any other wole to which they might individually belong, when they were not "at work." They were called muhi by one informant, k'ol-tu by another, whereas a third designated the k'ol-tu as common-dance singers and called the hesi singers he'he-tu.

The sêktu wole, in the middle, was the seat of the chief, that is, the political chief of the tribelet that was making the ceremony and had invited and was entertaining people from elsewhere. Much of this entertainment was borne by the chief. During a ceremony it was he who urged the spectators to pay for special acts. He sat in his wole on a bear skin, the same on which he had been inducted as chief. It is said that he did not leave the dance house during the three days of ceremony, being fed and washed by those with him in his wole, who also went his errands. With him also sat the particular master who was directing the ceremony. GotaLahama was given as another name of the chief's place; pi gotaLaha'mahtu sêktu wole sere, it was said: those gotaLahama-ers (are the) chief's floor people.

The wôka stood in one place during the whole of the grand sweating in the hesi, breathing out wau! wau! He was also said to assist the firetender during the night. One informant said: The woka or "shouter" sits at his wole, near the chief's. Not far from this is a post four or five feet high. At a certain time he slaps his hands, extends his arms, dances to and across the fire and back, then climbs his post, sits on it, and at intervals calls out, or hoarsely whispers, wau! or hau! My maternal uncle was woka and wanted me to learn the

[150] McKern, Functional Families, 251, 252.

[151] The two others were used in the wai-saltu and kuksu, as already described. This shows that the three organizations used one and the same structure.

C—076796

C-076796

office and take it over from him. I was already assisting another maternal uncle as firetender. He urged that I acquire the woka too and alternate between the two offices and have the right to both wole. I did not do this, so the office died with the old man.

The yedi sere, yedi people, were "those who belonged to the yedi wole," but little was learned as to their function. One informant equated yedi with saltu wole, the spirits' place. Another mentioned it as one of the wole, the right to sit in which was acquired by purchase. Another stated that his maternal uncle, who belonged, used to take him to the yedi wole, because there one is free to eat or sleep at any time. In other wole, if a man leans back and dozes, a spectator from the north side is likely to sneak across, slip a noose around the sleeper's leg, and pretend to have caught a sturgeon.

The Laipa wole, mentioned only by the same informant, was also called yapai wole by him.

The tsi'm·atu was clown, speaker, or announcer, especially in conveying the chief's orders outside, as when the women were to cook or bring wood; and is described as "main worker for the dance house" and "a fully privileged character." He evidently gave the orders that were needed for the carrying on of the ceremony on its physical side and in relation to the world outdoors; was a superintendent of building and grounds, so to speak, in distinction from the tautu in charge of everything esoteric—sexton and priest, respectively. If a man brought an infant inside, stood near the center post, and paid on behalf of the child, the tsimatu prayed aloud for the child's welfare,[152] at the same time, as it were, giving a public receipt, freeing the father from all further claims during the remainder of the ceremony. The tsimatu had his own wole, at or near the door, but was free to go to any other. While little is said of his clowning, he is equated with the Maidu peheipe or clown.[153]

The master's place or yaitu wole at the east end was specified by only one informant and then perhaps only with the generic distinction of the east being higher than the west end of the floor; or, Colusa and Grimes may have differed as to naming of specific wole.

If on the basis of the foregoing we attempt to clarify the list of seats, it is doubtful whether much more than the following can be recognized:

(West end, drum)
- Young members, dancers
- Firetender
- Members not dancing
- Singers

Chief, also head director
- Shouter
- Members not dancing (or masters ?)
- Clown-speaker
- (Masters (?)

(East end, entrance)

---

[152] Eu-ui — hene' — wiletseto — eu LutLa — nona ha'raLa — wu'rina ha'raLa — pûna ha'raLa — wāna ha'raLa — wiletseto — ewet tsuru'tomele — eu wiletseto hene'; approximately: this one — came in (paying) — it will be well with him — in this dance house — let him go west — south — east — north — it will be well — do not miss (the child) — it will be well he came.

C—076797

C-076797

All my Grimes informants agreed that one could not pay for twelve "degrees"[154] because there were not so many wole.

The dance house that contains these wole is as previously described,[155] except for being oval instead of round. There may be either two or three posts in the middle and eight or ten midway between them and the sides. If there are three posts, the middle one is the "chief's" post; if two, the rear one. The fire is in front of the chief's post. The rear or west door, by the drum, was not ordinarily used as an entrance, but served for emergencies, the place from which at times women looked on, etc. There were three roof holes, ol-pes, "above-doors." Two of these, nearly north and south of the chief post, were used respectively in the wai-saltu and kuksu; the third, on the south side, nearer the door, was for the hesi fire. (See Hill Patwin, Houses, and fig. 2.)

Spirit Impersonations

The saltu or spirits impersonated were somewhat less numerous among the river Patwin than among the valley Maidu, if the data are complete, but about twice as numerous as among the hill Patwin of Little Stony creek and vicinity. For the sake of completeness, the impersonations of the kuksu and wai-saltu societies are included.

Hesi ceremony spirits.—The môki, also called taLa, was the wüta or môki of the Maidu, is generally reckoned the highest impersonation, and was the tautu (yaitu), director or head, of the hesi. He collected shell money from the spectators and kept it. This is the directing môki. The môki impersonators under his charge, in costume, were several. It is cited as evidence of the former populousness of Yali that there appeared in its hesi twelve môki and sixteen t'uya. Whether the directing môki, who is sometimes spoken of as able to summon actual spirits called môki, was in costume, is not clear. It is to him that the following statements refer: The môki was dangerous, and some who had bought knowledge of the office from other than a kinsman refrained from using this knowledge because they feared it might not have been taught to them completely (Colusa Patwin).[156] The position came by merit and not by hereditary acquirement of ritual (Colusa Patwin).[157] The môki did not pay for his position, but was selected for the honor, and one refusing to accept it had to pay for the exemption (Chico Maidu).[158] One became môki only by consent and instruction of an incumbent môki, whom one paid (Grimes Patwin). These remarks obviously refer to ritualistic knowledge of the môki tautu. The long cloak or cape of the actual môki impersonators was made of crane, heron,

[154] Handbook, 386.

[155] Handbook, fig. 35. See also McKern, Patwin Houses, figs. 1, 5.

[156] Handbook, 372.

C—076798

C-076798

pelican, crow, or buzzard feathers, and reached from crown to toes.[159] At times they acted comically and made spectators laugh.

For the sili, the distinction between the tautu and his dancers was made explicitly by one of my Grimes informants, as already stated. The sili-ma tautu enters behind his eight, twelve, or more sili impersonators on the second day of the hesi and informs the chief that the sili have come from the ocean, in the south, for the well-being of the people; and lays down a bundle of sticks before the chief. After the impersonators have danced, the tautu takes up the payments which spectators have made in response to the chief's urging, and leaves with his crew. The performance has to be made for a sickly man, who has been brought to the dance house and has not drunk for a day before. He wears the same costume of a net and black feather head "ropes" as the impersonators, dances and runs with them, and becomes well thereby.[160] There are special sili songs. These are sung, just as the impersonation is enacted, without esoteric sili knowledge.

The t'uya, also called tonpa, was the most frequently enacted spirit in the hesi. He wore an enormous pincushion headdress of slender rods, honol, tipped with white goose or crane feathers.[161] These were stuck into a tule pad skewered to his net-confined hair. This "big-head" is the prototype of "bull-head" t'osa of the modern bole hesi.

The dādu, Colusa dado, represented a female spirit, and wore woman's hair, as well as the rhomboidal woodpecker-scalp visor headdress called tara/t. This spirit seems to have appeared only as companion of the t'uya.

The diLi[162] was not mentioned by my Grimes informants, but the one from Colusa put this impersonation in a class with the t'uya as not being dangerous, and said that the characteristic costume was a headdress of feathered sticks such as the t'uya wore, but raying out in a plane, "like a hat brim," instead of a hemisphere.

The koto or kotho, was a spirit impersonation in the hesi at Colusa as among the Maidu.[163] He was plastered completely with mud, and was "dangerous" to enact, like the môki and sili. My Grimes informants did not mention koto as a spirit enactment in dances, but know him as a "merman" or water spirit. Some men seek him, that is, his stone bow and arrow; if they find it, they become lucky at gambling.[164] When informant T was a boy, he dreamed repeatedly of koto.[165]

The k'ai-ma and yū'ke were mentioned only by my Colusa informant. The former was said to mean or refer to the goose; the Maidu have such a dance, and the word seems Maidu. The latter was understood to refer to a staff with attachments. Both are impersonations that can make people ill—see the section below on Relation to Shamanism. Both times these enactments were referred

---

159 Dixon, 289, 288, pl. 40.

160 This is a link with the Yuki, whose "lit" is a doctoring by a costumed spirit impersonator. Handbook, 184, 188, and below, section on the Yuki. Cf. Loeb, Folkways, 322.

161 Dixon, 289; Handbook, pl. 77 (modern).

162 Handbook, 386.

163 See below, Valley Maidu Kuksu Cult.

164 McKern, Functional Families, 254 (Colusa information), says that the koto'-no-chobok or koto's drum was a stone mortar used as a charm by salmon fishermen. The owner rubbed his hands over the stone while asking koto, a

C—076799

C-076799

to, they were mentioned with the sika, grizzly bear, which they were said to follow.

Kuksu and wai-saltu society spirits.—The kuksu or kutsyu[166] was painted black all over.[167] His only ornament was a black feather headdress[168]—from crows' wings or from the holhol diver, according to different informants—attached to a white-oak hoop. He carried a long black stick;[167] sometimes a long double-ended hairpin, p'aka, with which he might strike. Like the sili, he lived far off, in the sea to the south;[167] and like the temeyu, he came out of the brush where he had dressed in hiding and capered through the village before entering the dance house. He ran and turned in sets of four both outdoors and indoors; he did not actually dance. He made this entry each of the three days of the kuksu ceremony, toward noon; and after his performance, laid a heap of short sticks before the chief as a demand for pay. At the chief's urging, spectators then deposited shell beads, cord, or other small valuables, if necessary going out of the dance house to fetch them. The kuksu collected these and remained until later in the day. His most important function was initiating by stabbing.

The limo saltu are the kuksu saltu's two associates, who do most of the shooting and stabbing. They wear the headdress called toiti[169] over an uyu, a head net filled with down, pute; also a yellowhammer band. It is not certain that they represent spirits.[170]

The temêyu was one of the saltu whose ritual was dangerous to know. His distinctive costume was a môki-like cloak of raven feathers, with pendants of haliotis and tablets of yellowhammer feathers. The cloak should be hung from the crown of the head over a tule pad, else one became bald. There is said to have been a single performer, who appeared on four successive days, coming out of the brush from a distance. He frightened women who might be beating seeds, but did not try to approach them too closely lest they become sick. He danced in the town, then in the dance house, and collected pay. This was in the toto dance, according to one informant; in a separate dance, according to another; according to a third, the temeyu was doorkeeper in the kuksu.[171]

What little is on record concerning the waik'o or sula'a and oke'a'a, possessed or insane performers, who may or may not have been spirit impersonators, and who seem to have been associated with the kuksu organisation, has been assembled above under "Waik'o" in the section on Kuksu Society.

The wai-saltu, "north-spirits," were painted black all over, like the kuksu. Oily bak seeds were burned to make the charcoal. They were naked except for a little kilt of posak tule and perhaps two bandoliers of the same material. They wore a rather large headdress, apparently radiating, though smaller than the t'uya's. It is said to have been made of crane, swan, buzzard, or crow feathers. They resembled ghosts, and constantly shouted a long ha or o—o—o—o—o.

---

166 McKern, Functional Families, 247: kuchu.

167 Traits of the Pomo shalnis: Barrett, Ceremonies, 425; Handbook, 261; Loeb, Folkways, 366.

168 Traits of the Pomo guksu: *ibid.*

169 The toiti is a tall crown of magpie, atsats, tail feathers which have been attached to a string that is coiled on itself and attached to a hoop; at the base there are short crow feathers. The Maidu call it un'uni or lāya (Dixon, fig. 30) and it occurs as far away as to the southerly Yokuts.

170 They may correspond to the Nisenan wulu (p. 268).

C—076800

C-076800

They appeared only in the ceremony named after them, which has been described above.

One informant mentioned a "head wai-saltu" with a costume something like that of the môki, but had forgotten his name.

In the northern hill Patwin hesi, in which kuksu is initiator, the performers were obviously equivalents of the Grimes wai-saltu but were called witili, "run." In the Colusa district, though the wai-saltu rite was not made, there is mention of wit'ili saltu who wore "grass" (perhaps leaves) over their face and on their body, and a yellowhammer band hanging from the back of the head. As the hill wit'ili wore willow leaves, these may have been the same spirits appearing at Colusa in another connection, such as the grizzly bear ceremony. This was not a dangerous spirit to enact at Colusa. The wai-saltu-wit'ili are an important class of spirits, equating with the Pomo hahluigak or djadjuwel and the Yuki hulk'-ilal ghosts, but lacking among the Maidu and Nisenan.

The Colusa (and Cortina?) equivalent of the Grimes wai-saltu was the grizzly bear spirit, sika, Cortina silai, Maidu p'ano. For Cortina Barrett reports both wai-saltu and grizzly-bear ceremonies.[172]

Other spirits.—Deer impersonations were widespread. The northern hill Patwin had a separate dance with impersonators of its own, both called nop, the generic word for deer. Cortina had a deer dance, according to one of my Grimes informants. The river Patwin had no separate deer ritual, but they had deer impersonators. These were known as sumi or wai-ma saltu. Sumi is the word for the deer-head decoy worn by hunters. The Maidu deer impersonators were called sümi, and the spirits they represented, wishdum-sümi.[173] Patwin accounts seem somewhat confused. The wai-ma saltu, associated with the tiloki wole, "come on the last day of the hesi, wearing crane feathers on the head, dancing with a driving step downward, not whistling like most spirits but crying ihhaha. They are deer. They wear a deer-head decoy, sumi, about the dance house while not dancing." "The hesi includes the sumi or deer dance, made by the sumi saltu." "In the evening they run about in the dance house, playing deer or 'outsiders'[174] after being prepared with medicine, and are hunted with nets; there is excitement, and the spectators climb the posts."[175] On the other hand, the sümi is the only Maidu spirit besides the grizzly bear that is said not to have appeared in the hesi. Further, it is significant that the hesi is said to have originated among the deer and other animals in the Marysville Buttes, from whom it was learned by human beings who eavesdropped and then killed the deer.[176]

The molok or condor spirit was both affirmed and denied by my Patwin informants, but there was agreement that there was such a dance.

---

[172] Wintun Hesi, 439. On the basis of precedent among the other Patwin, this seems unlikely; but the Pomo, in addition to their ghost (=wai-saltu) society had a bear impersonation in their kuksu.

[173] Dixon, Maidu Myths, AMNH–B, 17:60, 1902, gives a Chico myth in which a giant deer or elk called Wisdom-sümi, Heinom-sümi, and Yodom-sümi (lift up, chasing, and running deer), is killed by Kū'tsem ye'poni, the monster-destroying hero born from a bead in a basket.

[174] Outside of human habitations, in the bush?

[175] Recorded as part of the "wai-ma," and so cited, Handbook, 385, but the next statement in the text suggests that the reference is to the hesi.

[176] The same. See also below, under Valley Maidu Kuksu Cults, Spirit [illegible] also above under Mythology.

C—076801

C-076801

Sul or eagle[177] is a dance, and possibly a spirit, of the northern hill tri not enacted on the river. The same is true of the k'ilak, a species of hawk.

The salalu was a river dance, which some also call a saltu, whereas oth deny this, as do the Maidu.

Season, Cycle, and Transfers

The Patwin say that any dance might be made at any time at call of the chief, who asked the people what dance they liked. Whether a dance was made was likely to depend on food supply, on account of the entertainment of visitors. My informants made no mention of a dance season nor of dances being held in series, except for stating that the hesi could be repeated in spring and that in the Colusa group the grizzly bear ceremony usually followed soon after the hesi.[178] This, the equivalent of the Grimes wai-saltu, thus has the position of the Maidu wai-ma, also the first major ceremony after the hesi. The wai-saltu was said by one informant to come in winter, by another in summer. November is the saltu or dance moon of the hill Patwin; and wanhini, April, was given as the hesi month by a river informant (Time and Astronomy, above).

That dances and ceremonies could be sold by one tribelet to another, as previously noted,[179] is further clear from the statement of a patriotic Cortina Patwin, who said that the hesi originated at Kotu, which was formerly so large a town that its dance house had two drums and needed two fires to light it. The river Patwin came and were taught each of the hesi songs, and "each of its feathers" (that is, probably, the knowledge how to make and use each spirit costume) for $4 worth of shell money; and they still sing the songs in Cortina dialect.[180] On the other hand, another Cortina informant said that his people's toto came from the river.

A few words in the esoteric ritual language have been cited in Handbook, 390. These seem to be old Kuksu cult, not bole expressions. On the occasions when these were used, north was called south; east, west; and the reverse.

---

[177] So translated, and sul means eagle in river Patwin. But the Eastern Pomo, Loeb, Folkways, 384, call the condor sul and the condor dance sul-ah. The two birds evidently substitute for each other in what is the same ceremony.

[178] Barrett, Wintun Hesi, 438, gives the following sequence for Cortina: hesi or toto in October, keni, lole, coyote, grizzly-bear, kuksu, wai-saltu, hesi in May.

[179] Handbook, 185; Nisenan, 268, 270.

C—076802

C-076802

SEPARATE CEREMONIES AND MINOR DANCES

Nearly everywhere there are certain secondary ceremonies or minor dances somewhat loosely associated with the hesi (or Pomo kuksu) organization. These range all the way from definitely sacred but separate dance ceremonies with spirit impersonators to "common," non-sacred dances. For the valley Maidu I have tried to make a classification of these into several grades of sacredness,[181] though there, as among the Patwin, informants sometimes conflict flatly as to whether an animal dance impersonator is or is not a spirit impersonator. Loeb makes a Pomo classification as follows:[182] Ceremonies and sacred dances outside the cults: condor, deer, fox (with impersonations of these animals), and down ceremony; common dances with impersonations: coyote, gilak-dragon; common dances without impersonations: south, thunder, woman, shu, wi, djani, duwa, gakuma, lole. This classification or rating agrees fairly with the data for Maidu, Nisenan, and Patwin. Some local differences and transpositions are of course expectable, as well as an occurrence of some of the dances beyond the secret society area, and their extension through the post-ghost dance movement. A reasonably satisfactory intertribal correlation can probably be worked out by sufficiently fine comparison.

The spirit impersonations in the Patwin dances of this general "sub-hesi" type have already been given. The miscellaneous information on the dances follows, except that the grizzly bear ceremony has already been discussed in connection with the wai-saltu, and the toto dance under the kuksu.

The deer impersonations have already been referred to; it does not seem that there was a separate deer ceremony except in the northern hills (see below).

The coyote dance is acknowledged by the Patwin only for Cortina, which shares it with the Pomo on one side and the valley Maidu on the other. The valley Nisenan lack it.

The kilak or gilaka hawk dance is reported from Little Stony creek, Cortina, and Rumsey, that is, the Patwin hill belts, and recurs among the hill and valley Nisenan, Pomo, Wappo,[183] and as far away as among the non-secret society hill Miwok. The river Patwin and Chico Maidu lacked it. Its range is therefore about mutually exclusive with that of the hesi. No details of its Patwin form are known.

The k'ai-ma, a Chico Maidu dance—the name seems Patwin and denotes a large water bird—with a k'opa spirit appearing in it, is referred to by

[181] Handbook, 435; below, section on Maidu.

[illegible] 381, 392, 401.

C—076803

C-076803

McKern[184] for Colusa, and was mentioned among my informants only by [illegible] from there. See Spirit Impersonations, above.

The molok or condor dance is contradictorily said to have been common as a spirit ceremony. It was made at Grimes, Colusa, Chico, and Sacramento, but was not made in the Patwin hills. On Stony creek its place was taken by the sul dance, translated eagle; but the Pomo have a sul or sulah sacred dance which they refer to the condor. Outside the society area, the hill Miwok have a condor dance. The river Patwin condor dance lasted three days. The dancers painted a red stripe across the face and wore a skirt of condor feathers over a covering of shredded posak tule to keep the feathers from touching the body, else they were likely to break out in lumps. On account of this dangerous quality the costumes were not kept. (The Nisenan condor dance is also dangerous.) There were a number of the condor dancers; they performed both outside and in the dance house. In one act a man dancer appeared with two women. It was a rather rarely made dance and has not been performed for many years.

The salalu is river Patwin and valley Maidu and Nisenan. Salalu saltu were spoken of by an informant, but perhaps in the loose sense of dancers. It was variously said to last three days, to last one night and be "just a dance," and to come in the toto when called for. There were several dancers, who wore the toiti headdress and yellowhammer bands and the back cape of feathers called sikli.

The lole was said by my informants not to have been made at Colusa,[185] but was performed at Grimes and Cortina; and on Little Stony creek, where it was connected with the girl's adolescence dance. It was a common dance on the river, mostly by women. They wore the men's yellowhammer bands and toiti crowns, besides ear pendants and woodpecker belts, and danced stooping. One part was the lole-empayi, in which a long row of women danced with a rope with down feathers worked into it, p'okal, the ends of which were held by two men. The two men, who wore a headband of down, were called toi-ma tseli-tu or dauti boma. Toi-ma seems to refer to the toiti headdresses, and a tselitu is a coach or dance steerer. The women might not touch the rope for fear of being made ill by it, so held it in masses of shredded tule. The rope was long enough to encircle the dancing floor of the dance house. It was swung in unison, twice one way, then twice the other. At the conclusion, the two men bathed with the women and safeguarded them with medicine to put on themselves. The women paid to make this dance, presumably to the two tseli-tu; spectators were not charged.—This is a widespread dance, known from Maidu, Nisenan, Lake Miwok, Pomo; also hill Nisenan and Miwok, and Salinan.

RELATION TO SHAMANISM

While, in general, curative shamanism and ritual society cults differentiate readily, there are many and important similarities. Among the Patwin, both shamanistic power and higher ritualistic power are always acquired by purchase. Both are normally purchased from a member of one's paternal lineage, sere, or from one's mother's brother. Both are primarily a matter of knowledge rather

[184] Functional Families, 247.

C—076804

C-076804

than experience. The wai-saltu and kuksu novices become dangerously ill at their initiation and have to be "doctored" to be restored to health. The sili impersonation is for the better health of a sickly man.

The names point the same way. The root denoting the shaman is yom. This appears in Maidu and Wintun as such. Among the hill Patwin, it is yom-ta. The river Patwin say mali-yom-ta for a curing shaman, from malu, to treat for sickness. The Pomo use yom-ta for the kuksu society head or director. The Lake Miwok use yom-ta in the same sense, as also for a curing shaman. The ordinary initiated members of the cult are called yom-pu by the river Patwin, yom-basi by the valley Maidu; the latter have a yom-pu-i spirit enactment in the hesi.

The Colusa informant said that the sika, yū'ke, k'aima did not have a saltu (spirit enactor) as head, but a director, yaitu (Grimes tautu), who was a shaman and doctored, puLaho, those who became sick from being scared by the (? spirits represented by the) dancers. If such scared people do not tell, they begin to dream and become sick. Then they tell, are doctored, and become well. So, if the t'uya dancers do not observe the restrictions—such as abstaining from meat—they begin to dream, become ill, and die if not treated. My father-in-law died of this. During a ceremony, the yaitu cures without charge those made ill by it. If he is called later, he receives pay. He himself observes restrictions. He may or may not wear some feathers, but he does not impersonate a saltu.

The following is a partial parallel from Colusa to the bird imitations described for the Pomo by Loeb.[186]

> In any major ceremony, a man may produce a stuffed bird, preferably an oriole. He fasts four days before preparing it. Anyone may come up and touch it, think of a quail, a crying baby, or any other being, and the bird then utters that sound. Also, the owner may wear his bird on his head. As he talks to someone, he causes it to drop off and fall on, or by, the other man. The latter may think it is only an accident, but he soon dies, unless he is treated by someone who knows what has happened and is as powerful as the poisoner.

The Yuki have "lit" or curing ceremonies as one of the principal functions of their societies; and among the Pomo, Loeb cites a series of curing acts in the rituals.[187]

The historical relations of the society cults to shamanism have been discussed both by Loeb[188] and myself.[189]

---

[186] Pomo Folkways, 378. There is also a suggestion of the "poisoning" of the Yuki ghost society. Handbook, 188.

C—076805

C-076805

NORTHERN HILL PATWIN CULTS

The hill Patwin cults are obviously simpler than those on the river. In the Little Stony creek district there was one outstanding ceremony. This was called the hesi and had in it the moki impersonator. It contained an initiation by "killing," which was done by the kuksu. The bulk of the performers were called witili, runners, and were evidently equivalent to the wai-saltu of the river and the ghosts of the Pomo. This northern hill hesi was therefore a combination of the river hesi, kuksu, and wai-saltu, and a single organization or society took the place of three.

This consolidation is rather surprising, because the Pomo, who are still farther west of the Sacramento valley, and who might be considered marginally deficient in lacking the hesi, nevertheless have two organizations, the kuksu and the ghosts. It is therefore difficult to conceive of the Hill Patwin organization as a survival from an early condition in which there was only one undifferentiated society. Their organization contains fairly specific elements of the hesi, kuksu, and ghost cults and seems accordingly to represent a secondary consolidation among a people whose trends were toward reduction rather than elaboration. In other words, hill Patwin cults seem an abbreviated reflex of river Patwin cults, rather than a primitive persistence.

The minor rituals of the northern hill Patwin have only partial equivalents on the river, and will be briefly described after the hesi.

Hill Patwin Hesi

The following is the hesi ya'pai as made by the Patwin on Little Stony and Indian creeks and at Sites and apparently by the Salt Pomo of Stony creek.

The t'uya, dadu, and other hesi impersonations of the river and south are lacking. There are a kuksu; a môki; and a number of performers called witili saltu, "running spirits." The kuksu is the head of the ceremony. He is painted white and on his head wears a long rod. During the first part of the ceremony he is not in evidence. The môki, in his feather coat, has taken his orders from the kuksu and goes about giving directions. The witili are striped across the body and

C—076806

C-076806

They wear no other feathers, but have belts, necklaces, and armlets of willow leaves.[190]

The ritual begins with a meal for everyone furnished by the chief of the home town. There may be three or more tribelets present. All bathe in the creek, then go to the dance house in the afternoon. From then until the next afternoon the witili do not eat or drink. For some days they are not allowed to eat meat or touch a woman. For the day that they fast completely they must not leave the dance house; there is a watcher to prevent them. Women and small boys are excluded. There may be 100 men spectators, perhaps fifteen or twenty witili performers. They dance the remainder of that day, during the night, and the next forenoon. The mud and willows disguise them. During this time kuksu is not impersonated. The môki wears his cape and therefore is a spirit, but leaves in the morning. He leaves the dance house to go to all the houses and tell the women to bring acorn soup, seed meal, and water. They set the baskets outside the dance house.

About noon the dancing stops, the food is brought in, and all the witili eat. Then they play and "perform tricks." Toward the end of the afternoon môki goes out and tells the women of the town to bring ten (back) loads of firewood, ten baskets of water, and ten loads of willow leaves and grass, the latter to be spread in front of the dance house. The playing stops, and a large fire is built inside. About a dozen boys around ten years of age are "taken" to be initiated, including if possible a son or relative of the chief. Youths and men are usually initiated with them. The witili circle about the fire in a ring, each two of them carrying a boy and swinging him over the flames. When the boys become too dizzy, they are let down to get their breath. Grown men are also held over the flames, and in addition are slapped on the breast. After all the novices have been laid down by the center post, they are pushed or thrown out of the front door, where they lie like dead on the foliage that the women have spread: there may be twenty or thirty of them. After a time they all cry "yi!" and stagger up. Some of the smaller boys are usually too faint to rise by themselves. All go down to the creek to bathe, the smaller boys being carried and washed by their relatives. When they return to the dance house, they eat the acorns and pinole that the women have brought.

That night they dance various less sacred dances, wearing feathers, one tribelet after the other, until daylight.

---

[190] This witili costume resembles that of the wai-saltu and the Pomo and [illegible] for witili spirits and yū'ke

C—076807

C-076807

In the morning, two men go out into the hills to bring in kuksu singing for him. Soon they hear his whistle blowing and conduct him along to where the novices are standing outdoors in a group. Kuksu walks about them, spearing one after another with his long horn. If one breaks away, he pursues and hooks him. He circles the group four times and "kills" them all: they lie about like dead, and kuksu goes off.

Witili drag the "dead" novices into the dance house and wash them, which revives them. Then each of them is named by the chief. This kuksu name refers to their intended function in life or particular ability, such as chief, fisherman, hunter, shaman, runner, or fighter. Not all boys are initiated into kuksu; but those who are, are expected to have some special capacity developed by the act.

There follows a period of a month of confinement in the dance house for the novices. Kuksu and môki are both gone, but have delegated a number of men to have charge of the boys, one or more to watch them, another to bring food, another water, another to tend fire, and so on. Each boy wears a scratching stick on a string, since he must not touch his body with his nails.[191] During the month he abstains from meat and fat; this fast is called eru'ru-bo. No mention was made by the informant, or by any Patwin, of instruction given during the period of confinement; contrary to the Yuki idea of a "school." The initiated are called mêna chelêwin by the hill Patwin. This is translated as "freed"; and they are supposed to be able to "find or do anything."

Minor Cults

The northern hill Patwin had two or three spirit performances in addition to their hesi. Most of these were not made on the river, and all refer to animals.

Deer ritual.—This was the nop-tono or nop-saltu, deer dance or spirit. There was only one impersonator. One could teach one's own "child" (younger kinsman) this enactment; one would not teach anyone else. The same was true of môki and kuksu, and presumably of the eagle impersonation. The deer performer wore a stuffed deer head, probably modeled on the hunting decoy. The eyes, however, were of obsidian, dokô', and the horns were smeared with a varnish, lisûru, of pitch, until they shone "like glass." If coal were mixed with the pitch, they shone black. The performer also wore an eagle feather "coat" or cape, cholima, and carried a whistle. He wore no

C—076808

C-076808

white feathers. He dressed outdoors and danced into the dance house, followed by others without deer heads, who stepped the rhythm for him. Only the Stony creek drainage Patwin and the Salt Pomo enacted the deer spirit ceremony (*sic*).

Eagle ritual.—The sūl-tono or sūl-saltu was similar to the last. This performance is associated by the Patwin with their myth of the eagle in the dance house, which has been given.[192] Eagles were shot with arrows, "because the eagle is a chief." When one was killed, a feast was given. That such a killing was the occasion for the eagle dance, or vice versa, was not stated by the informant, but may have been implicit in his mind. At any rate, the skin was preserved and the wings cut off whole. After a day had been set, the wings were "varnished" to look fresh. They were tied to the performer's shoulders, elbows, and wrists. He wore a down-filled head net, but no k'ewe headdress, and carried a small whistle. He dressed outdoors and approached with his arms hanging. When near the dance house he began to blow his whistle, raised his arms level, then flapped them as if flying. This part of the performance was without singing. He entered the dance house, squatted, was paid a little in a basket, then raised himself and danced about like an eagle in motion. This dance went on for perhaps an hour. There is no mention of other participants.

Both the deer and the eagle enactments were separate performances, not parts or interludes of the hesi. "Any saltu was a spirit that one dreamed about" and thereby knew how to enact it. Compare however the previous statement that one was taught how by an older kinsman. Both statements are no doubt true and not in conflict to the hill Patwin mind. In short, an enactor evidently had to have both personal supernatural experience and hereditary priestly instruction in his ritual—another instance of undifferentiation or fusion in the hills.[193]

Kilak ritual.—This was called kilak or hirmu tono. Among the Pomo, gilak is a "dragon."[194] A saltu was not mentioned by the hill Patwin in this connection, but was probably enacted, as the dance was for pay. It was referred to as an old rite. The dance or the performer went about the country.

[192] Mythology, no. 6, above. With the Pomo, sul is the condor, and they have a condor ceremony.

[193] Compare the river Patwin statement in Handbook, 386, about kuksu acquirement among the "Grindstone" people, which probably refers to these

C—076809

C-076809

Other dances.—The northern hill Patwin state that they did not make grizzly bear, coyote, or katit-hawk dances, nor the hiwei. They did have the toto and the lole. The latter was part of the tokoi-tono, girls' adolescence dance. This was made by women only, who danced four times, standing and holding hands, and crying wô at the end. This transfer of a kuksu cult dance to the girls' rite, or possibly survival of it in this rite when elsewhere it had become connected with the kuksu cult, characterizes the cultural status of these hill people as persistently or secondarily backward.

CENTRAL HILL PATWIN CULTS

There is little information on central hill Patwin cults other than that published in connection with Barrett's account of the bole hesi witnessed by him at Cortina.[195] Barrett lists as ancient ceremonies both wai-saltu and grizzly bear (silai), which on the river are exclusive counterparts; also kuksu; and coyote, toto, keni, lole; also waima, sili, salalu, and gilak dances.

One of my Cortina informants claimed the hesi as originally belonging to his people, and learned from them by the river Patwin. He mentioned also the k'ai, grizzly bear, toto, and lole. Another informant attributed the origin of the Cortina toto to the river people. Women danced in this; they did not even witness the hesi. In the L'apui dance, the face and body were mud covered. This suggests an impersonation of kuksu or waisaltu type. The grizzly bear and coyote dances were confirmed. A flower dance, tsalal yāpai, held in spring, may be bole.

The Cortina cults were evidently more similar to those of the river than to those of the northern hill Patwin.

For the region of Long Valley and Bartlett creeks there are only some names. The hesi contained the moki, t'uye, dada, and witili impersonations. There was kuksu—whether as a character or an initiation was not ascertained. There was a spirit enactment in which the performers were got up more or less like the Pomo hahluigak ghosts. The grizzly bear, deer, and eagle dances were made and called saltu; also the toto. Lole the informant had heard of; hiweyi, kilak, and thunder he did not know as ceremonies.

This list suggests similarity both to Cortina and the northern hill Patwin.

C—076810

C-076810

GEOGRAPHIC DETAIL

I list here such ethnogeographic matters as I obtained. For the sake of clearness it has been kept out of the foregoing discussion of the tribelets under "Political Units"; but the data are here arranged, so far as possible, according to the same tribal territories.

RIVER PATWIN

Colusa dialect, tribelets 1–7: T'inik-(dihi), opposite the present Katsil (4), a settlement. Sa'ipagai, 1½ m. below the present Katsil, a settlement. Kapaya (Kapai is "river, stream"), at the mouth of Sycamore slough, place, settled temporarily by emigrants from Kodoi (12). K'a'kaka, on Dry slough, 4 m. from the river, place.

Grimes dialect, tribelets 8–16: Nopba "deer eat," at Meridian, settlement. Tsut(-dihi), Tsut(-Labe), below, settlement. Muke', near preceding and next, about 4 m. below Meridian, settlement. Kô'k-ma-tinbe, near last and Yali (11), settlement. These four are all on the east side of the river.

Sayai, ½ m. above Grimes, settlement. So'lol-ma-tinbe, a short mile below Grimes, settlement. Pasak(-dihi), 200 yards from last, settlement. Ho'podai, near last, between Nōwi (9) and the river, settlement; it can have been no more than a suburb of Nōwi and Sāka (10).

Polti(-dihi) and T'inik(-dihi), east side, a little below Yali (11), settlements. Saikol, east side, 2 m. below Yali, settlement. K'eti(-dihi), east side, downstream, settlement.

A'nsak-ma-tinbe, west side, below Kodoi (12), settlement. Lāya, downstream, ca. 5 m. below Grimes, settlement.

Sal(-dihi), east side, nearly opposite Lāya and 2 m. below K'eti.

From Nomatsapin (13) down, there were the following settlements: Woloi (-dihi); Luyuk(-dihi); Molok(-dihi), "condor home"; Tepi(-dihi) or Tepi-men; Sayak(-dihi); Tsaki or Tsaka(-dihi) (15); Koto't(-dihi); Tuku'n; P'ālo (16).

The east side in the same stretch showed the following settlements: Kusêmpu (14), below Nomatsapin; Ho'lopai, a long way below; Kope(-dihi), "grapevine home," opposite Tsaki (15); Bak(-dihi), 4 m. below last; Basas, opposite P'ālo (16).

Knight's Landing dialect, settlements on the west side, in order downstream: Pak(-dihi); Sasai(-dihi); Ho'lolum (17); Tsatsi; Yodoi (18).

HILL PATWIN

Settlements of the Chen-sel, the tribelets centered at Imil (19) and Sūya (20), in order upstream, west of Cache creek unless designated E: Alkoi, 5 or more m. below Guinda; P'orma-weL; Yôtsa; Ubu', 1 m. up from last; Toiti, 1 m. up; Imil (19), a little upstream, about 1½ m. below Guinda; Tse'kut, a little upstream; Heli, near last, a mile from Guinda; Tultu'l, ¼ m. below Guinda; Sūya (20), just upstream from Guinda; Halui, E, 1 m. above; Ts'am, on the creek,

C—076811

C-076811

Rumsey; Tuha'r, E, a mile up, at a slide; Ben(-dihi), "big," E, opposite Rumsey postoffice; Sitsa, E, near bridge a little above Rumsey; Bod, ½ m. or more from Rumsey, on flat down-hill from present "reservation"; Beri-dihi, E (?), 3 m. above Rumsey. Most of these were obtained with the ending -Labe. Barrett gives Sicha, Tubi, and Dihila at about where my informant placed the three last.

I have not seen any Patwin from Sukui (22) on Bear creek, and learned, from the tribelets to the north, only two names of places in their territory: Oro(-Labe), 4 m. south of Leesville, on the Apperson ranch; Yawi-La, Sulphur creek.

Opi, a settlement at the mouth of Bartlett ("Cache") creek into Cache creek, probably belonged with Kuikui (23), a few miles downstream. Talok was a settlement 2 m. up Bartlett creek and may have belonged to this or the next group.

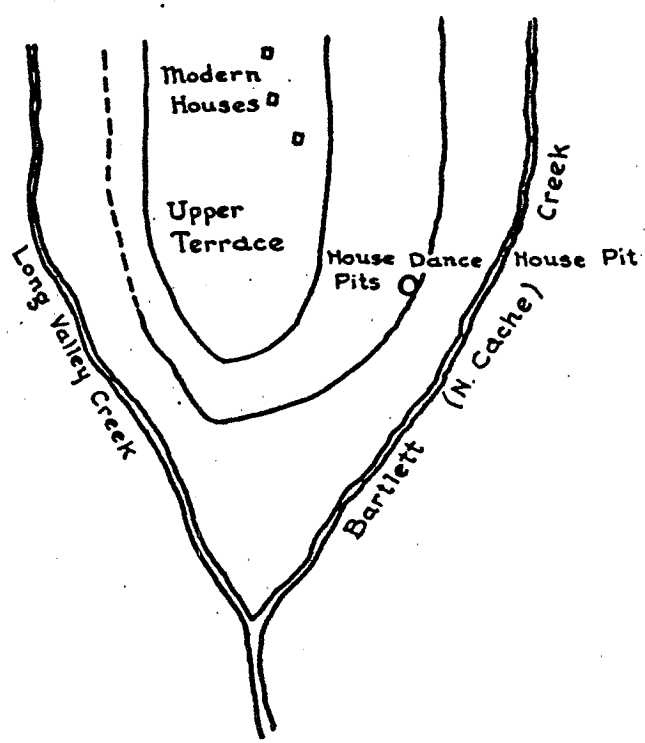

Fig. 3. Plan of old and new Tebti on Bartlett creek.

Settlements of the Tebti-sel or Tsenpo-sel on lower Bartlett ("Cache") creek: Helu'supet or Helu'sapet, a sub-center, with a "chief," but without a dance house, 4–5 m. below Tebti (24), at a school house; Ho'lokomi, Barrett's Ho'lokome, ½ m. from last; Tokti, 1 m. below Tebti; Tebti (24); Ts'ilda, ½ m. up Bartlett creek, also on west side; Ts'asi'k, upstream 2 m. On Long Valley creek, probably belonging to the same group, Sotori, ¼ m. up; and Tsila'nkori, on the east side, possibly belonging to the next group.

Modern Tebti (24) is on an elevated flat between Bartlett and Long Valley creeks. Old Tebti is on a considerably lower terrace on the Bartlett creek side and somewhat nearer the confluence (plan, fig. 3). A solitary three-limbed digger-pine marks the spot. The dance house pit is barely forty feet across. Behind it, toward the foot of the declivity from the upper terrace, are nine or ten shallow, barely discernible house pits, twelve to fifteen feet in diameter; others may have become obliterated, but the settlement and the

C—076812

C-076812

The Tebti-sel called the Southeastern Pomo of Elem at Sulphur bank, MoL-sel, "black willow people," and those of Koi at the outlet, T'ul-sel; Lake Miwok Ole-yomi in Coyote valley, Tutsai(-dihi); Lake Miwok Tule-yomi toward Lower Lake, Doko'(-dihi), "obsidian home."

The Lol-sel of Long valley may have had Tsilankori, already mentioned; and lived at Beta, 4 m. from the mouth on the west side, and at A'li-ma-tinbe (25), some 4 to 6 m. from the mouth.

The Tsuhelmem (28) people on upper Indian creek later lived at Kabalmem, farther upstream; and had settlements at Baki-La and Ka'wadis, west of Ladoga. According to another informant Baki-La lay in from Cook's springs and was hunting ground used by Tsuhelmem (28), Edī' (29), and Bahka (30) alike. Upstream from Kabalmem, and over the low divide on the headwaters of Bear creek, were the following places that were hunted and camped on (distances are from Kabalmem): Dekei-tala'-Labe, 2 m.; Talo'k-Labe, a mountain, 2 m.; Wor'āki-Labe, 2 (?) m.; Oswa'-Labe, 3 m., on Bear creek; Tsentsôki-tôk-Labe, "trees look down," an acorn-gathering place, 4 m.; Monmo'n-Labe, "juniper berries," 4 m. This district took in Leesville and was perhaps 6–7 m. from Sukui (22) on Bear creek. A little above Kabalmem was Kupa'-Labe, named after a root. Not definitely placed are Sipīra-mem(-Labe), "whirlwind water place," a spring, and Waituhuhula'i(-Labe), a hunting ground; Panti-were-Labe, 4 m. from Kabalmem; and Pokol-Labe, near the last.

Edī'-La (29) was some 2 m. downstream from Tsuhelmem. Midus and Mitsawis seem to have been settlements belonging to it, the former lying east, and the latter west, probably on Little Stony creek drainage, where Barrett also places it, although some informants put it on Indian creek. Tā(-Labe) was 2 m. east of Midus. The three Patwin tribes in this region were friendly and the assignment of spots to their respective territories is somewhat uncertain.

Bahka(-Labe) (30) on lower Little Stony creek near the mouth of Indian creek, had a head chief and a second chief. Perhaps 4 m. upstream lay Kulā' (-Labe), an important settlement, about 5 m. south of Stonyford and 3 m. east of Ladoga. Places hunted, gathered, or camped on were Mon-holok, "beyond" Cook's springs; Puyāki, Sullivan valley; Sis(-Labe), at some large rocks; Kupur-kupur(-Labe), a camp ground 2 m. from the last; Awa'l(-Labe); Tāwai-tsenti or Tāwai(-Labe) or Lokô'(-Labe), a blackberry patch near a crag where the dam is now; Kodoiôk-La, "stone basket place"; and the following, in the mountains or hunting tracts: Boyôri(-Labe); Ak-mem-La, "bitter water place," on the same ridge as the last, 2 or 3 m. farther; Bū'swai-ma-tinbe, "wild onion place"; Wori'kabe(-dihi); So'nipus(-Labe); Ko'doi-êpi'ri(-Labe), "stones together place"; Bi'ti(-Labe), "caved-in place."

The Bahka and Kulā people called the Salt Pomo Torodi-sel after Toro-dihi or Toro-di-La which is their main town Bahkamtati. The salt deposit Che'e'tido they knew as WeL-wilak or WeL-Labe, "salt land" or "salt place."

The Cortina group are said to have lived first at Kotū', "mushroom"; then to have moved downstream 1½ m. to Waikau (32), half a (long) mile above where the road to Let, "squirrel," the present reservation, branches off; Let being a mile up a side canyon, without water, and unoccupied until 1883. Lila(-dihi), Uli, and Monmā'-La, the first and last given also by Barrett, are said to be respectively ½ m. south from the reservation entrance, 4 m. below, and 1½ m. from the canyon mouth, and to have been inhabited. Some 2–3 m. north of Cortina creek and Let, probably on what the maps show as "Old Channel of Cortina [illegible] stream drained towards Williams, was Lukus, a considerable

C—076813

C-076813

piri was in the canyon, near Mountain House; the Little Stony people say Tsīli-La, probably for another spot in the vicinity. Tôkyoka' was near Williams and like all places in the plains, uninhabited.

The people of Pone (33), in Grapevine canyon, removed some time after the American occupation to Tsūdukut, 5 m. north, or about 2½ m. west of Sites. Pone is said to be 3 m. from Sites. Three miles north of Pone was Tup(-Labe), inhabited.

LOWER LAKE POMO

An opportunity for an inspection of one of the three islands on which the capital towns of the Southeastern Pomo stood, was too brief to allow even a paced reconnaissance survey, but a sketch map was made (fig. 4) which serves to supplement the land ownership data published by Gifford.[196] The island is rather regularly oval, perhaps 300 by 150 yards, 80 or 100 feet high in the middle, wooded at the northern end. At the southern end, on the slope, lay the town site. About twenty house sites remain, some definitely elliptical, the others less certain as to shape. The single dance house pit is unusually large—more than fifty feet across, and dug into the slope about ten feet. The soil is rather hard, light in color, and seemingly poorer in organic matter than most ancient sites. Little bone or stone refuse is observable on the surface. There is no spring on the island: lake water is said to have been drunk. The lake level has been lowered by dredging of the head of Cache creek, producing a beach around Koi. Along the mainland to the south, a former tract of water or marsh is now pasture, and a stretch of clear water has grown up in tules.

THREE SOUTH PATWIN DOCUMENTS

1. SANCHEZ

In 1874 H. H. Bancroft obtained a statement from Isidora Filomena, widow of the Suisun chief Francisco Solano, friend and protegé of General Guadalupe Vallejo. In 1930 N. V. Sanchez translated and published this statement.[197] On account of the scarcity of data on the southerly Patwin, the ethnological portions of the account are here extracted.

I am from Churuc-to[198] of the Sotiyomí on Cache creek. Their language is not understood by the Suisun. I was stolen and later married by Solano. Solano also conquered Topay-to. He was "prince of the Suisun-es, Topay-to-s, Yoloi-to-s, and Churucto-s." At first he fought with native weapons, but later he was armed by Vallejo.

In the old days, they had arrows, lances, and daggers with flint heads. These were poisoned with herbs. They wore no clothing lest the enemy take hold of it. They did wear head feathers: the leader, black; the men, white; the food carriers, gray. Prisoners were tied to trees and shot with arrows.

---

[196] Pomo Lands on Clear Lake, UC–PAAE, 20:77–92, 1923.

[197] My Years with Chief Solano. Touring Topics, Los Angeles, February, 1930: 39, 52.

C—076814

C-076814

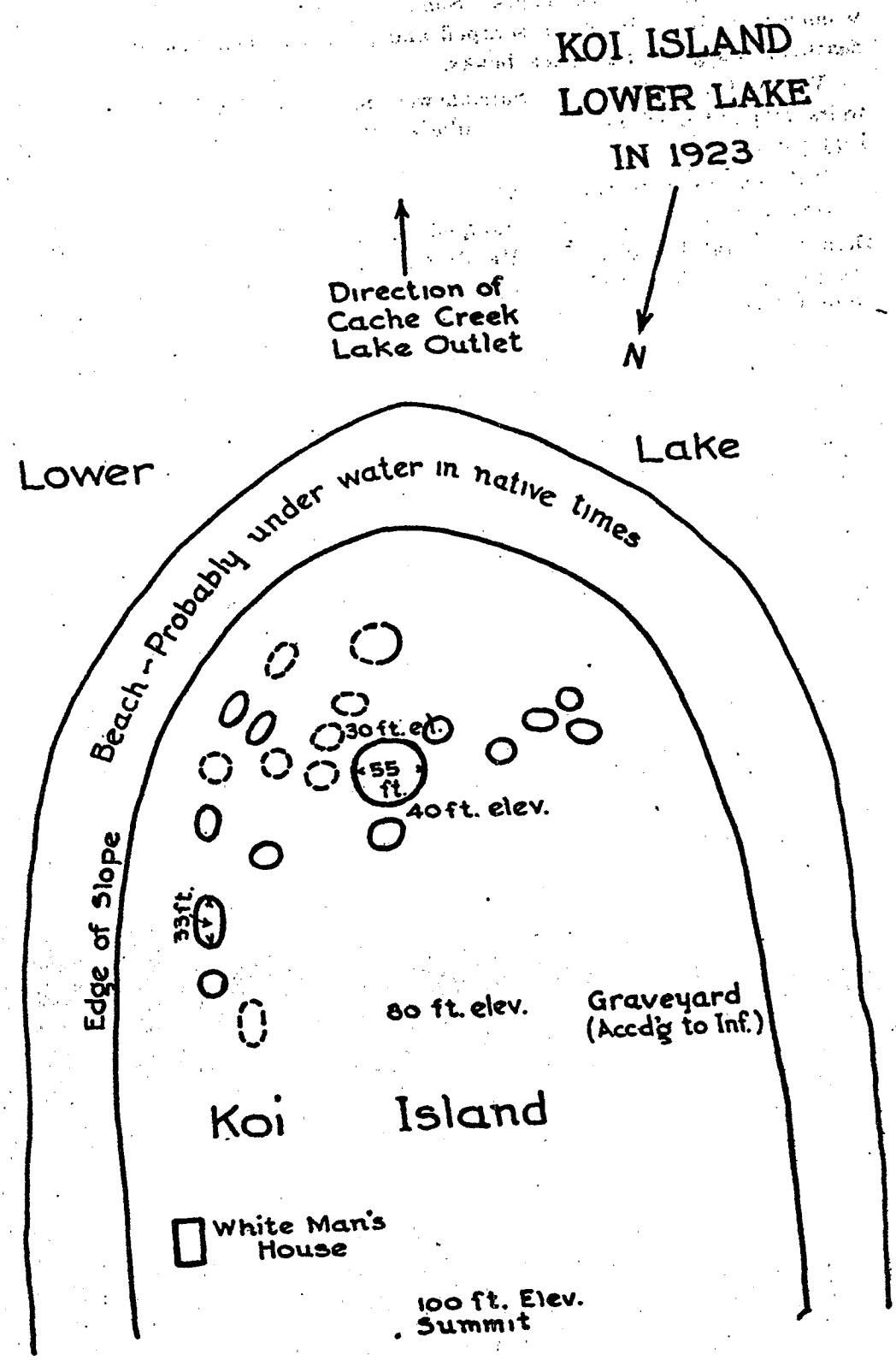

Fig. 4. Plan of old Koi, in Lower Lake.

C—076815

C-076815

Houses were of tule. Bathing was frequent. Teeth were cleaned with a twig of ash. We always went barefoot. Men and women were naked, except for beads, belts, and ornaments. Some women wore a skin apron. In dancing, women wore in their ears a scraped and polished duck bone, from which hung feathers and goose and duck beaks.

We lived largely on fish. Salmon were most abundant. Nets were used; also weirs ("planted sticks in the middle of the river"). Salmon were dried and kept for winter.

Wild onions were called ur.

"In my youth . . . . I worshiped the god called Puis, who was no more than a mortal being. . . . . He dressed himself entirely in white feathers, except the head, on which he placed black ones." (The context leaves it ambiguous whether this was a Churuc-to or a Suisun impersonation.)

2. SIMMONS

In 1906 Kathryn Simmons published in a local newspaper,[199] "Traditions and Landmarks of Yolo," from which the following is taken:

Yolo is a corruption of Yodo. In Mexican times, William Knight built a house on the Yodoy mound at the western edge of the present town of Knights Landing. There is a larger mound at Grand Island. Chief Yodo wore his hair "roached high off his forehead."

Population was sparse at the time of settlement, on account of an epidemic and taking away of the Indians to missions. After secularization, Knight brought back ninety at one time to his grant.

The Indians were "extremely nude." In summer, shade was the chief requisite. Winter houses were of willow poles set in the ground and drawn together, with brush or strips of bark "piled up against" them. The whole was sometimes covered with a thick "layer of mud." There was a smoke hole in the top, and a small door close to the ground.

The dead were burned, the relatives leaping "about the body." Their "fingers were dipped in the remains and smeared over their faces. . . . . It was allowed to remain there until worn off."

3. VALLEJO

October 26, 1916, Dr. J. Alden Mason obtained from Sr. Platón Vallejo, an old gentleman of the famous family of that name, at Vallejo, the following vocabulary of the Suisun dialect, which he had more or less spoken as a boy:

1, e't·a; 2, pa'pata; 3, pono'lta; 4, emu'ta; 5, etse'm (one hand); 6, k'atce'ta; 7, kenete·'la; 8, panom·u'ya (two fours); 9, kalapa'ta; 10, papase'm (two hands); 11, papase'm e't·awano; 15, papase'm e'taetse'm or ponoLsem (three fives); 20, papatapapasem or emu'sem (four fives).

Head, bu'k'; ear, oli''; eye, tu'; nose, sono'; mouth, kel.

C—076816

C-076816

Small of back, bet·ereru'k'; thigh, lewa'n; knee, podo'k; ankle, tokololo'; toes, mainodv·'k'; heel, ton; baby's heel, tīkīlīlī'u; palm, sole, natan; instep, natapa'nti.

Cousin, t'ai; blind, taiya'; one-eyed, tciki'p.

Dog, tcuku'; coyote, utca'i; wolf, nako'r; fox, yuka's; white geese lala'k; gray geese, wa·'u; small birds, milī, kili, cock, tcapo'l.

Water, mem; tobacco, lel; ashes, yeme'r.

Green, tcabtca'b; yellow, tcalo'k·'; cold, era'.

Hear, ser; speak, tewe; dumb, twe'le·t·i; see, awake, winī'; sleep, k'ana'; smoke, puff, bot·u; eat, ba; drink, bola'; defecate, ena·'; faeces, eni; urinate, tu·nu; copulate, ciripisi'; go away (imperative), ha·t·i, har.

I drink water, mem-tcu-bola'-bo; I see a man, wi't·a-tcu-(ka)-winī'-bo; I love you, tcurumti-tcu-mit; he is somewhere around, boLabo'Labot; and I don't see him, xe'le tcu-pa-wini'bo; substantive suffix, -ti, -boti.

THE WINTUN[200]

The Central or proper Wintun,[201] as opposed to the Northern division who call themselves Wintu, owned the country east of the main Coast range, from the Patwin north to include the South fork of Cottonwood creek. From the middle fork on were the Wintu. In the valley, the Maidu apparently shut them off from the Sacramento nearly up to Vina, so that they owned a rather short stretch of river. The group was therefore characteristically of the hills.

The Wintun tribelets have already been listed.[202] Each of these possessed a recognizable dialect, according to my chief informant. The speech of the Wintu or Wailaka, including all those of Trinity county and as far as Mt. Shasta, was intelligible; but that of the Patwin, who lived nearer, was unintelligible. On Thomas creek the question "Where are you going?" was ke'-hayām, on Elder creek ke''e-hayam, among the Puimak of Tehama ke'-ha'yahāmi, among the Wintu he'ke-hara'm. These forms are probably not quite authentic phonetically but illustrate the degree of divergence.

No'm-laka was the name given the Thomas creek people, as also to those of Kalaiel, by their hostile kinsmen the Pu'i-mak of the river. The Thomas creek people in turn called the hill Patwin and Stony creek Wintun, No'i-mak; the

200 The Wintun notes are from Dominic, a "Nomlaki" born about 1846, living in 1923 near Paskenta, an excellent informant on matters of detail. They relate to the Nom-kewel and Walti-kewel of Thomas creek, in both of which he had ancestors, although he considered himself a Nom-kewel. Some statements were corroborated by Thomas Bailey of Grindstone rancheria, said to be the only survivor of the Kalaie'l-wintun of Newville and North fork of Stony creek. No individual of the river division of the Wintun was questioned.

201 Wintu, Wintun, Patwin, are here used as the three languages and ethnic groups composing the Wintun (Copehan) stock.

C—076817

C-076817

Wintun of Elder creek, Wa'i-kewel; the Wintu of Cottonwood creek and beyond, Wa'i-laka; the river Patwin, Dapum-ke'wel; the Maidu, No'i-yukin or Pe'l-ti-kewel; the Yana, Nô'sa; the Yuki, No'm-ke(we)l; the (Athabascan) Wailaki, Wa'i-nom-ke(we)l. Wai is N., pui E., noi S., nom W., ken down, pan up; for the directions as such, -ti-pom is added.

CHIEFS

Each settlement had a "chief," tcebātu or tcêwe or sêktu (?), and often a speaker, tcewe. This headmanship was connected with possession of an earth-covered (dance) house, Lut; the informant once spoke of a chief as a "dance house man." Chieftainship was by descent; a chief had to be of "royal" blood; the most intelligent son or relative in the family would be chosen by all in the settlement; he must be a good talker, friendly and fair to all, before they would choose him. These references are to settlement headmen, not to chiefs of tribelets; of these nothing was learned.

WAR

War was chiefly because of poaching. Some men wore armor, k'ūle, of elk hide, reaching down to the knees, painted and valuable. They practiced running and dodging arrows in these awkward coats. A leader in fighting or brave man was called li'wāktu. Such a man might wear eagle feathers in battle, and if he were killed special efforts would be made to scalp him. Scalps were taken from the eyebrows back. Two accounts of fighting have been given above under War Stories.

The informant's mother's brother, who had a Lut downstream from the present reservation, once used up all his tobacco, which grows chiefly along the Sacramento. One of his men ran all the way down to Olwenem at the mouth of the creek at night, gathered a supply, and returned by daylight. In the day the Pui-mak would have killed him.

VALUATIONS

The Nomlaki Wintun reckoned values in clamshell disk beads, which were counted, apparently to units of twenty. The value varied according to quality. Ordinary beads were rated at 25 cents for 20; thick, well polished ones at $1.25 for the same number.

Perhaps the most valuable of possessions were black bear hides. These were sat on; they also served to wrap corpses.[203] They brought $50 or $60, that is 4000 to 5000 beads. White men used to kill black

C—076818

C-076818

bears in the north to sell to the Nomlaki. Only chiefs and the rich could afford such furs. Brown bear hides in good condition might bring $20 (1600 beads); a large grizzly skin only $15 (1200).

A silver-gray fox fur, which lasted best and was most prized for quivers, was worth 1000 beads ($12.50); an otter skin, for headwear by men or women, only 200 ($2.50). A new, painted, sinew-backed yew bow (no'm-kuLcak, "western (?) bow") brought $7.50 (600); a set of twenty arrows with feathers of the goose or of sē'hi, ho'pdomon, or katci't hawk, 250 beads.

Rabbit nets, tcek, were made of bok, milkweed, and probably also of peL, Indian hemp, and are described as about sixty yards long by a yard or more high, with a mesh the length of the middle finger. A net is said to have contained 1200 knots (polō'ka) or meshes, and to have been ten "knots" or units long altogether. Twelve hundred meshes of the size mentioned would yield a length of six to eight yards according as the width was four or three feet, and therefore evidently constituted not a whole net but one of its ten units. A ten-unit net was worth $12.50 or 1000 ordinary beads. This valuation allows an interesting computation. For each bead, reckoned at a cent and a quarter after American contact, the purchaser received twelve meshes, or about six feet of string worked into net. As the materials grew wild, the value represented the labor of travel and gathering, stripping and drying, carding or shredding, rolling into cord, and knotting. An estimate of the time required to produce and work up six feet of cord, assuming the material to have been handled in tolerable bulk, might be a quarter to half an hour. This would mean that time aggregating an eight-hour day spent in light labor would earn 16 to 32 beads, or, to use the civilized values into which the Indians translated their own at first contact, 20 to 40 cents. From the purely native point of view, about 20 common beads evidently represented a fair return for a day's "labor" or occupation. A good black bear hide accordingly had the same purchasing power as the product of three months to half a year's mechanical routine occupation. Obviously the value of the fur lay in its rarity and "fetishistic"[204] value.

This conclusion agrees fairly with that reached for the Yurok, where a canoe whose production would perhaps consume a total of some months' time, had a standard price of $10 or a string of twelve or thirteen average-sized dentalium shells.[205]

[204] In the economic or psychological, not magico-religious sense.

C—076819

C-076819

Deer snares, of sinew, set with three-foot loops in gaps in a bru fence, came in sets and were worth 80 beads apiece. Thus a set twenty brought $20. There seems also to have been a deer net with mesh measured from the tip of the middle finger to below the wrist large enough for the animal's head to go through and a buck's horns to become entangled in. The net was held by a rope, heavy enough to be carried in pieces and joined where the net was set up.

White bivalve shells, dautede, perhaps small clams, that came from a distance and were worn in the ears, were rated at 200 beads; and belts of twenty brought up to 4000 beads ($40 to $50).

Dentalia, kubi't, were also worn from the ears, five to a side. A set of ten was worth 800 beads.

For a wife a relatively small amount was paid, as by the Patwin, indicating that the transaction was in the nature of a semi-gift and not a purchase for which value was tendered. My informant gave 1500 beads as first payment for his wife, a "chief's" daughter, plus more later. At that, the initial amount, nearly $20, is more than the $8 generally specified by the river Patwin.

This is a case of compensation for life. When the informant's cousin died at Chahcha'e'l, a shaman said he had been poisoned—bewitched—by a man at Se'hisunu, on Digger creek, little more than a mile away. The dead man's relatives wanted to attack, but his father refused to let them because he was a "chief." The accused then gave sixty deer snares, and a whole deer net, besides beads. The whole may be estimated at not far from 10,000 beads. All this property was buried with the dead man. Again it is clear that persons were not commercialized.

The Kalaiel group were visited by those of Cottonwood creek, who brought bear skins and bows and arrows and received beads.

DANCES

There was no hesi. The Nom-kewel informant did not know the names moki and kuksu. There are said to have been only two occasions for dancing, the taking of a scalp and the adolescence of a girl—besides the emergency dancing for a snake bite.

The victory celebration was called hûpu, and was held in a flat place, outdoors, about a pole on which was hung the scalp or some substitute. Men shot at it, then the singer by the pole began, and the dance started up, old people calling directions. Women also danced carrying the scalp; this was called teen me

C—076820

C-076820

In the adolescence rite, the treatment of the girl and the public dancing should evidently be distinguished. The former seems to have furnished the chief or only occasion for the latter.

The girl was called bāhLa, in distinction from a subsequently menstruating woman, pêhLa. To become healthy, she ate no meat or fat, was kept in the house, had her head covered when necessary to go out, and was sung for and danced around during three or four nights by men and women. This was called bāhLa Luli, "maiden sing."

Apparently after the conclusion of her condition, she was washed, together with another girl was painted, and the two traveled to neighboring settlements, touching everyone they met with a little stick as an invitation to the dancing that was to ensue, the bāhLa tcono.[206]

This dancing was mainly outdoors around a fire, the crowd being too large for the Lut, it is said. At the same time, the drum in the Lut, and an "entering" or welcoming dance, puyel tcono, show that the assembly house was also used. In this, one man danced forward to the door, and when the others began to enter, back to the drum again. When all had come in, the dancing proper began.

There were various dances, differing in song and step, but apparently not differentiated as to costume, and taken up at choice. In the sē'suak ma men and women joined hands in a circle or semicircle. In the hisi tcono, two singers sat in front of the dancers. In the Liltci tcono two men with bows and arrows passed back and forth in front of the row of dancers. Other dances were named after the people whose songs were used: the Soninmak, Puimak, Noyukin, Noimak tcono. The Noimak of Dahchimchini were said not to make the celebration for girls, because they thought it brought sickness, but to participate when invited by the NomkeweL. It is perhaps significant that they are immediate neighbors of the Patwin, who do not dance for adolescent girls.

If it was spring, women painted with yellow-pine pollen for the dance. They also wore basketry caps, tahLi. These were made by the NomkeweL, but not worn ordinarily.[207]

---

[206] A river Patwin told me that he had heard that at Paskenta, that is, among the Thomas creek Wintun, at the close of a girl's first menstruation, all the people assembled indoors and asked who had had intercourse with her. Sooner or later some boy would make the admission, then the girl also, whereupon they were married then and there. This sounds like a belief in foreigners' interesting customs.

[207] This may explain the importation of caps to the Kato, who did not customarily wear them. Handbook, 155.

C—076821

C-076821

It is evident that the Wintun, like many other Californian grou lacking a regulated ritual cult, seized on every girl's adolescence, a on the rarer war successes, as opportunities for song, dance, festiv dress, and abandon.[208]

BOLA

The modern bola is followed by some of the Wintun, tolerantly accepted by others. It is a dreamers' religion to them today, with litt reference to the dead, and in no sense revivalistic or resurrecting.

There is a story of a prediction of the coming of the whites made by a man on Cottonwood creek before the whites arrived. He told that they would take away land, game, women, children, and make red water run (whiskey). There were songs for this prediction with the refrain ê′m pe′me heme′. A similar tradition is prevalent among some of the Athabascan and Yuki groups across the Coast range; and among the Patwin.[209]

SHAMANS

There are two kinds of shamans. One, bôla, works by dreaming. It is not clear whether this is ancient practice. The other kind, more esteemed, yom, had yā′pai-tu,[210] spirits, who lived in caves, and frightened and killed people. Such a shaman smoked and called his spirit, who told him the cause of sickness or where to look for a lost article. A younger man would go to an older shaman and take hold of his wrist to become like him. The old man would let him, but say: "I do not think you can be like me." Only if he bled at the mouth would the youth become a shaman. Some doctors, the bôla kind, only suck blood; but the best shamans can suck out arrowpoints from wounds, and snake poison. When a man was bitten by a rattlesnake, all the shamans danced for him, and the people joined to aid him, po′min chūn cho′npaha.[211]

---

208 Handbook, 861.

209 See above, Modern Bole Religion, River Patwin Statements.

210 As in Wintu; but in Patwin the word means dancer.

211 A Grimes river Patwin informant, while denying anything like public competitions or exhibitions by shamans among his own people, volunteered the following as having happened (among the Wintun) on Grindstone creek. Two doctors were contesting. One leaned a stick against the center post of the house, then made it move, and finally travel in a circle. The other made a stone leap from the floor. Then, as he sang, he made his standing opponent jump. When the other sang, he made all the seated spectators jump off the floor. Some of the people became scared and left the house.

C—076822

C-076822

HOUSES

The LUT or assembly house was earth-covered, but smaller than among the Patwin, having a single post in the center. Similar but still smaller was the sweat-house, e'l-kel, warmed by a manzanita fire, to which the chief took visitors to smoke, and in which men and women sweated separately. Both these structures were round. The living house, LA'ktci-ke'l, was narrower and oval, thatched with bundles of wormwood (kêtit) bound with chaparral or grapevine, not covered with earth; it rested on four slightly bent and forked limbs leaned together. A still smaller thatch structure was used for cooking acorns in rainy weather.

It appears that the Wintun LUT was much like the Patwin living house, and that thatch buildings like the Wintun living house were used by the Patwin only for camping. Nothing as large as the Patwin LUT was made by the Wintun.

The door was toward the east or south. There was no rear door, but formerly the smoke hole was also used as entrance. The ladder was of two poles with rungs tied on with twisted chaparral branches.[212]

The informant once told his mother's brother, who was a speaker, that he was thinking of building a LUT. The old man said: "It is well to do so if you want to. Are you friendly with the people? Is your wife polite to them? Then you can do it. I can speak for you; I (am old and) cannot help in the work." The informant then visited his kinsmen who were speakers or chiefs. His grandfather said: "I am glad you will try to be a man." Then the narrator asked the people to help him. His uncle selected an oak with a cross-grained fork, so that it would not split, to serve as center post, wenê'mtoktcit. An American hauled it. The men were told to bring limbs and poles, the women thatch. The house was set up in a day. In the morning the excavation was dug, about 2½ feet deep, and the center and door posts set, and two pairs of rafters, nome'LALA, run between them. Everything else rested on these and was put on during the afternoon.

Ownership of a LUT went with being a headman. He slept in it the first night; after that usually only when he had visitors or made a dance. It contained a hollow oak log drum, tilê't, on which from one to four men stamped, either the singers or other men beating time for them.

It looks as if the Wintun LUT were an assembly-house little used for dancing or other specific purposes, but possessing social value as the mark of headmanship.

---

[212] This seems to confirm Dixon, Northern Maidu, 171, and to weaken the doubts expressed in Handbook, 408.

C—076823

C-076823

HUNTING

Deer and rabbit nets and deer snares have been described under Valuations. Quail nets were used. Deer and elk were also driven, by a single runner, to hunters in waiting near water toward which the game would head when tired. A man once drove twenty elk twice around a mountain near the present reservation, and all twenty were killed on Thomas creek. The runner got all the sinews. When a man ran a deer, he received a ham, the head, the hide, and the sinews. Ordinarily, game belonged to the hunter whose arrow first struck, irrespective of who killed.

BASKETRY

Coiled baskets were made with a deer bone awl, lolô'k. Such were the cooking baskets, kîc, and parching trays, k'êni. The mortar hopper, kawi, sifter, tenu, seedbeater, kawa, and carrying basket, padi', were twined.

It seems likely that the northern limit of coiled basketry making coincided with the northern boundary of the Wintun proper on South Cottonwood creek.

SETTLEMENTS

More than thirty settlements among the Nom-kewel and Palti-kewel tribelets[213] were mentioned by the informant, who insisted that these were only the most populous. I list them for possible identification by someone familiar with the territory or able to go over it with detailed maps.

---

[213] See Political Units, above. Goddard, Habitat of the Wailaki, UC-PAAE, 20:95–109, 1923, summarized in Handbook, 151, gives 18 "subtribes" with 66 recorded settlements in 13 of them. In Habitat of the Pitch Indians, a Wailaki Division, same, 17:217–225, 1924, four tribelets had + 6, ?, 15, 16 settlements, with an average of five counted housepits to the settlement. Two of the main or Eel river Wailaki tribelets, the Bas-kaiya and Sla-kaiya (part) showed about 64 housepits in 14 settlements, and 32 in 5, total 96 in 19, or again an average of 5 houses per settlement. Allowing 5 souls per house, 5 houses per settlement, and 5 to 15 settlements or "villages" per tribelet, the population of the latter would run from 125 to 375, if the settlements were all occupied simultaneously as Goddard believes. At the Yurok ratio of two standing houses to three housepits, the numbers would be 80 to 250; but would restore to 125–375 if the Yurok figure of 7½ inhabitants to the house held. The Wailaki scattering of residence within the tribelet area is evidently similar to that of the Wintun. The assumption of 25 souls per settlement would give the Nom-kewel and Palti-kewel, with at least 36 sites, a joint population of 900 to 1000, or nearly 500 each. This figure seems to me considerably too large, and I prefer to cut it in half, on the ground of both village and house sites often being occupied only seasonally. At that, the reduced Wintun figure of 250 appears high for the Wailaki, as it would give their 22 tribelets—there may have been more—an aggregate population of 4000–5000. In the Handbook, 883, I assumed 1000. An intermediate

C—076824

C-076824

1, Lopo'm at Mountain House, 2 m. on the road that leads off the Newville-Paskenta road across the main Coast range to Covelo. This was the largest settlement and residence of the head chief. The people on the little reservation above Paskenta still bury their dead there. There was a large running spring. The informant's mother told him that wild oats, lôki, grew only there and at (9).

2, Te'epda'u, upstream from Paskenta ½ m., N. side (Thomas) creek. 3, Cha'hcha'e'l, 1½ m. upstream from last, over right N. from creek. 4, WeLke's, same side, farther upstream, on flat in bottom (near the reservation). 5, Ka'i-pom-wa'i-kalai, S. of a sharp butte 2 m. S. of Paskenta on Newville road, high above the creek; a spring. 6, Chīkum-e'Lê, N. side, across creek from stores in Paskenta. 7, Sai-panti, 1 m. N.E. of (3). 8, No'i-ti-kel, 1 m. N. of last. 9, Kenko'pol, near (8), W. of (7). 10, We'nem-ke'weL, at a spring, ½ m. S. of (9). 11, T'āpda'u, at a large spring, 1 m. S. of (10).

12, Sa'wal-no'i-kalai, 3 m. N. of (9). 13, Pê'htuk-wai'-e'lti, ½ m. N. 14, Ti'ldam-te'pi, 2 m. farther up same stream. 15, Bā'hsa-hun-bo'ho, 2 m. S. of last. 16, Ke'weL-olê'la, N. of (9).

17, T'āp-nom-wi'ti, E. of (8). 18, Ono'lte, N.E. of (8). 19, Bo-dam-cho'hi, N. of (17), 2 m. down from (18). 20, Kī'lu-da'u, 2 m. W. of last. 21, Ko'ba-sūn-sawa'l, S. 1 m.

22, Yibi'-pas, 1½ m. below Son-elti (*sic*). 23, Yah-ke'weL, 1 m. down Thomas creek, on N. side. 24, Chīk-oltami, 1½ m. E. (downstream). 25, Pās-ke'nti, 2½ m. E. of last, where Thomas creek flows past a conspicuous steep bank or butte. It is some miles from the town of Paskenta, which name was first applied to a voting precinct near the native site. 26, Pu'ida-to'i, ½ m. N. of (23). 27, Sō'-dam-te'pi, 2 m. E. of (25), also on N. side of Thomas creek; the last settlement. Beyond were foes.

28, Kī's-mem, 2 m. N.W. of (25). 29, Kolô'wa, W. of last, at foot of mountains. 30, Cha'hcha-La'hi, 2 m. N. of (3). 31, Pā'hkawe'L, N.E. of last. 32, Ka'usai-wai-kalai, 1 m. N. of last, up a gulch. 33, Bô'lahmet, N. of (6). 34, Ha'um-ole'lha, N.W. of last and 2 m. below (8). 35, Wa'i-Lopomem, 1½ m. W. of (3). 36, Mī''kayiwi, near the Covelo-Newville-Paskenta cross-roads; farthest Nom-keweL settlement toward the S.W.

Yô'la-buli, "snow peak" or "bare-knoll," is our Yallo Bally mountain; wa'lti-buli our North Yallo Bally; bu'li-chūp, "peak sharp," our Bally Choop. The tentative etymologies from bole, "spirit,"[214] are therefore erroneous; this form is Patwin, the Wintun saying bola.

Settlements of the Kalaiel Wintun of the North fork of Stony creek: Ne'lkatimim, Satô'kloiti, Sa'walpom, Sa'iwaitoi, within a quarter of a mile of Kalaiel at Newville. Upstream from 3 to 5 m.: Chu'ipago, Cha'ipom, Pā'sakem, T'ô'nputoi, Sa'schāli, Pā'ha-oltoi, So'nkate'nkidi, Nū'mpatala; So'n-Lopehe, close to the mountains. Downstream about 3 m.: Yô'lakel. North of Kalaiel some 3 m.: Chokye'me, Chā'h-oltoi, Ki't-oltoi.

Wintun settlements in the Stony creek region south of the North fork, according to an informant born at Kala'upom well up on Elk creek, were: On Elk creek: Kī'beme, So'lokpom, Cha'wanpot. At the mouth of Elk creek: Dolô'ke or To'lokai. On Stony creek above Elk creek: Kosinwa'chi; Tô'ba; and Dahchimchini or Dahchinshimi, seat of a tribe, five or six miles above Elk creek. Below Elk creek: Chu'tkun-ele'kaha, To'kmem, Paskala'i, La'lamem (east of the stream, over the hills), Mo'nwan. Near the mouth of Grindstone creek: E'ltoi, Lu'kaLkoi, Pomtididi. On Stony creek below Grindstone: So'nwaichasi, So'konLahi, Saya'iwaitoi, La'hiyok (3 to 4 m. below Grindstone).

C—076825

C-076825

It would seem that in all four of these tribelets—Kalaiel, Doloke, Dahchimchini, Pomtididi—the settlements did not extend more than half a dozen miles from the head chief's village, and that the majority were within half that distance.

THE SALT POMO

Salt Pomo[215] seems a less cumbersome name for the tribelet with headquarters at Bahkamtaṭi at Stonyford on Stony creek, than "Northeastern Pomo" which has come into book usage for them on the basis of their position with reference to all the other Pomo. They say they can partly understand Northern Pomo, but not the Eastern and Southeastern languages.[216] Evidently therefore the Salt Pomo have separated from kinsmen in upper Russian river drainage, not on nearer Clear lake.

They called the Yuki Tu'ma-ka; the Patwin of Little Stony creek, Bahka-bo'm-foka; those to the east, about Sites, Shoa'u-foka or Tuhu'-la-ka; those of the Sacramento river, Shorihte'-foka or Kên-ka; the Wintun below them, Iō'-foka; the Eastern Pomo of Clear lake, Ka'-foka; the Lower lake Pomo of Sulphur Bank (Elem), MoLa'-foka.

They were friendly and intimate with the Wintun downstream (north) from them; amicable with the Yuki across the mountains to the west; visited the river Patwin only for great ceremonies, and were not visited by them; associated much with the hill Patwin to their own south; and fought the Clear lake Pomo. Two Salt Pomo brothers were killed while on a visit to the latter. The Salt Pomo attacked in revenge, aided by their Little Stony Patwin neighbors. Then the lake people came across the mountains and a pitched battle was fought on the flat near Stonyford.[217] Bahkamtaṭi, the Salt Pomo tribelet seat, was also once attacked by Patwin who came from the (far) south with Spaniards. The town was destroyed and a chief killed. There were three chiefs, tahtibā'kai, there, one of them being the head.

Some time within the last sixty years a number of Yuki from Gravelly and perhaps Round valleys settled for a time among the Salt Pomo.

---

[215] Data from Santiago McDaniel and an old woman called Mary.

[216] Confirming the classification made by Barrett, Ethno-geography, 100; cf. Handbook, 227.

C—076826

C-076826

The famous salt deposit, Chê' 'etido, has been described by Barrett.[218] Another, on the east side of the valley, was called Chê'hā'ba, and a salt spring, on the same side, Kache'kma. Salt could be taken by anyone who brought beads.

Ta denoted a (thatched) house, amā'-ta an earth-covered one. Amā'-shana was a dance house.

The hesi was not known by that name, but seems to have been made much as by the neighboring hill Patwin and to have been called saltu-ke, spirit dance.[219] The môki was called môki or saltu-ṭī'ka; the witili, di'-witil; the kuksu, gaku'm-saltu-ka or gako'm-ki-ke. As the Pomo at large lacked the môki impersonation and called the others respectively hahluigak and guksu, Patwin influence on the Salt Pomo is indicated. The deer spirit impersonation was called be'se-he'le-ke, "deer-hele-dance." The hill Patwin also credit the Salt Pomo with the sul or eagle dance. Ceremonial initiates were called sā'ltu ê'witin. Yomta denoted a shaman, as among the Patwin, but this word reappears in Eastern Pomo for the ceremonial director or society head. A Colusa informant credited the Salt Pomo with ceremonial diving down the roof hole of the dance house.

The scant indications are that the Salt Pomo cult organization was similar to that of the neighboring Patwin tribelets of Little Stony creek. The two groups were friendly, and at the margin of society cult occurrence.

The bole movement was known by that Patwin appelation, whereas the other Pomo call it maru'. Like a number of other groups, the Salt Pomo claim to have been the originators, which presumably means that one of their number began to dream and was remembered, while his predecessors elsewhere were soon forgotten by them.

An old woman seen was tattooed on each side with three somewhat radiating lines from lower lip to edge of jaw, and a zigzag line extending at an angle of 45° from the corner of the mouth to edge of jaw.

The information given me assigns the Salt Pomo more valley territory than Barrett credits to them, but I had no opportunity to press to definite authenticity. Barrett gives the whole of Little Stony creek to the Patwin, but has Wintun holdings begin at its confluence with Stony creek; which does not seem a likely point of division. The salt

[218] The same, 240.

[219] My brief notes are not wholly conclusive as to the Salt Pomo practicing these ceremonies as well as having the names, but my statements from the hill [illegible] did practice them.

C—076827

C-076827

deposit and Bahkamtaṭi he puts both barely a mile within the Pomo boundary. My Pomo informant carried his people's land downstream 5 or 6 miles, to a rocky canyon called Sa'wel-kawi, a mile or two beyond the salt deposit and apparently below the mouth of Little Stony; and then claimed up this tributary five to six miles, and across to the eastern range. This seems a more natural territory, and leaves ample drainage for both the Patwin of Bahka above on Little Stony and the Wintun of Dahchimchini on Stony below. There is this confirmation: an old Patwin woman, born at Kula-La up Little Stony, and whose mother was also of the Bahka tribelet, put the line between her people and the Pomo not far below Bahka, and ran it all the way across the valley. Another Bahka informant put Sa'ipetel, which Barrett makes a Wintun settlement below the mouth of Little Stony, still in Pomo territory.

The Patwin knew Bahkamtaṭi as Torodī'-La or To'ro-dihi, and the group as To'rodi-sel, also as No'min-sel, westerners.

As already stated, the whole Northeastern or Salt Pomo seem to have formed a single tribelet.

THE LAKE MIWOK

This body of Miwok, surrounded by Patwin, Pomo, and Wappo, comprised three or possibly only two tribelets. These had their centers at Tule'-yomi ("inside place or town"),[220] recognized as the largest, two or three miles south of the American town of Lower Lake, on a stream flowing into Cache creek where this comes out of Clear lake; Ole'-yomi ("coyote town") on the Berry place in Coyote valley on Putah creek, south of the preceding; and Laka'h-yomi ("dry town"), farther up the same stream, southwest of Oleyomi, on Waldon's ranch, a mile or mile and a half from Middletown. Lakah-yomi is mentioned by Barrett as the Miwok name of the principal Wappo settlement in the vicinity, Lok-noma, "goose-town," but my informant, Salvador, a man born soon after 1850, called Lok-noma Kaienawā'wa-pukut and placed it on the Martinelli ranch. The boundary between the Wappo and Miwok ran near Lakah-yomi, he said.[221] Apparently the two "capitals" Lok-noma and Lakah-yomi stood close together, while their

[220] De Angulo and Freeland, Miwok and Pomo Myths, JAFL, 41:232–252, 1928, translate as "middle village" and place it on the site of American Middletown. Their informant, Salvador Chapo, is the same as mine.

[221] There may possibly have been a shifting of population after the whites

C—076828

C-076828

territories stretched apart, a condition for which there is precedent. The Wappo and Miwok seem to have been friendly and intermarried. Nevertheless, the distinctness of Lok-noma and Lakah-yomi is not wholly beyond doubt.

The informant named a series of other spots that were inhabited, but was specific in his statement that only Tule-yomi, Ole-yomi, and Lakah-yomi had laki lam·a, earth dance houses.

Pope creek, which enters Putah creek twenty or more miles below Ole-yomi, he attributed in part to that tribelet, mentioning Tsôk-yomi-pukut or Shôkomi as three miles below the store or town of Pope Valley, and Kai-yomi-pukut as at the limit of Miwok territory. The people living there came to Ole-yomi to dance. This seems a long stretch for one tribelet to hold.[222]

To the north, Barrett carries Miwok territory to Lower lake and Cache creek. My informant did not refer to the two sites mentioned here by Barrett, Tsitsa-pukut and Kawi-yomi, and when asked about the former replied that some of the Miwok had drifted there, presumably in later years. It seems, therefore, that Miwok territory should not be carried quite to the lake and Cache creek. This accords with the precise land claims of the Southeastern Pomo as described by Gifford.[223]

Inhabited Miwok sites besides those already mentioned, were said to have been: in Coyote valley, Kilinyo'ke (Eaton ranch), Kala'u-yomi (Chas. Young), Ki'tsin-pukut (Gamble), Sha'lshal-pukut and Shana'k-yomi-pukut (Asbill); Tu'bud or Tubul, also on Asbill property, toward Lower Lake; Kado'i-yomi-pukut (Cookman ranch), toward Lower Lake; at the north end of Middletown, Lā'lmak-pukut, and south of it, Wi'lok-yomi, near the present rancheria or reservation (these are Miyok names, but perhaps of sites originally Wappo); Tumi'stumis-pukut, given by Barrett; Tsu''keliwa-pukut, at the new Siegler swimming resort, and Yawi'-yomi-pukut, above it in a canyon; Wodi'daitepi in Jerusalem valley. Guenoc was not mentioned; when inquired about it was admitted as a native name, but untranslated.[224] It may be Wilok, just listed.

Miwok names for foreign groups: Ki'k-yomi, Pomo of Koi or Lower Lake and apparently all the Southeastern Pomo; Tama'l-yomi, the East Pomo Kabe-

---

that his people had been kept at a mission two years.—Lakah-yomi suggests the Locollomillo tribe (Lokoyomi-o) of this region, and the Locallomi grant in Pope valley. Cf. Barrett, Ethno-geography, 273; also 316.

[222] In fact, Barrett divides Pope creek drainage between Wappo and Patwin. The head, toward Mt. St. Helena, was undoubtedly Wappo; the lower course, close to Putah creek, quite likely Patwin; but, except for the remoteness from Oleyomi, there seems no reason why the middle portion of the stream should not have been Miwok. C. H. Merriam, AA, 9:338–357 and map, 1907, was the first to carry Lake Miwok territory south to Pope valley.

[223] Pomo Lands on Clear Lake, UC–PAAE, 20:77–92, 1923, map, p. 79.

[224] Barrett, Ethno-geography, 317; de Angulo and Freeland, JAFL, 41:243

C—076829

C-076829

napo of Kelseyville, perhaps including also the Kuhla-napo of Adobe creek and Lakeport; Kāni'w-yomi, Patwin, probably of Tebti on Bartlett creek; Topaiwa, Patwin of Beryessa, down Putah creek (this is a Patwin name); Mishewa-yomi, the Wappo.[225]

Lake Miwok culture affiliates with that of the Pomo more than with that of the Patwin. This is clear from a number of points, but especially the rituals. The hesi was not practiced. The term is known and was translated ā'yaputi but this seems to mean only celebration or ceremonial festival, what the Indians of today call a "big time." The Lake Miwok üdi-tsan·a-la'ki or big-head-dance is probably the modern bole one, since it lacks the dadu impersonation of the old hesi. The hiwei, katit, grizzly bear, deer, and eagle dances of the Patwin were also not practiced. The Miwok rituals included the ū'lup or ghost-rite; the ku'kshu laki or kuksu dance;[226] the tā'lawa laki or thunder dance; and of minor ones, the toto, called tu''tsa, and the lo'le, in which women took part. This is a characteristic Pomo array. Only the dama is lacking; and this was rare among the Pomo. The head of the ghosts was ū'lup yomta; the participants were halau kotsa, "halau persons." They were painted with horizontal black stripes, and no women were permitted. The chief characters in the kukshu, the long-horned kukshu and the shal-ish (Eastern Pomo guksu and shalnis) were considered to be not impersonations but actual spirits summoned from the hills by their human "partners," the kukshu yomta and shal-ish yomta, that is, individual ritualists who had these spirits as their helpers.[227] Only the yomta had this power.

The modern bole or maru' movement is known to the Miwok as hūni. The informant was grown but a quite young man when it began. It came from the north, from some place he did not know, to reach which and return required three or four days. The hūni doctrine made the world about to end; it did not mention the return of the dead, according to the informant's recollection. This seems to be the typical form of the ghost dance in this southern region of Patwin and Pomo. The Yurok[228] and Wiyot[229] emphasize that one's dead relations were to revive. Evidently this was the original phase of the cult,

[225] Barrett, Ethno-geography, 265, note 307.

[226] Dr. Loeb, who has questioned Salvador since the above was written, tells me that the Lake Miwok did not themselves make kuksu.

[227] This, then, would presumably refer to the Lower Lake Pomo.

[228] JAFL, 17:32–35, 1904.

[229] Wiyot information, volunteered in 1923, in connection with the recording

C—076830

C-076830

which was altered soon after reaching the south and assuming its more permanent bole-maru form.

The informant had never heard of a scalp dance, which accords with rarity of the custom among the Pomo; but it must be remembered that the old tribal life had been interrupted by a mission residence in his grandfather's time.

As among the Pomo, there was no adolescence dance.[230] The girl, hā'ya, remained indoors, fasted from meat, and used a scratching stick, tu'mai tu she'kapo, for eight days and nights. Then a feast was provided. The girl is said not to have been sung over. A menstruating woman, pu'lu, cooked for herself but continued to live in her home unless it contained sick people.

After a birth, husband and wife ate no meat until the remnants of the child's umbilical cord dropped off. This is the Californian semi-couvade in light form. The cord was thrown away to the north while the thrower averted his sight.

The dead were burned.

Structures were of two types. The wē'yi, of willow poles thatched with grass or weeds in the absence of tules, was the dwelling. This is a Pomo form. The la'm·a was earth covered and without roof entrance. The dance-house was distinguished from the smaller sweat-house as la'ki la'm·a.

Tobacco, ka'iyau, was gathered wild, not planted, and smoked in a pipe, shu'mkituma, of ash wood, sha'ishai, of Pomo shape.

Shells for beads were obtained by travel to the ocean, üdi-po'lpol. The magnesite cylinders, Pomo fo, obtained from a site in Cache creek Patwin territory, were called awa'huya. Some bows were traded from the north.

Deer were not netted as they were by the Patwin, but caught in snares, la'wik. The rabbit net was called pi'ni.

Fragmentary as these data are, they indicate that not only the ceremonial system but the general culture of the Lake Miwok was of Pomo rather than of Patwin cast.

---

[230] De Angulo and Freeland, 237, tell (in a myth) of a puberty dance for four days and the girl being shut in for a month.

C—076831

C-076831

THE YUKI

In 1923 and again in 1927, during linguistic work with Ralph Moore, the Yuki who had served as interpreter and informant for the data in the Yuki chapters of my Handbook of the California Indians, I had opportunity to supplement and correct the material there presented.

Geographical.—The Grindstone creek Wintun were called Lilshi'mnom. When the Ku'mnom, "salt people" or Little Stony creek Patwin, and the Kumpî'ṭnom, "salt hole people" or Salt Pomo, talked Yuki, they "spoke like" the Witu'komnom—either because the foreigners' pronunciation was "off" to about the same degree as the Witukomnom dialect differed from the Ukomnom Yuki; or perhaps because dialects of the Witukomnom type extended to the upper South Eel river, where the alien peoples across the main Coast range would have their nearest Yukian contacts and opportunities to learn Yuki of any kind.[231]

The Ta'nom, Witukomnom, and Williams valley people each had in their territory a quarry or pit for kichil, obsidian or flint.

Among the Witukomnom of Eden valley, the Ha'kînom of the Gristmill section of Round valley, and on Hop ranch in the southern part of Round valley, there were dance houses, and pits are visible. But in Williams valley north of Round valley, among the Kichilu'kamnom,[232] the old men say they never had dance houses, and no pits are to be seen. The (Ghost and) Taikomol initiation cults "never came so far."[233]

Material culture.—The Yuki cradle was like that of the Ukiah Pomo. A stick was bowed in front of the upper part as protection to the child in case the cradle rolled over.

The flute was also of Pomo type (Handbook, pl. 43*d*), that is, with the stops in square flattened segments of the surface.

Property and valuations.—All property of the dead was destroyed. His house was burned. Whatever he had died on or touched before

---

231 Handbook, 165, 166, pl. 26.

232 Group B of Handbook, 164.

233 Corroborating the relatively recent though pre-Caucasian spread of the

C—076832

C-076832

leath was buried with him. All his other belongings were burned about a fortnight later. All his beads were buried with him. A rich man's children would recommence life poor on his death, except for what he had given them beforehand, which usually was most of his wealth, if he grew old.

Clam disk beads, now rated at 50 cents a hundred, were formerly measured in t'ik or coils looped over the neck and reaching to the navel. They were also counted, but the method is forgotten (the Yuki numeral system was octonary). Magnesite cylinders, ship, were worth a coil of disk beads, say $10. Dentalia, muli, were still more valuable, in fact were not bought and sold, but occasionally presented by friends. Bear hides were valuable. A dip-net would be traded for a bow.

Marriage.—The reference (Handbook, 179) to kin marriages, is to cousins, whose union was disapproved but sometimes tolerated. Any first cousin might thus be married; for instance, the daughter of one's father's sister or brother.

First residence of a couple was with the young wife's people. Then usually they moved to the man's settlement and built their own house; but sometimes this was erected in the woman's home town.

Levirate and sororate were not the rule. One treated his wife's sister well and made her presents, but never touched her. She was not married if the wife died. On a man's death, his brother never married the widow unless there were small children, and not always then. A widow was expected to remain such a long time, and sometimes never remarried but remained with her kin. If she remarried within a year or two, it was disliked, and a "war" (feud) might result.

Parents and children-in-law did not speak (except among the Witukomnom). A woman would be chary of speech even to her father-in-law's brother. If communication was necessary, they did not look at each other, said as little as possible, and used the plural môs, "ye."

Food taboos.—A boy never ate any of the first animal of each species he caught in his life, whether fish, rabbit, or small or large game, lest he lost his luck with that species. For instance, if he ate of his first salmon, he would become a lazy fisherman, ready to be discouraged and to quit if he caught nothing at once.

There was no communal first-salmon ceremony.

A food-thanks feast, mamaⁿ'smil, was sometimes held. In this,

about or laid out

C—076833

C-076833

Ritual curing.[234]—This is called lit: thus, taikomola-lit, but also taikomol-hak-silo'ok, "as if Taikomol jumps over (him). The sick person is laid in the dance house, his head toward the center post, his feet to the fire. A taikomol initiate sings with the cocoon rattle; some four to six others sit about him with split-stick rattles, "helping" him sing. The purpose of the singing is diagnostic. If the patient, be it man or woman, begins to twitch or tremble and groan, the singing ceases at the end of the song then in progress, the cause, at least in a general way, of the illness being believed to have been found. If no shaking ensues, the disease is not from taikomol, the treatment is abandoned, and the ghost songs are tried to see if the sickness is from the hulk'ilal. If not, recourse may be had to the iwil-ha^{n}p, "poison songs," of the hulk'ilal society to ascertain if the sufferer has been poisoned. The appearance and leaping of the taikomol impersonator is apparently a strengthening of the singing.

The generic diagnosis having been made, the selected curing-shaman proceeds to localize and extract the "pain." He has been in the dance house. Now they say: ka'A nA^{n}wita, "look at him," that is, "examine him." He comes up slowly, sits by the patient, and feels him. He groans to call his spirits. When he "gets (contact with) them," he is in a trance, is where they are, does not hear the people around him, hears only the spirits saying where and how the patient became ill. The shaman may "talk roughly" to his spirits before he gets them to tell him what he wants to know. Then he sucks repeatedly where the sufferer was shot with the pain (t'iht, it hurts; t'ihil, pain, apparently both sensation and pain-object; t'ihil tipîṭik, the pain entered). When he has sucked the pain out, he coughs it into his hand, sings, slaps it onto his head or body. It enters him (and leaves him again ?); he wipes his hands, it is gone. Sometimes he will shove it into the ashes of the fireplace. An ordinary pain-object is not shown after extraction because it might bring on blindness; though it might be exhibited to a persistent disbeliever. Only actual arrowheads shot in warfare, and the pain-objects injected by rattlesnakes and black spiders, are shown.

As a rule, the shaman cures for several nights. Then he may say, "Now let us listen to him. If he says he wants to eat, he is well. If not, I will treat him more." But sometimes it happens that a patient is hungry and eats heartily, but still has to lie down again and feels badly. Then the shaman says, "It is useless; I cannot help him," stops treating him, and returns his fee.

C—076834

C-076834

A patient without a shaman available may try to cure himself by singing taikomol and appealing (praying) to taikomol at the end of each song. A shaman however does not appeal to taikomol.

Dance house.—Though called poison-house, i'wil-hAn, this was used for dancing, sweating, and curing. Sweating was occasional, not daily. The dance house belonged to the chief, ti''ol, but was put by him in charge of a caretaker, i'wil-hAn hano'hoimol, also called wi'ṭol, "worker." He fumigated it with pepperwood (bay) leaves, then fanned through the house with a blazing branch of the same. He also carried announcement when the chief gave a feast or dance, going to settlements as far as about 20 miles away. He brought no knotted string or token, but spoke his errand and told the days on his fingers. Therefore he was also called a'ṭAtA hushk'A'i^{n}ol or a'ṭAtA wi'ṭol, "people's informer" or "people's worker."

It is evident that the relation of dance house to socio-political organization was alike among Yuki and Wintun and different from that of the Patwin. The tribelet with its head chief (Handbook, 163: "group" or "community") normally lived permanently in several settlements (same: "villages") each with its headman. Each of these headmen, if he felt able or sufficiently ambitious, put up a dance house with the aid of his settlement mates, who seem to have consisted normally or mostly of his blood kindred in male lineage. Perhaps it was the erection of the dance house that caused him to be recognized as headman. As to the head chief of the tribelet as a whole, such as Hunchisutak of the U'witnom of Round Valley (Handbook, 163), and his functions, we know very little. This type of organization is evidently also that of the Wailaki as described by Goddard,[235] though he calls the tribelets "subtribes" of the Wailaki. Among the Patwin and Pomo, most markedly those of the Sacramento river and Clear lake, the population of a tribelet tended to be concentrated in a single large village, which alone within the territory held a dance house. This was owned by the head chief of the tribelet and was considerably larger than among the Wintun and Yuki, in accord both with the larger population of the spot and the greater elaborateness of rituals. In the Wintun-Yuki-Wailaki region, accordingly, the dance house cannot be used as indicator of the seat of a political unit.

As between Yuki and Wailaki on the one hand and Wintun on the other the number of named tribelets seems to have been considerably

[235] Habitat of the Wailaki, and Habitat of the Pitch Indians, as cited above,

C—076835

C-076835

larger among the former. Thus the Ta'nom Yuki division alone comprised at least six tribelets, (Handbook, 105); and Goddard has enumerated 22 Wailaki "subtribes." Either the Yuki-Wailaki tribelets were smaller, or the Yuki-Wailaki population as a whole was denser; perhaps both.[236] Their definitely more developed dance cults argue the latter. Their habitat, though much broken physiographically, had larger streams, more precipitation, and probably more varied plant cover and better subsistence opportunities than that of the hill Wintun on the inland side of the main Coast range.[237]

THE KATO

The following notes are the result of an endeavor to utilize a few hours' meeting with Bill Ray, Goddard's chief informant.[238] The history of a war obtained on this occasion has already been published.[239]

The arrow release of the Kato, as illustrated by the informant, is intermediate between the Mediterranean and the Tertiary. The string is drawn by the index and middle fingers, the arrow lying between them. The thumb touches the nock of the arrow from above. The last two fingers are free, and the hand is held with the palm upward. All the fingers are more or less flexed. The release is Mediterranean in that the pull is wholly, or almost wholly, on the string and from the finger tips. It is Tertiary in that the thumb is in contact with the arrow. So far as I know this is a new subvariety of arrow release.[240]

The Kato name for the members of the ghost impersonating society, Yuki hulk'ilal, was ti'yinang. The informant had seen this rite. The general character of the ceremonies seems to have been similar to that of the Yuki and Pomo societies.

Another kind of spirits were called taikya'hang, "outdoor people," Englished as "devils." The informant related a meeting he had with one of these taikya'hang, as follows:

> Once when I had killed five deer, the white man for whom I was working sent me with another Indian to bring them in. Then I saw a double redwood tree. One trunk went up straight, the other came out of the ground at an

---

236 See the same footnote, 213.

237 The Wintun actually on the Sacramento may have to be excepted. It is also possible that Wintun groups like the Nom-kewel should be equated with Yuki "divisions" like the Ta'nom rather than with the separate Ta'nom tribelets.

238 Kato Texts, UC-PAAE, 5:65–238, 1909.

239 P. W. Schmidt Festschrift, 394–400, 1928.

240 UC-PAAE, 23:283, 1927.

C—076836

C-076836

angle. In the leaning trunk was a door. I climbed up to it with a long stick. The door was round, a foot and a half across, of neatly smoothed bark. It looked as if it had been laid on during the rain and now stood open. I looked in and saw that there was a dark, deep hole in the tree, smooth like a tub. It was warm inside, as from a recent fire. I called down, "Hello, you," but there was no answer. Finally I was able to make out a horn wedge lying at the bottom of the hole. I slid down, met my companion again, and told him what I had seen. He said, "That does not belong to a human being, but to a taikya'hang. You will die soon. He nearly killed Simms (our white employer) in the same place." As I went on, the ground rang hollow underfoot as if there were a big dance house beneath. My father later told me that the house in the tree followed the roots underground for a long way. Soon I saw a double rainbow; then it was gone. Then my heart nearly jumped out of my mouth three times; I vomited and felt almost dead. I called out to my companion to wait for me, and shot off my gun. After a time I caught up with him; but I was reeling as I walked. Looking back, I saw the taikya'hang at his tree house, sitting stretched out, leaning over. He was so gaunt that his bones showed, and was gray or whitish as if painted. He looked weak and sleepy: perhaps I had shot him with my gun.

VALLEY MAIDU KUKSU CULTS

In 1909–10 I had an opportunity to supplement Dixon's account of the valley Maidu secret society and dance system by obtaining data from two old men at Chico, Jack Frango, then the ritual head in succession to Dixon's chief informant, and Billy Preacher. Elmer E. Lafonso assisted as interpreter, besides giving clear data on such points as his own brief ritual career enabled him to know. This information on the whole corroborated Dixon's most satisfactorily, but elucidated several points, such as the distinction between yombasi and yeponi initiates, and between spirit impersonators and ordinary dance performers. It did not make wholly clear whether the valley Maidu possessed only one society or more than one, the former unfortunately being assumed, following Dixon. Parts of the information secured were incorporated in the Handbook of California Indians, chapters 26 and 29; but the full data having never been published, it seems desirable to present them here, with indication throughout of the individual source. It is probable that there are no longer any Maidu living who have had as full a ritual experience as either of my two old men. Frango contributed most of the data on society organization and spirit impersonations, Preacher on initiation and dances. Some comments have been added, but full interpretation will be possible only when a thorough comparative study of the entire Kuksu Cult system is made. Before this can be done, the hill Maidu will

C—076837

C-076837

have to be further studied, since Dixon's account[241] of their society rituals, though detailed on certain points, does not coordinate sufficiently with the available accounts from other groups. On the valley Nisenan or southern Maidu of the valley I recently presented some information,[242] and it should be possible to secure more; possibly also from the Plains Miwok. The hill Nisenan had no societies, and only certain unorganized elements of the Kuksu Cult system are found among them.[243]

INITIATIONS

Yombasi initiation.[244]—Informant P: Boys are first trained when about ten years old, when there are no others (left) to get wood and water and do chores about the dance house (that is, when the last crop initiated have become old enough to take regular part in the dances and thus are no longer available for these menial services). The peheipe plans how to get the children into the dance house. When the boys are brought in, they are called yombashi. They are put into the dance house in winter, between December and February. Their "home" is back of the drum. They partly fast, eating no meat. They bring in wood and water. They go out only at night, under guard. They are instructed in religion, told to be liberal with food, and the like. Before their first dance, there is a prayer to the four directions. A very long stick rattle is shaken during the prayer; no one can see it (in the dark). Then they dance (in) the waima-ng-kasi, the dance which is "hesi's brother." I danced in this first. The môki teaches them the dance. As the winter wears on, the boys from time to time dance. They wear only the loli headdress and perhaps an old shirt. They also watch the adult performers. For three months they are kept in and sleep in the dance house. Their relatives do not see them. Finally, about March, in the goose-hunting season, they are let out. They look pale and thin then, as their families meet them. A big cooking is going on outside the dance house and the boys are given meat again. On this day too they drop their child's name, and receive, from their kin, their permanent name, which is that of a dead relative. Little girls also receive their names this day. On returning to their homes, the children are bathed, while their old kinsfolk say, "You will live long."

The second winter, they put on the sikli feather back-cape and occupy the dancer's place in the dance house. There they take the places of those who have been previously "promoted" (to higher functions). The most obedient are promoted faster.

Yeponi initiation.—Informant P: Good men, with good wives, who are active and industrious, are watched and selected by the older members. Then, about December, some of the latter go to "catch" such a man. Enough of them go so he cannot resist, because sometimes such men try to escape. Occasionally they do. Sometimes they try to evade being taken, on account of the long confinement and the cost. They are caught at home or when alone, not publicly. Several are "gathered up" at one time. They are twenty-five to thirty years old, or more, and are good, thoughtful men. They already know how to dance.

---

241 Pp. 311–18, 324–33.

242 Nisenan, 266–272.

243 Gifford, Southern Maidu Religious Ceremonies, AA, 29:257, 1927.

244 Dixon, 323–324

C—076838

C-076838

They are now taught "rules, laws, explanations." They stay in the dance house five months, during which they eat no meat. They and their instructors are fed by contributions of the people, which are brought to the dance house. Every night the "head man" (chief yeponi) sings and rattles, prays, and teaches them till late at night. They pay $4, in old days the equivalent of this in property. All the time they are being trained, children may not shout, must keep indoors at night, and it is generally quiet in the village. "About Easter" or the end of March, when the grass is up and the leaves are out, boys can play about with their bows and arrows because the (new) yeponi are now out of confinement. On the day of release there is a feast and gambling. This time again they take a new name. They are called yeponi now, and are "Masons."

Ritual autobiographies.—Informant F.—My father was from Michopdo, my mother from "above" (hills ?). Later I lived at Esken, Durham, and there I was made yombasi. Then I lived at Chico, and it was there I was made yeponi.

The waima was the first ceremony I was in. I was a little boy then, and danced the yombasi, also the aloli and other common dances.

Next year I danced in the hesi. We were small boys still, and made the yompui saltu.

Long after, when I was married, I was put into the kuksu-ng-kasi in Colusa county (among the Patwin). This is also called yombasi-ng-kasi (i.e., initiation dance). On the last night of that they taught me the waiko.[245] This is not a spirit, but, like the yombasi, a training dance for novices.

I paid my brother-in-law $8 in property to "get into" the yati-ng-kak'ini (learn the esoteric ritual of the yati spirit). I paid the same amount to become a yeponi the first time. After that, each year, at the yongweda, I paid less for the haircutting, 50 cents or $1. I was "put into" (made) môki free. I should have had to pay for refusing, and my accepting was esteemed.

I have danced every spirit. Being môki, I would dance every kind. I have performed the môki only in the aki. I have made yati, sili, yohyo, dü, yompui, koto, k'opa, sohe, hahe, tokoiluli, yoyina-ng-wetu, coyote, bear, deer.

I am kuksu too. But one thing about kuksu I did not learn, because I had been advised it was strong and dangerous: a something (not a rattle) he carries to make noise with. This was offered me, but I refused. I should have had to pay for learning it.

Informant L.—(Age 21 in 1909.)—I and J. S. were the last two boys to be initiated. I was about 11 when they took me to teach me to dance and made me a yombasi. The first dances I was taught were the toto and the k'aima. The latter is the same as the yombasi dance. It was F. who "took us in." (As he is both môki and kuksu, it is not clear in which capacity he initiated.) The boys stand with the "coachers" (meta), who are lined up in front of the drum, facing the center of the dance house. As the performers dance, these coachers dance in step with them (retaining their places), and the boys who are with them pick up the steps.

The second year I repeated the dances of the first, and also took part in all common dances such as the loli and oye. I was a good dancer by then.

The third year, they began with the hesi. On the first day, I was "leader" (mesi or huyeyi). On the second day I was a yohyo. Since then I have danced these two. This makes me fit to dance the dü, sili, coyote, or any (spirit) except the môki.

---

[245] See above, Patwin sections on Luck, Dreams, Insanity, and on the Kuksu

C—076839

C-076839

While it appears from the foregoing that the valley Maidu possessed a general spirit-enacting society which was initiated into and organized much like that of the river Patwin, it is not clear whether they possessed any separate kuksu society. The data can be so construed; but they can also be construed in the sense in which Dixon understood his informants, namely that kuksu was an initiating official in the single general society. To date the strongest corroboration of a Maidu additional kuksu society is a statement by Patwin informant PW.[246] Another corroboration is the fact that the valley Nisenan had a temeya or kuksu society [247] in addition to their general spirit dance society, which latter paralleled that of both valley Maidu and river Patwin, although it did not perform the hesi. Further inquiry is needed for certainty.

SOCIETY OFFICIALS AND ASSISTANTS[248]

Yeponi and beipe.—The relation of be'ipe-m and ye'poni adult members is not clear, the following statements being somewhat contradictory.

The beipe-m is a "Mason." He is the ordinary adult initiate who has not risen higher. The yeponi, called hûku in the hills, is the chief (initiate), who receives all payments and directs all dances other than the yombasi (which is in charge of the kuksu). On the death of the yeponi, the best man is selected, from among his kin if one is suitable, but only if so. He must be liberal. (This evidently refers to the chief yeponi or director of the society. The following shows that he was only a head chosen from among a group having a certain status.) Sometimes 25 or 30 men are made yeponi. The yeponi is any initiate. Here at Chico now, Preacher, Barbour, and Pete are yeponi besides myself. (The following is a generalized statement.) A village would have only one yeponi, perhaps two beipe-m, a yukbe, a peheipe, a kuksu (as permanent officials).

The best reconciliation of these statements would be the interpretation of beipe as partial synonym for yeponi, the latter term ambiguously denoting both the director and the rank and file of adult full-initiates, while beipe denotes only the latter. Beipe was not used by informant P. The valley Nisenan[249] use pe'ipi' to denote either a full initiate or the director.

Ba'api is said of a yeponi who violates the rules, does not do right, and is "expelled."

---

[246] Above, River Patwin Kuksu Society.

[247] Nisenan, 268.

[248] All from informant F.

[249] P. 268.

C—076840

C-076840

The yuk-be prays and sings every night. He and the peheipe are the ones who may not eat meat (occasion not recorded).

The peheipe is fire-tender. On the death or retirement of the incumbent, he is selected by the head yeponi, to hold the position for life. He wears no feathers and is not painted. He is in any dance. He sits by the chief post, or talks from the roof. Sometimes he mocks women when they dance until they pay him.—(This is all that was said of his clowning. Dixon's statements about the peheipe clowning or ridiculing refer chiefly to the hill Maidu. With the valley Patwin too there seems to be little outright clowning.)

The kuksu is not a dancer. He is overseer of dances, director of the yombasing-kasi (novice initiate's dance), and instructs the boys (who are being initiated). (His mysterious noise-making object is referred to in informant F's autobiography; where also the Patwin kuksu initiation is equated—or paralleled—with the Maidu yombasi initiation.)

The hinaki and wohêita are teachers of the boys who are learning to enact the yompui in the hesi. The hinaki carry a bow and bearskin. The peheipe calls: munuse'i, takale'i, and the two hinaki enter the dance house. He calls the same way, and the two wohêita come in. Then the boys enter, and they all sit down for the instruction, together with two môki.

The huyeyi or mesi is the leader-in of dance spirits. Every spirit-dancer has one, or two, who assist him.—Informant P: The huyeyi and mesi are both leaders or conductors of dancers into the dance house. The huyeyi leads the yohyo and dü in the hesi (and other important spirits); the mesi leads dancers in common dances.[250]

Mêta are "coachers" who call or by a motion signal changes of performance to dancers. (See account of hesi, informant L.)

Wulu. See Waima ceremony, informants F, FN.

SPIRIT IMPERSONATIONS

The Maidu use both the Patwin word sāltu or shāltu and their own word k'a'kini[251] to denote spirit impersonators as well as the spirits themselves. Information was secured as to fifteen valley Maidu spirit impersonations—a definitely larger number than have been reported for any other group. The data are from informant F unless otherwise stated.

The môki appears in the hesi, waima, and aki, and only in these three. There may be 8 môki (impersonators) in the hesi. In the aki there is one, who dances behind women and begs for food outdoors. The môki receives the highest pay of any of the spirits for dancing. The môki (owner or director) selects a good man to be his successor. (Answer to query: Dreaming has nothing to do with this; nor does either of them encounter any actual spirit.) If the prospective successor declines, he must pay. The môki spirit lives "out." That is why he enters the dance house from the woods or from a distance. He is not harmful, and is called a yeponi.

[250] The huyeyi or mesi seem to equate with the Patwin tselitu.

[251] I wrote also gak'ini and kak'ini. Dixon, 265, 289, 306, kŭ'kini; Nisenan,

C—076841

C-076841

The yati appears chiefly in the hesi, also in the aki, not in the waima (subsequently the waima was included). He is paid, probably next heavily to the môki, money being collected for him by means of sticks (laid down). He is painted red, and carries a bow and arrow. He (stoops and) looks on from between his legs. He is also called wuhui from his call. (Yati means cloud.)

Informant L: A hesi spirit performance of which I have forgotten the name (evidently the yati), and which I have not seen, has been described to me as follows. The performer stands twenty or thirty yards from the dance house, stooping over and looking between his legs toward the dance house to see if anyone will race him. He may stand thus for hours. When some one brings shell-beads and drops them as a signal, they start. The beads are bet on the race, but the chief receives them. At the dance house the enactor rushes in at the door, the other over the roof. If the latter loses, he becomes very ill and has to be doctored. The performer is dressed like the dü, but with nothing in his hands. I have not heard that he dances.

The sili appears only in the hesi. This is a "dangerous" enactment. If the sili is not immediately paid when he hands anyone a stick, he (becomes angry and) makes the fire fly all about. When he is painted red, he is paid highest. The sili (impersonator) represents the sili spirit, who lives on the plains and knolls and appears with bow and arrows, pursuing and scaring human beings, but not really harming them. The sili's face is concealed with a headdress of bullet-hawk, katma, feathers. His is the noisiest of all (spirit) dances; there is much loud shouting (in the performance) outdoors. The sili are quiet only during the actual dance (indoors). I think the sili is higher (more sacred, paid more to perform) than the yohyo. He comes in toward evening, after the yompui. (The word sili denotes tule rush, Patwin posak.)

The yohyo spirits (not enactor) can sometimes be heard whistling or rattling. Human beings who see them, die. Therefore children are forbidden to whistle or play outdoors at night in winter. The enactment comes in the waima (as well as in the hesi).

The dü is also sometimes seen or heard. One can become sick from this spirit, and will die if not doctored. The enactment appears in the waima (besides the hesi). The Patwin of Colusa county had more dü in the hesi than the Maidu.

The to'koiluli appears in hesi, waima, aki. He calls wuhui (like the yati), but there also is singing for him (contrary to the yati, and the two next). He has no huyeyi leader. The dress (appears to be) similar to that of the yati.

The sohe and hahe are so named for their calls. They wear the same dress as the to'koiluli; like him, have no leader; and appear in the same ceremonies, the hesi, waima, aki. They are also somewhat like the wuhui-yati, but do not race. Both enactments have no songs, only calls.

Informant L: I saw the sohe performed by F (Chico Maidu informant) at Grindstone (modern northern hill Patwin settlement in Wintun territory), in 1905. He danced alone, without a "leader." There was no singing. He backed in through the door slowly while they cried "welwelwel." When they began to clap their hands and cry "sohe," he ran across the dance house, stopped, and danced. The running and dancing were much like those of the yohyo. He carried a bow and wore a sikli cape, a magpie lāya, a down-filled net, a single feathered honol stick projecting forward from the back of his head, a yellowhammer band, a welele, and a batibati.

C—076842

C-076842

The koto is smeared with mud all over. His face is plastered with mud, and he wears a net-cap, but no feathers. He carries a big stick, with which he threatens and frightens. For two nights no one is allowed to sleep. He appears in the hesi.

The yo'yina-ng-wetu, 8 in number, appear in the aki. They are dressed much like the sohe, wearing the kawe. The impersonation is somewhat like the sili, but they jump (instead of running).

The yompu'i comes only in the hesi. He is somewhat similar to the sili (in dress ?). He has grass on his head, falling over his face; grass in his belt; yellowhammer bands around his head; and carries wormwood in his hands (or, according to another statement, a feathered stick called wudoiti.—A previous statement mentions this spirit as enacted by boys and as accompanied and taught by the hinaki and wohêita officials).

The k'opa appears in the k'aima. He is similar to the môki (in wearing a long cloak), but this is made up of several sikli (back capes or coats of feathers). He runs ahead of the other dancers and inspects the dance house. A man with a stick (sticks ?) follows him, and when this is handed any one, the recipient must pay with acorn soup only.

The grizzly bear spirit, pano-m-k'akini, comes only in the grizzly bear ceremony, not in the hesi. There may be four or six of them. They are also called osa, from the raven feather headdress they wear; and wukwuk or wukwuku, from their call. They come into the dance house from a distance, in the morning, to conclude the bear ceremony. They are heavily paid. They threaten to strike the people to make them pay.

The sümi-ng-k'akini or deer spirit impersonators, who appear only in the deer ceremony, not in the hesi, must be distinguished from the wishdum-sümi spirits. These wishdum-sümi used to kill human beings, but were themselves killed by Momimit-dode-maidü-kü of Elakam huluku, Tsilimüng huluku, and Nem huluku, three places four miles upstream from Chico. They originated the deer dance. One dies if one sees them. The sümi-ng-k'akini spirit dancers wear a stuffed deer head (decoy), with horns hollowed to be light, and a tail of posak-ma tule. They hold banded sticks (as forelegs ?). First there is one of them, then eight. These eight come in at the end of the deer ceremony (cf. bear spirits in bear ceremony); this is called kashi-ng-yoko, dance finish, and is followed by a sweat and swim. This is a pretty dance.

The coyote spirit, oleli-ng-k'akini, performs alone. He appears in the coyote dance, oleli-ng-kasi; also in the hesi, and in the waima; but not in the aki. He wears the large môki cloak if he owns it; otherwise (like the k'opa) several sikli capes put on front and back. On his head he has a coyote head and a yellowhammer band, tied around, not flapping. He is paid for dancing. He has leaders (huyeyi or mesi), mêta "coachers," and his own singers. In the coyote ceremony he is followed by common dancers. Oleli means crazy; the usual word for coyote is hêno.

C—076843

C-076843

CEREMONIAL CYCLE OR DANCE SERIES

The seriating of dances in a more or less fixed order is a valley Maidu trait, not paralleled elsewhere to a serious degree. The same is true of winter being the dance season. Valley Nisenan and Pomo danced chiefly in summer, and the Patwin do not seem to have paid much attention to season, or at any rate order.

Besides Dixon's original account, three lists of the Chico Maidu dance sequence are available: one from informant P, and two from F, one of the latter having been recorded by N. C. Nelson some months before my interview. No informant included in his list all the dances he knew, some being omitted through oversight, some because their place was variable. Some of the minor dances in particular were interludes or aftermaths, and could be given on call and at will. Even among the common dances there may have been some tendency to placement, such as the Salalu coming early in winter, the Condor, later. The spirit dances followed each other in a sequence of descending and then ascending importance, as follows:

- Hesi
  - Waima
    - Grizzly bear
      - Coyote
      - Kaima
    - Deer
  - Aki
- Hesi

On this skeleton of the sequence the sources are in agreement, since the only discrepancies, apart from a few omissions, are that informant F once interchanged grizzly bear and wai-ma, and P placed coyote near the end of the series and bear in the middle with the vague remark that it (also ?) came "in summer." This spirit-dance sequence then can be regarded as established. The order of the common dances that filled in the series was evidently not rigorously adhered to. The arrangement I have given in the Handbook, page 435, is perhaps as close to the run of custom as any order that could now be reconstructed.

I add the four sequence lists for comparison. The one of informant P departs more from the others than these from one another.

C—076844

C-076844

VALLEY MAIDU DANCE SEQUENCE DATA

Informant F (A. L. K.)	*Informant F* (N. C. N.)	*Informant P*	*Dixon*
Hesi	**Hesi**	**Hesi**	**Hesi**
			Luyi
			Loli
	Salalu		Salalu
	*Grizzly bear		
Waima	**Waima**	**Waima**	**Waima**
GRIZZLY BEAR			GRIZZLY BEAR
	Coyote		*Coyote*
Oya	Oya		
	Woiti		
	Kaima	*K'aima*	
		Tôto	
Loli-Creeper			Creeper
*Shalalu?		*Shalalu	
	Weio		
*Loli			
Lui Loli			
			Turtle
			*Aloli
			*Yokola
Condor	Condor		Condor
		*K'ükit Shalalu	
		*Grasshopper	
		Wahtuitum Loli	
		*Ts'amba	
		*Bear	
DEER	DEER	DEER	DEER
Grasshopper }			
K'ükit }			
Yok'ôla			
Aloli			
	*Loli		
Ts'amba			
Aki	**Aki**	**Aki**	**Aki**
		*Yok'ôla	
		Nem Loli	
		*Coyote	
		*Oye	
Hesi	**Hesi**	**Hesi**	**Hesi**

* Evidently misplaced.

Great Complex Ceremonies

Hesi.—No systematic account of this greatest of Maidu and Patwin dances has ever been recorded since Dixon's original description.[252] Barrett's Wintun (Cortina Patwin) "hesi"[253] was a bole or modified modern hesi. The following notes were obtained by me at Chico:

Informant F: The hesi is made first, in the moon Sahwodo, "acorn-granary," (September-October), and again as last dance in konmoko, when seeds are ripe (April-May). "All" spirit impersonations can come in the hesi. Informant P:

[252] Pp. 288–290.

C—076845

C-076845

The first morning of the hesi, two môki sit before the dance house and ask if everything has been prepared. All the yeponi are inside, listening. The môki pray. Then they enter and ask all to contribute. They are paid heavily. They take off their costume; their dance does not come until the second night. That morning the yohyo and dü come in and dance. (The sili dances after the yompui—informant F.) The yati appears only once, on the last day. Informant L: The singers stand in front of the drum (which is at the back of the house). There are two for the hesi; more in common dances. In front of them are several "coachers," facing the drum. As the dancers begin, the coachers turn and face them and dance (in their places) in step with them. They give calls and motions as signals to the dancers. These dance up to the drum, ending each dance there (on it ?). As they do so, the coachers once more face the drum.

Waima.—Informant P: Waima is "hesi's brother." It is in the waima that the yombasi novices first dance. The waima is a great dance, with the môki in it, but differs from the hesi in that common dances, like the duck dance, are introduced. In the morning two yohyo follow the môki in and cry and beg until everyone has paid them; then they dance. The special waima or duck dance is the one the yombasi boys take part in. They wear two long feather-sticks on the head, quack like ducks, and circle the fire; this is repeated for hours. FN:[254] A two or three day ceremony. There are two wulu-maidü. F: The wulu are two dancers, not spirits, in the waima. They wear a headdress of many (feathered) sticks. They sit by the (chief) post between dances, waving their hands from and to the body. When they go to the door, the other dancers follow them. When they emerge they shout to scare the women.[255] L: I have seen only one duck dance, hatma-ng-kasi, also called waima-ng-kasi. When the drummer strikes hard, the dancers run in different directions crying hat, hat, hat, like ducks, and perform for the amusement of the spectators.

(Wai-ma thus denotes two things: an important ceremony several days long, and a non-spirit duck-mimicking dance which comes into the ceremony as a lighter episode. Although wai is "north" in Patwin, the Maidu accounts contain no reference to the north, north spirits, or associated grizzly bears. The one point of historic relation seems to be that the Patwin wai-saltu is a society with an initiation, and the Maidu wai-ma is the ceremony in which the yombasi novice-initiates generally did their first dancing.)

Aki.—This is the valley Nisenan akit, their greatest dance, replacing the hesi. P: The môki is in this. He dresses in the dance house, does not enter it from outdoors. In the morning and at noon, two lali give a trapeze performance from rafters. They wear a yohyo-like headdress and carry clapstick rattles. Women but no men dance (at this time ?). FN: The ceremony lasts three and a half days, ending at noon. The dress (i.e., the performers ?) is much as in the hesi, but women take part. F: The môki is in the āki; so may the yati, sohe, and hahe be. The lali trapeze performer in the āki is a dancer, not a spirit (saltu). He wears a headdress (like that) of the dü (spirit). It must be tied on well, else it may fall off (when he hangs head down). He holds bunches of tule in front of his eyes as he swings. If he cannot catch the rafter he is pushed up with a grass-padded pole. He descends by the main post. I have "danced" this. L: In the āki men hang by their legs from rafters, swaying their heads and arms, and shaking rattles in both hands.

---

[254] Informant F as interviewed by N. C. Nelson.

[255] The valley Nisenan (270, 271) wulu are escorters or leaders in the akit and temeya (kuksu); among the hill Nisenan, wulu is a dance: among the hill

C—076846

C-076846

Sacred Single-Spirit Ceremonies

Grizzly bear, pano.—L: The bear dancer dresses in the woods. He wears a bear skin as far as it will cover him and carries a stick. He comes, stooping, looking about as if watching; near the dance house he stops and calls. After he has (danced indoors and) undressed, others dance, dressed somewhat like the mesi. I saw it only once. P: The panu-m (spirit enactor) wears a bear skin. With him come (in) four osha wearing a large headdress and carrying a bow and arrow. This is on the first morning of the ceremony. (In giving the seriation of dances, P put the bear late in the list and added that it was a "summer dance.") F: The panu-m-k'akini is a saltu and dances last in the grizzly bear dance. The osa or wukwuk come in the morning from outside, wearing a raven-feather drooping bunch-headdress called osa and crying wukwuk. FN: The bear dance lasted two days and nights but was not a big or "bad" dance because a number of women, led by two men, danced first.

Women do not appear in spirit-enacting ceremonies. Either there is a misunderstanding in the last statement, or there was a second, lighter bear dance, made primarily for amusement when desired, including summer, possibly elsewhere than at Chico.

Deer, sümi.—FN: This was one of the seriated dances and came about March. L: This was a big dance. They wore deerskins and performed like deer in front of the dance house. F: (See section on Spirit Impersonations for account of wishdum-sümi, deer spirits, and yoko finishing dance). P: Wishdum-shümi, "lift-up deer," are the deer dancers, a number of whom suddenly appear from all directions (i.e., outside the dance house), wearing deer skins, and acting "sly" (watchful, stealthy) like deer. At the end of the ceremony appear eight yoko, "dive in," that is, finishing the dance. They wear dü headdresses.

Semi-Profane Dances with a Spirit

Coyote, oleli.—P: This is a common dance. There is one coyote enactor, who imitates the animal. He wears a coyote skin, sikli cape, yellowhammer bands. F: (See account under Spirit Impersonations). FN: Called a chief's dance because the chief was paid. One dancer wears a stuffed coyote head. Duration, about two days and nights, men and women taking part in turn. L: The coyote impersonator dresses outdoors. He wears a coyote head on his forehead, a long feather cloak which covers his face, and carries two short sticks on which he leans stooping as if they were forelegs. He is followed by two singers. He imitates the animal in looking about, leaping upon (an imaginary) gopher, killing it, while the peheipe describes what he is doing, as also later in the dance house between dances. Meanwhile, a man sits on the dance-house roof clapping his hands and singing a special song. Indoors, the two who have followed him in sing when he dances, which he does much like the yohyo and dü. I have been mesi (leader) for coyote. It is much like being mesi in the hesi, into which the coyote dancer can also come; but instead of "holding" him like the yohyo while coming through the door and at the signal running off to his station, the mesi lets go of coyote and walks off. Coyote then turns around and plays the animal. He does this playing before each of his four dances. I know of no women participating in this ceremony.

C—076847

C-076847

K'aima.—F: (see account under Impersonations, k'opa spirit). FN: A common dance, two days and nights. An annual performance at which children (boys ?) 8–10 years old were first taken in (to the dance house) to be taught with explanations (*sic*—cf. waima). Adults danced. On the last night people dressed outdoors and entered singing. P: Common dance.

Common Dances without Spirits

Luyi.—This name was not recognized by any of my informants, some of whom hazarded various interpretations, such as loye, "pay" (dance). It may be the lui-loli of the next paragraph, or the Nisenan luhui.

Loli.—A common dance, or rather, several dances, in which women take part, and which can be given at various times. Informant F: There were: loli mixed with creeper; another kind of loli; and lui-ng-kasi, which also is a loli, with different songs. FN: laoli-ng-kasi (*sic*), a dance, at any time, by women holding a fifteen-foot swan-down rope, with a man at each end; loli, same as (Dixon's) luyi. P: In the wahtu'itu-m loli, women hold a swan-down rope, facing inward in a circle. As they stop dancing, they throw the rope over their heads, whence the name wahtuitu, and face outward. In the ordinary or nem (big) loli, this throwing-over is not done. L: Nowadays in the loli women wear no ornaments, but stand in a circle holding handkerchiefs and slowly revolve to right and left. I have seen them in a circle holding a feather rope. Men also dance (a) loli, wearing sikli capes, lāya or smaller headdresses, yellow-hammer headbands; they are painted black, one of them red.

Kenu.—Informant F: A dance with women and children in a ring, after the hesi. No regalia are worn. A man goes about with a whistle collecting people, perhaps pulling them along. The "set" (each song and dance) is long.

Toto.—Informant L: A common dance, made any time after the hesi is finished. FN: Immediately after each of the hesi, a little dance called toto was usually held. P: A common dance; a summer dance.

Salalu.—Informant F: The sikli cape and usual common dance regalia are worn. FN: Next after the hesi, about 10–15 days; not a big dance, but the old men who took part were paid. P: A common dance. L: They wear what is usual in common dances: sikli, wik'a, welele, un'uni, wololoka. They dress in the back part of the dance house, and carry a whistle and a stick; I have not seen them holding tule in their hands. They dance from the drum past the fire towards the door. The coachers yell, and the dancers cast their sticks upward, then turn and dance back; this repeatedly.

Oya.—P: The oye is a common dance. FN: The oya-ng-kasi or crazy dance followed about a fortnight after the coyote. It was made by women, two men leading. F: The oya is a common dance, but has the yohyo spirit (*sic*). Two mesi dance, with a badger headband, clapstick rattle, and sili tule in the other hand. Their headdress is like that of the wulu, a radiation of feathered sticks like that of the yohyo, but shorter. The bôli, which is not old, is much like the oya. (This leaves it doubtful whether oya is an old dance to which the recent boli dances bear resemblance, or is wholly post-ghost dance and introduced into the old series as this was beginning to decay. The bôli "bull-head" headdress is much like that of the yohyo "big head," but made of shorter sticks. However, bôli may have taken over an old oya-wulu apparel.)

Woiti.—F: This is a common dance, without spirits, made at any time, by men and women. FN: It is a common or "home people's d[illegible]

C—076848

C-076848

important enough to send invitations to other towns). It may last two days. Men and women dance in turn, the latter always led by two men.

Creeper, tsamyempi.—P: Tsamyempi is yok'ôla. F: After the oya may come a loli mixed with tsamyempi. The tsamyempi and yok'ôla (performances) both come in the tsamyempi (dance). The tsamyempi wears on his head a curtain or fringe of swan-down strings, yongke, reaching to the waist. He hangs by his feet from the chief post and begins to slide down slowly, clasping it with his legs, then suddenly jumps (somersaults) off. I have done this. It is a dance, not a spirit performance. Tsamyempi is a little bird that comes down trees in this way. The yok'ôla wears a similar fringe of down cords, but they reach to the ground, completely hiding him, and he dances instead of hanging from the post. I know of no raven-feather costume (Dixon, 298) in the tsamyempi, but he wears a rod with three or four feathers called bachanshal.

Yok'ôla.—F: Part of Creeper, q.v. FN: Held at any time. P: They play on the main post, hanging head down, then let go and land on their feet. A fringe of feather cords hides the face. They wear yellowhammer bands but no sikli cape.

Weyo.—FN: A dance by two men; one night, followed by gambling and play. F: A common dance, made at any time. Two men wear the kawe headdress and a fox skin in their belt. They leap about so that it does not look like real dancing; I do not like it for that.

Turtle.—Anushma, Akcholma, Yelimi (synonyms). F: A common dance. Two men wear the kawe headdress. One acts as if he were playing guessing game, while the other lies down. Then both swing around the center post. P: Yelimi is the same as anoshma. It is a common dance, which can be made at any time, even in summer.

Condor, Moloko.—P: A common dance, held at any time. FN: Two days' dance, with women. F: Contains no spirit enactment.

Grasshopper (Ene) and K'ükit.—P: Kükit-shalalu, a common dance. FN: Ene, grasshopper, at any time, even in summer, with women taking part. F: The grasshopper dance, êne-ng-kashi, is made by women and two men; the k'ükit-kashi goes with it, is made at the same time, by men only. It is not a real dance: they gamble the guessing game. K'ükit and k'aima are the same. L: I have seen the ene-m-kasi at Chico but not danced it. It comes in fall, after the hesi. It has its own songs.

Aloli.—P: A common dance. FN: At any time. F: A common dance. Women in a ring hold and sway a feather rope; there is a man at each end of the line. There are also two mesi at the drum. The aloli-m otosi (Dixon, 301) is dressed much like the mesi. (The description suggests the loli; the name may be derived: a-loli.)

Ts'amba.—P: A common dance. Two women with two men flanking them sing inside a ring of people. Then the people dance in the ring.

Rabbit and Rattlesnake dances.—Doubtful according to Dixon, p. 298. F: I have heard of a cottontail rabbit dance ("k'akini," spirit), called p'aupawi or wilit'ma, but I have never seen it (i.e., probably it belonged to another district). A rattlesnake dance I have not heard of.

Kilak and Hiwe.—These widely distributed dances have not been mentioned by any Maidu informant. Both are valley Nisenan, and the former, Patwin also.

Yombasi, Waiko.—Training or initiation dances. See Initiations, Autobiog-

C—076849

C-076849

REGALIA

It is unsatisfactory to identify paraphernalia from descriptions; but informant L named a number of feather pieces and parts of pieces in the University of California Museum of Anthropology—mainly in Colusa Patwin dialect, in which much of his dance instruction seems to have been received. Later, F gave the Maidu equivalents of the reputed Patwin terms, and both informants commented on Dixon's illustrations. While there may have been some misunderstandings as to the language to which names belonged, their meaning is at least approximately correct in the following list:

The môki's cloak is that shown in Dixon, pl. 41.[256]

The sili's net seems to consist essentially of the cord foundation of a similar cloak, but unfeathered. It was described as circular and drawn together on top of the head; it had a 2½ to 3 inch mesh.

The ordinary feather cape, worn in common and in some more sacred dances, is the sikli, Patwin the same, Dixon, pl. 40, pp. 284, 291.[257] As Dixon says, it was worn over the shoulders or tied under the arms; but it was ordinarily worn singly, on the back. Occasionally several sikli might be substituted for a large cloak of môki type.

Scarlet woodpecker-scalp belts, Dixon, fig. 18.

The woodpecker scalp "helmet" or "hat with wide brim," Dixon, 284, is the wôh-dü, Patwin tara't, Nisenan shilush, the raven-feather-fringed rhomboidal visor of the dü or "woman" spirit. Its surface was covered with scarlet woodpecker-scalp feathers.

The fan of feathered rods extending upright across the top of the dü spirit's head is called dü, Patwin dadu, the same as the spirit. Dixon's fig. 62 is correct, but shows the fan dismantled and rolled up.[258]

The dü spirit's false hair is oni, Patwin chochi.

The "big-head" crown of the yohyo is made of sticks like those of the dü fan, but more numerous and feather-tipped at the ends.[258] The only name obtained was tsupi, willow, Patwin honol, which seems to refer to the sticks.

Fringed tule skirts, such as were worn by the yohyo and other spirits, were yohyo-m-woco, Patwin choli; poshak-ma was also obtained as a Maidu name, but is from Patwin posak, tule. Dixon, fig. 64.

Headbands of yellowhammer (red-shafted flicker) quills,[259] Dixon, fig. 25*a*, *b*, are wo'loloka (Patwin tsiak, the name of the bird, or Lupi for the shorter bands).

Headdresses corresponding to Dixon's figure 30 were given as un'uni (Dixon, 291, unü'ni, "coronets, crowns") and as lāya (M, P?). The name may vary according as magpie tail-feathers are or are not included in the piece. The type with magpie feathers recurs as far away as the southern San Joaquin

---

[256] Also, Barrett, Wintun Hesi, UC–PAAE, 14, pl. 22, fig. 3.

[257] Handbook, pl. 80, Miwok.

[258] Handbook, pl. 77, shows Patwin boli hesi dancers costumed a good deal like the old yohyo and dü. See also Barrett, Hesi, UC–PAAE, 14, pl. 23, figs. 3, 4.

[259] Handbook, pls. 58, 59, fig. 20.

C—076850

C-076850

valley.[260] The Patwin equivalents seem to be toiti for un'uni, layi for lāya, mowe for lāya with yellowhammer quill tablets—cf. wüt'opi below.

Batibati was mentioned as a similar headdress. Dixon, 289, gives bā'tsawi as the name of the "feather bunches" shown in figures 26, 27.

Wüt'opi are the small pendants of yellowhammer quills on the lāya—figure 30.

Dixon distinguishes single "plume sticks," figure 19, from forked "tremblers," figures 20, 21, 25*c*. He calls the former dī'hyo. I recorded dī'hio, Patwin bak'a or k'ewe (M ?). For the forked ornaments, Dixon, 289, wa'hyeti, I heard wayeti (M) and wele (P).[261]

The kawe, Dixon kāwe, 297, 299, 300, is a headdress bearing usually a pair of long feathered rods, but a single one for the yati, 306. I was given luti as the Patwin (?) name of a pair of such sticks worn by the yohyo, but not attached to a frame.

The yohyo's feather collar and belt are called respectively ichak and diak in Patwin, yohyo-m-kuya and henapdaku in Maidu.

The net cap is wik'a: Dixon, figure 33, plain, figure 63, with down.[262]

Poshak, posak is the Patwin name for the tule rush which is shredded and worn or carried in many dances. The Maidu call it sili—the same as one of the spirits in the hesi.

Split-stick clapper rattle, p'akp'aka (M), djak'ati or tsatagai (P).

Whistle, toka (P ?).

VARIOUS

Yongweda.[263]—Informant F: This is a praying ceremony in spring. At night the (yeponi) headman says in the dark (of the dance house), kantem a yeponi, "now you are yeponi," or in foothill language, heye kamsa yeponi. A spirit, k'akini, is supposed to say that. Toward morning the headman calls the names of dead members and they think of these men whose places are now filled by themselves, and all cry with the headman.—At the yongweda each year about Easter, all the yombasi and yeponi have their hair cut. For this they pay the peheipe. The hair is put in a sack with stones and sunk in the creek.—The tsupi is a yongweda rite for children before they are yombasi. The chief (yeponi) in the dance house points to each boy in turn, calling the name of an animal followed by "tsupi." Then the door is shut, and the chief (yeponi), standing by the main post and rubbing it (or his hand ?) addresses the south, east, north, west, while everyone shouts softly. (See also Initiations, Autobiography of this informant.) FN: The yongweda was a feast in which the chief paid.[264]

Pay.—P: High dances are called loye-ng-kamini, "pay dances"; dances at which they do not make payments are we-ng-kamini, "common dances."

Dance variations.—P: Visitors, such as from Colusa at Chico, dance their ceremonies in their own way; and so when the hosts in turn become visitors.

---

[260] Handbook, fig. 44.

[261] Cf. Handbook, fig. 21.

[262] Handbook, pl. 55.

[263] Probably yo-m-weda, flower or spring weda, not yom-weda, shaman weda.

[364] The above features are not mentioned by Dixon, 307, who evidently also obtained only a partial account of the ceremony.

C—076851

C-076851

Women.—E: Here at Chico, women and children were formerly not allowed in the dance house during any spirit performance. The women perhaps watched from a distance. If one (gave any sign that she) recognized a spirit dancer, she had to pay. But the women knew that the performers were men and not real spirits. Sometimes they would recognize their husbands. During a dance (ceremony), men refrained from having connection with their wives, eating at home, or touching their children. L: The first time women were present in the dance house at a hesi, to my knowledge, was at Princeton (among the Colusa district Patwin). Possibly it was an old custom there.

Sweating.—L: There is usually a sweating in the dance house at the end of a ceremony; also sometimes on the first day. The practice varies. At Grand Island (Grimes Patwin) they sweat the dancers much harder than we do at Chico: many fall as they come out of the dance house and have to have water poured over them, being too weak to reach the river.

For ordinary, non-dance use, there used to be small sweat-houses, owned by individuals.

VALLEY MAIDU GENERAL CULTURE

A few miscellaneous notes, all from informant F unless otherwise specified, were obtained at Chico in 1910, incidental to the ritual system data presented in the last section. The valley Maidu calendar as given by F has already been published.[265]

Geography.—Kolkoliwenumam yamani is Mt. Shasta; Estobisim yamani, the Marysville Buttes, where the dead live; Sonowiski yamani, a pair of peaks at the western edge of the Sacramento valley. We did not go to these last; nor west of the (Patwin towns on the) Sacramento; nor to Tehama. We did visit at Oroville.

Grass was constantly burned off because it grew too high.

Esken was the native settlement near Durham. Here was a tree with twelve kinds of acorns.[266] If it was cut, blood flowed from it. Here at Chico where the Indian rancheria is, there was no village formerly; but the spot was called Bahapki. Hoida-m-huluka is Richardson's spring near Rock creek. The people beyond (Rock creek, viz., the Yana) were called Noshau.

Customs.—Men wore their hair very long, often put into the wik'a' net. They washed it with soaproot and greased it. Women however wore theirs short. They burned it off for one another with (ignited) bark.

Geese were caught with decoys of stuffed goose skins, set in various positions. Near them was (laid ?) a net on three poles with long ropes reaching to the hunters hidden in the brush. They pulled the ropes just as the geese settled by the decoys.

Slings, with a sinew cord, were used for hunting geese, and also in war. They sometimes broke a man's leg.

Turtles used to be eaten. I stopped eating them when I saw one crawling out of a grave where a living baby had been buried. Such burials were sometimes made.

---

265 Handbook, 438.

266 Dixon, Maidu Myths, AMNH–B, 17:41, 1902, puts it at Ta'doikö.

C—076852

C-076852

"Charmstones."—Small oval or long stones, with a notch in each end and a string around them, were put into the stuffed deerhead decoy, for luck. They were powerful and most people would not touch them. Quartz crystals were also powerful and dangerous to touch.

Bear shamans.—Grizzly bear shamans were called maidü-m-pano, person-bear or human grizzly. They put on a bearskin and carried oak galls to make a noise like a bear walking. They went out to kill people, hooking out their eyes. They wore many beads as armor.[267] Sometimes when they met a man, they paid him heavily not to reveal their identity. Some could be killed and would revive. Salvador or Shasha of Cortina[268] was such a man-bear.

War dance.—A war dance, wetemi-ng-kasi, was mentioned by informant F to N. C. Nelson. A human effigy was raised on a pole, men and women dancing in a circle around it. The men shot, and as they hit the image, stepped out of the circle. This carries suggestions of the hill Miwok pota. Dixon, 206, merely tells of men and women dancing about a scalp on a pole, and says that this victory dance was commoner among the hill than the valley Maidu.

Boli.—Bôli is not a spirit thing, k'akini, but from a prophet or inventor. It is like the oya (dance), recent. Is not over 30 or 50 years old (in 1910, actually about 40). It is a gift to a man and usually makes him ill.

Informant L: The "play ball" (boli) dance is (now) made after the hesi, on short notice, without regalia, by men and women in the dance house. There are two singers, drummers, but no coachers, one of the dancers doing the crying-out necessary to direct the movements. To a song, the women trot to one side of the fire with short steps, while the men dance to the other with high steps. At a certain call, each man throws a ball to the woman opposite, who returns it, and so they continue until another call, when they all dance back to the drum.

THE CALIFORNIA KUKSU CULT SYSTEM

It seems worth while to review the available information on the secret society or Kuksu cult system of north central California as a whole. A preliminary attempt in this direction appeared in the Handbook of California Indians,[269] but new data have become available since then, and Loeb's treatment of the Pomo system has helped clarify conceptions. The present compilation and discussion cannot be final, because on a number of groups information is still of the scantiest; but it may serve to bring out certain features of the system as a whole as well as characteristic variations of particular tribes.

As noted above in discussion of the Patwin rituals, the Kuksu system appears most justly definable in terms of organization. Where

[267] S. A. Barrett, Pomo Bear Doctors, UC–PAAE, 12:456, 1917, mentions bead belts worn as armor and water-filled baskets to simulate the sound of the moving animal's viscera. The Yuki also mention beads and baskets, Handbook, 201. See also Loeb, Folkways, 335–8.

[268] The môki and director of the bole hesi described by Barrett, and a bole leader, reciter of the speeches in UC–PAAE, 14:473–482, 1919, and Handbook, 389.

[269] Ch. 26.

C—076853

C-076853

there are rituals performed by initiating and more or less secret societies, I shall consider the system to exist. Where similar or identical elements occur without organization into secret societies, I shall consider these elements as lying outside the Kuksu system. This may seem like an arbitrary distinction, but clarity of conception demands some sort of limitation, and the criterion of society initiation is not only definite but seems a fundamental one. By this definition, the Kuksu cult area is reduced to about half the area assigned it in the map, plate 74, of the Handbook. The Wintun proper and the hill Nisenan and hill Miwok are now established as having had no societies. For the Costano, northern Yokuts, Esselen, and Salinan there is no available evidence as to societies, and they may therefore also be excluded, at least provisionally. This leaves to the Kuksu system an approximately rectangular territory lying geographically wholly in northern California, though ethnographically still within the central Californian area. This territory extended from San Francisco bay north to the Eel river headwaters and from the Pacific to and in part into the Sierra Nevada foothills (map, fig. 5).

I exclude from consideration also all rituals which in any given locality are less than sixty years old. Gifford has recently shown[270] that many of the hill Miwok and Nisenan ceremonies have been introduced among them since 1872 and are evidently the result there, and perhaps also at their point of origin in old Costano territory, of a repercussion of the ghost dance movement of that date, which in turn had its origin in the change of conditions brought about by American settlement. It is not that this recent growth is without interest. But nothing is to be gained in understanding by treating it on a level with a set of cults that are at least centuries old, and in part perhaps thousands of years. It is a distinct aftermath to the purely native story.

Similarly with the occurrence, outside the secret society area, of religious or cult elements associated within the area with societies—the earth-covered dance house for instance, the foot drum, certain dances and costumes. Intrinsically, the distribution of these elements is as significant outside as inside the society area; and some of them have almost certainly been originated outside of societies and later adopted by these, while others developed in society cults and then diffused to non-society groups. But again, organization of facts is

[270] Miwok Cults, UC-PAAE, 18:391–408, 1926; Southern Maidu Religious Ceremonies, AA, 29:214–257, 1927.

C—076854

C-076854

necessary before interpretation. The nature and history of the transmissions between society and non-society tribes can be understood more clearly after the characteristics of the society and of the non-society religions have been defined. The problems concerning this

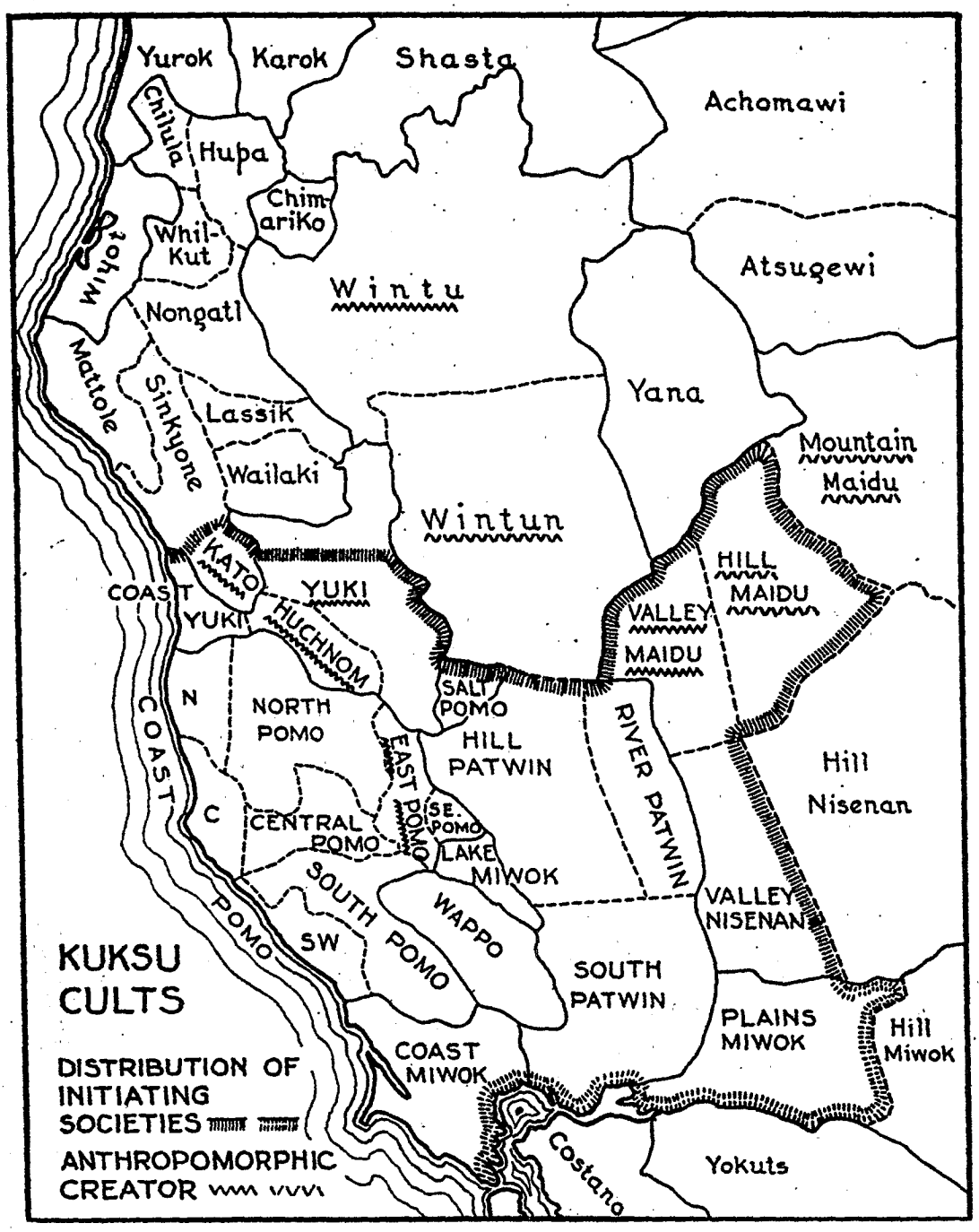

Fig. 5. Distribution of Kuksu cult societies and anthropomorphic creator concept.

relation, while excluded here, are therefore not denied, but only relegated to future investigation.

Systems of organization comparable to this Californian one—say those of the Pueblos, the Plains Indians, the Northwest Coast, or

C—076855

C-076855

West Africa—are notoriously complex. The purpose, social
enactments, performances, officials, degrees, and the like va
tribe to tribe, often between tribal subdivisions. The very ela
inherent in the impulses toward organization carries also
factor of instability. This instability is most conspicuous in
but manifests itself also in fundamentals. It sometimes affects
of the system, sometimes the form or scheme of organization.
standing common features, while perhaps easy to present, are
as to be rather barren, and often do not include elements whic
fundamental importance in the history, function, or processes
in the systems of different tribes. On the other hand, the e
varying details are almost impossible to follow if presented
Selection is therefore required if any but original investigatora
subject are to gain a comprehension of it.

For this reason I have compiled the adjoined table, which
present a maximum of comparable and significant detail in
mum compass. Some features have been omitted because their
tribal variations are too irregular and complex; others becaus
are incomplete; still others because they seem relatively trivi
would undoubtedly be desirable to have included the salient fa
to grades and scope of membership; but most of the information
indefinite. I have selected the following for comparison: soc
themselves; all spirits impersonated; certain conspicuous cerem
and performances; and a few paraphernalia. Between spirits
ceremonies the principal "dances" are covered.

PROCESSES OBSERVABLE

Several inferences as to developmental processes can be dr
from the juxtaposed data.

1. No identical name for any one spirit is found among all gro
Kuksu comes nearest to having a unanimous occurrence.

2. Spirits have become transposed to new societies or ceremon
For instance, the Nisenan küle seems the same as the Maidu dü
Patwin dadu because it represents a woman, but is introduced in
akit instead of the hesi. The Pomo masan, though appearing in
kuksu, wears a costume suggesting that of the môki, who under
name appears only in the hesi and aki.

3. Certain spirits are either undifferentiated or syncretized equi
Thus the Yu

C—076856

C-076856

om taikomol corresponds to the Pomo kuksu in his general in the tribal system, but agrees with the Maidu-Patwin môki ohyo-t'uya and Pomo masan in features of his apparel. Offhand, difficult to say whether the Yuki have syncretized or the other s differentiated. Even if the Yuki have on the whole retained rly, undifferentiated form of the cult system, they may have darily added particular features taken over from the tribes h meanwhile had elaborated the system by differentiation. On the r hand, the Yuki may have received the system late and accepted a simplified, that is syncretized, form of it. Their marginal posi- to the occurrence of the system may in itself equally well argue early persistence or a late receipt on their part; choice between two explanations will have to be made on evidence other than the graphy.

4. Names occasionally furnish evidence more or less corroborative one or the other of such alternative explanations. The Clear lake omo shalnis and grizzly bear spirits appear among the Central oast Pomo as a single spirit called shanis but acting like a bear. oeb, starting from the assumption that the Coast Pomo rituals are ore primitive not only in type but in time of origin, is inclined to egard their shanis-bear as primary, and subsequently differentiated nto shalnis and bear among the Lake Pomo.[271] But since the name halnis, though of unknown etymology, does not seem to contain any reference to bear, the opposite is indicated as more likely. Once fusion is allowed as a process, there is no logical obstacle or remainder to the assumption that the name of one spirit and characteristics of another were united. The assumption of the reverse process, on the contrary, leaves the residual problem why the "original" bear spirit should have been called by a name that has no known reference to the bear. This might indeed have happened; but it involves an additional hypothesis. The fusion explanation is simpler, and to that extent more probable. Similarly with the hill Patwin hesi, which contains not only the môki elsewhere associated with that organization, but also the kuksu and witili who elsewhere belong in other organizations. Here the recurrence of the names makes the logical alternatives: either the northern hill Patwin alone have preserved an original, undifferentiated, one-society form of cult which elsewhere in the Sacramento valley region has been split up; or they have combined into one organization spirits which elsewhere belong to two or three.

[271] Pomo Folkways, 367.

C—076857

C-076857

The combination hypothesis is the more probable on the ground of the multiple-society tribes of the Sacramento valley area outnumbering the solitary northern hill Patwin. But it is the equivalence of names that defines the issue. An opinion on the historical relation of hill Patwin to Pomo cults would be harder to substantiate by evidence one way or the other, because the môki and witili do not recur among the Pomo. Obviously, no interpretations of problems like these can ever be positive. But in favorable cases the names can invest one explanation with more probability than another.

Reliable etymologies of intertribal names like hesi, môki, kuksu, temeyu, shalnis would afford practical certainty of the origin of these spirits, ceremonies, or societies, or at least of their nineteenth century phases, among the groups in whose languages these etymologies applied. Unfortunately we have none such. As a rule the only names whose meanings are known are those like bear, deer, coyote, and these tend strongly to be translated by each tribe into its own speech.[272]

PRINCIPAL LOCAL TYPES OF THE KUKSU CULT

A classification of the data on a distributional basis yields the following general results.

The Kuksu system cults fall into two major types, a western and an eastern. To the former adhere the Pomo and Yukian groups, the Coast and Lake Miwok, and the Kato; to the latter, the Patwin, Salt Pomo, valley and presumably hill Maidu, valley Nisenan, and probably Plains Miwok. The line of division is marked by the main crest—not watershed—of the Coast ranges. The two areas thus coincide exactly with portions of the Coast range system and Sacramento valley.

The western form of Kuksu cult everywhere has two initiating societies. One of these nearly everywhere contains kuksu and his companion shalnis, sometimes one or two other impersonations. The other society impersonates a class of spirits more or less identified with ghosts of the dead, but known by quite different names. The total number of impersonated spirits in the two societies thus is relatively small; and mostly ceremonies also are few. Initiations are generally stressed, including on the one hand "schools of instruction," and on the other "health-giving" rites for all small children. So far as there is differentiation between the kuksu and the ghost society in

[272] Sili means tule rush in Maidu; yati, cloud in Maidu; wai-saltu, north spirit in Patwin; but the last two are confined to the Maidu and Patwin. Wai-ma looks like a Patwin word.

C—076858

C-076858

exclusiveness or age of members, it is the kuksu that takes in the fewer and older individuals, but may include women.

The cults of the eastern tribes vary from one to three in the number of their societies. The socially basic society is always the one that makes a great spectacular dance ceremony like the hesi, into which a varied array of spirits enter. Initiation into general membership of this society is largely by boys learning to dance; into directing membership, by private instruction for payment, usually within a hereditary line. Other societies are either merged into this hesi society, or exist alongside it as separate organizations of restricted, wholly adult membership, which in some tribes may include women.[273] These additional societies impersonate either kuksu or a ghost-like class of spirits, in other words equate with the two societies universal among the western tribes. The initiation into kuksu and ghost among the eastern peoples is by a dangerous act, such as pretended wounding, sickening, or killing, often with the idea of temporary dementedness.

It is apparent that in spite of numerous generic resemblances and specific identities, the eastern and western forms of the cults are fairly rigorously differentiated. To date no tribal cult is known which is so intermediate or transitional as to leave doubt as to which of the two forms it belongs to.

Within the eastern group, Loeb has suggested that a subdivision can be made between the Clear lake and probably Russian river Pomo on the one hand, and the Coast Pomo, Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Miwok on the other,[274] the former having the more elaborate ceremonies and dances and somewhat more numerous kinds of spirit impersonations.

Among the peripheral eastern tribes, the Yuki and perhaps other northern groups can be set apart from the Coast Pomo, whom they resemble in general simplicity of system, by non-use of the name kuksu, identification of his substitute with the creator, emphasis on initiation,

[273] An alternative description would be that all or nearly all boys are initiated by being taught to dance in the hesi, and that from these common or first-grade members a number rise to higher grade by further initiation into hesi direction, kuksu, ghost, or any combination of these.

[274] Folkways, 364, 399. He affiliates Wappo and Lake Miwok with the inland Pomo. The few data on the Coast Miwok, collected by Loeb in 1924–25, suggest to my mind an affiliation of this people rather with the Pomo of the interior than of the coast. In that case the intervening but undescribed southern Pomo and Wappo would almost certainly form part of the same subdivision. Within this subdivision, data on the Clear lake Pomo are so consistently richer than those on the other inland Pomo as to suggest that this is not wholly an accident of preservation or recording, but an indication that the cults of the subdivision, and therefore of the whole western division, reached their climax of elaboration on Clear lake.

C—076859

C-076859

mythological instruction, and "school" features; and probably other traits.

Within the eastern or Sacramento valley division of the system, there seem to be no outstanding areal segregations, except that the true valley people, Patwin, Maidu, and Nisenan, show definitely greater richness of system, in societies, ceremonies, spirits, dances, and costumes, than the northern hill Patwin and hill Maidu.[275] At the same time, the valley peoples, while appearing to recognize one another's systems as equivalent, vary considerably in them, tribes with fewer societies sometimes possessing more ceremonies and impersonations and so on.

CAUSES OF LOCAL DIFFERENCES

A historical reconstruction of the course of development of the Kuksu system cults cannot as yet be carried very far on the basis of the data themselves. A general scheme of interpretation on a continental or world-wide basis might conceivably take one further. If for instance like Loeb one starts from the position[276] that tribal initiations everywhere are due to a single, ancient diffusion with features like bullroarer, mutilation, death and resurrection rites, spirit impersonations as original criteria, and that secret societies grew out of this substratum as secondary parallels, considerable headway can be made toward reconstructing the history of the California or any other system. Only, in that case, the evidence for the fundamental scheme is necessarily worldwide,[277] and the local data become of interest chiefly for the degree of fit to and variation from the larger pattern of development, and the local or specific factors that have caused departures from it. The more modest problem whether an internal comparison of the Californian data by themselves throws any light on former events in the area, is likely to lead to more limited results.

As already said in connection with the description of the river Patwin cults, so basic a point as the sequence of development of the California societies is somewhat dubiously illuminated by the facts as to their number, nature, and relations. The one with simplest organization is the ghosts, but it is not known to be represented in the eastern part of the eastern division. The most widely distributed is

[275] Dixon, 311.

[276] Tribal Initiations and Secret Societies, UC-PAAE, 25:249–288, 1929.

[277] Loeb has made a preliminary assemblage of such evidence, sufficient for a prima facie case, but proof will require the intensive analysis of much fuller material.

C—076860

C-076860

the kuksu. The most elaborate in number of officials, degrees, kinds of spirits, and introduced or associated dances is the hesi, which is limited to the eastern division. A natural hypothesis is that this elaborateness argues relative recency. Further, it would scarcely be expectable that, other things being reasonably equal, this elaboration took place among groups who were just beginning to organize rites into societies while neighboring groups had had societies longer. The inference then would be that the valley Patwin and Maidu and Nisenan had had ghost and kuksu societies before they developed the hesi, and that after this commenced to luxuriate they began to suppress, or merge out of existence, one or both of these other organizations, though retaining certain features of their rituals, these now becoming attached to the hesi society. On this view the western or Pomo-Yuki division would be the one which on the whole preserved a more ancient phase of Kuksu development; among the easterners, the Patwin, the fullest development; the Maidu and Nisenan, the greatest degree of specialization, accompanied however by a smothering of the historic foundations of the whole growth.[278]

All in all, a sequence of events like this seems not unlikely. It must, however, be held as a hypothesis only, and may therefore not be unduly strained by the piling on it of other hypotheses in order to attain more remote interpretations. Specific hypotheses may be regarded as normally being fractional certainties, and the interweaving of hypotheses a process of multiplying these fractions.

Further, there is the question of what may have caused the Pomo not to accept the new hesi-type developments while the Patwin did accept them, and the Maidu-Nisenan both accepted them and began to abandon their earlier ghost and perhaps kuksu societies. I can think of only one local phenomenon that might explain this abandonment: the annual mourning memorial or "anniversary" cult. This, like the ghost society, has to do with the dead; and the distributions of the two, in the part of California in question, are mutually exclusive. Pomo, Yuki, Patwin have societies of ghost type but no communal anniversary ceremony for the actual dead. Maidu and Nisenan lack ghost societies but do commemorate the dead. It is conceivable that the two sets of cults were too alike in emotional import and too different in expressive approach, to be compatible. In favor of this view is the fact that the kuksu society, which refers not to ghosts but

[278] Especially if it proves that the Maidu have no kuksu organization and therefore but one society.

C—076861

C-076861

to mythologic or ritual personages, is still present among the Nisenan and perhaps among the Maidu. Also, the mourning commemoration appears to be south Californian in origin,[279] and reached its most northerly distribution, at any rate in normally full form, among the Maidu. Unless therefore it has undergone a shrinkage of territory, or held a stationary frontier for an unusually long time, of neither of which possibilities there is any specific indication, the mourning commemoration would presumably be a relatively recent practice among the Nisenan and Maidu; which would fit in with the hypothesis that the absence of the ghost society was due to a loss, in other words, a secondary phenomenon, among these peoples. Finally it might be mentioned that the strongest development of the mourning commemoration among the Nisenan and Maidu is among the hill divisions, while the society cults have their hold chiefly, and with the Nisenan wholly, in the valley. This fact bears only indirectly on the present hypothesis because it refers to societies in general instead of the ghost society. But it suggests a certain degree of incompatibility, historically accidental if not psychological, between societies and the commemoration; and even a partial[280] tendency of this sort might have been sufficient to cause the obliteration of that one of the societies which was felt to conflict most with the commemoration.

It is for the reader to judge whether these considerations have been spun with undue fineness. I submit them as possible explanations.

As to the other problem raised by our first hypothesis, namely, why the hesi society does not occur among the Pomo or elsewhere in the western division, I have no specific explanation to suggest. The simplest answer would be that the hesi society originated late enough for it not to have spread to the Pomo. This is plausible enough; yet unless one were to assume the origin of the hesi to have been as recent as a century or two before 1850, there would certainly have been time for its diffusion to a prosperous neighboring people like the Clear lake Pomo. Specific factors making for its non-acceptance by them would thus be called for by the situation; and such factors I cannot adduce. This fact I therefore leave unexplained, except so far as the general considerations to be taken up next may bear on it.

---

[279] It is most elaborate in southern California, or at least most closely associated with other rituals; and the circular brush enclosure in which the Californian commemoration is everywhere held, is typical of the south, that is, used also in other connections there.

[280] In southern California the commemoration exists alongside the datura-drinking initiating society, in fact is well integrated with it.

C—076862

C-076862

RELATIVE AGE OF THE SOCIETIES

The question may now be raised whether there is any internal indication as to the point and circumstances of origin and first steps of development of the Kuksu system as a whole. This problem involves: which society was the first; where and why, or how, it came into existence; and what caused it to differentiate into two or more. On these points the specific indications are particularly tenuous. We are dealing with things that may have happened a millennium or two ago. On the basis of the explanatory mechanism of productive focal centers and diffusions outward toward the margins of distribution,[281] the river Patwin would be indicated as the most likely originators, because they alone possess the maximum number of three societies.

However, we are here concerned with a diffusion with a radius of only about seventy-five miles in a duration of perhaps ten or twenty times as many years. This unusual combination would obviously make a reconstructive search for the point of origin vain if not ludicrous if we were not dealing with populations of proved high sessility plus stability of adaptation to the soil. It is known from archaeology that the subsistence habits of the California Indians have remained materially unchanged for several thousand years. A given valley or stretch of river is therefore extremely likely to have had a larger and more concentrated population, with more leisure and greater incentive to order, wealth, and organized institutions, in A.D. 1 as well as 1770, and a hill population only twenty miles away to have remained equally backward for the same time. Of course, populations may have moved; but this would merely mean, so far as our problem is concerned, that the place of origin might theoretically be determinable even if the

[281] In spite of recent challenges of the age-and-area principle, this may be considered a useful technical device within the following limitations. 1, It is a surrogate for direct evidence, and yields at best a greater or less degree of probability, never certainty. 2, It applies only to related culture traits or to the same element in various phases of complexity, never to elements of different order. 3, It also is inapplicable to closed systems like alphabets which are subject only to modification, not to progressive development of essential plan; or if the plan changes, it is the successive phases of this that would be comparable, not the modifications in detail. 4, Degeneration or retrograde development must always be allowed as a possibility. With these, and perhaps further, reservations, the age-and-area principle has recognized usage in biology, especially among botanists, who do not hesitate to infer the probable area of characterization of a genus from the distribution of its species, or of a species from its varieties; but who would not try to determine by this method the respective ages of species of different families. Biologists, like anthropologists, also have the factors of degeneration and of convergent development to reckon with.

C—076863

C-076863

originating ethnic group were not. We might not be able to affirm that it was the Patwin rather than some antecedent people who were the originators of the cult, and yet be able to show that the point of origin was more likely to have been on the Sacramento river than elsewhere.

Now topographic considerations leave little doubt that it is the areas in which the historic Kuksu cult reached its greatest elaboration which would in the prehistoric period also have been most likely to hold a population living under conditions most favorable to the originating of a luxury development like this cult system. This means either the Sacramento valley along its large streams, or the Clear lake-Russian river area. As between these, a slight precedence must be accorded the Sacramento valley, on account of its greater interconnected area. It must have held some fifty tribelets, against about ten on Clear lake and perhaps twenty or twenty-five on the hill-broken stretch of Russian river.

A more or less simultaneous origin of distinct societies in these two centers, with subsequent exchange, seems logically improbable in so small an area. It might have happened if the system had had its origin and first differentiation outside, and had then been fragmentarily imported into the present Kuksu area, to undergo new growth there. But of this there is no evidence. Specific elements may well have filtered in in this way; but the specific fundamentals of the system, like the ghost concept or the kuksu stabbing initiation, seem wholly restricted to the area.

As between these two societies, specific evidence for the priority of one over the other is very scant. The wider present distribution of kuksu may be due to the already suggested crowding-out of the ghosts by the mourning commemoration in the east. Kuksu and his associates or substitutes are personages, the ghosts a class or race of spirits, in other words the more generalized concept of the two; especially in view of the universal Californian preoccupation with death. Nor does kuksu enter importantly into mythology as such, except on the northwest margin, and there his name is replaced by that of the traveling creator. These indications seem to favor the priority of the ghost society; but the preferential probability is very slight. It would also remain to account for the replacement in the western Sacramento valley of the ghosts-of-the-dead idea by that of a brood of insane running spirits.

C—076864

C-076864

INDICATED HISTORIC GROWTHS WITHIN GROUPS

When it comes to the more recent developments within each ethnic group, leading to the historic forms of the cult, evidence is more abundant.

Yuki

The Yuki and their neighbors on the northwestern frontier possess the system in simple form, with the minimum number of spirit impersonations and dances. They have specialized several connected features: the emphasizing of initiations as against performances, the latter being held largely for curing or inflicting disease; the introduction into the initiations of prolonged, formal, verbal instruction, which leads the natives to describe them as "schools"; and the introduction into this teaching of the mass of the creation mythology, kuksu himself being however wholly absent. The costume of his substitute has hesi affiliations as much as kuksu, that is, is undifferentiated. This suggests that the wholly enveloping feather cloak (môki, masan, taikomol) and the "pincushion" radiating feather "big-head" (yohyo, t'uya, taikomol) are old in the history of the cult as a whole. The same may be said of the disguising of the ghosts without the mechanism of feathers, by means of stripes or striking masses of paint, grass or sticks in mouth and nose, and simple brush or fiber dress.

The Yuki proper report that the cult reached them two to three generations before 1850, from the Huchnom and Kato,[282] who in turn are in close contact with the most northerly Pomo. It is to these groups, presumably, that the origin of this northwest form of Kuksu must be attributed. Yet it may not be assumed offhand that the Yuki were wholly without Kuksu participation before about 1800. They may have had an early form which was added to and remodeled by importation at that date, the import alone being remembered. On the other hand the northern Yuki tribelets on the Wailaki frontier were Kuksu-less as late as 1850, so that the whole movement may be quite late even among their southern divisions.[283]

Pomo

The Pomo cults, simpler on the coast, more elaborate inland, with apparently somewhat greater richness on Clear lake to the east than

[282] Handbook, 185, 207.

[283] Handbook, 191; also section on Yuki, above.

C—076865

C-076865

along Russian river in the middle, seem nevertheless to form a historic unit. They all show certain common traits, such as the shalnis spirit as companion of kuksu, emphasis on the bullroarer, partial replacement of the dance house of earth by one of brush, summer the chief ceremonial season, limited relation to creation mythology, "cutting" or health-giving rites performed on boys and girls apart from initiation. As a result of these common features, while the coast Pomo cult is nearly as "marginally simple" as the Yuki one in comparison with the Clear lake Pomo cult, its relation to the latter is a less altered one. The basis of the relation is the fact that the coast Pomo were fewer and poorer than those of the interior. It has already been pointed out that the combined shalnis-bear spirit of the coast Pomo is more likely to be the result of a fusion than of surviving non-differentiation. It may be suspected that much of the simplicity of their cult is of this character. This does not necessarily mean that their cults were once richer and were later contracted by fusion of elements. The coast Pomo may have accepted more ritual material than they were able to digest—witness their attempt to take over the dama ceremony[284]—and thus have dropped parts and consolidated others while they were accepting the cults.

A distinctive feature of the Pomo cult, even where it is richest on Clear lake, is the fact that there was essentially only one great ceremony in the kuksu as in the ghost society, the two coming normally in alternate years. The four-day kuksu ceremony included initiation of new members, the acorn-pole rite, the rattlesnake swallowing, the bear impersonation and bird initiations, usually the thunder, basket, and deer-claw rites, the cutting rite, and the closing health rite. Only the rare dama ceremony, the condor dance, possibly the deer and fox dances, and sometimes the thunder ceremony, were performed outside the synthesized kuksu ceremony; besides of course common dances open to non-members. This combination of many elements into one great ceremony is paralleled in the hesi; but the Pomo resembled the much simpler Yuki in having not much else than the one ceremony, in contrast with the Patwin and especially the Maidu.

One name indicates Sacramento valley influence on the Pomo: yomta, denoting on Clear lake the head of the kuksu society and on the coast all kuksu members. This is from a stem yom, denoting possession of supernatural power, common to Maidu-Nisenan and Patwin-

[284] Loeb, Folkways, 391.

C—076866

C-076866

Wintun.[285] It appears there in the forms yom, mali-yomta, yomuse, meaning shaman; also in yombasi, novice initiate, yompui, a spirit, yomuse, a dance, yomepa, a dance.[286] That the remoter coast Pomo call all their kuksu society members by this foreign word—ta is a Patwin suffix—while the nearer Clear lake Pomo use the native term matutsi for the bulk of the membership, is another indication of the coast Pomo having received and fused material which once was more differentiated.

A few points connect the interior Pomo with the Nisenan: the pole rite, luman and budubahar; and a great show ceremony with trapezing, akit and dama.[287] It looks as if these elements had been transmitted by way of the southern Patwin, whose cults, like those of the Wappo and southern Pomo, are wholly unknown. These southern Patwin were neighbors of the Nisenan and Plains Miwok; and from them Cache and Putah creeks run up into Pomo and Wappo territory, so that the transmission would not have had to be by way of the Grimes and Colusa Patwin. The rarity of the Pomo dama as compared with the overshadowing preponderance of the akit in Nisenan cults, suggests that the transmission was mainly to the Pomo.

The seemingly greater elaboration of cults on Clear lake as compared with Russian river may be partly an accident of the material collected, partly due to the greater unity of the lake basin as an area; but one can hardly avoid the suspicion that greater proximity to the Patwin may also have been a factor. At the same time one of the primary cleavages in the whole cult system follows the crest of the coast range which divides the Patwin from the Pomo. Across this line the whole elaborate hesi complex, the north-spirit traits of the Patwin ghost society, the difference in age of admission to the several societies, the moki, racer, and woman impersonations, the equation of grizzly bear and ghosts, all these have failed to penetrate, even piece-meal. All that came across and was accepted to produce the superior elaboration of Pomo rituals on Clear lake, may have been stimulus of the knowledge that off to the east many showy ceremonies were performed. After all, if the Little Stony creek Patwin on the north were representative of all the westernmost Patwin—those of the "third belt"—

[285] It is at present impossible to say whether the stem is original to the Maidu or the Wintun "stock."

[286] The Maidu yongweda ceremony, also heard as yomweda, looks as if it might be from the same stem, but the Nisenan call it yo-weda, flower weda, which makes the Maidu etymology yo-m-weda, phonetically altered to yo-ng-weda.

[287] Nisenan, 269, 270; Folkways, 372, 387.

C—076867

C-076867

their one-society cult was too meager in comparison with that of the lake Pomo for these to have borrowed much from them. The Coast range crest line of division seems to have been of ancient as well as recent influence in the development of the cult.

Patwin

The Patwin are approximately central to the Kuksu cult distribution, and, whatever may or may not be inferred as to origins, it is therefore not surprising that they possessed one society more than is known for any other group. They were so situated as to be in the long run the most likely recipients of the greatest number of new traits, wherever these originated; and their favorable subsistence habitat along the river put them into a position to retain a relatively high proportion of the elements which reached them.

At the same time the river Patwin were essentially restrained in their use of the Kuksu cult. There is not a major ceremony or spirit of first importance that is peculiar to them. They show definitely less exuberance of development along special lines than the valley Maidu. Apart from the presence of a third society, their one specialization of consequence seems to be the naming and ranking of seats or dance-house floor-spaces. The suggestion might be ventured that they were experienced rather than enthusiastic in Kuksu cult matters; receptive, selective, and inclined to balance.

The northern hill Patwin single society has been shown by the names of its characters to be more probably a fusion of the three societies of the river Patwin than an undifferentiated survival. This indicates that the hill Patwin culturally faced the Sacramento river, as it were, not the equally near Pomo. The same is true of the neighboring Salt Pomo tribelets; whereas the Lake Miwok looked toward the Clear lake Pomo.

Why the Wintun took over none of the Kuksu cult from the speech-allied Patwin on their south, is not clear. One reason may be the Maidu occupation of the river itself next north of the Patwin. This meant that the Wintun in immediate contact with the Patwin were hill people, while beyond, where they held the valley, this had narrowed. In any event, the Wintun did not practice Kuksu, though the Yuki on their west and Maidu on their east did. They form a non-Kuksu tongue projecting southward into Kuksu territory. That this mini-

C—076868

C-076868

mum extension of Kuksu occurred in Patwin longitude, suggests again that the Patwin, however great their part in the building up of the system, were not propagandizers for its spread in its later phases.

Maidu and Nisenan

The valley Maidu, though they possess only two societies, possibly only one, have the greatest variety of spirit impersonations, the greatest number of major ceremonies and possibly of dances, and are unique in holding these in winter and in an approximately fixed sequence for the more important ceremonies. They also seem to have developed the fullest creation mythology of any Sacramento valley people, and they bring this into relation with the cults: Society-Initiate-of-the-World is creator, Kuksu the first man. They minimize initiations and stress performances. It is quite clear that development or remodeling of the Kuksu cult was actively going on among them in the recent period, perhaps still after Caucasian settlement; and that the process included syncretization as well as systematization. Of their three great ceremonies, the aki is probably derived from the Nisenan, the hesi perhaps from the Patwin,[288] the waima presumably of their own making as a great rite, though the name seems to be from a Patwin stem. Their receptivity is further illustrated by the frequent use of Patwin terms.[289]

It is curious that the indications of recent growth of Kuksu cults are confined to the two most northerly marginal peoples, the Yuki and Maidu. This may have been stimulated by decay setting in in the south, as the San Francisco bay region began to be settled; but the growth seems older also. Perhaps related is the fact that Yuki and Maidu took the 1872 ghost dance revival lightly, but Patwin and Pomo, whose Kuksu cults appeared more stabilized, were the ones who developed, maintained, and spread the bole-maru religion following 1872.

For the hill Maidu there is not on record the name of a single dance or spirit, so that comparisons are difficult. Available data relate to the dance house dedication, initiation of new members, the functions of the head of the society and the clown.[290] Society authority

[288] There is no direct evidence to this effect; but all the Patwin, even in the remote hills, practice the hesi, while not all the Maidu-Nisenan possess it.

[289] Thus, saltu for spirit, the anosh-ma dance, the poshak-ma skirt; and the Patwin formula spoken at initiation, Dixon, 323.

[290] Dixon, 311–318, 324–333.

C—076869

C-076869

seems to have been heavily centered in the head, as among the Pomo, suggesting that hill Maidu organization bore a relation to valley Maidu somewhat analogous to that of Pomo to Patwin.

The valley Nisenan data are scant but suffice to indicate a two-society organization lacking the northern Maidu specializations and similar to the Patwin cults in general character. Their akit corresponds to the Patwin hesi in its primacy. It may be a Nisenan creation, and was almost certainly given its full form by them. Certain special connections of the Nisenan cults with the Pomo have already been noted. Typical of the area seems to be the purchase of new dances by one community from another, though this may also have been more frequent practice elsewhere than has been noted. The Nisenan acquisition of a kuksu-temeyu magical performance from the Plains Miwok on their south suggests, though it does not quite prove, the existence of the Kuksu cult there.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE KUKSU CULT

The external relations of the Kuksu cult are characterized by two facts. No other ritual or secret society cult existed within a long distance; but the neighboring non-Kuksu tribes shared many specific cult elements with the Kuksu tribes. Among such elements are the large earth-covered dance house; the half-log foot drum; the magpie-feather laya headdress and the feather capes on a net; the split-stick and cocoon rattles and bone whistle; and dances or dance personages like ghosts, condor, coyote, creeper, lole, hiwe, kilak. There can be no doubt that ritual material was both exported from and imported into the Kuksu area, respectively losing or acquiring its attachment to the society organization; and that this happened in ancient as well as recent times. Some of the elements may be older than the oldest society. Whether a given feature of wider distribution was evolved within or without the Kuksu area can by no means be judged offhand. In some cases a decision can no doubt ultimately be arrived at with reasonable probability, through intensive comparison. This task is outside the scope of the present study, though it will have to be performed before the history of Kuksu is unraveled as fully as it can be. Meanwhile it is essential to remember that adjacent Kuksu and non-Kuksu groups differ far less in the content of their ritual than in the formal organization of their religions.

C—076870

C-076870

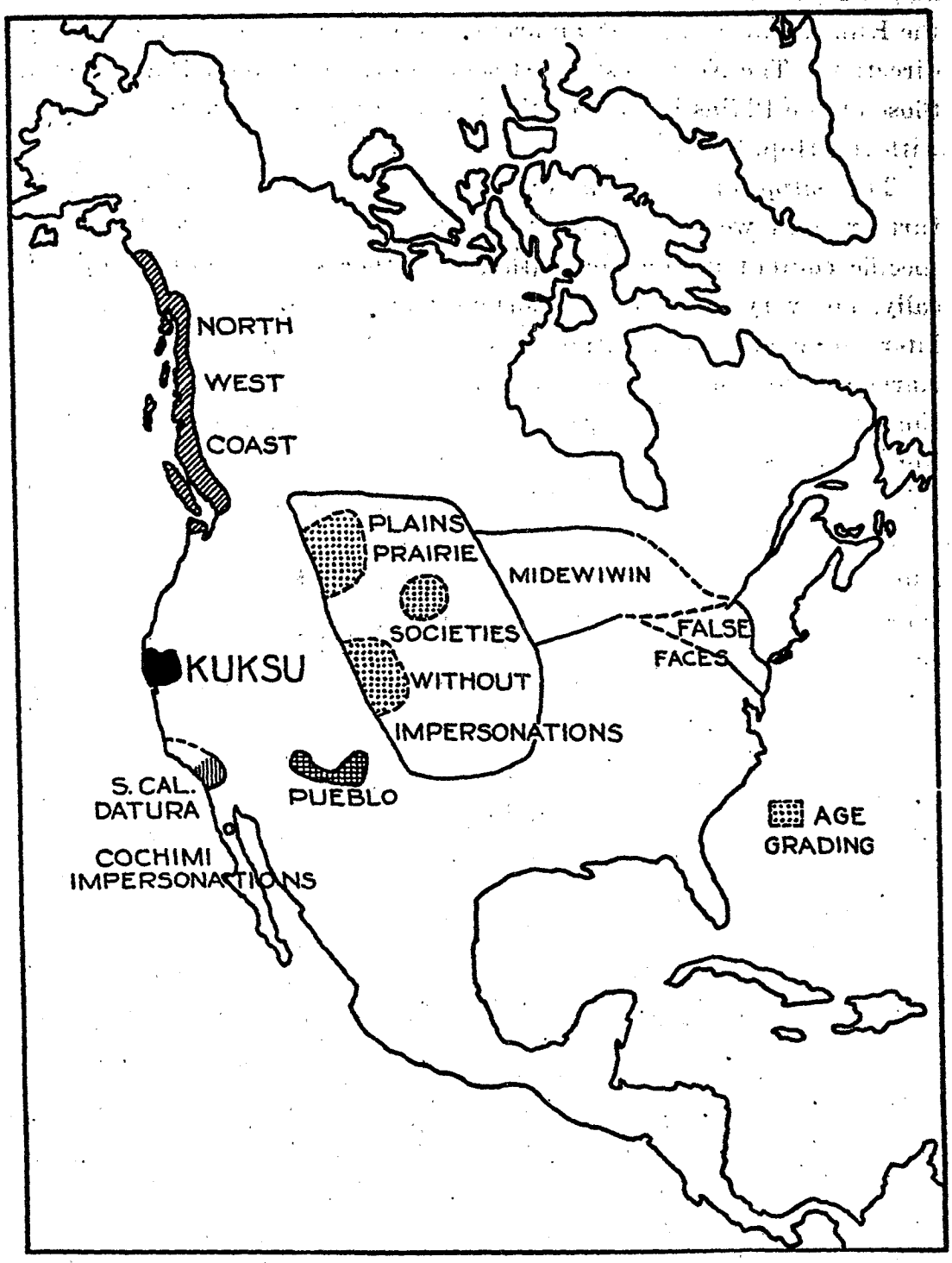

Fig. 6. Distribution of North American cult societies.

C—076871

C-076871

The three areas nearest the Kuksu one in which ceremonial societies occur are the Northwest Coast, the Plains, and the Southwest. (See map, fig. 6.) All three of these are separated by about 600 miles from the Kuksu cult, as against an area of this of not over 150 miles in any direction. The Northwest Coast societies die out about Puget Sound; those of the Plains lie east of the Rockies; the Southwestern ones end with the Hopi.

This situation would at once raise the presumption, even if no further data were available, that the Kuksu cult could have little specific content in common with these other society cults. Theoretically, not very much would normally have passed through the long intervening stretches, without leaving some mark there. And such marks are not conspicuous among the intervening, societyless peoples. Nor are the specific features which the Kuksu cult shares with the Northwest, Southwest, or Eastern society cults either notable or numerous compared with those peculiar to each.

Is it then necessary to assume an independent local origin for the Kuksu cult? This can hardly be affirmed, at least not to the extent of denial of a considerable possibility of at least suggestions or stimuli having been introduced into California and resulting in the Kuksu development. Both the Northwestern and Southwestern society cults impersonate spirits and initiate; and one of these concepts or both, or one like them, might conceivably have been diffused and then have been developed into the formation of societies in north central California, whereas in the intervening stretches the practice died out again, perhaps just because it was not permanently reenforced by the crystallization of societies. This is about as far as it seems reasonable to go in delimiting the possibility of historical connections as the cause of Kuksu origins. That societies once existed over the intermediate territory and then died out, is a logically permissible assumption, but somewhat gratuitous.

The safest approximation to a reconstruction of Kuksu origins then is the admission that certain specific ritual practices embodying concepts capable of serving as stimuli toward the formation of spirit-impersonating societies may have been transmitted to north central California from without, and that from these stimuli the cult then evolved locally through the utilization of ceremonial material already at hand among the organizing groups, plus other material subsequently taken over from their neighbors or invented by themselves. This view means in short that most the specific course of Kuksu history was independent; its beginning, more likely induced from without.

C—076872

C-076872

As to which one of the three distant society cults furnished the first impulse, if any, toward Kuksu, the Plains system can be eliminated because it does not impersonate spirits. Also it is likely to be recent in the Plains, its roots lying to the south or east. As between the two other systems, the Southwest evidently merits preference. Not only are there the clues of the bullroarer and the pole ceremony, but the Pueblo kachina are a race of spirits associated with and including the human dead, like the Kuksu cult ghosts. The shamanistic coloring of the Kuksu cult indeed has a parallel on the Northwest Coast, but also among the Pueblos, whose non-kachina societies are in part curative and seem historically to have replaced shamanism as a separate institution. There are also Pueblo parallels to the Californian practice of curing by a spirit impersonation people made sick by the spirit. And above all, there exists at least a quasi-society territorially intermediate between Pueblos and Kuksu, in southern California; of which more in a moment.

Relations with the Southwest

These indications then point to such stimuli as lay at the root of the Kuksu cult having come from the Southwest rather than from any other American region.[291] They do not derive the Kuksu cult as such from any other cult. Ninety-five, perhaps ninety-nine, percent of its specific content is not Pueblo. This content is in part taken from the general central Californian culture, where much of it exists today without being organized into a society system; in part it was evolved on the spot as Kuksu concepts grew. The cause of the receptivity, retention, and development, by the north central California tribes alone, of the society and spirit-impersonating ideas, must be attributed to the general prosperity of their culture, its latent energy, so to speak; which in turn probably rested on bountiful subsistence and relative concentration of numbers. The valley Maidu, Patwin, and Pomo at some time in the past finding themselves with a margin of food and leisure, seized upon certain stimulating suggestions which reached them, indirectly if not directly, from the Southwest, and gradually developed them in their own fashion, that is, with content mainly familiar to themselves and compatible with the remainder of their culture. The resulting Kuksu cult as we know it, is then essen-

[291] The reverse is theoretically possible, but the much greater richness of Pueblo culture in general, its archaeologically proved antiquity, and its relative proximity to the high centers in Mexico, preclude the serious entertainment of the reverse interpretation.

C—076873

C-076873

tially, as said before, a luxury product; and the reason the other central Californian groups did not take up the cult scheme, is that they were not in an economic or demographic position to luxuriate culturally.[292] Pomo basketry, the valley feather belts and blankets, the abnormal Patwin kinship system, the Pomo playing with matrilineate, are other manifestations of surplus cultural energy in the Kuksu area.

In this way we seem to have explained, at least in general outline, the first start toward the system under probably some influences from the outside, its development essentially on an independent local basis, and its restriction to an unusually small territory.

Southern California Cults

The organized cult of the coastal region of southern California, of interest as a possible link in transmission from the Southwest, emphasizes initiation, but does not clearly impersonate spirits, and the idea of a society is weak—a by-product of initiation, as it were, rather than a concept developed in itself.[293] The initiation is intimately intertwined with the taking of narcotic Datura. The fetish bundle and groundpainting-altar ideas are well developed. Dances are few and stereotyped, costumes simple, songs numerous and mythologically narrative, at least by allusion. The bullroarer is used, the climbed pole occurs sporadically. Elements characteristic of the cult, such as the groundpainting, have been carried over into non-society rites, such as that for girls' puberty. All in all, the picture is of a loose system with special features quite distinct from Kuksu.

The area of the southern California initiating cult seems to lie wholly south of Tehachapi pass. In the ritual map of California in the Handbook,[294] I distinguished a simpler, peripheral "Jimsonweed initiation" from a more complex, centrally situated "Chungichnish form with sand paintings." Only the latter may be considered a society or even quasi-society. Among the Yokuts and Mono Dr. Gayton finds that the Datura is often taken repeatedly, irrespective of age or status, although in controlled groups, in order to promote the individ-

[292] The Northwest California and Colorado River groups evidently were so advantaged, but their cultures were headed toward specializations in other direction, as their trends at the time of discovery show.

[293] Preserved information is mainly from the hill and mountain tribes. If the extinct coast and island groups were better known, their society might prove to have been more definitely organized and the cult richer.

[294] Pl. 74.

C—076874

C-076874

ual's general well-being; and that there is no permanent organization or membership. In other words, the San Joaquin valley has nothing that can legitimately be called a society. This means that while the Handbook map is correct in showing an overlapping, in south central California, of cults partaking respectively of Kuksu and Jimsonweed traits and historically connected with these religions, the areas in which the two sets of cults are organized into societies are much smaller, and separated apparently by the length of the San Joaquin valley.

Of course, at some time in the past, perhaps while development was less specialized, quasi-societies or initiating or impersonating rituals may have extended across this gap, as well as that between southern California and the Pueblos,[295] the continuity of distribution accounting for the transmissions which are evident, especially between the two latter groups. It is further possible that as impulses toward organization developed in centers like the Sacramento valley and southern coast, they weakened in the intervening and surrounding areas, until the present discontinuous occurrence resulted. This is pure hypothesis; but it would seem best to account for the broken distribution and imperfect intrinsic relations of the society cults. If anything like the historic Pueblo societies had ever flourished over a continuous territory to a point as remote as the Sacramento river, more numerous specific resemblances should remain in spite of the distortions due to time. If groups of Pueblos or Pueblo ancestors had marched across the gaps, the same should be true. On the other hand, as already said, it is difficult to understand the indicated transmissions, partial as they are, through areas occupied by peoples wholly innocent of initiations and impersonations or similar institutions, and practicing cults of quite different bent. This is particularly true of the Pueblo and southern California centers, between which it is almost inconceivable that elements like the groundpainting-altar should have been transmitted at a time when peoples with a highly specialized and different religion of recent river Yuman type blocked the connection. Hence the assumption of ancient greater areal continuity of a more generalized initiating form of cult; which also allows the previously assumed "stimuli" to have been fairly concrete, though limited in character, instead of mere concepts or ideals.

[295] Ancient Pueblo type remains extend through southern Nevada nearly to the California boundary, and have been found in the Mohave desert of southern California.

C—076875

C-076875

Impersonations in Peninsular California

At any rate, there is one further indication of connection in the Southwest, whether through the mechanism of transmission over once continuous areas, or otherwise. This indication is the occurrence in Mexican California, among the Cochimí north of latitude 30°, of impersonation cults strongly reminiscent of those of north central California. Nothing is said, in so many words, in the brief notice,[296] of a society; but the men kept the secret, the women were deceived, and both "a man from the sky" coming to benefit the earth, and the dead of the Cochimí, were impersonated. It would be hard to conceive of three or four items, as a missionary might record them, which would more fittingly give the essence of the Pomo-Yuki cults. To be sure it is also difficult to see how the Cochimí, necessarily living scattered in their cactus desert, could have maintained really organized membership associations. But if the Cochimí had no societies, they

---

[296] Francisco Javier Clavigero, Historica de la antigua ó baja California, Mexico, 1852 (original Italian, Venice, 1789), p. 29. The passage is worth quoting in full.

"Los cochimíes, que habitan mas allá de los 30°, hacian mencion de un hombre que en el tiempo antiguo vino del cielo á beneficiar a los hombres, y por esto le llamaban *Tamá ambei ucambi tevivichi*, esto es, el hombre venido del cielo; pero no sabian decir qué beneficios habia hecho á los hombres, ni le daban ningun culto. Es verdad que celebraban una fiesta llamada *del hombre venido del cielo;* pero esta, lejos de contener algun acto religioso, se reducia toda á gozar de los placeres comiendo y bailando. Algunos dias antes de la fiesta se les encargaba estrechamente á las mujeres que solicitasen por todas partes las cosas que servian de manjares, para regalar, como ellos decian, á aquel númen que debia venir á visitarlos, y toda esta provision se guardaba en un emparrado construido con este fin. Llegado el dia señalado para la fiesta, escogian un jóven que debia representar el personaje de aquel númen, y le vestian secretamente de pieles después de haberle pintado con varios colores para que no fuese conocido. Este se escondia en algun monte cercano al emparrado, en el cual entraban los hombres á esperarle, quedándose lejos las mujeres y los niños, aunque á vista del emparrado y del monte. El jóven disfrazado, cuando llegaba la hora de dejarse ver, aparecia en la cima del monte y desde allí descendia corriendo velocísimamente hasta el emparrado, en el cual era recibido con mucho júbilo. Alli comían alegremente á costa de las pobres mujeres, que no sabiendo el secreto, quedaban firmemente persuadidas de que era cierto lo que fingian sus embusteros maridos. Acabada la comida se volvia por el mismo camino y desaparecia el pretendido númen.

"De un engaño semejante y con el mismo fin se valian los cochimíes en el aniversario de sus muertos. Fingian que estos residian en los paises setentrionales, y venian cada año á hacerles una visita. Conviniéndose los hombres en el dia de la tal visita, obligaban á las mujeres aun amenazándolas con enfermedades, á que buscasen en el bosque y en el campo una gran cantidad de víveres para regalar á los difuntos. El dia señalado para el aniversario, los hombres reunidos en un emparrado comian toda aquella provision, mientras las mujeres y los niños, distantes de aquel lugar, lloraban abundantemente la muerte de sus parientes, para cuya comida se habian fatigado tanto. Los hombres cuidaban tanto de que aquel misterio estuviese oculto á las mujeres, que un jóven por haberle revelado á su madre, fué muerto inmediatamente por su mismo padre."

C—076876

C-076876

at least enacted some of the basic ideas of the western Kuksu cult. It is nearly impossible to accept anything else than a historic connection as the explanation of so specific a similarity. And while the distance between Cochimí and Yuki is rather staggering, the case looks almost like a classical fit to the explanation of isolated peripheral survivals of primitive stages of development. But the line of connection between Yuki and Cochimí cults, supposedly derived from an early form of Pueblo kachina-ghosts and gods, passes geographically through southern California; and though the historic initiating cult there lacks ghosts and impersonations, the occurrence of these to the east, south, and north suggests that they must once have been enacted in southern California also.

This then means that the southern California cult is so relatively dissimilar to Kuksu not because there was no original connection between them, but because they have secondarily diverged after their geographical continuity was interrupted. Kuksu perhaps lost sand-paintings and altars, for instance, and developed new impersonations and definitely organized societies. Southern California lost impersonations, including ghosts, while—perhaps because—it added the Datura narcotic. It also developed the dying god concept and the high god Chungichnish. Elements such as the bullroarer, if original, were retained rather frequently by both cults as well as by the Pueblos, while others, like pole climbing, survived only sporadically in all three areas.

Another trait is common to the cults of all four areas: a definite relation to shamanism. In California the stem yom means shaman in Maidu and Patwin, and is used also to denote one or another grade of society membership in Maidu, Patwin, and Pomo. Among the coast Pomo, all kuksu society members, and no others, are curing shamans. Curing by impersonations occurs among practically all groups. In southern California, the shaman is called pul, the initiated by a plural of the same word, pu-pl-em. In lower California, the impersonations seem to have been made by shamans; and among the Pericú, the creator and shamans were called the same. In the Southwest, to give only one example, ten of the thirteen Zuñi societies other than the kachina society are curative; entrance to membership is often through having been cured; and where these societies use masks, it is chiefly to cure by god-impersonation.

C—076877

C-076877

Miwok Bird Cult and Pota

Gifford has distinguished among the Miwok of the foothills of the northern San Joaquin valley a Bird cult of southern and a God-impersonating cult of northern affiliations.[297] The latter consists of three "strata." The last of these three, which contains the greatest number of specific resemblances to Kuksu, is post-1870 and need not be further considered here. Gifford's first and second God-impersonating strata contain certain elements found also in the Kuksu cult, such as condor, creeper, temaya-su, toto-yu, and ghost (helika, sule) dances, the earth-covered dance house and foot drum, feather capes and whistles, and so on. But there is no society or initiation; nor, apparently, impersonations in the sense of disguises. By the criterion here followed, therefore, the hill Miwok do not adhere to the Kuksu cult, but possess a number of dances and ritual elements shared with Kuksu but not organized into a formal system.

The Bird cult Gifford believes to be of distinct origin from the "god-impersonating" one and perhaps of greater age. Its principal characteristics are two: the ceremonial killing of eagles, condors, and hawks or the rearing of their young; and the pota ceremony.

The first of these two traits, which may in brief be designated "eagle-rearing," seems too limited and specific to be the basis of a cult in the sense of a system. It is rather an element of the kind of which organized cults are built up; like the footdrum or sandpainting, perhaps. It is true, however, that this element finds its northern limit, as a well-developed practice, among the Miwok. It is not a Kuksu cult trait. It does recur in the remainder of south central California, southern California, the Great Basin, the Pueblo area, and northern Mexico. It appears to be lacking in the Northwest Coast, Plains, and eastern United States. The distribution is therefore significantly definite.

The second element, the pota ceremony, comprised the rearing of young prairie-falcons or eagles, the erection of poles bearing rude effigies named for certain dead individuals of a locality lineage, and the shooting and ceremonial defense of these respectively by members of the opposite and their own moiety. I construe this peculiar and unusually interesting ceremony as the putting together of elements taken from the victory or scalp dance (poles, shooting); the mourning anniversary (images); practices related, as Gifford observes, to

[297] Miwok Cults, UC–PAAE, 18:391–408, 1926.

C—076878

C-076878

the "enemy songs" of southern California; and the falcon-rearing. The Miwok must be given credit for having invented something definitely new in combining these diverse elements into a relatively homogeneous ceremony. It is an instance of the originality which is always cropping up sporadically, even in cultures none too advantaged environmentally, where these are provincially fixed. But, like the eagle-rearing, this one ceremony is too isolated and limited a phenomenon to be made the basis or even half the basis of a "cult" comparable to an organized society, initiation, or impersonation system.

It would also seem that the pota is more likely to be a fairly recent than an ancient institution. If it is a combination of three or four elements, it must be younger than any of these. Further, general precedent seems to point to such "experimenting" combinations as inclining to be relatively unstable. Over a long lapse of time one would expect one or the other of the pota elements to predominate, tend to suppress the others, and level the rite back to the more usual war celebration or mourning commemoration. Even particular Kuksu cult ceremonies are shown by their irregular occurrence and non-occurrence, and shifts of content and association, to be fairly unstable, though held within the bounds of organized self-perpetuating associations with some degree of conscious creed or tradition. And the pota was not so held, but floated free in the mass of Miwok ritual practices.

SUMMARY OF INDICATED HISTORY OF KUKSU AND RELATED CULTS

The general outline of Kuksu developments then may be tentatively reconstructed to have been this. At an early date, long before Pueblo cults had taken their present specific form, certain ritual practices were diffused from an undetermined center which may have lain in Mexico, but which, if in the United States, is most likely to have been situated among the Pueblos. These rituals probably included initiations of boys (Loeb's "tribal initiations"), or supernatural impersonations, or both; altars of groundpainting type; fetish bundles; possibly the bullroarer. The impersonations are likely to have been of two types: ghosts of the tribal dead or a race of spirits more or less identified with them; and spirits of a superior or special character, designable as deities and associated with the origin and maintenance of the world. There may also have been the concept that

C—076879

C-076879

the impersonations, especially of the gods, served to cure illness. These practices and ideas were diffused westward, and then south and north in the coast region, as far as north central California, where they were checked by encountering a culture of fairly distinct origins and trends, that of the Northwest Coast. In each area reached, the transmissions became merged with culture elements already established, and were still further modified by the development of provincial traits consonant with the culture of the area. Thus the cult houses, musical instruments, performers' apparel, largely became specific, not generic or uniform, in the several regions where the introductions flourished. These regions were those in which economic prosperity induced relatively concentrated living and inclinations toward organization. The organizing impulses resulted in the formation of societies, perhaps at times de novo. These were essentially luxury growths. In other regions subsistence was less favorable, or at least tended to more scattered or seasonal residence, organization was blocked instead of encouraged, societies did not form, and even the original impulse toward initiations or impersonations, often died out again. New tendencies arose, or grew to more strength than they had had before, in this area or that, producing greater local variety. Along the Colorado river, for instance, myth-dream singing habits, with an essentially individualistic coloring, tended to smother out not only concrete ritual, but any surviving impulses toward initiation or impersonation. On the southern California coast, on the other hand, the widespread trait of Datura intoxication, which quite probably had no original connection with the initiating and impersonating cults, was more and more emphasized, brought into connection with the local form of the cults, and modified these. The altar painting and fetish bundle were retained here along with initiation; impersonations faded away; a well organized society may never have been attained. In the environs of the Sacramento valley, the altar and fetish were lost, new impersonations were created and became dominant, societies became strong, even one new one, at least, being formed; but impersonation of the dead languished and died away where it came in competition with the introduced mourning commemoration held for the specific and recent dead. Change, progressive and retrogressive, was still active at the time of Caucasian occupation. Even in the adverse environment of peninsular California some remnants of the original diffusion maintained themselves. Elements like the bullroarer, a rattlesnake ceremony, eagle-rearing, and the like, which variously occur

C—076880

C-076880

and are absent both among initiating and non-initiating tribes, may be part of the original complex diffused, or may represent separate specific diffusions. Sporadically occurring traits like prayer-feathers or feather-sticks, meal offerings, pole climbing, may be due to the same causes or possibly to independent local invention. That this latter was at times an active process even among groups of simpler culture, is suggested by the composite pota ceremony of the hill Miwok. That invention was likely to be still more productive among groups with organization, is shown by the valley Maidu, with their numerous ceremonies and spirit impersonations and the calendar sequence of these. To a less degree, the Nisenan and Patwin show specialization. Simplifying tendencies also operated: as evidently among the hill Patwin, and possibly among the coast Pomo and Yuki in relation to the Clear lake Pomo. In the main, one line of growth seems to have been followed by the groups in the Sacramento valley itself, another by those of the coast range region to the west. But almost every group had developed some positive peculiarities of its own. Many traits are common to several groups, and a great many extend beyond the limits of tribes with societies, so that long-continued reciprocal export and import of ritual material between Kuksu and non-Kuksu groups is indicated, and the detailed history of the system becomes exceedingly intricate.

In some such manner as here outlined, it seems to me, the Kuksu cult system must have grown up. The phenomena are highly complex, and demonstrable determinations will necessarily be fewer than probabilities, in their historical reconstruction; and probabilities fewer than possibilities. But to deny that any historical significance can be extracted from the phenomena would be negativistic. There are enough specific and generic similarities between the Kuksu, southern California, and Pueblo cult systems to render pedantic an insistence on the wholly independent origin and parallel development of these. But there are a greater number of specific and even generic features which are dissimilar, and these, which constitute the bulk of the systems, cannot be brushed aside as secondary and negligible. They too constitute historic growths, to dismiss which as provincialisms in favor of those features which lend themselves to a simple unified scheme, would be summary and contrary to the spirit of historic inquiry. Finally, there are the great territorial gaps between the cult system centers. These must have acted as filters and modifiers in transmission, and enforce extreme caution in reconstructive inter-

C—076881

C-076881

pretation. Still, some conclusions, more or less along the lines indicated, seem attainable and perhaps justified.

In closing this review I wish to reemphasize the value of Loeb's contributions to the subject, precisely because my historical interpretations in part differ from his. He has sharply defined certain fundamental features of the cult, such as the ghost and the death-and-resurrection concepts, which had been inadequately recognized before. Also, he has envisaged the entire Kuksu complex in the light of more or less comparable phenomena elsewhere—perhaps mistakenly at some points, but certainly with illumination at others. Whatever the foregoing pages may have contributed to the understanding of this interesting religious system, is very considerably due to the clarifying influence of his work and of my discussions with him.[298]

GENERAL SUMMARY

The principal findings of this study are these:

The Patwin or "Southern Wintun" differed markedly from the Central and Northern Wintun (Wintun proper and Wintu) in both speech and culture.

A political organization into tribelets, characteristic of the Pomo and their neighbors, applies also to the Patwin, Central Wintun, and Northwestern Maidu. In the northern part of Patwin territory some thirty tribelets have been determined and the full number may have been around forty. Since some of the river Patwin towns were large, the tribelets probably averaged well over 100 souls, so that, with the extinct southern Patwin included, a total Patwin population of at least 6000 to 8000 is indicated. The "Central" or proper Wintun were less numerous, their tribes scarcely numbering twenty.

Every stretch of the Sacramento river had one people occupying both its banks. Wintu, Wintun, Maidu, Patwin, Nisenan, perhaps Plains Miwok, all lapped territorially across stream from the side of the valley on which they held the hills.

A tract fifty miles in length between the Sacramento and Feather rivers was unoccupied and unowned.

[298] While and since the above was being written, Loeb has obtained new data from the surviving Kato, Yuki and Coast Yuki, Huchnom and Wappo, Northern and Southern Pomo, Lower lake Pomo, and Lake and Coast Miwok. These data will provide at least outline knowledge of the Kuksu cult among every tribe in the western division; and, especially if they can be supplemented by fresh information from the easternmost Kuksu area, should go far toward enabling an understanding of the intricate internal relation of the entire system.

C—076882

C-076882

War in the area was usually the result of poaching. Besides the bow, the spear was an important weapon, and body armor was worn. Chiefs did not fight and were not attacked, but acted as peacemakers. There was no compensation in settlement.

River Patwin culture was characterized by a relatively simple technology, except in feather work. Baskets were well made, but the art was narrower than that of the Pomo. Skins were dressed little. There was considerable fishing, and the use of nets was rather highly developed, extending to most hunting, even the taking of deer. Special features of the material culture included wooden mortars, wells, cooking "salt" out of plants. Towns were good-sized and inhabited most the year. Girls' adolescence and war dances were weakly developed. Shamanism was of Pomo-Nisenan type, by purchased instruction from an older kinsman, rather than through inspiration or personal experience with spirits.

Hill Patwin culture was somewhat simpler than that of the river division, but apparently not notably so except in organized ritual. The settled parts of hill Patwin territory practically all lay under 1000 feet altitude.

Patwin society and its privileges were organized on the basis of patrilineal "functional families" or lineages, sere, described by McKern. The rigor of this scheme was however considerably modified in practice by a number of factors, especially personal closeness of elder kinsmen on the mother's side. In general, conditions would seem to have been similar to those among the Pomo of Clear lake as described by Gifford.

The modern ritual cult of the Patwin is an altered hybridization of their native cults of Kuksu type and of ideas and practices of the ghost-dance messianic movement of 1872. The precise circumstances and relations of this new development are not clear; but it spread under the same name, bole, to the Wintun and Maidu, and under a translated one, maru, to the Pomo and beyond, while the older rites were being abandoned.

Patwin mythology was not of the Maidu-Wintu-Yuki type, with recognition of an exalted anthropomorphic creator, but rather like that of the tribes to the south; the chief personage being the falcon. The anthropomorphic creator concept was limited to an east-west belt of tribes only partly overlapping the Kuksu cult area in the north, and therefore perhaps only indirectly connected with this cult in origin.

C—076883

C-076883

The Wintun proper were "central" only with reference to their geographical position in the Wintun linguistic stock. Ethnically and culturally they constituted the smaller southern portion of a northern or Wintu-Wintun half of the stock, as contrasted with the Patwin who formed the southern half. They were less concentrated in permanent towns; their usual dwellings were of thatch without earth; their principal dances were those of triumph over scalps and for adolescent girls; they did not participate at all in the Kuksu cult system. They did have an unusually exact set of shell-bead valuations for property of various kinds.

The Northeastern or Salt Pomo were a single tribelet in the Sacramento valley strongly influenced by their hill Patwin neighbors.

The Lake Miwok, who comprised two or three tribelets, seem to have leaned culturally toward the Pomo.

The Kuksu cult system possessed three initiating societies among the river Patwin. There was a general society which took in nearly all boys and performed the great hesi besides a number of other dances. There were two other societies or orders, the kuksu and the wai-saltu or north-spirits, whose membership was selective, adult, and included women. Initiation into these two limited societies consisted of being respectively shot or demented, and then restored to health. They are obviously the equivalents of the Pomo guksu and ghost societies. The general dancing society, on the other hand, is much like that of the valley Maidu. In their three organizations, the river Patwin are unique, no other California people being known to have more than two.

The hill Patwin, at least of the north, appear to have only a single society. Its great ceremony is the hesi, its initiator kuksu, and certain of its performers resemble the wai-saltu. The hill organization and rites therefore seem to be a fusion of elements existing separately among the river Patwin.

The more esoteric duties of the Patwin societies are restricted to certain members who have been taught the requisite ritual knowledge, invariably for pay, by a predecessor who is usually an older kinsman. Many of the public enactments of these rituals are however performed by the ordinary or lower grade members, under the direction of one of these "masters." A system of apportioning seats or places on the dance-house floor according to official rank or status, seems to have been carried farther by the Patwin than by other groups.

C—076884

C-076884

The valley Maidu possess the largest number of distinct spirit impersonations, dances, and ceremonies in their Kuksu cult, and they have gone farthest in arranging the most important of these in a seasonal sequence. They also seem to be unique in confining important ceremonies to the winter. They appear however to lack the equivalent of the wai-saltu or ghost society; as to a separate kuksu order or society among them, the evidence is incomplete.

The entire Kuksu cult, defined as a system of rituals performed by initiated members of societies impersonating supernatural beings, seems to have been confined to an area about 150 miles in diameter in north central California. Outside of this area many of the elements of the cult occur, but there are no societies and little systematic organization. The cult, underneath many local variations, shows two basic forms, characteristic respectively of the Sacramento valley and Coast range regions. Its probable external relations and internal development have been outlined in the concluding paragraphs of the section on the cult as a whole.

C—076885

C-076885