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# The Huntington California Expedition.

## *The Northern Maidu.*

By ROLAND B. DIXON.

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BULLETIN

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III.—THE NORTHERN MAIDU.

By ROLAND B. DIXON.

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## INTRODUCTION.

THE present paper embodies a portion of the results of the work of the Huntington Expedition during the summers of 1899, 1900, 1902, and 1903. The whole of the first season, and considerable parts of the following seasons, were spent with the various fragments of the Northern Maidu, and the general ethnological results of that work are here presented. The linguistic material, of which a considerable mass has been obtained, is being prepared for publication as rapidly as possible.

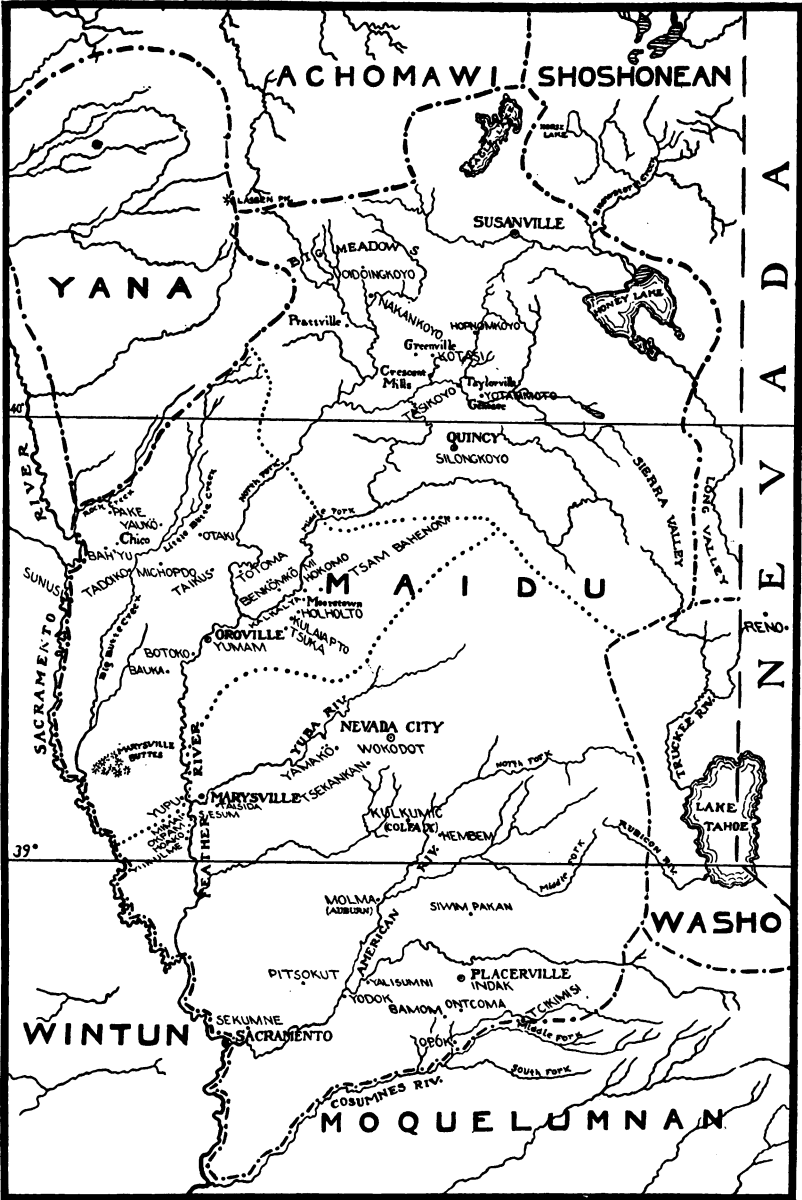
In the work among the Maidu of the foot-hill and lower Sierra region in the vicinity of Mooretown, Butte County, the writer was greatly aided by Mr. D. L. Spencer of Enterprise. Owing to his long residence in the region, and his sympathetic study of the Indians of the vicinity, Mr. Spencer was able to render valuable service in many ways; and for the description of the "burning," and many of the details of the ceremonial and daily life of this portion of the Maidu, the writer has relied largely on him. A number, also, of the specimens illustrated, in particular the images used at the "burnings," were obtained only through Mr. Spencer's diligent and persistent endeavors. Further notes on the "burning" in 1904, containing additional important details, were made by Mr. S. A. Barrett of Ukiah. Much aid in the work among the Maidu was given by Dr. A. M. Tozzer during the summer of 1900, chiefly in connection with the southern portion of the stock. The work of the expedition during the first and part of the second seasons was also greatly facilitated by the many courtesies extended by Mr. H. F. Liston, superintendent of the Round Valley Reservation. The identification of the food and other plants mentioned in the course of the paper was kindly undertaken by Mr. M. L. Fernald of the Gray Herbarium, Harvard University. In many instances, however, the specimens were so imperfect (having been largely collected by Indians) that identification was impossible.

and Sacramento. On the north they were in contact with the Yana and Achomá'wi (Pit River and Hat Creek Indians), on the east with the Shoshone and Washo, on the south with the Moquelumnan, and on the west with the Wintun.<sup>1</sup> In more detail the boundary of the region occupied was as follows: Beginning at a point on the Sacramento River some six or eight miles north of Chico, the northern boundary of the stock seems to have followed the course of Rock Creek eastward to its source, and thence approximately along the present county-line between Tehama and Butte, and Tehama and Plumas, as far as Lassen Butte.<sup>2</sup> The region drained by the upper waters of Deer, Mill, and Battle Creeks, although really a continuation of Big Meadows, was not occupied by the Maidu, but lay within the dominion of the much-dreaded Ko'mbō or Yana. The immediate region of Lassen Butte and the upper valley of Warner Creek were rarely visited by the Maidu, as, owing to the prevalence of hot-springs and other volcanic features, the region was regarded as mysterious. From Lassen Peak eastwards, the line between the Achomá'wi and the Maidu seems to have been rather vague. The region of small lakes, cinder-cones, and lava-flows immediately east of the peak was apparently regarded as Maidu territory. The whole valley of Susan Creek was also within their control, although permanent settlements did not exist far above the present town of Susanville. Pine Creek and Eagle Lake were continually visited by hunting-parties, and were somewhat doubtfully regarded as also a part of Maidu territory. Beyond Willow Creek, however, they never ventured. The entire valley of Honey Lake is said to have been permanently occupied in early times by the Maidu; and it is declared emphatically that no Piutes were settled there until after the coming of the first white immigrants, or just before.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See map, Plate XXXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> This agrees in general with the boundary of the land ceded by the Maidu in this vicinity in the treaty of Aug. 1, 1851 (see Royce, *Indian Land Cessions*, Plate 7, in the *Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1806-07, Part 2).

<sup>3</sup> According to the map given by Royce in his *Indian Land Cessions*, the Washo claimed all the valley of Honey Lake and its tributaries, except Susan Creek, and extended up the latter as far as Susanville. Recent or detailed information as to the earlier Washo territory is lacking. The Maidu assert very definitely, however, that Honey Lake was in their control, although names of village sites in that area were not given.



MAP SHOWING THE LOCATION AND SUBDIVISIONS OF THE MAIDU INDIANS AND SURROUNDING TRIBES AND THE PRINCIPAL VILLAGES OF THE MAIDU.

Statute Miles 0 10 20 30



Whether the Maidu occupied any part of upper Long Valley is very uncertain. From the fact, however, that Reno and the region thereabouts are mentioned in the creation myth, it is possible that the Maidu at one time extended farther in this direction.

Although Sierra Valley was not permanently occupied by the Maidu or other Indians because of the heavy snows in winter, it seems to have been regarded as distinctly Maidu territory. The Washo occasionally sent strong hunting-parties there, however. From the southern end of Sierra Valley, the boundary would seem to have run nearly due south, following along or just west of the crest of the Sierras as far as the South Fork of the American River. From here it turned more to the southwest, crossed the head of the North Fork of the Cosumnes to the Middle Fork, and continued down this stream to the forks. It is probable that from here the line followed the main river to its junction with the Moquelumne, and thence westward to the Sacramento. From this point the latter river formed in general the western boundary of the stock as far as the mouth of Rock Creek, just north of Chico.<sup>1</sup>

TOPOGRAPHY.—The area just outlined divides itself topographically into several sharply differentiated portions. The entire western section lies within the broad, flat Sacramento Valley,—a great plain a hundred and fifty miles or more in length, and from twenty to forty in width. This plain presents in general an almost absolutely level surface, broken only by the isolated volcanic mass of the Marysville Buttes, which stand approximately in its centre. Immediately along the Sacramento River is a stretch characterized by tule swamps, or low-lying lands liable to flood, and hence unsuited for habitation. Thus most all permanent settlements

<sup>1</sup> Earlier statements and several maps give the Wintun quite a strip of land on the eastern side of the Sacramento. By the treaty of Sept. 9, 1851, the Wintun apparently claimed a belt from six to twelve miles wide on this eastern side, from just below Chico to the mouth of the Feather River. Powers (*Tribes of California*, p. 218) also speaks of the Wintun as overlapping the Sacramento in this region. Recent careful inquiry, however, shows that while there would seem to have been no Maidu villages on Butte Creek much below Durham, there were, on the other hand, several between Butte Creek and the Feather River, and also on the western side of the latter stream to its mouth. From what could be learned, the Marysville Buttes and the region between Butte Creek and the Sacramento was more or less frequented by both Wintun and Maidu, both claiming it, but the Maidu seeming to have been in the ascendant.

were situated a few miles back from the river, on slightly higher land. The climate of this region is one of long, dry, and often very hot summers (temperatures of  $40^{\circ}$  to  $45^{\circ}\text{C}$ . or even higher being not uncommon), with a mild and sometimes rainy winter. In its original state, the whole region seems to have been almost park-like, with its miles on miles of waving grass and flowers, and its magnificent open groves of oaks, and to have been fairly thronged with game, while its rivers teemed with salmon and other fish.

Eastward from this rich valley lies the long chain of the Sierra Nevada, which, rising gradually from its western foothills, reaches an elevation of from twenty-three hundred to thirty-three hundred metres, along its eastern crest. This whole mountain region is very rugged, being, with the exception of a small part in the northeast to be referred to presently, deeply cut by the canyons of the Feather, Yuba, and American Rivers. These canyons vary in depth from three hundred to twelve hundred metres, and run in general northeast and southwest, dividing the country into a series of roughly parallel ridges, rendering travel at right angles to their trend often quite difficult. In its climate, this region varies notably as we go from west to east, for, with the increasing elevation, we pass from a somewhat arid to a less arid climate, and from a region of mild winters to one in which the winter is often of very considerable severity, and where the snowfall is probably as great as that in any other part of the United States, if not greater. The distribution of this heavy snowfall is not in exact accord with elevation, for the heaviest snow occurs in "belts," and, here reaching depths of from ten to twenty feet, serves to render permanent occupation almost impossible. Compared with the region of the Sacramento Valley, the forest in this section is quite dense; and while oaks are found in large numbers, yet the prevailing timber is coniferous. Game would seem to have been plentiful here in early times; and the rivers, on the whole, were well supplied with fish.

Extending from north to south in a more or less connected chain in the northern portion of this mountain area, is a



series of large, perfectly flat-floored valleys, lying at an elevation of from twelve hundred to sixteen hundred metres. These valleys, beginning with Big Meadows in the north, and continuing through American, Indian, Genesee, and Red Clover Valleys to Sierra Valley in the south, are often of considerable size (the larger from twelve to fifteen kilometres wide and from twenty to twenty-five kilometres long), and combine a level, easily traversable country, such as that of the Sacramento Valley, with a high mountain environment and climate.

The valleys of Honey Lake and its tributaries, lying to the east and northeast of the region just described, present a sharp contrast again to any of the preceding sections. We here come to the typical sagebrush and alkali plains, and barren, treeless ridges characteristic of the Great Basin area. Arid, with cold winters and hot summers, and with but a meagre supply of game, this last section is distinctly the least favorable and desirable of the whole area which the Maidu occupied.

DIVISIONS.—Linguistically and also culturally the Maidu are divided into three groups or divisions, in part coinciding with the topographic areas just outlined. These three sections of the Maidu may be called the Northeastern, the Northwestern, and the Southern.

The first of these occupies exclusively the chain of high mountain-valleys already described, and also the arid region to the east and northeast. Besides the main valleys mentioned, this section of the Maidu occupied Butt and Humbug Valleys just west of Big Meadows, and also held Mohawk Valley as a hunting-ground, the snowfall being too heavy there for a permanent residence. The western limit of this section was about three to ten miles east of the present line between Butte and Plumas Counties. It seems that on the whole they had comparatively little close association with the Northwestern Maidu, to whom they were known collectively as Nō'tōma ("Northern or Eastern people"), and came in contact with them only on summer hunts, when the two divisions often met, and sometimes fought. The differ-

ences between the two sections were noticeable both in language and culture. The dialects were, however, sufficiently alike to enable each to understand partially the speech of the other, although considerable variation, both in vocabulary and in grammar, existed. Culturally the Northeastern Maidu were simpler than their neighbors to the west, lacking in particular the elaborate dance organization, the Secret Society, and several features of the "burning" ceremony so characteristic of the northwestern section.

The second division of the Maidu includes all the remainder of the stock living west of the above, and north of the Yuba River. One portion, therefore, of this section, occupied the eastern portion of the Sacramento Valley in this region, whereas the other was located in the foot-hills and western slopes of the Sierra. While variations in culture existed within this section, linguistically they may be regarded as one group. The foot-hill people in this section were known to the Northeastern Maidu as Tā'yima ("Western people"), and to the dwellers in the Sacramento Valley as Tō'kōma ("Cradle people [?], Flea people [?]").

All of the Maidu living south of the Yuba, whether in the mountains or in the Sacramento Valley, fall into the third division, which corresponds to the Nishinam of Powers. They differ in language from both the other sections, showing apparently somewhat simpler and abbreviated forms grammatically, and differ also considerably in vocabulary. In culture, again, they differ notably, approximating more and more the type of the Moquelumnan peoples to the south. By both the Northeastern and Northwestern Maidu these Southern Maidu are called Tan'kōma (meaning unknown). The numbers of this section still surviving seem to be smaller than in the other divisions, and as yet information in regard to them has not been obtained as fully as with regard to the two other groups. The present paper is therefore devoted almost entirely to these latter sections. It is hoped to treat the Southern Maidu by themselves in a subsequent paper.

The number of villages at one time occupied by the Maidu seems to have been large. It is probably impossible at the

present time to secure a complete list, and the information obtained in this particular is more exhaustive in some regions than in others. The map shown on Plate XXXVIII, however, gives most of the more important of these villages.

HISTORY.—Apparently the earliest meeting between Europeans and members of the Maidu stock of which there is definite record was in 1811, when Padre Abella made an exploring expedition through the lower San Joaquin and Sacramento Valleys. About ten years later the valley of the Sacramento was more carefully and thoroughly explored by Don Luis Argüello. His course seems, however, to have been entirely along the western bank of the river. In 1822 the Bear and Feather Rivers were explored by Spaniards, but only in their lower courses. As early as 1820, or possibly even earlier, the hardy and venturesome trappers of the fur companies had found their way from the east and north into California, and unlike the Spaniards, who did not penetrate the mountains to any extent, had in ten years explored much, if not all, of the area occupied by the Maidu. During the decade from 1830 to 1840, in addition to the activity of the fur-traders, there were other visitors to the Maidu country, among whom were Ogden (1830), Bonneville (1832), Laframboise (1832), and Sutter, who started his settlement at New Helvetia in 1839. From the year 1840 up to the time of the discovery of gold in 1848, exploring-parties (such as Frémont's expedition in 1844), and immigrants began to penetrate the region, and settlements were started in the valley of the Bear River.

The tremendous and sudden influx of white population, due to the gold-fever, brought a rapid change to the whole Maidu country, which included within it a large part of the mining district. Party after party traversed their territory, along the Feather and American Rivers, and prospectors penetrated the most remote canyons and valleys in search of the precious metal. With some exceptions, the Maidu accepted rather passively this invasion of their territory, with the attendant driving-away of the game, and the destruction of the fish in

[*May, 1905.*]

the streams by the mining refuse. The sudden contact with the civilization of the mining camps quickly produced its usual effect; and by drink and disease the once populous villages were rapidly depleted.<sup>1</sup> In not a few instances this speedy decimation was accelerated by wanton slaughter of inoffensive and defenceless Indians by the more lawless members of the mining community. The rapidly diminishing remnants, however, stood in the way of the desired development of the region; and early in 1851 treaties were made by which the Maidu gave up all claim to their territory, and were transferred, so far as possible, to reservations established in western Amador, Nevada, and Butte Counties. Six years later some five hundred Maidu, chiefly from the Yuba and Feather Rivers, were taken to the then recently established Nome Lackee and Nome Cult (Round Valley) Reservations in the Coast Range. The majority of the Maidu escaped in the course of the next two years, however, and found their way back to their old homes. In the late '50's and early '60's a desultory warfare was waged by State troops on the Maidu, with the result that their numbers were still further reduced. Except for the brief period during which the reservations in Butte, Nevada, and Amador Counties existed, and while the small body above referred to were kept at Nome Lackee and Nome Cult, the Maidu have not been "reservation Indians;" and except for the small band, chiefly from Concow Valley and the immediate vicinity, who are now at Round Valley, the Maidu are to-day scattered over the whole area of their former territory. To the majority, allotments of land have been made; but there are many who still have no land, or have been allotted such poor land that they cannot live upon it. Others, still, are located on land given by private generosity, as at Chico.

POPULATION.—It is very difficult to arrive at any satisfactory conclusions as to the numbers of the Maidu before the period of the discovery of gold. Warner, a member of the Ewing Young trapping-party that traversed the Sacramento

<sup>1</sup> The population had, however, been much reduced before the immigrant days of '40; as in 1830, and at several other periods even earlier, very disastrous epidemics swept through the whole area.

Valley in 1832 and 1833, speaks of the region as "studded with villages."<sup>1</sup> Ridiculous estimates were made by some early visitors, as, for example, when Jedediah Smith estimated the number of Indians between Red Bluff and the mouth of the Sacramento, in 1820 or thereabouts, at over 80,000. In 1843 another observer estimated them at 50,000. It is unquestionable that the number of inhabitants in the whole Great Valley area decreased very largely in the period between 1820 and 1840, as the result of recurring epidemics of small-pox and other contagious diseases, which swept off the people by hundreds, if not by thousands. Several observers speak of finding entire villages almost entirely depopulated, and hundreds of skeletons lying about unburied. The only available figures of official estimates after the acquisition of California by the United States, as well as the census returns since then, are very fluctuating and not reliable. In 1850 Adam Johnston<sup>2</sup> estimated the Maidu in the Sacramento Valley and lower foot-hills as between 1300 and 1400; six years later, Henley<sup>3</sup> estimated that there were over 7000 in the whole area occupied by the stock; in the census of 1860 the number of "civilized Indians" in Maidu territory was given as 510, and in 1870 as only 95; in 1880 the figures jump to 1484; in 1890 the population is given as 1202, and in 1900 as about 1100. The estimate of Henley is certainly excessive, and the figures from the census of 1860 and 1870 are equally useless. It appears from a personal rough enumeration that the more recent census figures are again excessive, and it is believed that the number of full-blood Maidu to-day is not much over 200 or 250, at the outside.

That the original population throughout the area was large seems from all the testimony—not only of early settlers, but of the Indians themselves—to be certain. There were a large number of villages occupied, and a large number of old sites. Of course, all were not occupied at the same time; and much of the excess in local estimates seems to be due to having

<sup>1</sup> History of Amador County, p. 260.

<sup>2</sup> Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 31st Cong., 2d Sess., Sen. Ex. Doc., Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 34th Cong., 3d Sess., Sen. Ex. Doc., Vol. II, p. 797.

overlooked this fact, as well as that of the frequent gatherings of the people for celebrations of one sort or another, the large numbers thus present at one time giving a false idea of the real population. I believe, however, that we should be within the mark if we assumed for the Maidu, before their association with Europeans, a population of about 4000.

MIGRATION.—The Maidu, in common with nearly all Californian Indians, offer a sharp contrast to the Indians of the more easterly and southerly tribes, in that they have no traditions of having lived elsewhere than in their present home. Turning to culture and mythology, we find few certain evidences of movement. There are perhaps slight traces in the creation myths, of a movement from west to east; but such indications are faint, and the whole question of movement must remain problematical for the present. From all indications, therefore, we are forced to regard the Maidu as having been settled, for at least a long period, in the region they occupied when first known.

#### MATERIAL CULTURE.

MANUFACTURES. *Work in Stone*.—The stone objects made and used by the Maidu include knives, arrow and spear points, clubs (?), celts, arrow-straighteners, scrapers, pestles, mortars, metates, pipes, and charms.

The methods of manufacture of knives and of spear and arrow points do not differ from those usually employed by Indians in other portions of the continent. The materials used were various: a rather hard black basalt being used in many cases for knives and spear-heads; while obsidian, obtained largely in trade, was used for arrow-points, and in some cases also for knives. Flint and jasper were also used. Near Oroville was one of the best-known spots for getting flint, from a cave on or near Table Mountain. The opening to the cave was very small, but, once in, the size was such that a man could stand upright. A person going to get flint must crawl in, and then throw ahead of him beads or dried meat as offerings to the spirits for the flint he was about to

take. A person was allowed to take only so much flint as he could break off at a single blow. The flint obtained, the person had to crawl out backwards. If the regulations were not complied with, the person would have bad luck; the flint would not chip well, or would fail to kill.

Knives (Fig. 1) and spear-points (Fig. 2) were

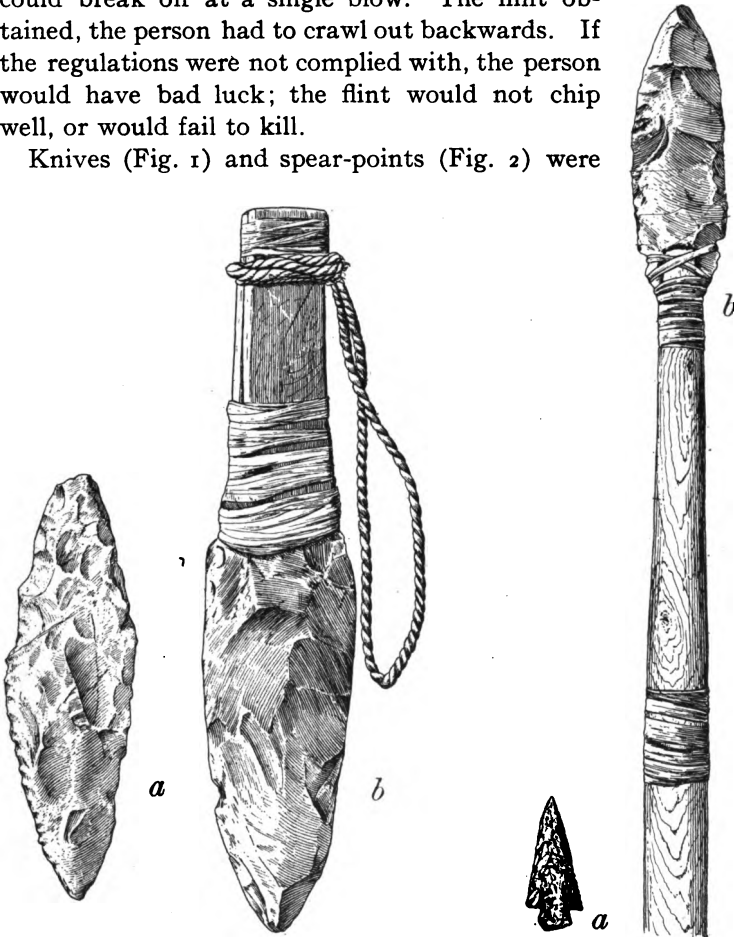


Fig. 1, *a* (1883), *b* (1883). Stone Knives. Length of points, 11 cm., 17 cm.

Fig. 2, *a* (1883), *b* (1883). Spear-points. Length, 7 cm., 16 cm.

rather roughly made, and were generally, in the case of the former, fastened into a handle of wood made of two pieces tied together and further secured by means of pitch. The spear-point was inserted in the end of the spear-shaft, which was then wrapped with sinew and heavily pitched. In the manu-

facture of arrow-points, a strip of buckskin was wound about the thumb, and passed down over the palm of the left hand. On this the piece of stone to be fashioned was held with the thumb. A bone flaker (Fig. 3) was used in the right hand, the flakes being thrown off by downward and forward pressure. Sharpened bone or antler points were used to press out the serrations sometimes made on arrow-points, and to work out the notches at the base of the point. Arrow-points were always very small. Some of the stone implements seem to have been ground after being chipped.



Fig. 3 (1888a).  
Arrow-point  
Flaker.  
Length, 29 cm.

Stone scrapers were used chiefly by the Northwestern Maidu, it seems. They were flaked so as to have a sharp, serrated edge, and often hafted, one at each end of a wooden handle (Fig. 4). In use, the scraper was drawn towards the body.



Fig. 4 (1887).  
Stone Scraper.  
Length, 21 cm.

A rude axe seems to have been used, being merely a worked piece of trap, either held in the hand, or affixed by sinew wrappings to a wooden handle. The Northeastern Maidu claim that they had a species of axe, used in war as well as for wood-cutting (Fig. 5). The stone heads for these were said not to have been made, but were

found, as were the mortars. The head was fastened with pitch and sinew between two sticks, or in the cleft of a split stick.

Arrow-straighteners were generally made of sandstone; two pieces of convenient size, with a groove worked in them, being used, the arrow-shaft being run back and forth between them (Fig. 6). The teeth were also much used in straightening.

The question of mortars is one which presents some diffi-



culty. The almost unanimous testimony of the Indians is to the effect that neither they nor their ancestors, within their recollection, ever made the finished, globular mortars of which so many hundreds have been found within the area occupied by the stock. In the manufacture of acorn-flour, they were accustomed to use either the smooth, flat surface of some large boulder or ledge, or else a flat slab or block of stone of irregular shape



Fig. 5 (888). Stone Axe. Length, 13.5 cm.

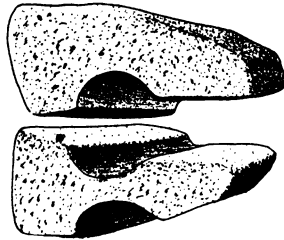


Fig. 6 (888). Arrow-straightener. Length, 7 cm.

sunk into the floor of their houses. On this flat surface the pulverization of the acorns took place. In the course of time, from the constant pounding, a hole or cavity would be worn in the surface of the stone. In all cases noted, these cavities were distinctly funnel-shaped, coming to a rather sharp point at the bottom (Fig. 7). The cavities are all the way from a few millimetres to twelve or even fifteen centimetres in depth, and rarely over ten centimetres in diameter at their upper edge. The Maidu are agreed, that, so soon as such a cavity was worn to any depth in the stone, the stone was discarded, or, in the case of the large boulders or ledges, a new spot on its surface was chosen. This was done because such a deep, narrow, funnel-shaped cavity rendered it very difficult to pulverize the acorns properly, the meal collecting and packing into a solid, hard mass at the bottom of the hole. In every case where the preparation of acorn-meal has been personally witnessed, a flat or

nearly flat stone was in use, and in no case was there more than a very shallow depression at the spot where the pestle descended. When most marked, this hollow was not over two centimetres and a half in depth. Discarded blocks and slabs of stone were seen in which the cavity had, as above

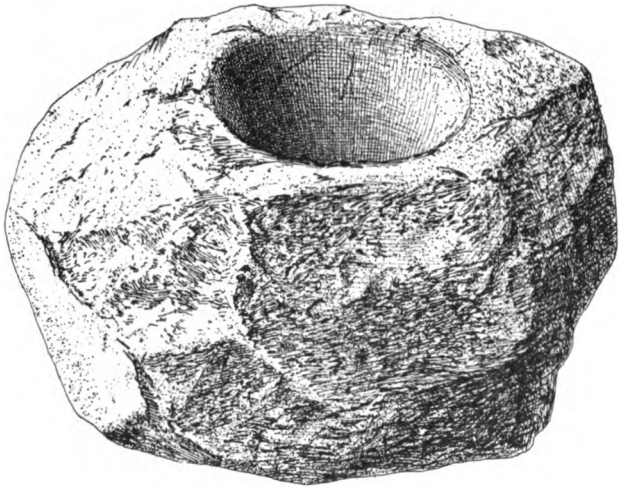


Fig. 7 ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ). Stone Mortar-block with Funnel-shaped Cavity. Greatest diameter, 34 cm.

described, become too deep for use. In not a single case was a mortar with the usual broad excavation and globular form seen in use.

The statement is made, moreover, by the Indians, that finished, widely and deeply excavated globular mortars were found by them in certain localities in considerable numbers. These localities were gravel-banks along the edges of streams, the stream-beds themselves, or the surface of the ground in certain stony places. They claim that in a few spots large numbers of mortars were to be found; and some declare that the shamans know where these spots are, and go there at times to secure mortars, which, as will be seen later in speaking of religious ceremonies, were used for various mysterious and sacred purposes. Everywhere throughout the Northern Maidu area these mortars are regarded with considerable awe

and veneration, and are feared quite keenly in many instances. Apart from their ceremonial uses, every family is anxious to own a mortar; but it is never kept in the house or near it, being generally buried some distance away, and occasionally dug up and examined. Mortars were used by the shamans as receptacles in which to keep their most powerful and precious charms, especially the "pains" which they shot at people to cause disease or death. Such "pains" were kept in a mortar, with another mortar inverted over the first, the whole carefully secreted in a hollow log or under a large stone at a considerable distance from all habitations or trails. In the initiation ceremonies of the Secret Society the sacred meal used for sprinkling the novices must similarly be kept in a mortar. Lastly, the mortars are generally known by the name of *ku'kinim tō'ni* or *i'tūm tō'ni* ("spirit or pain baskets"), and are often supposed to be themselves the abiding-places of powerful spirits; although the belief in the mortars' animation, and their ability to move of their own accord from place to place, is not held here, as it is among the Shasta. By some the mortars are said to have been made by the Creator, or the Coyote, at the time of the creation, and scattered over the world for the use of mankind. By others they are supposed to have been people originally, during the *bētē'itō*, or time of the "first people," who were turned into stone in this form at the coming of the Indian people, when the other "first people" became animals.

It would seem, therefore, that the mortars of which such large numbers have been found,—in many cases, it is claimed, in the gold-bearing gravels,—and about which, in the latter instance, so much controversy and discussion have taken place, were not made by the Maidu, or at least have not been made by them within the traditional period.

The pestles used for pounding the acorn-meal are of different sizes, but are substantially of the same type. Generally cylindrical, with a circular or oval cross-section, they vary from fifteen to thirty-five centimetres in length, with a diameter ranging from six to almost ten centimetres (Fig. 8). Occasionally a form is found with a squarish cross-section, but

these are not common. Often river-pebbles of appropriate shape and size are used without further modification of form.

Metates and mullers were in use chiefly for grinding the grass-seeds and other seeds, of which a considerable variety were used for food. The metate is merely a slab of coarse-grained stone, set at a low angle; the muller being a smaller piece of the same stone, convenient to grasp in the hand.

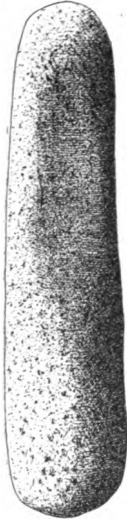


Fig. 8 ( $\frac{1}{16}$  b).  
Pestle. Length,  
26 cm.

Stone pipes (Fig. 9, *a*, *b*,) would seem to have been at all times objects of value, and to have been, on the whole, somewhat scarce, a wooden pipe being far more common. All pipes were of the tubular form. In general, the stone pipes were short, ranging from ten to fifteen centimetres in length, and usually made from steatite. The pipe used by the *pehēi'pe*, or clown, was larger, as a rule, and always made of soapstone. It had, moreover, a rim or ring about the mouth-end (see Fig. 66). The

pipes were drilled by means of a piece of deer-antler, which was pounded with another stone, till, after a long time, the cavity was made. Sometimes sand was added, which accelerated the work. It is claimed that there was no twirling of the deer-antler, or other method of drilling. The details of the manufacture seem to have been to a considerable extent lost. It is also claimed that occasionally a pipe was found, just as were the mortars. These pipes which were found were regarded as of mysterious origin, and were to be handled with great care.

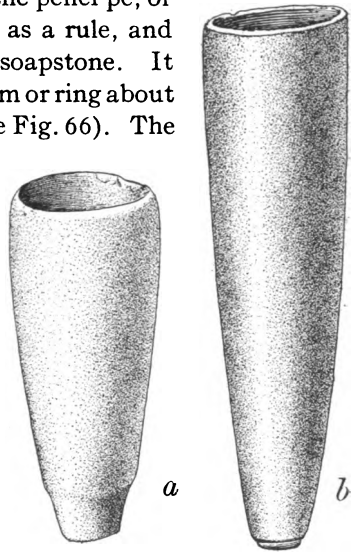


Fig. 9, *a* ( $\frac{1}{16}$  a), *b* ( $\frac{1}{16}$  b). Stone Pipes.  
Length, 8.5 cm., 14 cm.

To drop a stone pipe of any sort, but in particular of this type, was very unfortunate, and bad luck or illness was sure to follow. As in the case of the mortars, the Shasta held the pipes as capable of independent motion, but this belief was not held by the Maidu.

Small soapstone vessels (Fig. 10) were very sparingly in use, chiefly, it would seem, among the Northeastern Maidu.

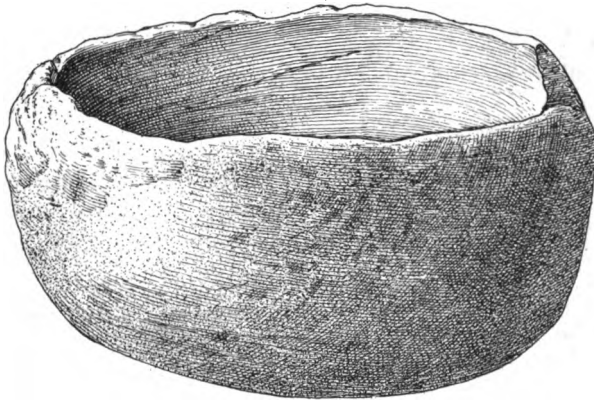


Fig. 10 (1/2). Soapstone Vessel. Diameter, 15.5 cm.

Cylindrical beads of stone were used, usually in the form of necklaces. These beads were either white or a yellowish pink, and were from two to five centimetres in length, and one centimetre in diameter. These stone beads were held in great esteem, and were among the most valuable of all the beads in use. It seems, they were obtained, as a rule, in a finished state, in trade with the Wintun.

Shamans wore pendant from the neck obsidian knives, which were regarded as of great value and mysterious power (Fig. 11, *a*). The well-made stone object shown in Fig. 11, *b*, was worn suspended from the neck as a charm or lucky stone, and was chiefly used in the gambling-games, being stuck down in the ground before the player.

*Work in Wood, Bone, and Shell.*—With the exception of their excellent bows and arrows and their very crude dug-out canoes, the Maidu made little, if any, use of wood for imple-

ments. Small trees were felled by the laborious process of hacking with sharp flints held in the hand, or roughly hafted as already described. Once felled, the trunk was commonly burned in two where desired. Large trees they did not attempt to cut down, but utilized such as were blown down by the wind or burned down in forest-fires. The rude dug-out canoes, in use only among the Northeastern Maidu, were made from fallen pines, as a rule. A section of the requisite length was burned off, the bark stripped, and the canoe excavated by fire, pitch being applied to the portions it was desired to burn out, and water or wet earth thrown on when it was wanted to stop the burning at any point. The charred wood was scraped off with rough axes or adzes, and the fire kept up till

the canoe was completely hollowed out. Elk-antler wedges were used to split trees, being driven by a round hammer-stone held in the hand. None of these wedges seem now to be in existence.

From bone and antler the Maidu made scrapers, awls, needles, wedges, arrow-flakers, and ear and nose ornaments, fish-hooks and salmon-gigs. As a scraper, the deer-ulna was in com-

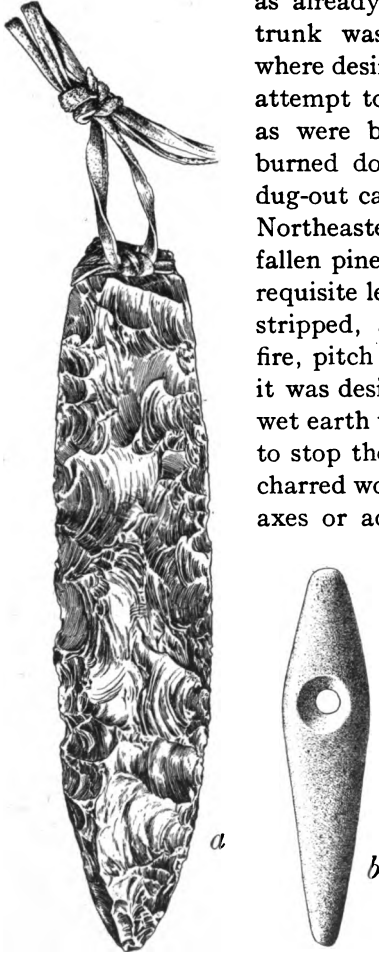


Fig. 11, *a* (3897a), *b* (3897). Neck-pendants used as Charms. Length, 28 cm., 16.5 cm.

mon use, but more in the Sierra than in the foot-hills and Sacramento Valley, where the stone scraper seems to have been more common. Awls and basket-needles were of bone (Fig. 12). Arrow-flakers of bone were often tied to wooden

handles. For nose-ornaments, a simple bone needle was sometimes used. For ear-ornaments, a section of bird-bone was the most common type, ornamented with incised designs (see Fig. 38, a).

Shell was used only for ornament and for currency. The white, disk-shaped beads common to all this coast region were largely used by the Maidu. They were obtained apparently from the Wintun, who, in their turn, probably obtained them from the Pomo and Yuki along the coast. From the statements made by the Indians, it would appear that the beads were obtained either in the finished or partly finished state. In the latter case, they were already drilled and strung on cords, but were not yet rounded and smoothed. This finishing was accomplished in the usual manner, by rolling the string of imperfect disks between two stones, thus grinding them to perfect circles. Abalone was used largely for ear-ornaments and for necklaces. The shell was used in irregular or rectangular pieces, and was hung pendant from cords, either by itself, or in connection with the ordinary white disk beads. It was obtained, like the latter, from the Wintun. Dentalium was also known and highly prized. It was used, however, but little, because of its rarity.

*Preparation of Hides.*—The preparation of hides was carried on by the women, as a rule. The hair was first removed by means of bone or stone scrapers, the hide being laid either over a stump or on a slanting post set in the ground for the purpose. Next the skin was thoroughly soaked, and rubbed with deer-brains, either fresh or dried. The dried brains were prepared in the following manner: The fresh brains were mashed, and mixed with a quantity of dry moss, and the mixture was then made into flat cakes and dried. In this form the brains could be kept indefinitely. When used, the cake was dipped into warm water and rubbed over the hide. As a rule, skins were not smoked. After treatment with the brains, the hide



Fig. 12 (4887 d).  
Bone Awl or  
Basket-needle.  
Length, 16.5 cm.

was again soaked in water, wrung out, and rubbed between the hands before a fire until dry. If necessary, the soaking and rubbing till dry were repeated if the skin was not soft enough.

*Cordage and Netting.*—Cord and thread of various sizes were made principally from the fibre of the milkweed (*As-*

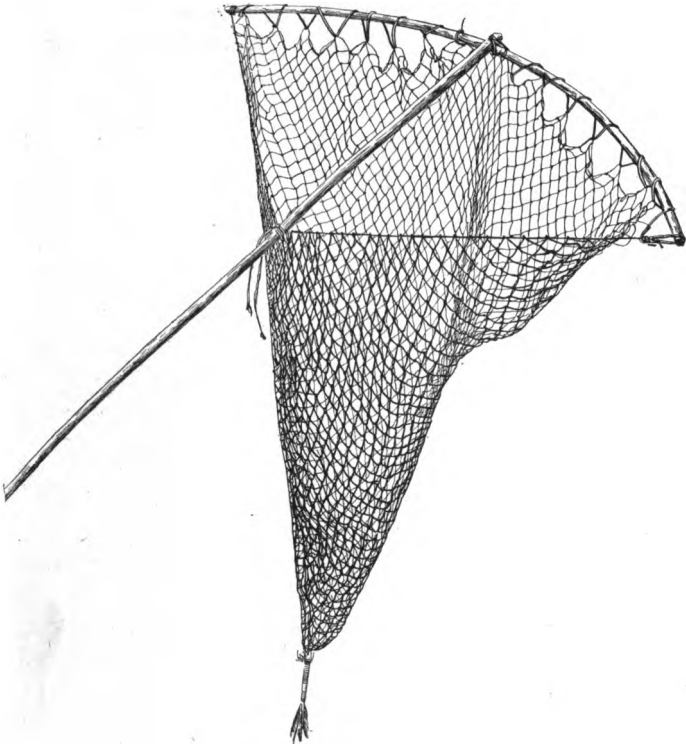


Fig. 13 (8833). Model of a Fish-net. Length of net, 99 cm.

*clepias speciosa*, and probably another species as well) and wild hemp (*Apocynum* sp.). The stalks were gathered in the autumn when thoroughly dry, and were crushed and rolled between the hands till the woody stem had been separated from the long outer fibres. These were then rolled on the thigh into a two-strand twine. If stronger cord



was desired, several of these smaller cords were made into one of greater thickness. From this cord, which was of great strength and durability, the Maidu made their nets and their netted caps (*wika'*).

Nets for fishing were made in varying sizes, heavy or light cord being used, and the mesh being made large or small,

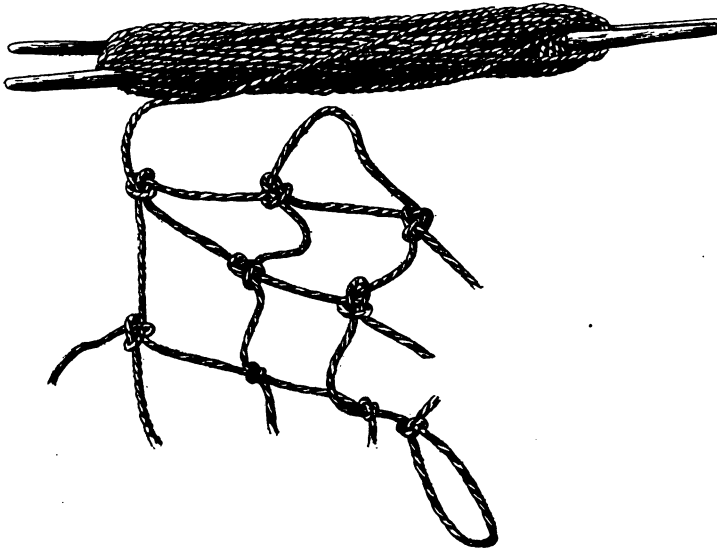


Fig. 14 (199). Netting-shuttle and Knots. Length of shuttle, 34.5 cm.

according to the uses of the net. Seine-nets seem to have been used by the Maidu of the Sacramento Valley, whereas in the mountains the favorite net was of the type shown in Fig. 13. In netting, the cord was kept on a netting-shuttle composed of two slender sticks (Fig. 14). No mesh-measures were used, the first two or three fingers of the hand being the only measure in making the mesh-loops. The knot used is shown in detail in Fig. 14.

In the manufacture of the netted cap, several different methods, it seems, are followed. All of these are alike apparently, in that, to begin with, a small forked stick is stuck into the ground, in front of the man making the cap. To the

top of the peg or stick a loop of cord is tied, and into this loop the maker proceeds to net other loops, as shown in

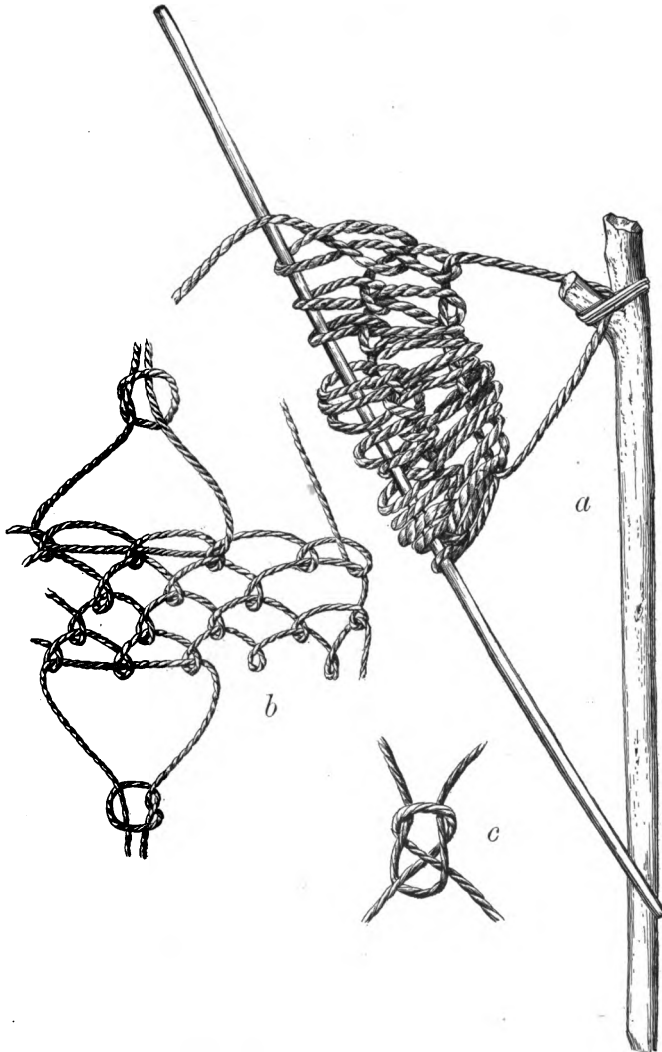
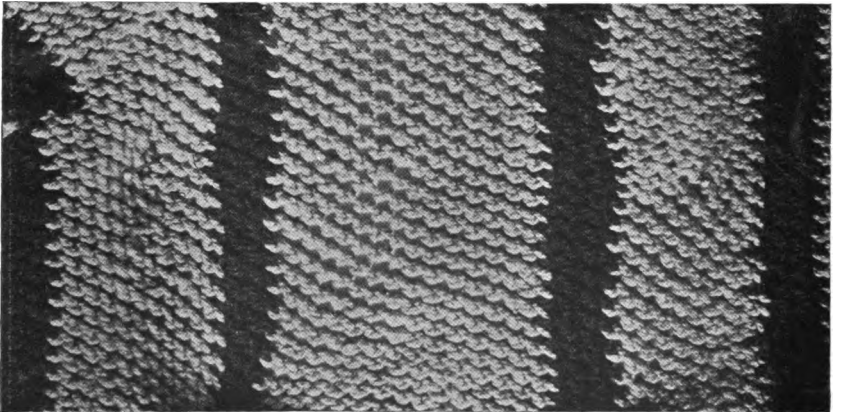
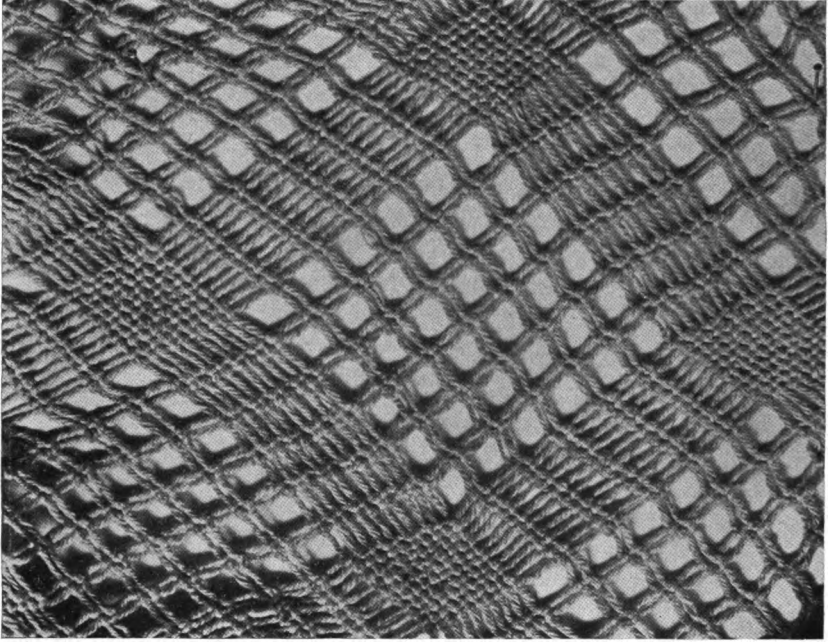


Fig. 15 *a* ( $\frac{1}{2}$  life), *b* ( $\frac{2}{3}$  life), *c* ( $\frac{1}{2}$  life). Manufacture and Technique of Netted Cap. Length of forked stick, 14 cm.

Fig. 15, *a*. These loops, as fast as they are made, are strung on a long slender twig. This serves to keep the row of loops in





PORTIONS OF NETTED CAPS, OR WĪKA', SHOWING DIFFERENT DESIGNS.

order, and even in length. On completing the first row of loops, the maker starts a second row, netting this into the preceding, held in order on the twig, and using a second twig to string this second row upon. The second row being completed, the first twig is pulled out, and used to string the third row upon, and so on. A considerable number of other stitches were in use besides this just described. The general appearance of these is shown in Plate XXXIX, and the technique in Fig. 15, *b* and *c*, in which *c* represents the knot used in the open-work diamond-pattern cap. In *b* we have the type called by Mason "coiled work without foundation," found among the northern Athapascan and the Pima, and extensively to the south, even in northern South America.

*Basketry and Weaving.*—The manufacture of baskets is by far the most important of the arts of the Maidu. The materials used varied somewhat in different portions of the area, but were largely confined either to various species of willow or to the red-bud (*Cercis occidentalis* Torr.). The species of willow most esteemed in the whole northern portion of the Maidu area seems to be *Salix fluviatilis* Nutt., var. *argyrophylla*, although a number of other species were also used. Shoots of the hazel (*Corylus rostrata* Ait. var., *californica* A. D. C.) were used for the radial elements in burden-baskets. In the higher Sierra the roots of the yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa* Dougl.) were employed to a considerable extent in making large burden-baskets; and a grass (probably *Xerophyllum tenax* Nutt.), together with the roots of the common brake (*Pteris aquilina* L.) and the stems of the maiden-hair fern (*Adiantum pedatum* L.), were also used. The peeled willow only was used, and for both coil and sewing-splint. The red-bud was used also for both purposes, but was used both peeled and unpeeled for sewing-splint. The pine-root was in use only for sewing-splint, and was nearly always dyed black by burying it in a mixture of mud and charcoal for some time.

Both coiled and twined basketry was in use among the Maidu, the former being employed for all except burden-  
[May, 1905.]

baskets, mortar or milling baskets, and coarse and open-work storage and dish baskets.

In basketry of the coiled variety, the coil was composed of a bundle of three twigs, or stems, being of the type called by Mason "three-rod foundation." These twigs or shoots of willow or red-bud were gathered in large quantities by the women, dried, and kept in bundles for future use. Previous to using them for basket-making, the twigs were soaked for some time in water, and the bark scraped off by means of a sharp fragment of stone, or, at present, a piece of glass. The bark removed, the surface was smoothed and evened. The sewing-splints were soaked similarly; and unless they were of red-bud, and were intended to form the red designs, the bark was removed as carefully as in case of the coil-twigs. When thoroughly soaked, the sewing-splints had to be split. This was done by splitting the end of the twig, holding one of the "splits" in the teeth and the other in the right hand, and then, while pulling the twig in two, following the split with the left hand, to see that it ran evenly from one end of the twig to the other. The skill shown in rapidly producing smooth, even splints in this way is remarkable. Thus prepared, the splints are coiled in bundles, and kept for later use, or may be used at once if needed.

In the manufacture of the basket, the bundle of three twigs is coiled tightly on itself, each successive coil being sewed

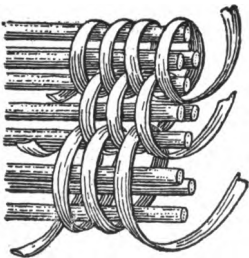


Fig. 16. Technique of Three-rod Coiled Basketry. (After Otis T. Mason, Report of National Museum, 1902.)

firmly to the preceding by passing a strand of the sewing-splint over the three components of the coil, and under the upper member of the coil below (Fig. 16). A bone needle (see Fig. 12) is used to make the opening between the rods of the lower coil. The direction of coiling is, among the Maidu, very uniform, all bowl or storage baskets being coiled from right to left, and all platter or plaque baskets in the opposite direction. The reason for this reversal is not clear. As the twigs composing the bundle are

not all of the same length, it follows, that, as the bundle is coiled upon itself, the end of one twig is reached before the whole bundle has been used. To keep the bundle at its original thickness, a new twig is added in such cases; and thus, by continually adding a new twig to take the place of that whose end has been reached, the diameter of the bundle is kept uniform. By using white or peeled sewing-splints with those which have the red bark still left on, patterns are produced in great variety. The supply of coil-twigs and sewing-splints are kept soaking, as a rule, while making a basket, and the basket itself is kept wet by thorough sprinkling every few stitches. There was, of course, much variation in the fineness of the stitch and in the diameter of the

coil-bundle; the larger baskets having, as a rule, a bundle of greater size and strength than the smaller baskets, and also being proportionately coarser in stitch. Baskets of this type

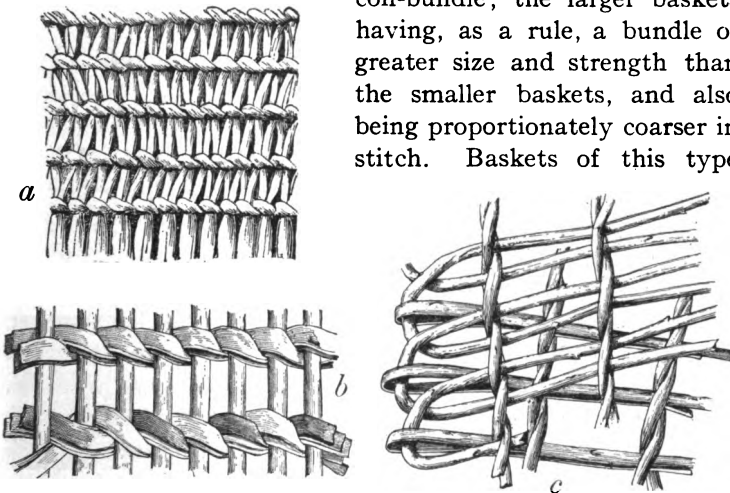


Fig. 17, *a*, Technique of Simple Twined Basketry (after Otis T. Mason, Report of National Museum, 1902); *b*, Twining with Double Overlay; *c* (8113), Simple Twining used in Fish-traps.

were very firm, and were water-tight. The edges of all coiled baskets are simple.

As already stated, twined basketry was used only on the burden-baskets, for the large open-work storage and food baskets and trays, for seed-beaters and fish-traps. Both simple twining (Fig. 17, *a*), and twining with double overlay (Fig. 17, *b*), were in use, the latter confined strictly, it seems, to the

Northeastern Maidu, who were in contact with the Pit River and Hat Creek peoples, who employed this method extensively. Fish-traps were usually of the simple twined type (Fig. 17, *c*). The inner funnel is not made by bending the rod over, but is inserted as shown in Fig. 17, *c*. Seed-beaters were, in the region of the Northwestern Maidu, predominantly of wicker-work (see Fig. 47, *a*).

The designs on the baskets are produced, as already stated, by the use of different-colored sewing-splints. The unbarked red-bud is most frequently used for the purpose, although in the region occupied by the Northeastern Maidu fern-root and fern-stems are sometimes used.

Mats were formerly much used for beds, for doors, and sometimes for covering temporary summer shelters. They were, as a rule, made from tule (*Scirpus lacustris* L.) or cat-tail (*Typha latifolia* L.). The use of the mats has now gone out. The method of manufacture was to lay the reeds close together on the ground, and then twine a double cord about them at each end, and at two or more points between.

The making of robes and blankets from strips of rabbit and wild-cat skin, or of the skin of geese and crows, was also an important branch of the weaving-art as practised by the Maidu. The fur blankets were more common in the mountain region, it would seem; the bird-skin, in the Sacramento Valley. The skin, with fur or feathers left on, was prepared by cutting it into strips from one to two centimetres in width. The strips, on drying, curled or rolled, leaving the fur or feather side out, and forming thus a fur or feather rope or cord of great softness. A sufficient length having been prepared, it was, in the case of the bird-skins, usually twisted with a fibre cord to give added strength. Two poles about two metres in length were then set up about one metre apart. The fur or feather rope was then wound back and forth about the two poles till a sufficient length of warp was made. The process of weaving then began, and consisted merely in a slow and laborious twining of a double weft over the successive warp-strands, knotting the cord to the outer warp-strand at the top and bottom as they were alternately reached. The



completed blankets were loose in texture, but very warm, and were highly prized.

*Work in Feathers.*—Feather ornaments were largely used by the Maidu. We may distinguish between the several manners of handling the feather. In some cases parts of the bird's skin were glued to a leather strip. Feather belts, worn mainly by women in certain dances, are made in this manner. Those at present in use (Fig. 18) are made by attaching woodpeckers' scalps to a leather strip, although it

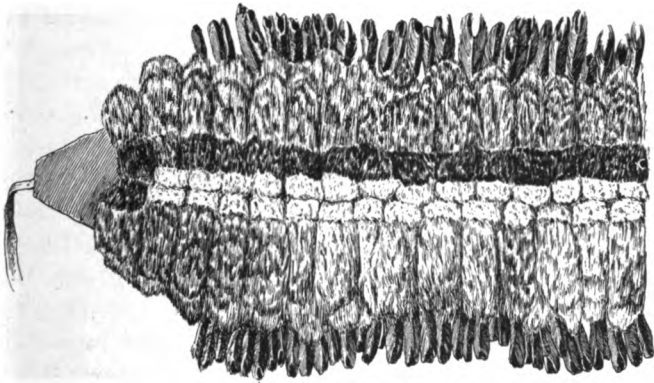


Fig. 18 (188). Portion of Feather Belt. Total length, 95 cm.

is declared by some informants that formerly the separate feathers were attached singly to the buckskin or tied into a netted cord fabric. Often scalps or feathers of the duck and the wild canary were also used to give variety to the belt, and to produce patterns on it similar to the patterns produced by the Pomo on their feathered baskets. The belts were usually, but not always, edged with quail-plumes.

Feather plume-sticks were also made by tying parts of bird-skins and quail-tips to a small stick, which was generally of manzanita or other fine-grained hard wood. The scalps and tips were arranged around a stick, beginning at the top, and tied on with a string, each turn of the string being covered by overlapping scalps. The end of the string is tied around the base of the plumes (Fig. 19, *a*; also Fig. 38, *b*, *c*).

Some of these plumes were further decorated with beaded strings, which are inserted near the uppermost scalp and at the base of the plume (Fig. 19, *b*; also Fig. 38, *b*). In some cases the beaded strings end in a tassel made by tying a woodpecker-scalp around the end of the string. Feather pendants attached to strings are also sometimes added.



Fig. 19 *a* ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ), *b* ( $\frac{1}{8}$ ). Feather Plume-sticks. Length, 39 cm., 43.5 cm.

fairly long feathers into long feather strings which are used for making feather bunches,

as will presently be described. Feathers are attached to the ends of plumes by being firmly wrapped around a stick, the wrapping then being covered with flannel or bird-skins. Often a bit of down is tied around the bases of the feathers (Fig. 20, *a, b*). Sometimes the feathers are tied to the end of slender twigs. Generally white feathers are used for this purpose. Feathers are often attached to cords. The method of tying feathers to the end of a twig is shown in Fig. 21, *a*, while the tying to the middle of a twig is illustrated in Fig. 21, *b*.

Often feathers are attached to strings. They are either knotted into the string, as illustrated in Fig. 22, *a-c*, or tied between the twists of a double string, as shown in Fig. 23, *a*. The methods illustrated in Fig. 22, *a, b*, are used for inserting

as will presently be described.

Both these styles illustrate the same method, the only difference being that in Fig. 22, *b*, the quill ends of the feathers are used for ornamentation, while in Fig. 22, *a*, the feather itself is so used. Fig. 22, *c*, illustrates the tying of single

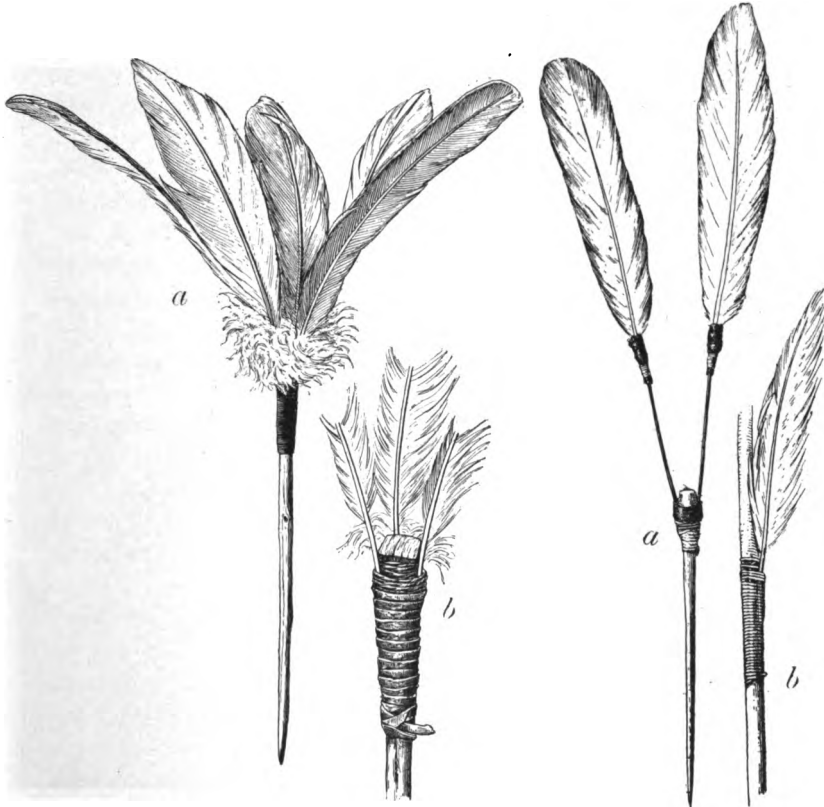


Fig. 20 ( $\frac{1}{2}$  d, b). Feather Plume-s cks. Length, about 34 cm.

Fig. 21, *a* ( $\frac{1}{2}$  a), *b* ( $\frac{1}{2}$  b). Feather "Tremblers." Length, 36.5 cm., 81 cm.

feathers, such as are used in the dancing-implements shown in Figs. 59 and 65. Fig. 23, *a*, illustrates the technique of the feather boa Fig. 23, *b*. Fig. 22, *d*, illustrates the method of tying a feather to the end of a string.

The attachment of the feather to the network which forms the foundation of feather capes and cloaks (Plates XL and

XLI) is illustrated in Fig. 24. The separate feathers, generally of the hawk, were attached to the net by folding the end of the quill over, and inserting it in the quill itself, the base having been cut off on a long slant for a distance of two centimetres or more.

Peculiar ornaments were made of scraped feathers of the yellow-hammer. Their manufacture is illustrated in Fig. 25,

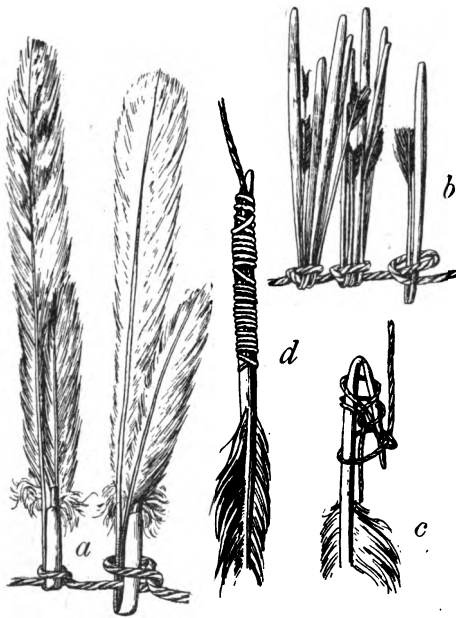
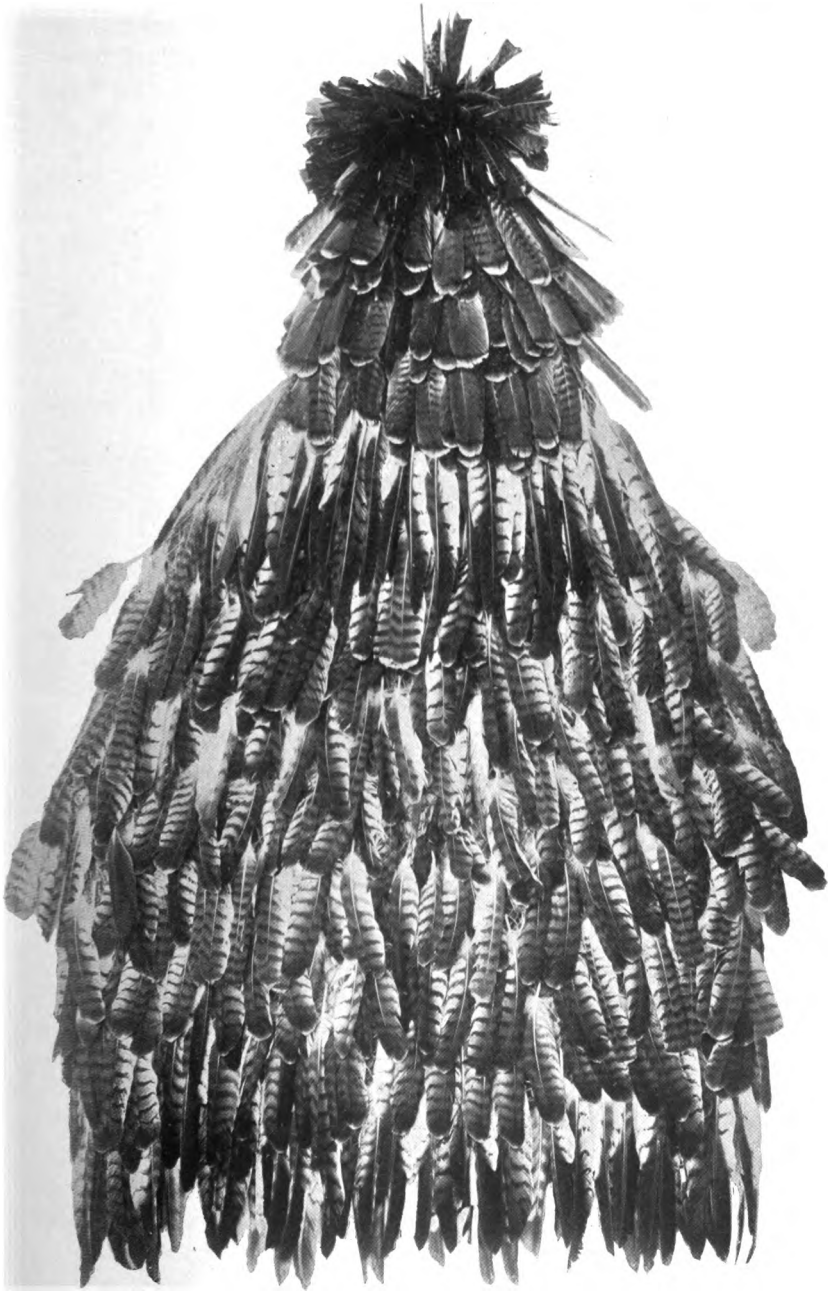


Fig. 22. Technique of Feather-tying.

*a, b.* The feathers are carefully scraped and placed side by side, usually being laid butt and tip. They are then sewed together *b* by three threads passing through the quills. Of these ornaments, peculiar square pendants, such as are shown in Figs. 25 *c* and 30, are made. The long feather bands of the type common throughout a large part of California are made in the same manner. A portion of one of these is shown in Fig. 25, *b*. In this case some of the feath-

ers are only partially stripped, and from three to five of the pinkish stripped quills are alternated with a pair of partially stripped quills laid butt and tip. Feather bunches (Figs. 26 and 27) are made of long feathered strings such as were described before (Fig. 22). The feathers which are inserted into the feathered rope are often halved. In other cases they are partly stripped, and the feathers are turned over near the middle point. The bunches are formed by making a coil of the feathered rope in such a way that the feathers all turn one



FEATHER CLOAK WORN IN DANCES.



way. Then the coils are tied together in the manner illustrated in Fig. 28, *a*. In other cases, when the feather bunch is not quite so full, a construction like the one indicated in Fig. 28, *b*, is used, the feathered rope being attached to four

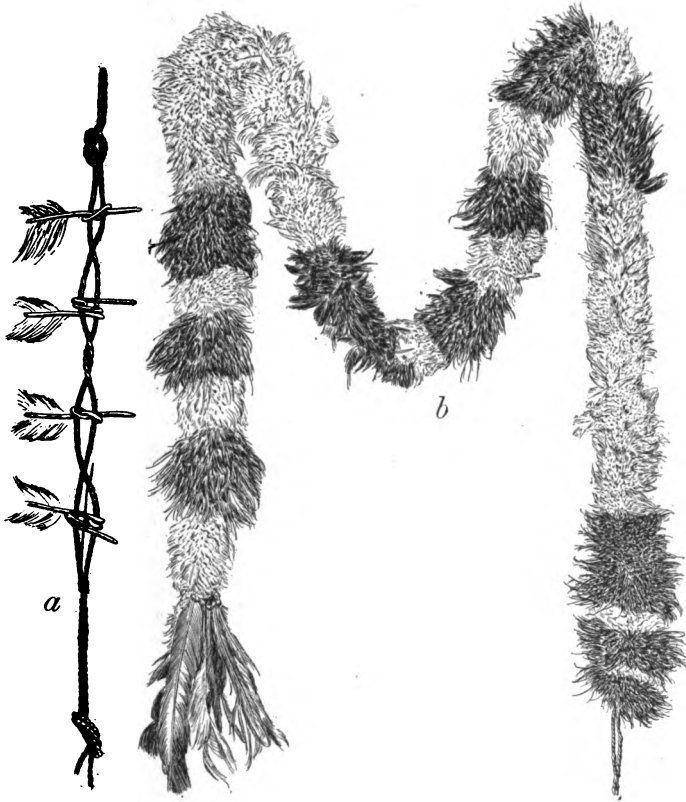


Fig. 23 (4111). Feather Boa. Length, 145 cm.

points of a ring, and feathers being also inserted in one central feathered string which reaches across the ring.

An interesting form of head-ornament is shown in the crown Fig. 29, *a*. This crown is made of four turns of a feathered rope, which are tied together by twos, and then connected as indicated in Fig. 29, *b*. The details of the attachments to this crown are the same as those illustrated in

Fig. 31, *a*. Fig. 30 represents a large crown similar to the one just described, but much more complex in construction. It is built on a double ring, part of which is shown in Fig. 31, *a*. From this ring rise a series of feathers, which are tied firmly

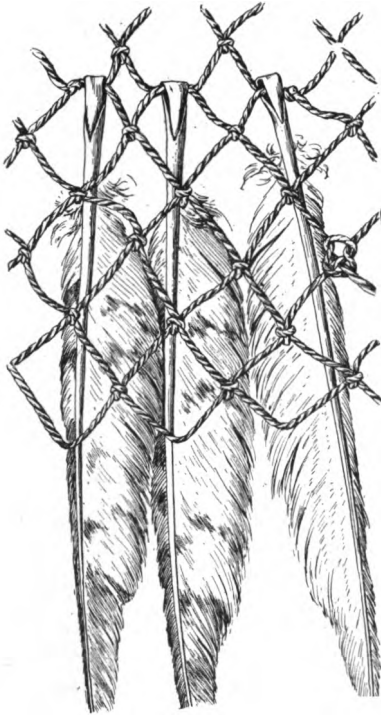


Fig. 24 (3130). Technique of Feather Capes.

into the inner ring, as shown in Fig. 31, *b*. Near the base of the vanes is a hoop of the same size as the inner ring of the bottom of the crown. The feathers are firmly tied to it, and thus form a cylindrical support for the whole crown. Outside of and around this is laid a feathered coil which forms the ring shown in the lower part of the crown. A number of small attachments are inserted in the outer ring. One of these is illustrated in Fig. 31, *a*. It consists of a stripped feather, which is wrapped with string. The outer end consists of a single shell bead, which is held in place by a small peg, which is driven into the open end of the quill. This peg also holds the string supporting

the quilled square and the beads. Inside of the whole crown is a feather bunch similar to the one illustrated in Fig. 26, *a*.

**CLOTHING AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT.**—Throughout the area occupied by the Maidu, as a rule, only the scantiest clothing was worn. In spite of the much greater severity of the climate in the mountains as compared with that of the Sacramento Valley, it would seem that almost the same kind of clothing was worn in both regions.

During the long, hot summer, men, as a rule, throughout



the area, went completely naked, or at most wore a narrow

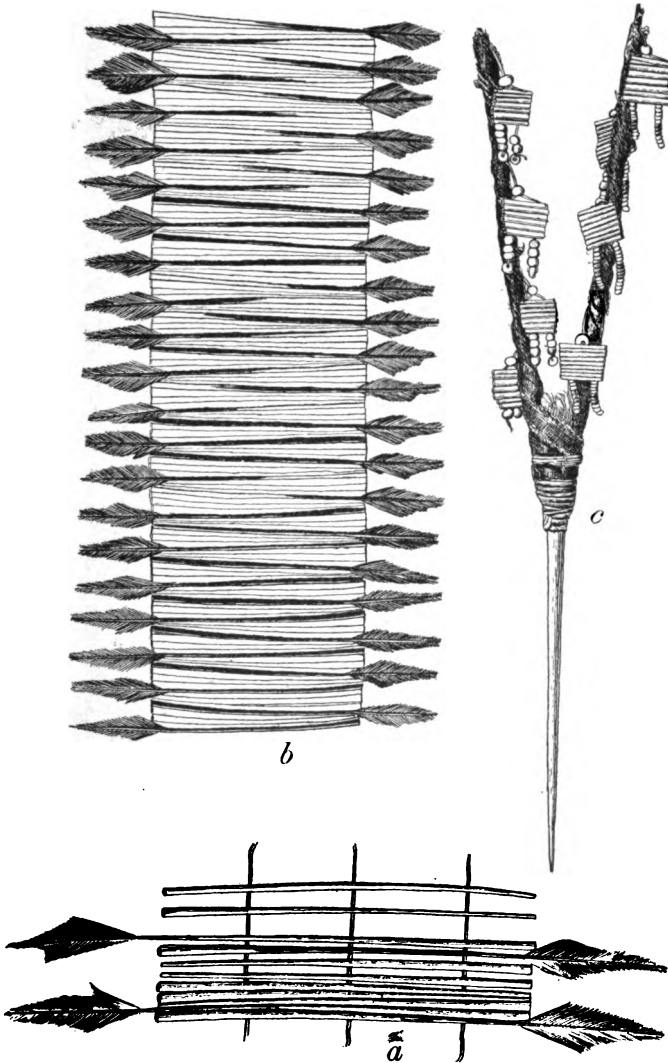


Fig. 25, *a*,  $\delta$  ( $\frac{18\frac{1}{2}}{17}$ ,  $\frac{3}{4}$ ), Feather Bands; *c* ( $\frac{3\frac{1}{2}}{3}$  *b*), "Trembler" with Quill Squares. Length, 40 cm., 76 cm., 26.5 cm.

breach-cloth of buckskin. In the Sacramento Valley and lower foot-hills, moccasins would seem not to have been very

generally worn. In the higher Sierra, however, they were universally worn in winter, and were stuffed with a soft grass or sedge to keep the feet warm when walking in the snow



Fig. 26, *a* (3781), *b* (3777). Feather Bunches.

(Fig. 32). With the moccasin in this section, a deer-hide legging was worn, tanned with the hair on, and reaching from the ankle to just above the knee, where it was tied. The legging was worn hair-side in, and, in addition to the fastening above





FEATHER CAPE WORN IN DANCES.

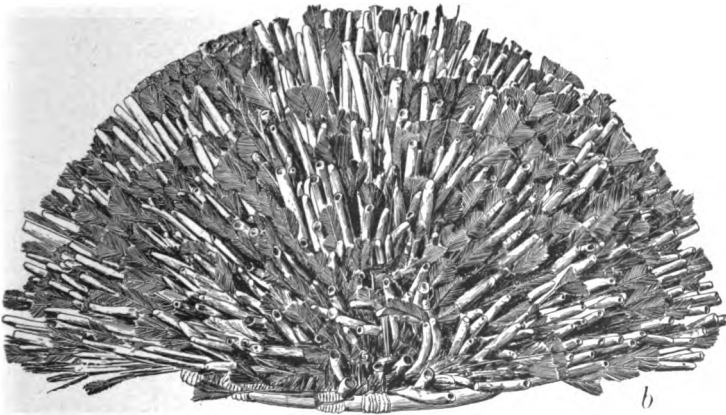
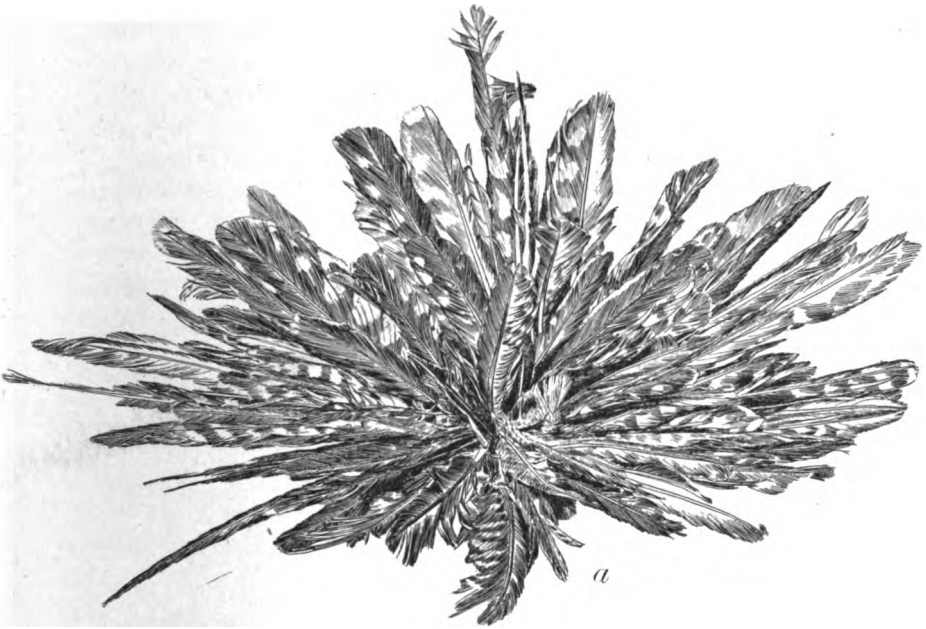


Fig. 27, *a* (50), *b* (51). Feather Bunches.

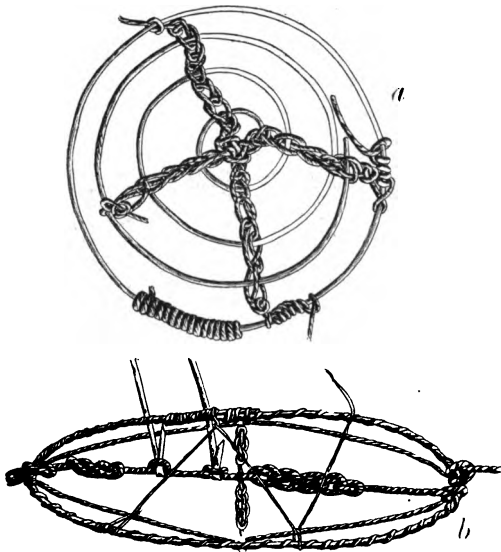


Fig. 28. Technique of Feather-Bunch Foundation.

the knee, was wound spirally with a thong from top to bottom. For body-covering in cold or rainy weather, the men of the North-eastern Maidu wore a deer-skin or mountain-lion skin robe over the shoulders. Some robes were of two skins roughly sewed together; and in all cases the fur was left on the skin, and

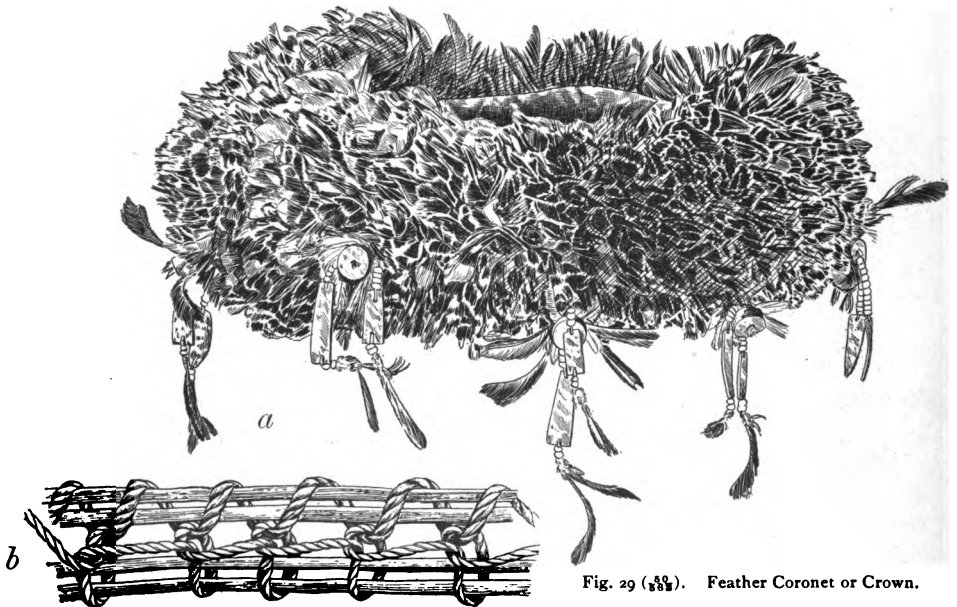


Fig. 29 ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ). Feather Coronet or Crown.

the robe generally worn fur-side in. Occasionally the woven wild-cat or rabbit-skin robes were used, although this sort of robe was in general reserved for the bed only. Head-coverings seem to have been largely absent. The older men, however, in the mountain area, often wore the netted cap known as *wika'*. Netted caps of this type were in use not only throughout the Maidu area, but also by the Wintun, Yana, and Achomá'wi, and perhaps other stocks.



Fig. 30 ( $\frac{300}{1000}$ ). Feather Crown.

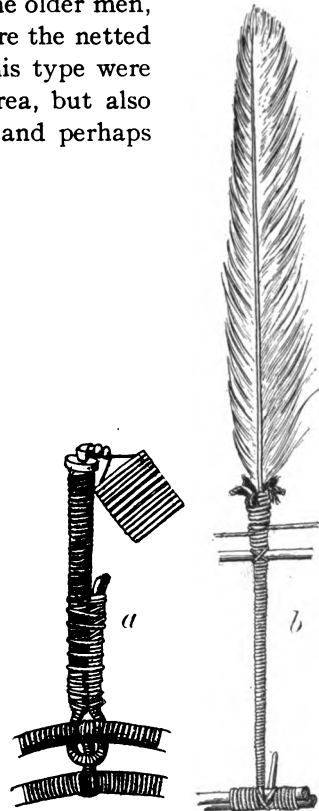


Fig. 31 ( $\frac{300}{1000}$ ). Technique of Large Feather Crown.

This cap is everywhere made in substantially the same manner, and consists of a rather closely netted strip or band made of cord. The strip of netted work is from eighteen to twenty centimetres in width, and from forty to forty-five in length. Along either long side (Fig. 33, *b*), a row of cord loops, eight to twelve centimetres long, is added. Through the row of loops on each side a string is passed, gathering all the small loops together; on one side, a strip of buckskin or

cloth about thirty centimetres long and two or three centimetres wide is tied to this loop, to the end of which, again, another string is attached about the length of the strip. On the other side the gathering-string forms a loop about thirty centimetres in length. In putting the cap on, it was first rolled lengthwise and placed on the forehead. The hair being gathered in a mass on the top of the head, the strip of cloth is passed through the long loop on the opposite side, and is pulled back. The strip of buckskin is thus brought to the front of the head; and the remainder of the cord is then wrapped tightly about the head, the end being tucked under

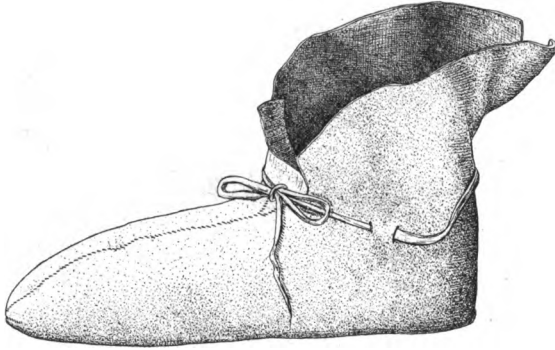


Fig. 32 ( $\frac{A}{114}$  b). Moccasins. Length, 28 cm.

to secure it. The buckskin strip is then pulled down, covering the cord and the edge of the cap. Lastly the cap itself is unrolled over the mass of hair on top of the head, and allowed to fall straight down behind, the fold standing out on either side of the head like a wing (Fig. 33, *a*). The principal use of the *wika'* was in the dance, when the often elaborate head-dresses were firmly fixed to the head by means of pins stuck through the netted cap and the cushion of hair beneath. In the mountains, where the snowfall was heavy, snowshoes of the type shown in Fig. 34 were worn. The shoes were solidly fixed to the feet, and no heel-play was allowed.

The costume of the women was little more extensive than that of the men. Although in some cases, particularly in the



Sacramento Valley, the older women went completely nude, as a rule all women wore two bunches or tassels of grass or bark, generally of the willow or maple (Fig. 35). The latter material seems to have been a favorite, the bark being peeled in the spring, dried, and then rubbed and worked till it

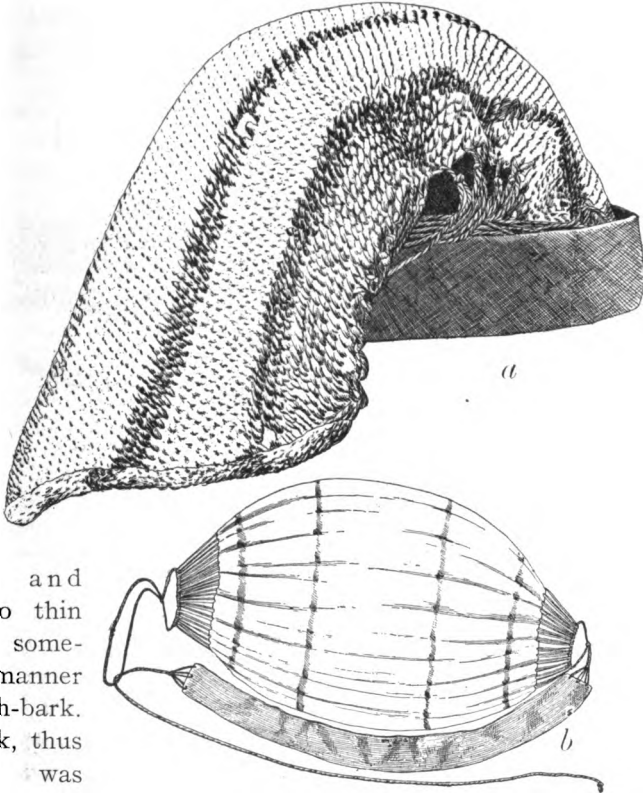


Fig. 33 ( $\frac{10}{2\frac{1}{2}}$ ). Wika', or Netted Cap.

shredded and split into thin layers in somewhat the manner of birch-bark. The bark, thus softened, was cut into long strips, and

formed into bundles, one of which was worn in front, the other behind, attached to a belt either of buckskin or cord. The length of the tassels was in general about forty centimetres. In sitting down, the front tassel was carefully tucked between the legs. In the region of the Northeastern Maidu, somewhat similar aprons were made of  
[May, 1905.]

buckskin as well as of bark. The buckskin was cut into long narrow strips or cords, and to the ends were tied deer-hoofs, pine-nuts, etc. This style was essentially similar to that in use by the Achomā'wi, although among them the more common form was one where the whole length of the cords was filled with pine-nuts. Skirts of this type were rarely made by this section of the Maidu, and no buckskin ones were made by the Sacramento Valley people. Like the men,

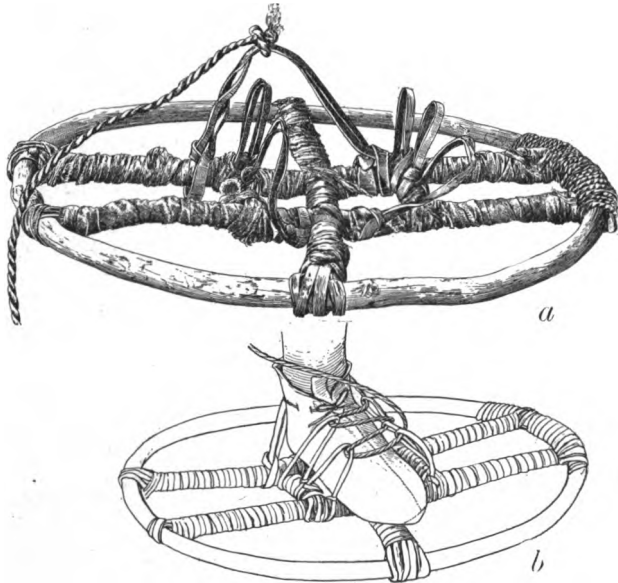


Fig. 34 ( $\frac{1}{8}$  a). Snowshoes. Greatest diameter, 45 cm.

women went barefoot except in the mountains, where they wore moccasins similar to those of the men. They also wore similar deer-skin and mountain-lion skin robes in cold weather. As head-covering, they wore almost universally a basket hat or cap, made in many cases of tule or reeds. These caps were in character like those of the Achomā'wi, Yana, Lutuami, and Sahaptin, being flat-topped, and not rounded as were those of the Shasta, Yurok, and Karok, and other stocks of the Lower Klamath River and adjacent coast. They have at present gone entirely out of use.

The manner of wearing the hair varied somewhat. In the Sacramento Valley, the men wore the hair long, allowing it to hang loosely, or tucked up under the netted cap, or merely held back from the face by a band of fur. The Northeastern Maidu, as a rule, wore the hair long, and allowed it to hang loose, particularly the younger men. In the region occupied by the Southern Maidu, on the other hand, the hair was often tied in a bunch at the back of the head with a cord. Women generally wore their hair long, either loose, or tied by a band passing over the top of the head and under the chin. The Northwestern Maidu, however, seem to have cut their hair rather shorter. In cutting the hair, a sharp flint was often used, the hair being laid on a stick for the purpose. A glowing ember was also used in a similar manner. Both men and women seem to have been particular to wash their heads rather frequently, using for the purpose the common soap-root (*Chlorogalum pomeridianum* Kunth.).

The men plucked out their usually scanty beard and mustache, either with the finger-nails alone or with the nails and a piece of stick. The mustache was sometimes allowed to grow among the Northeastern Maidu, but was never suffered to become thick or long. The hair on the pubes and in the axillæ was not pulled out. Combs of two or three sorts were in use. Pine-cones were frequently used as combs, also pine-needles in bunches. Perhaps the most common form in the higher Sierra is the porcupine-tail, as shown in Fig. 36, *a*.

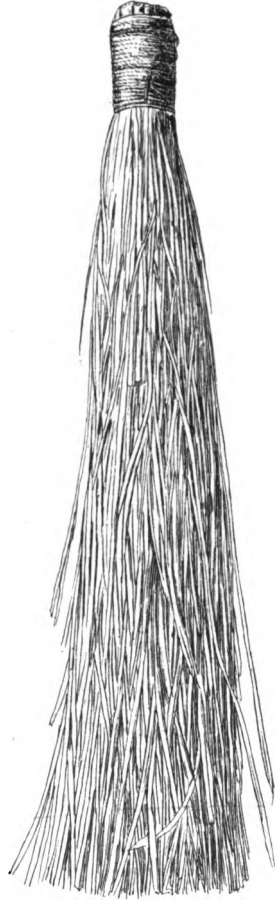


Fig. 35 (18). Woman's Apron of Shredded Bark. Length, 60 cm.

Wooden combs (Fig. 36, *b*) are said also to have been made, but it is somewhat doubtful whether they were made before white contact.

The ornaments worn by the Maidu were chiefly of shell, bone, feathers, and wood. Necklaces of beads were much used, and worn chiefly by the women. The beads most commonly used were the ordinary white disk-shaped variety

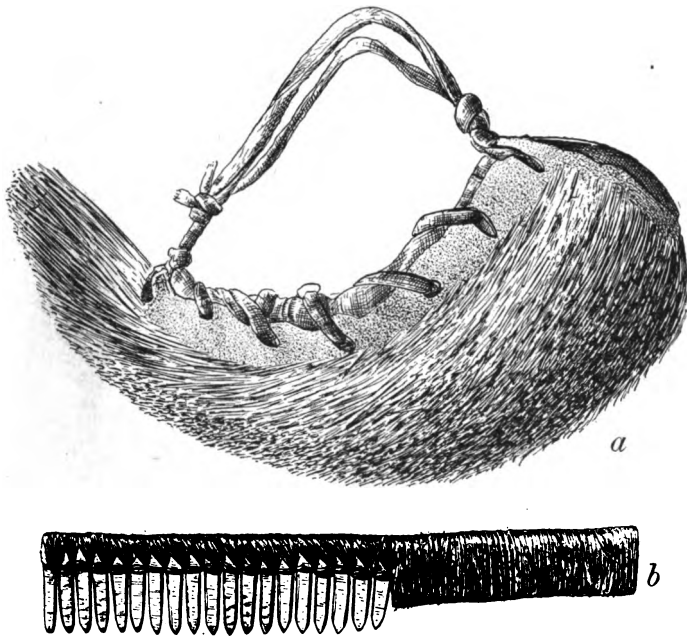
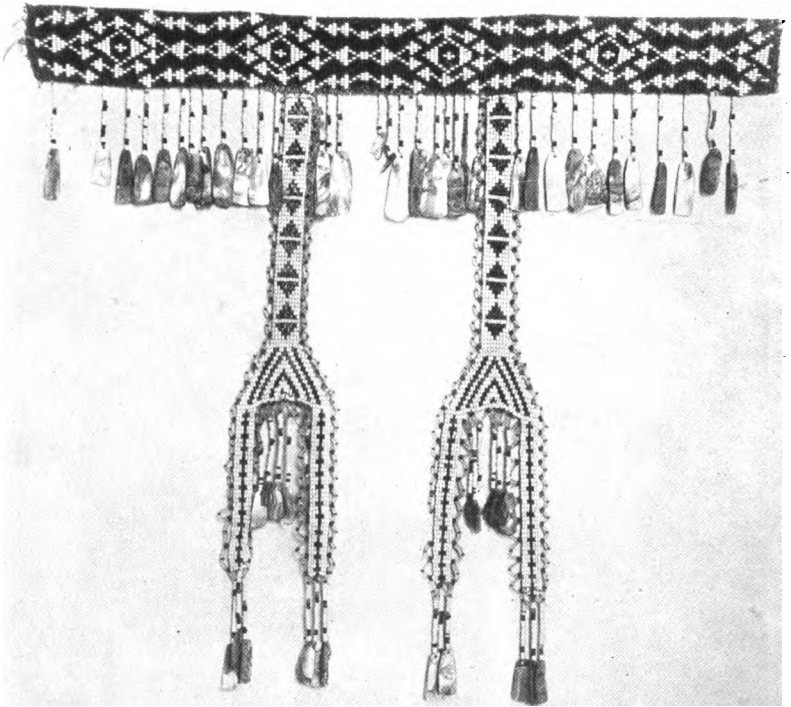


Fig. 36, *a* ( $\frac{1}{2}$  in.), *b* ( $\frac{1}{2}$  in.). Combs. Length, 24 cm., 20.5 cm.

general throughout the greater part of the State. Strings of such beads, often yards in length, were worn by women at dances and social gatherings. Similar strings were looped and wound about the bodies of the dead previous to burial. Cylindrical beads of stone, either white or pink in color, were regarded as very valuable, and were worn in the form of necklaces by such as could afford them. Dentalium was known and worn in strings for necklaces, but was apparently very





NECKLACE OF MODERN BEAD-WORK, WITH ABALONE PENDANTS.

rare. Abalone, cut in rectangular or irregular shapes, was made into necklaces, being suspended from cords, or attached directly to the necklace. It was also used for ear-rings. Men often wore necklaces of bear-claws (Fig. 37, *a*), and these necklaces were regarded as proof of the man's bravery and strength. The mourning necklaces, whose use will be described in speaking of the ceremony of the "burning," consisted of strings on which ordinary white disk-shaped shell beads were tied, the beads being arranged in groups, the number and spacing varying at the different "burning" grounds. The pehei'pe, or clown, wore necklaces of acorns (Fig. 37, *b*) which had been bitten by some insect, and

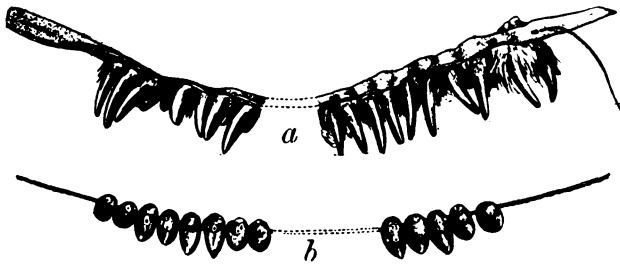


Fig 37. *a* (♂♂♂), *b* (♂♂♂). Bear-claw and Acorn Necklaces.  
Length, 74 cm., 50 cm.

"skewed" in their growth in consequence. These abnormal acorns were not very common, and a long and patient search was necessary to secure enough to make a necklace. At the present time, necklaces of glass beads are largely worn by the women (Plate XLII). The use of these beads is rather modern, the Maidu having learned to use them apparently from their eastern neighbors. Abalone pendants are common in connection with this bead-work. Bracelets of beads were sometimes worn, but seem not to have been general.

Ear-ornaments were worn by both men and women. The latter seem, however, to have worn them most. One variety was of beads and abalone-shell, strung on or hanging from narrow buckskin thongs or fibre-cords passing through the pierced ear-lobe. Another variety was of bone, generally a bird-bone, decorated with incised designs into which a black

pigment was rubbed (Fig. 38, *a*). In some cases feathers, beads, and abalone were added to these bone ear-ornaments (Fig. 38, *b*). In other cases, women wore ear-ornaments of sticks, generally of maple, to which woodpecker-scalps and quail-tips were attached (Fig. 38, *c*). These wooden or bone ear-ornaments were thrust through the pierced ear-lobe from front to back.

The piercing of the ears does not seem to have been an occasion of much ceremony. With girls, it usually formed part of the puberty ceremonies. In the region occupied by the Northwestern Maidu

a breastbone of the perch was always used for the operation, the ear being first rubbed with ashes.

The septum of the nose was pierced only by men; and in the opening the usual ornament was a feather, or sometimes two feathers, one being inserted from either side. Small woodpecker-feathers were commonly used for this purpose. Instead of feathers, some

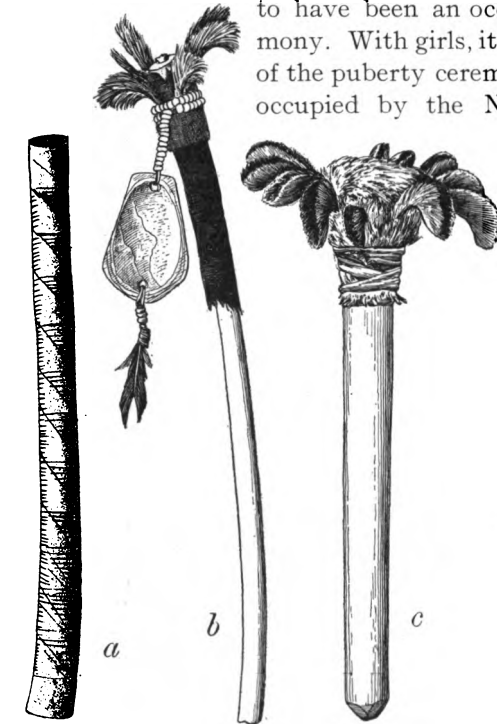


Fig. 38, *a* (size), *b* (size), *c* (size). Ear-ornaments. Length, 17 cm., 21 cm., 16.5 cm.

wore a small piece of wood to which feathers were tied. Among the Northwestern Maidu the piercing of the nose seems to have formed part of the initiatory ceremonies into the Secret Society. A sharpened martin-bone was used here for the purpose, and a heavy fee had to be paid to the old man who performed the operation.



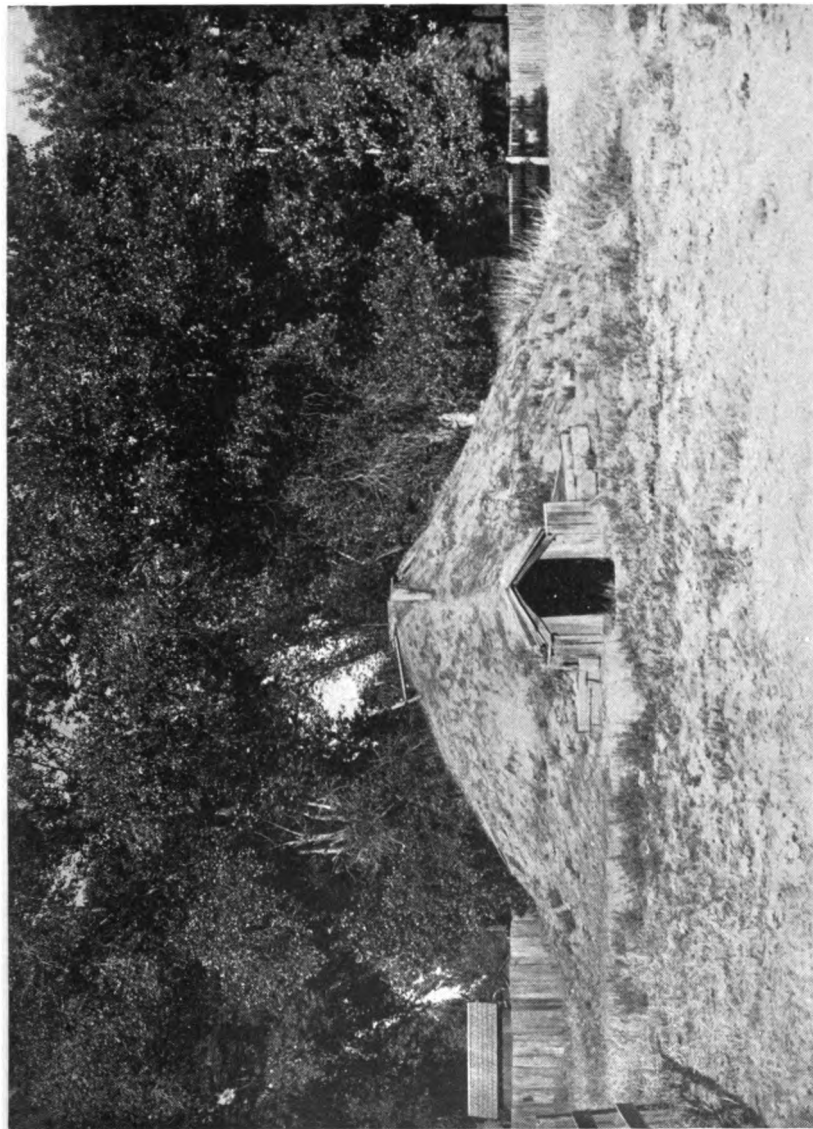
The use of paint seems to have been considerable. Except, however, in the girl's puberty ceremonies, it was used mainly at dances. White clay, a reddish clay, or a deep red stone, finely powdered, a species of fungus of a brilliant red color growing on fir-trees chiefly, and charcoal, seem to have been the paints in use. The pigment was mixed with water or grease when wanted. No elaborate body-painting was practised by the Maidu, the paint being applied either uniformly over the whole body, or parts of it, or in rough streaks or dots.

Tattooing was practised perhaps somewhat more commonly among the Northern Maidu than among the southern members of the stock. Women were more often and more elaborately tattooed than men. As a rule, the women had three, five, or seven vertical lines on the chin. In the Sacramento Valley region two marks were also made on the cheeks, running obliquely downward from the cheek-bones toward the corners of the mouth, and lines were also made on the breast. In this section and in the foot-hills, lines or dots were made occasionally on the backs of the hands. Among the Northeastern Maidu, women were not so commonly tattooed as in the rest of the area. Men occasionally had one or two vertical lines on the chin, but more commonly had a single line, about two inches in length, rising vertically from the root of the nose. They also frequently had rows of dots on the breast, arm, or abdomen. It is said that sometimes both men and women had more elaborate designs, such as those called in basketry "flying geese" and "quail-tip." Such designs have, however, not been seen. The method used in tattooing was not always the same. Among the Sacramento Valley portion of the Northwestern Maidu the designs were made by making fine parallel cuts with a small sharp flake of flint or obsidian, and then rubbing charcoal into the cuts so made, the charcoal used in this region for the purpose being obtained generally from the wild nutmeg (*Tumion californicum* Greene). Sometimes a reddish pigment was used, obtained from a roasted and pulverized rock. Designs made in this manner rarely show solid color, and the individual cuts can usually

be seen. This method, among the Maidu, is restricted, apparently, to this section alone. It is also in use by the Shasta. The more common method by puncture was used by all the rest of the Maidu people. Fish-bones, pine-needles, or sharpened bird-bones were used for pricking the skin. After the skin was pricked, the pigment was rubbed in, the pricking-instrument being also dipped in the pigment while making the punctures. This process is said to be much more painful than the other; and it is said that serious illness, or even death, has followed its use in some cases. The operation was performed, as a rule, at about the age of ten or fifteen years, and was performed by any one, there being no special persons who were regarded as proficient, and no ceremony apparently connected with the matter. Girls were usually tattooed by an older woman, a relative if possible; boys were tattooed by the younger men.

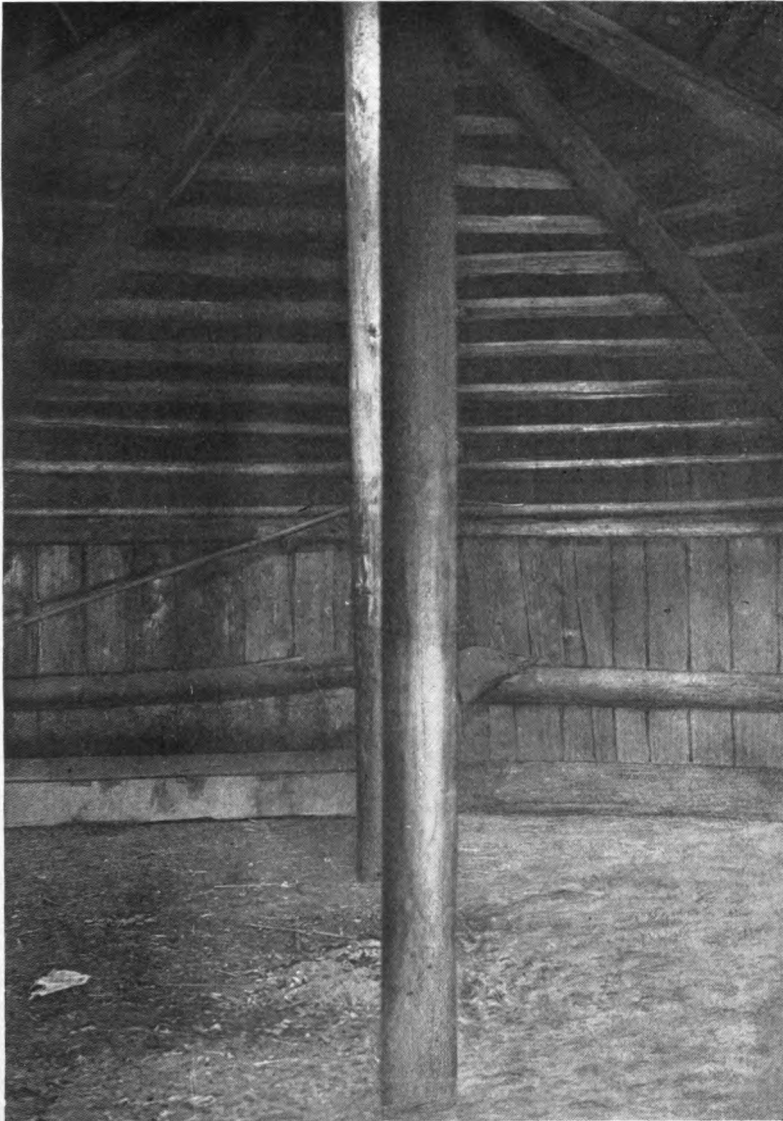
DWELLINGS AND HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.—The houses and shelters constructed by the Maidu were of three sorts: (1) the large circular, semi-subterranean, earth-covered dance or sweat houses, used also as regular dwellings; (2) the smaller, less carefully made conical huts, built on the surface of the ground, with little or no excavation, and either wholly without, or with but a partial, earth cover; and (3) the rude summer shelters of boughs and branches.

The semi-subterranean, earth-covered lodge, known as *kūm*, constituted a type of dwelling widely spread, not only throughout the California area, but also through a large portion of the interior plateaus and the Plains. Of the many such structures built by the Maidu, but one now remains which adheres at all closely to the original type. This single remaining example is located at Chico (Plates XLIII, XLIV). Although the general plan of these structures was everywhere much alike, some differences may be noted in the three different divisions of the Maidu. Among the Northwestern section, the method and plan of construction were as follows: A suitable site being selected, where the soil was soft and no large rocks were to be encountered, an excavation was made to a depth of not over one metre, and over a circular area from six to



THE KÛM, OR EARTH-LODGE DANCE-HOUSE AT CHICO, CAL.





INTERIOR OF DANCE-HOUSE. MAIN POST IN BACKGROUND, FRONT POST IN FOREGROUND.



twelve metres in diameter. The ground was loosened by the aid of digging-sticks, and then gathered into baskets, in which it was carried off and dumped, to be used later in making the earth covering. Spring was the season usually selected for building a house, as at that time the earth was soft, whereas later in the summer the ground becomes hard and baked. The excavation having been completed, the posts which support the roof-beams were next procured. These posts, when possible, were of oak, and were cut, brought to the site, and set up with much ceremony (see p. 309). The number of posts varied. In all cases there were, however, two main posts,—one standing behind, and the other in front of, the fireplace (Fig. 39, *b, c*). These posts were known respectively as *nem sūdoko* or *ku'kinim sūdoko* ("great post" or "spirit post") and *humpem sūdoko*; and the former, that behind the fireplace, was the more important of the two, and was regarded as really sacred. Near it the chief dancers stood, on it the shamans and spirits pounded with their rattles, and down it into the house the spirits themselves occasionally came. In speaking of the dances and ceremonies, it is this post which is referred to as the "main post" always. On either side of these two posts, and halfway between them and the walls, was generally a row of shorter posts, four in number, thus making ten in all. The two main posts were from three to six metres in height, whereas the shorter posts were from two to three metres. Occasionally an eleventh post was placed back of the main post, but this seems not to have been usual. The sides of the excavation were left vertical, and lined or walled with logs, either whole or split, set on end, or with large slabs of bark, forming thus a solid wooden wall around the interior of the house. From the edge of the excavation, then, the long beams to support the roof were leaned toward the centre, resting on the posts already set, and tied to them securely with grape-vines or osiers. In some cases rude sockets seem to have been made for the beams to rest in; in other cases a crotch-post was used. On these beams as a basis, cross-poles were laid; and on these, again, large pieces of bark, branches, leaves, and pine-needles; and lastly, a heavy covering

of earth, generally from twenty to fifty centimetres thick. In the centre of the roof, at the top, an opening was left for a smoke-hole. This was covered, when necessary, by a skin, a basket, or a slab of bark. Directly in line with the two main posts, a doorway was made, less than a metre wide and from one metre to a metre and a half high; and a passage was built out

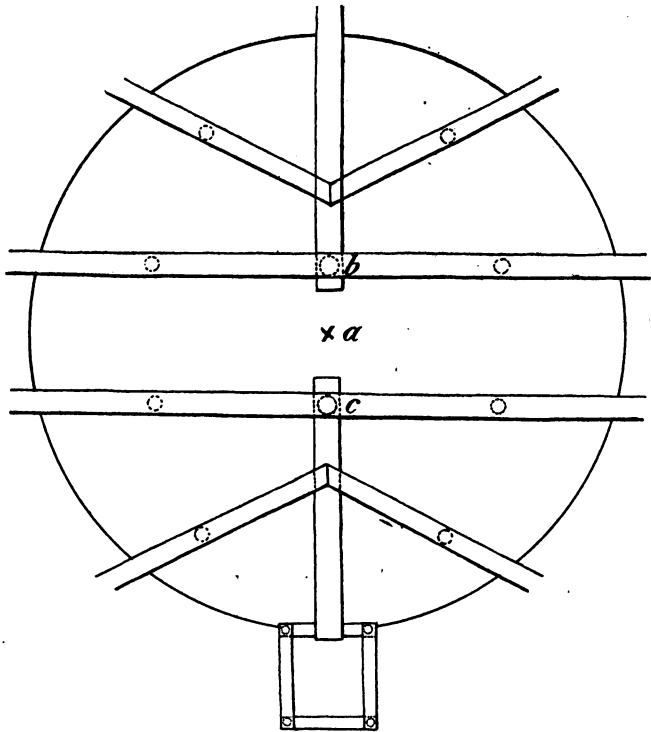


Fig. 39. Roof-plan of the Earth Lodge of the Northwestern Maidu. *a*, Fire; *b*, Main post; *c*, Front post.

about two metres in length, slanting up from the floor of the house to the level of the ground outside. In the Sacramento Valley area it would seem that these doors opened, as a rule, to the south or southwest. It also appears probable that originally in this region the doors were much smaller, having to be entered on hands and knees, and being really little more than draught-holes, the real entrance and exit being by way of the



smoke-hole. Since the coming of Europeans, however, the door has been enlarged, and the old entrance by the smoke-hole given up. When the latter was in use, however, a ladder composed of two poles, with cross-pieces tied with grapevine, afforded the means of ascent and descent, and ran

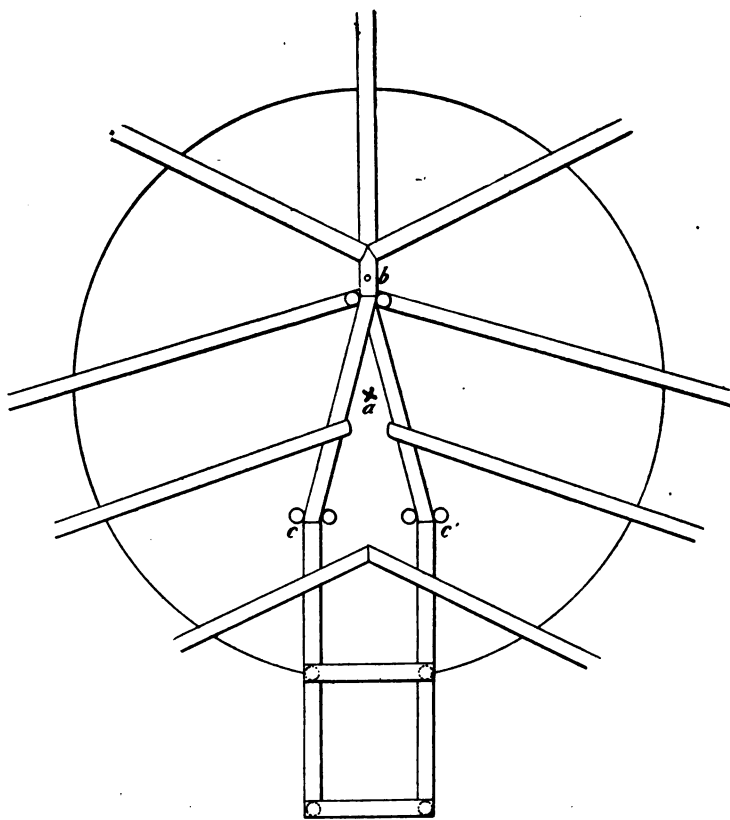


Fig. 40. Roof-plan of the Earth Lodge of the Maidu. *a*, Fireplace; *b*, Main post; *c*, *c'*, Front posts.

almost vertically from the base of the main post to the smoke-hole. In some cases, it is said, a notched log was in use instead of the ladder. It was through the draught-hole, however, that wood was generally carried into the house.

In the construction of these earth lodges, several families

generally took part; and these occupied the house when finished. In the case of the large dance-houses, the whole village seems to have joined, to a greater or less extent; and, since they all helped, all had a right to the use of the house.

Among the Northeastern Maidu, the earth-covered lodge was built in a rather simpler and somewhat different manner. Instead of ten or eleven posts to support the roof, only three were in use in this section (Fig. 40),—one main post (*b*), forked at the top, placed immediately back of the fireplace; and one (*c c'*) on either side, near the door-posts. A large flat stone was always placed upright at the foot of the main post, between it and the fire. Around the edge of the excavation, which is made here in the same manner as before described, logs were laid horizontally; and the radial rafters supporting the roof ran from these logs to the main post, or to the sloping pair of beams running from the main post toward the door. The subsequent steps in the building of the house were similar to those described before; the covering of bark, pine-needles, and earth being placed on the cross-poles which are laid on the main beams. We find here also that the usual entrance was formerly by the smoke-hole, whence a ladder led down to the interior. Women and children often, however, came in by the draught-hole, or door. There was far less ceremony in the construction of the houses in this region than in the Sacramento Valley.

The Southern Maidu appear to have had, as a rule, the same form of earth lodge as that first described, except in the extreme south, where the type approaches the Moquelumnan. In this most southerly portion of the Maidu area, four posts are set up in a square (Fig. 41), the sides of which are generally oriented with some care. On the tops of these four posts horizontal rafters or beams were laid, and then to these the radial rafters ran from the edges of the excavation. The main post, so typical of the Maidu houses, is thus lacking here (Fig. 41).

The second type of house, or *hōbo'*, was a much ruder affair than the earth lodge. In its simplest form, an excavation was made to a depth of from twenty-five to fifty centi-





HÖBO', OR BARK AND BRUSH HUT, OF THE SIERRA AND FOOT-HILLS.

metres over a circular area from two and a half to five metres in diameter. Several poles (usually, when obtainable, of second-growth pine) were then leaned together from the circumference, and securely tied in the centre, forming a conical frame. On this frame, branches, slabs of bark, and splinters of wood from large fallen trees, were leaned, and then pine-needles and leaves added; the final touch being given by banking up around the edge, to a height of about

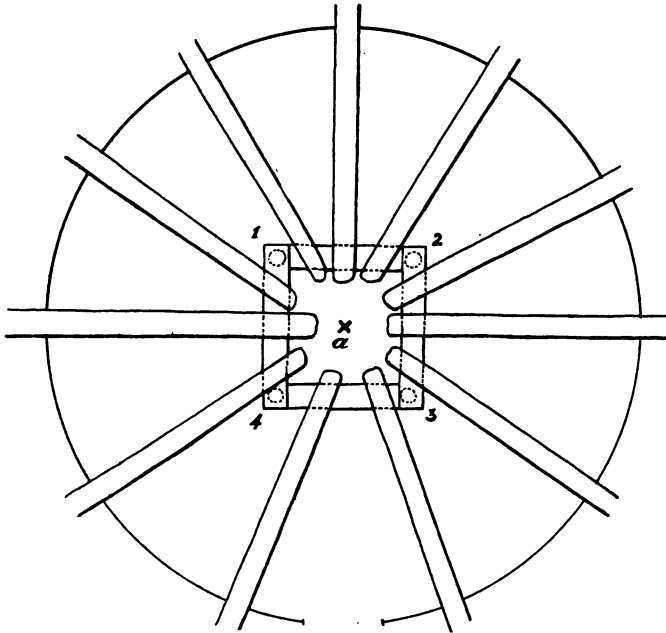


Fig. 41. Roof-plan of Houses of Southern Maidu. *a*, Fire; 1, 2, 3, 4, The four posts upholding the roof-frame.

one metre, the earth removed in excavating. At one side an opening was left for a door, closed by a piece of skin or a slab of bark. At the apex of the rude conical structure thus constructed, a smoke-hole was left. In this type of house, however, this never served as either entrance or exit. In some cases, apparently, a central pole was erected, and to it the other poles were tied. This form of hut was much in use by the Northwestern Maidu of the foot-hills (see Plate XLV). The Northeastern Maidu had a form somewhat different.

Here, after the slight excavation was completed, two poles were leaned together from opposite sides of the hollow made, and securely tied. From their intersection, poles were laid to a pair of slender posts about one metre high, set up a little less than a metre apart, on the circumference of the excavation. On this framework, which was more nearly like that of the earth lodge, the bark, branches, and leaves were leaned and piled, and the earth heaped about the bottom. The door was generally closed by a tule mat or a skin. The menstrual huts used in both regions were similar to the respective types just described, but were even more hastily and rudely constructed, and were also much smaller.

The summer shelter or shade was usually erected close by the winter hut, or wherever the family was camped. It consisted merely of a flat roof of leafy branches of oak or other trees, supported by upright poles. These shade-roofs were often of large size, and generally at least from three to seven metres square. In most cases there were no walls; but sometimes a few small oaks and bundles of branches, or blankets, were placed on the southwestern or southern side to keep out the hot afternoon sun.

The earth-covered lodge seems to have been the traditional and the most common type of dwelling among the Maidu. The earlier explorers in Maidu territory describe this form almost exclusively; and from the myths, and the statements of the people themselves, we may believe that all save the poorest originally lived in these well-built structures. The large houses accommodated several families, each of which had its recognized portion of the interior. It seems that the chief or head man of the village occupied the largest and best house; and that this was sometimes, but not always, also the dance or sweat house of the village. In large villages there was almost always a special structure, larger than the dwelling-houses, for this purpose. The ruder conical hut was neither as warm nor as roomy as the earth-covered lodge, and was by no means weather-proof; yet, in spite of these defects, it seems to have been more common in the foot-hills and mountain region than in the Sacramento Valley.

In the mountains the earth and conical lodges were occupied for four or five months of the year, beginning about November. In the summer time they were practically deserted, the whole population being off in the hills, engaged in hunting. In the Sacramento Valley the occupancy of the earth lodge would seem to have been more continuous; for, while in the summer months the people were living out of doors practically all the time, yet the heavy earth cover of the lodge made it by far the coolest place throughout the period of summer heat, and the men in particular were not slow to take advantage of this fact. The dance-house in particular was a favorite lounging-place.

The sites chosen for the erection of lodges and permanent villages varied considerably. In the Sacramento Valley the villages were usually scattered along near the banks of the larger streams, from the point where they came out from the mountains, to some distance above their mouths. No villages, it seems, were placed at their mouths, or along the Sacramento, as the immediate vicinity of the larger river was one much exposed to flood. Throughout the foot-hills and the higher Sierra, except where occupied by the Northeastern Maidu, the canyons and river-valleys were so narrow and deep that the villages were situated by preference on the ridges, high above the rivers, and generally on small flats on the crest of the ridge, or part way down the canyon-side. The sites chosen were almost always selected with reference to attack and defence; and a slight knoll was, as a rule, preferred. The Northeastern Maidu, occupying the chain of level valleys already described, were free to locate almost anywhere. As a rule, however, they selected sites along the edges of these valleys, and rarely lived out in the middle of the level stretches.

The size of villages seems, as would be expected, to have varied much. In some there were as many as twenty or more earth-covered lodges. In other cases, a village, or, rather, settlement, would consist of but a single lodge.

The interior furnishings and arrangements of the houses were, as a whole, very simple. Usually in the earth-covered

lodges there was a low platform of willows, covered with pine-needles and skins, situated on each side of the house. This platform was used for a lounging-place and bed, the inmates of the house sleeping with their heads toward the fire. A pole from ten to twenty centimetres in diameter ran along the edge of the platform nearest the fire, and served as a common pillow for all. In other cases a piece of an old plaque-basket was set up at an angle, and used for an individual pillow. In some instances, particularly in the hōbo' or ruder conical lodge, there was no platform, but merely a thick layer of pine-needles covered with skins and mats, the rolled-up ends of which served as pillows. For bed-coverings, robes woven of strips of fur of the rabbit, wild-cat, etc., or of crow or duck skins, were most prized and used. The earth-covered lodges were, however, so warm, that much covering was not necessary; and the heat was often so great when the smoke-hole was closed, that the inmates of the house slept almost if not quite naked.

Food and property of various sorts were stored in baskets about the edge of the walls, or under the platform occasionally, where this was high enough. In the region of the North-eastern Maidu there was commonly an enlargement or excavation in the wall at the rear of the house; and in this apse-like cellar, food was stored. Granaries or caches for the storage of food were, in much of the region occupied by the Maidu, made by planting poles in a circle about a metre in diameter, and twining willows between them, making a cylindrical receptacle capable of containing from eight to ten bushels. These granaries were used chiefly for acorns and seeds, and were most in use in the Sacramento Valley region and the foot-hills. The Northeastern Maidu made, besides the cellar or storage-cave in the back wall of the house, also small hut-like structures, resembling the conical lodge (hōbo'), in which they placed food to be stored. Very large rough storage-baskets were also made, somewhat similar to those in use by the Achomā'wi. In the well-stamped earth floor there were usually one or more flat stones sunk to serve as pounding-stones or mortar-slabs on which to pulverize acorns in stormy



weather. Pestles of various sizes and a rough metate and muller completed the list of implements connected with the preparation of acorns and seeds for food. Baskets of various sorts, cradle-frames, nets, fish-spears, and other utensils and implements, were either piled near the walls or suspended from the roof-beams.

Mats of tule and other reeds, twined together by cords, were much used both for beds and for doors. Food was generally eaten in common, out of the cooking-basket in which it had been prepared. Some made use, however, of small globular baskets, with which they dipped out soup or food from the larger vessel, or used the flat tray-baskets for holding meats or fish.

The Maidu, with very few exceptions, had no vessels of wood or stone; and baskets of various shapes and sizes served for all purposes of gathering, storing, and cooking food. For storage-purposes, circular coiled baskets in the form of a truncated cone were most generally used (Fig. 42, *e-g*; Plate III, Fig. 1, Plate IV, Figs. 4, 5, of this volume). These baskets, made as a rule of willow or red-bud, were often of large size, having in some cases a diameter of nearly a metre. They were used chiefly to store acorn-meal, grass-seeds, pine-nuts, and berries. For whole acorns, dried meat, or fish, a more conical, open-twined basket was often used. Food was also frequently kept on large circular tray-baskets of coiled make, similar tray-baskets being often used as covers for the large conical baskets (Fig. 42, *i, j*). Smaller tray or platter baskets of this type were used as plates to eat from, and open-twined tray-baskets when eating dried meat or fish (Fig. 43).

In the manufacture of acorn-meal, the milling-basket was used in some portions of the Maidu territory. This form of basket (Fig. 44) was of twined make, and averaged from thirty-five to forty centimetres in diameter across the top, standing about twenty or twenty-five centimetres high. The upper edge was firm and strong; the bottom was open, forming a circle twelve or fifteen centimetres in diameter. In use, the basket was set on the stone slab, as shown in the

[*May, 1905.*]

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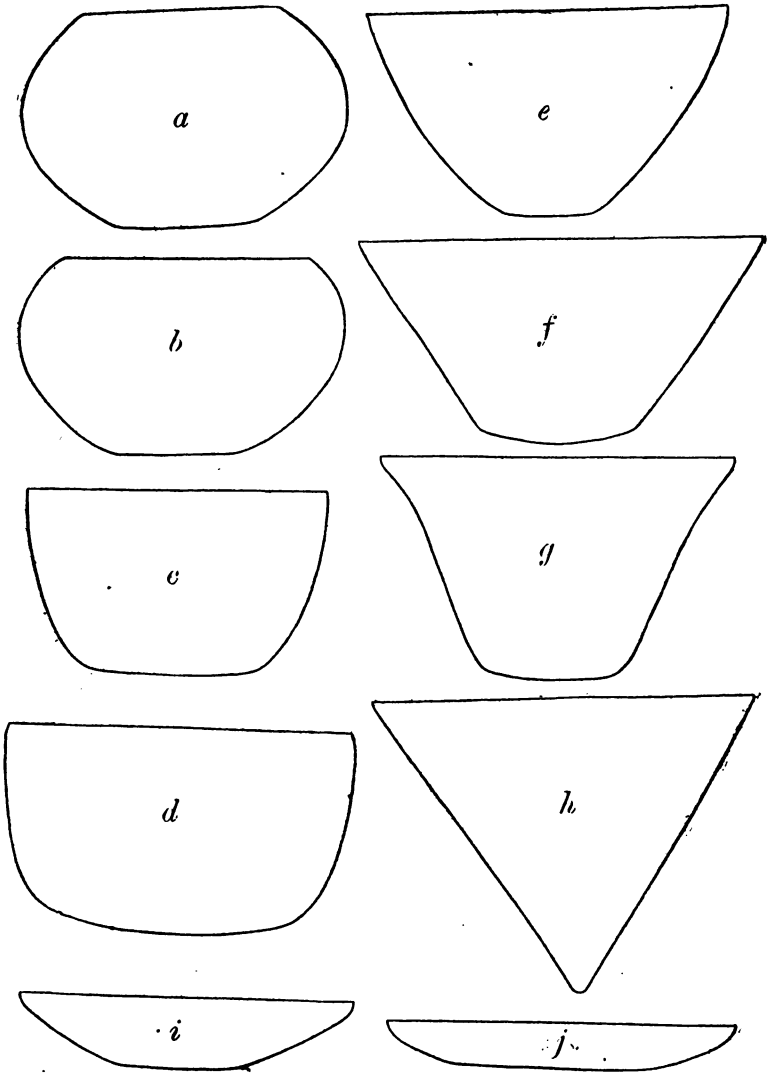


Fig. 42. Outlines of Maidu Basket-forms.

figure, and the acorns pounded through the hole in the bottom of the basket, the flaring sides of the basket keeping the meal from flying and scattering at each blow. The meal, once

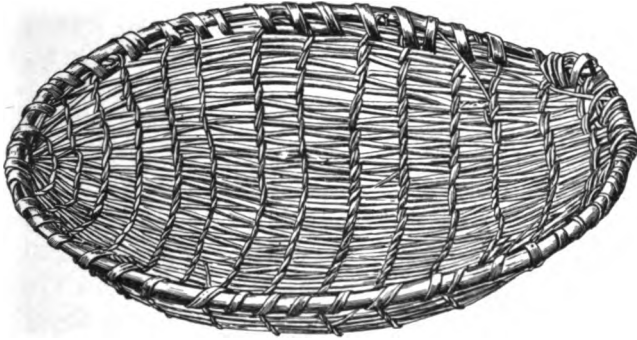


Fig. 43 (2188). Open-twined Tray or Plate Basket. Length, 24.5 cm.

pounded, had to be sifted; and for this a perfectly flat circular tray of coiled make was used. A flattish tray-basket of the ordinary type was also used.

For cooking, several forms of basket were in use. Perhaps

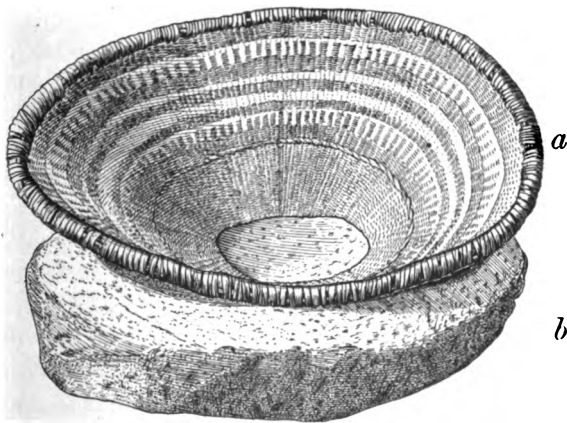


Fig. 44, *a* (2187), *b* (2186). Milling-basket and Mortar Slab. Diameter, 46 cm., 42 cm.

the most common was the circular, truncated-conical form, the sides usually convex (Fig. 42, *c-g*). Circular baskets with

almost vertical sides were sometimes employed. Globular forms (Fig. 42, *a, b*) were rarely used for cooking.

Burden-baskets were practically all of the same type (see Fig. 42 *h*; Plate VI, Fig. 4; Plate XI, Fig. 3), conical and pointed, and were invariably of twined make. They were occasionally, but not often, used for storage. Small globular baskets (Fig. 42, *a, b*; Plate IV, Fig. 2; Plate XI, Fig. 2) were in use for a variety of purposes, such as food-bowls, dipping-baskets, or work-baskets, in which the women kept their bone needles and sewing thread and sinew.

With very few exceptions, all the baskets made by the Maidu were circular. Oval-globular baskets of small size (Plate XI, Fig. 5; Plate XVI, Fig. 3) were occasionally made, more by the western members of the stock than by the eastern, however. They were used for women's work or as trinket-baskets, and are said sometimes to have had feathers inserted similar to those made by the Pomo. It would seem probable that this use of feathers on basketry was due to Pomo influence.

The Maidu had no mush-paddles for stirring their acorn-soup, making use, for this purpose, of any common stick. They were also without spoons or ladles of any kind, although a mussel-shell was now and then used as a spoon. Acorn-mush as a rule, however, was eaten with the index and middle fingers of the right hand, formed into a shallow scoop. Among the Northeastern Maidu, at least, the hands and face were wiped, after eating thus, on a tassel or bunch of grass twined together at one end.

For tongs to take hot stones from the fire for cooking, two sticks were used. These were sometimes flattened a little at the ends.

In making a fire, the simple fire-drill was in use (Fig. 45). The base, generally of cedar, was thirty centimetres or more in length, from three to six centimetres wide, and two centimetres thick. Notches were cut in the side, and a small hole cut or scraped out at the head of each notch. The twirling-stick was usually forty-five or fifty centimetres in length, and from seven to fifteen millimetres in diameter. Buckeye was

used when it could be obtained. The base was held firmly on the ground with the knees, and the twirling-stick rapidly twirled between the hands, the hands being placed at the top, and working down, thus giving the requisite pressure. Grass thoroughly dried, or punky wood, was used as tinder. Fires were rarely allowed to go out; and while travelling, a punky piece of wood, in which the fire smouldered, was always carried.

FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION.—The food-supply of the Maidu was large, and included practically everything edible to be found in the region. Vegetable foods were perhaps a little more used in the Sacramento Valley area than in the mountains, where game was rather more abundant.

The chief dependence of the Maidu, in common with most of the Indians of the central part of the State, was upon the acorn. The Maidu recognize about a dozen different varieties of these. In the creation myth it is declared that the Creator's first act, after forming the dry land, was to cause a great oak-tree to spring up, on which grew all the twelve varieties of acorns. Later these different varieties came to grow on different trees. The miraculous tree, however, created by Kō'dōyanpě, was still standing, according to old men, at Durham (Ta'doikō) at the time when, in the early '40's, the first settler arrived. The tree was cut down by him in spite of strong protest by the Indians; and it is declared that the stump bled profusely at the first stroke of the axe, and that in the heart of the tree was found a peculiar substance "like a roll of thin, strong paper," from which the blood flowed. The exact spot at which the tree stood is still pointed out.

Although the acorns of all species of oaks growing in the region are eaten, some varieties are distinctly preferred to others. In general, *Quercus Kelloggii* Newberry, *Quercus chrysolepis* Liebmann, and *Quercus Wislizeni* A. D. C., were the favorite species.



Fig. 45 (Aa, a, b). Fire-drill. Length. 59 cm., 69.5 cm.

Besides the acorn, a great number of other nuts, fruits and berries, were eaten. The fruit of the buckeye (*Æsculus californica* Nutt.) and the wild nutmeg (*Tumion californicum* Greene) were eaten, but required more preparation than the acorn. The nuts of the digger-pine (*Pinus Sabini-ana* Dougl.), the sugar-pine (*Pinus Lambertiana* Dougl.), and the yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa* Dougl.), were very largely used. The nuts of the digger-pine were most used in the foot-hill region, where alone the species grows in quantity, but the nuts were sent in trade to considerable distances. Other nuts, such as the hazel (*Corylus rostrata* Ait., var. *californica* A. D. C.), were collected also.

Of berries and fruits there were many sorts, particularly in the higher Sierra occupied by the Northeastern Maidu. Throughout the area the manzanita (*Arctostaphylos pungens* H. B. K.) grows in immense quantities, and the berries were collected in abundance for use in making the so-called "manzanita-cider." The berries of the snow-brush, sweet-brush, or buck-brush (*Ceanothus integerrimus* Hook. and Arn., and probably also *Ceanothus cordulatus* Kellogg. and *Ceanothus velutinus* Dougl.?) were used to some extent; and there were also the strawberry (*Fragaria* sp.), the thimbleberry (*Rubus glaucifolius* Greene), the service-berry (*Amelanchier pallida* Greene), the elderberry (*Sambucus glauca* Nutt. and *racemosa* L.), the chokecherry (*Prunus demissa* Walpers), the wild plum (*Prunus sub-cordata* Benth.), the gooseberry (*Ribes occidentale* Hook. and Arn.), the black currant (*Ribes sanguineum* Pursh., var. *variegatum* Wats.), and several others of less importance. Rose-hips of *Rosa pisocarpa* Gray were also eaten.

Roots and bulbs of many sorts were eaten, and, while never a predominant portion of the food-supply, their use gave to the Maidu their early name of "diggers." The following is a partial list of those most used by the Northeastern Maidu, although many were common also to the other portions of the stock: *Allium parvum* Kellogg., *Allium platycaule* Wats., *Brodiaea Douglasii* Wats., *Brodiaea lactea* Wats., *Camassia esculenta* Lindl., *Hastingsia alba* Wats., *Lewisia nevadensis*

Rob., *Lilium washingtonianum* Kellogg., *Polygonum bistortoides* Pursh.

Grass-seed, other seeds, and clover, were also appreciable factors in the food-supply of the Maidu, the seeds being stored in considerable quantities for winter use. The following are a few of the plants so used: *Aquilegia formosa* Fisch., *Madia glomerata* Hook. (tar-weed), *Madia* sp., *Wyethia angustifolia* Nutt.

Early travellers and explorers speak frequently of the fondness of the Maidu and neighboring tribes for fresh clover and a variety of wild pea, and describe them in the Sacramento Valley as getting down on hands and knees in the fields, and browsing like so many cattle. The Northeastern Maidu, in times of want or in early spring, occasionally ate the inner bark and sap of the tamarack pine (*Pinus contorta* Dougl., var. *Murrayana* Wats.). It was, however, more in use as a medicine, because of its marked cathartic properties. The leaves of the fir and cedar were used occasionally to make teas of, but, like the pine-bark, their uses were mainly medicinal. Horse-mint (*Mentha* sp.) and other aromatic plants were used in a similar manner. The "sugar" of the sugar-pine (*Pinus Lambertiana* Dougl.) was eaten in small quantities.

The mistletoe (*Phorodendron juniperinum* Engelm.) was used now and then as a medicine. The tobacco formerly grown and gathered by the Maidu of the Sierra region was *Nicotiana attenuata* Torr.

A large number of other foods of vegetable origin were collected, but, owing to the fact that most of them were gathered by Indians for the writer, they were impossible to identify, as the specimens often consisted, unfortunately, of merely the seeds, roots, or a few leaves, which were insufficient for purposes of identification.

Of animal food there was an abundance. In the mountains, deer, elk, mountain-sheep, and bear were plenty; while in the Sacramento Valley there were great herds of antelope. Of smaller game, rabbits, raccoons, and squirrels were numerous. In addition to the animals mentioned, nearly all others known in the region, such as the badger, skunk, wild-cat, and mountain-lion, were eaten. Only the wolf, coyote,

and dog were not used for food, and in the southern section the grisly bear was also exempt. All birds practically, except the buzzard, were eaten, ducks and geese in particular being caught in hundreds at the proper seasons. Lizards, snakes, and frogs were not eaten. Yellow-jacket larvæ were, however, eagerly sought, as were also angle-worms. Grasshoppers, locusts, and crickets were highly esteemed, and in their dried condition were much used in trade. Fish of many kinds were to be had, salmon being caught in considerable quantities in the early days. Eels were a favorite food, and, dried, formed an indispensable part of the winter's food-supply for the foot-hill and valley people. Shell-fish, such as mussels, were to be had in some abundance, particularly in the Sacramento River. Salmon-bones and deer-vertebræ were pounded up and used for food; the salmon-bones being eaten raw, whereas the deer-vertebræ, after pounding, were made into little cakes and baked.

The collection and preparation of acorns for food were among the most important industries of the Maidu, in common with most of the Central Californian tribes. At the time in the autumn when the acorns are ripe, every one is busy. The men and larger boys climb the trees, and, by the aid of long poles, beat the branches, knocking off the acorns. The women and smaller children gather these in burden-baskets, and carry them to the village, storing them in the granaries or in the large storage-baskets in the houses.

The first step in the preparation of the gathered nuts is to remove the shell and dry the meat. This, as well as all other labor in connection with the preparation of the acorn, is done by women only. The acorns are usually cracked by means of two stones, the acorn being placed point down on one, and the butt-end being struck several sharp blows with the other. The acorn is thus cracked in halves, and the shell is then separated from each half by the aid of the teeth. The split meats are then spread in the sun, where they rapidly become dry.

The preparation of acorn-meal from the dried nuts is carried on with or without a mortar or milling basket. Per-



haps most commonly this mortar-basket is dispensed with. Selecting a flat rock or boulder, or using a flat stone sunk in the floor of the house, the woman sits cross-legged, or with legs extended, on the ground, and, in the absence of a mortar-basket, spreads out a couple of quarts of dried acorns in a circle. Holding the pestle in the one hand, she strikes regularly in the centre of this circle, and with the other hand constantly gathers, and sweeps back under the descending

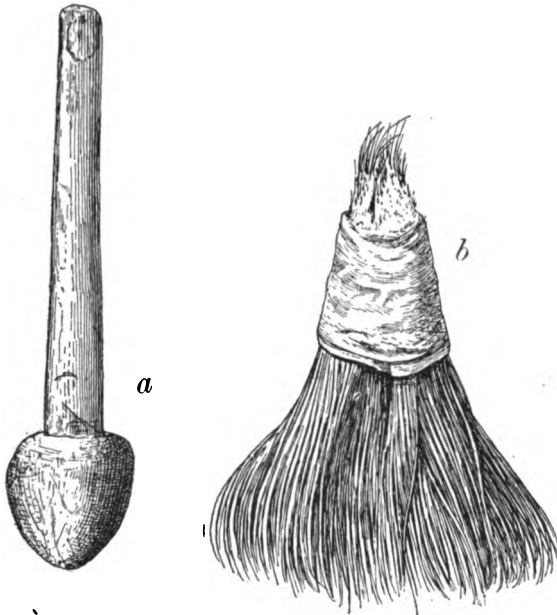


Fig. 46, *a* (ṭṭṭ), *b* (ṭṭṭ), Tapper and Brush used in sifting Acorn-meal. Length, 17 cm., 14 cm.

pestle, the acorns that scatter with each blow. The pestle is changed from one hand to the other now and then, thus insuring an even pounding of the acorns, and resting the hands and arms. When a considerable quantity of acorns has thus been reduced to meal, the finer flour must be separated from the coarser particles. In this process, several handfuls of the meal are placed on one of the flat winnowing baskets or trays, and are tossed and caught several times. Then, holding the

tray on the palm of the left hand, and tilting it at an angle of about  $40^{\circ}$ , the edge of the tray is tapped with a deer-bone or wooden tapper (Fig. 46, *a*), the tray being slowly revolved meanwhile by the aid of the fingers underneath. In this manner the coarser particles are separated, and roll off over the edge of the tray, leaving the fine flour behind. Sometimes the same result is accomplished without a beater, by holding the tray by the edge, in both hands, and tilting and shaking it dexterously.

In whatever manner the coarser grains are separated, the basket with the fine flour on it is brushed with a brush of soap-root fibre (Fig. 46, *b*), and all the flour brushed off into a soup-basket near at hand. The coarser particles are then thrown back into the centre of the ring of acorn-meats, and pounded again until they are reduced to the requisite fineness, more acorns being added from time to time to keep the mass that is being pounded about the same. The winnowing is likewise repeated from time to time until a sufficient quantity of the fine flour has been prepared.

In case the mortar-basket is used, there is not the necessity of constantly throwing the meal and acorns under the pestle, as these are kept from scattering by the sloping sides of the basket. Otherwise the process is identical.

The flour must next be sweetened by removing the bitter element present. For this purpose a spot is selected where the soil is sandy and soft. Here a circular depression is scraped out to a depth of five or seven centimetres, and the earth heaped up in a little wall round about the excavation. The diameter of these bowl-like hollows may vary from one third of a metre to a metre. The acorn-flour, being first dampened, is carefully plastered over the whole interior of the hollow, the layer of dampened meal being about five centimetres thick. Over this layer of meal a few small cedar sprigs or boughs are laid, so that in pouring on the water the meal shall not be disturbed. Warm water, heated in baskets by hot stones, is now poured gently on the cedar-boughs, and allowed to trickle through until the hollow is filled to the brim. Slowly the water soaks through the layer of meal, and is

absorbed by the sandy soil. As soon as the first water has soaked away, a second lot is poured in, this time somewhat hotter; and so on, until finally water at boiling-heat is used. From time to time the woman tastes the flour, until she finds that every trace of the bitter principle has been dissolved out. The sweetening-process is then completed, and the flour is ready for its final cooking.

Taking the dough from the hollow in pieces, the sand adhering to the under side is carefully removed, and the mass placed in a cooking-basket, with the addition of water. For the usual soup the proportion is about two quarts of dough to three gallons of water. The mass is stirred, and then hot stones, taken from the fire with the aid of two sticks, are placed in the basket, till the whole contents is brought to a boil. The soup is then ready to eat, and is taken either hot or cold. A thicker soup, or mush, was made in the same way, only less water was used in mixing. If it is desired to make bread of the flour instead of soup or mush, the dough, after its sweetening as above described, is made into a lump or loaf perhaps fifteen centimetres in diameter. This loaf is then flattened, a hot rock rolled in oak-leaves placed in the centre, and the dough folded over and pressed down all around it. The whole mass is then wrapped in oak-leaves, and placed in the ashes or under a pile of hot stones to bake. The resulting bread is very solid and heavy, resembling almost a lump of putty, and is, like the soup and mush, almost tasteless.

In both soup and bread there is a frequent mixture of sand and ashes, which makes the bread, in particular, rather gritty. The use of the cedar-sprigs in the process of sweetening imparts usually a slight flavor to the flour, which is not disagreeable. In some cases a leaf or two of bay or mint is added to the soup in its final cooking, to give it an added flavor.

The fruit of the buckeye (*Æsculus californica* Nutt.), like the acorn, has to have the bitter principle extracted before it can be eaten. The buckeye fruit, however, requires more thorough and protracted leaching. The "balls" are usually steamed for some time first, then boiled and washed in running

water for ten or fifteen hours. The fruit of the wild nutmeg (*Tunion californicum* Greene) requires even more thorough treatment than the buckeye. The nuts are first cracked, and the shell removed. They are then buried in the ground for several months. At the end of that time they are dug up, and roasted in the ashes.

Grass and other small seeds were formerly eaten in considerable amount. The seeds were gathered by the women with the

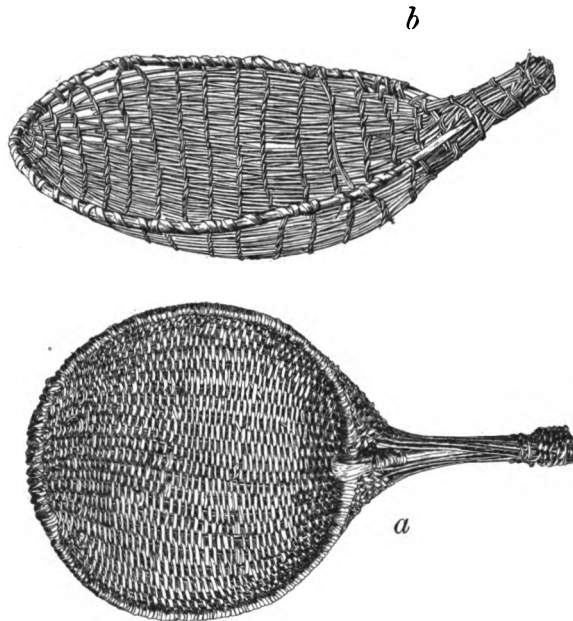


Fig. 47, *a* (1888), *b* (1899). Seed-beaters. Length, 51 cm., 38 cm.

aid of a beater (Fig. 47). One of these (Fig. 47, *a*) is the type used by the Northwestern Maidu; the other (Fig. 47, *b*), that used by the Northeastern. Holding one of these in the hand, the grass or plant heads were struck by it, thus knocking out the seeds, which were caught in a tray-basket held underneath. From the latter the seeds were transferred to the burden-basket on the back. In the region occupied by the Northeastern Maidu the seeds seem to have been fre-

quently ground with water on the rude metates, and either made into a dough and baked in little cakes, or made into a soup in a manner similar to that followed in the case of the acorn-flour.

The seeds of the sweet-birch were thrashed from the hulls when dry, mixed with wild oats, and parched in a tray-basket with hot sand, coals, and ashes, the mixture being stirred to keep the basket from burning. When cold, the sand and ashes were winnowed or blown away, the seeds pounded fine and eaten dry, with no further preparation.

Roots were gathered by means of a digging-stick, usually one metre or more in length, straight, and with the end hardened in the fire. The roots were eaten in a variety of ways,—raw, roasted, or boiled, or sometimes dried, pounded fine, mixed with berries, and baked in small flat cakes.

Pine-nuts were collected in the fall in large quantities, the mountain people trading the sugar-pine nuts to the Sacramento Valley people for digger-pine nuts. The cones of the latter are very large and solid. To extract the nuts, the cones or "burrs" were generally piled in heaps of ten or twelve, and set afire. The pitch burned off in this manner, and the heat partially opened the "burr," which was then crushed by means of heavy stones.

Berries of various sorts were gathered, and dried for winter use; or mashed, made into little cakes with seeds and pounded roots, and either dried, or wrapped in leaves and baked (Fig. 48). To prepare these cakes for use, they were soaked, and then made into a sort of soup. Manzanita-berries are still stored in considerable quantities, and largely used to prepare the so-called "manzanita-cider." The berries consist, when ripe, of a mass of sweet, dry meal, surrounding two or more hard seeds. To prepare the "cider," the berries are first crushed, and then mixed with water to form a stiff dough. A rough frame of willow, large enough to cover the top of a soup-basket, is then made, and cross-strands of bark twined about it so as to form a rude, flat, open-work tray. On this a few large leaves are laid, and the mass of dough placed on these in the shape of a truncated cone from fifteen to twenty centimetres

in diameter and from ten to fifteen centimetres high. A small depression is made in the top of the cone, and then the whole affair placed over a soup-basket. Water is poured into the depression in the top of the conical heap of manzanita-dough, and, as it slowly soaks through and drips into the basket below, more is poured in, and the process continued until all the flavor has been dissolved out of the berries. The resulting liquid is of a clear amber color, and has a strong, sweet taste not unlike that of cider. Occasionally the berries are first roasted, with the result that the liquid is darker in color, and has a slightly different flavor. This so-called "cider" has always been the favorite drink of the

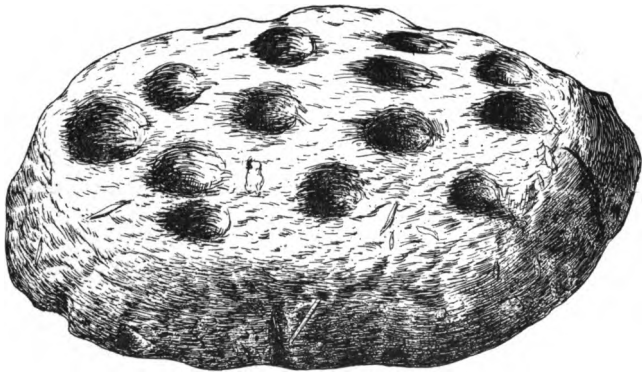


Fig. 48 (1892). Cakes made of Seeds, Roots, and Berries. Diameter, 15 cm.

Maidu, and is still made in large quantities, particularly in summer, when it proves a cooling and refreshing beverage. At the present time it is sometimes strained and bottled, when it ferments and becomes mildly intoxicating. It is also used to make an excellent vinegar. Both of these products are entirely modern, and were unknown before the coming of Europeans.

Grasshoppers and locusts were eaten eagerly when they were to be had. The usual method of gathering them was to dig a large, shallow pit in some meadow or flat, and then, by setting fire to the grass on all sides, to drive the insects into the pit. Their wings being burned off by the flames, they

were helpless, and were thus collected by the bushel. They were then dried as they were. Thus prepared, they were kept for winter food, and were eaten either dry and uncooked or slightly roasted.

Angle-worms were much relished. They were collected in considerable quantities by planting a pole in the ground in a favorable spot, and then working this pole round and round, running around it at the same time, and stamping hard upon the ground. The worms quickly came to the surface, and, when gathered, were generally cooked into a thick soup.

Eels were speared, split, and dried. In preparing them for food, they were usually cut into small pieces, and stewed. Salmon were split, and dried by hanging them over a pole. When thoroughly dry, the fish was usually pounded up till it was reduced to a coarse flour, and kept in baskets. It was eaten dry, as a rule.

Deer and other meat was cut into strips and dried. Usually this was done in the sun; but occasionally a fire was lighted under the drying meat to hasten the process, and to smoke the product slightly.

Salt was used sparingly, but was highly prized. It seems to have been obtained largely from local salt deposits and springs, but considerable is declared to have been brought from deposits of some size near the Marysville Buttes.

The usual methods of cooking meat were boiling, baking, and roasting. Boiling was not much used for meat. In baking, a hole was dug, rocks thrown in, and a fire started in it. When the earth and rocks were thoroughly heated, the fire was raked out; the meat, wrapped in leaves, was placed in the hole, and the hot rocks piled over it. Earth and leaves were then heaped over the whole, and after an hour or two the meat was nicely baked. In roasting, the meat was generally thrown directly on the coals, rarely put on a stick. When bear-meat was eaten, it was the custom to cook it separate from deer-meat, and the two were not eaten together. In the Sacramento Valley a wholly different word is used to denote eating bear-meat, from that indicating the eating of all other kinds of meat.

HUNTING AND FISHING.—That portion of the Maidu living in the mountains depended much more on game than did the lowland people, and they were much more skilful hunters.

Deer were hunted in several ways. During the rutting-season in particular, a favorite method was to stalk the game, wearing either a whole deer-hide with head and antlers left on, or merely the head and antlers. The antlers, in either case, were usually scraped out hollow to make them lighter. Wearing this disguise, the hunter went to bushy places where deer were plenty, and, by pretending to be eating, attempted to get near enough to the deer to shoot it with bow and arrow, held carefully concealed close against the breast. Deer were also often run down by single hunters, both in summer and winter; in the latter season, the hunter having to rely, of course, on snowshoes.

It was on the larger hunts, in which great numbers of men participated, that the chief development of their hunting-methods lay. Deer-drives of considerable size were held at different times of the year. In some, the men would spread out over a large extent of country, and drive the deer over some steep cliff. More commonly, certain men would be posted at known deer runways and trails; and then, the deer being started up by the beaters, the concealed hunters would shoot the deer as they fled along their accustomed paths. Often fires were set to drive deer. The most important method, however, was that in which drive-fences were employed. It was almost wholly confined to the mountain area. Thirty or forty men were necessary to carry out such a drive successfully. The fences were made of reeds or grape-vines roughly twined together, stretched from tree to tree and between bushes along the mountain-sides, and arranged to cross as many known deer-trails as possible. The entire length of some of these drive-fences was often as much as a mile or more. The fence had usually a number of sharp salients or angles, in each of which was a pit, in which a man was concealed. These concealed men being in place, the others spread out over the ridge, and, slowly advancing, drove the game toward the fence. The deer, reaching the



fence, followed it, and, trying to escape at the various angles, were there shot by the men in hiding, or sometimes were merely clubbed to death. Drives of this sort were held only in the spring and fall.

The whole affair was accompanied by much ceremony. Before the drive occurred, all who were to take part in it assembled on the ridge where the drive was to be held. A fire was built, and offerings made to the *kū'kini* or spirits of the mountain, and prayers for a successful hunt were repeated by the old men. The deer were besought not to jump over the fence, or to try to break through it or crawl under it. As the hunt went on, the deer, as they were killed, were brought to the spot where the ceremony was held. The legs of all were cut off, and placed on a small platform built in the branches of a tree near by, and left there till the drive was all over, the affair often lasting several days. During this whole period of the drive, the women and children, who were all left at the village, must observe a variety of regulations. Children had to be very careful: they must not play violently, shout, jump over things, kick, run, fall down, or throw stones. The women also must keep quiet, and stay much of the time indoors. Should these regulations be broken, the deer would become unmanageable, would jump the fence, and the whole drive be unsuccessful. During the whole period of the hunt, no deer-bones must be thrown away, or burned, or eaten by a dog. During the period of the hunt, the hunters ate only the liver of the deer killed. They must also abstain from their wives for some time previous to the hunt, and during it. When the hunt was over, a second ceremony was held at the same place as the first. Similar offerings of food and beads were made again to the spirits and the deer. Then the meat was collected, and equally divided among all who had taken part. The leg-bones were taken down from the platform and divided, to be taken home and cracked for the marrow. The antlers and jaw-bones of all deer killed were hung up on some bush or small tree, at the spot where the animal was killed. This custom applies as well to deer killed by single hunters at any time.

Dogs were at times used to help in these drives, or by single hunters. A good hunting-dog is said to have been highly prized. The dogs used are described by some as being much like the coyote in shape, size, and color. By others they are declared to have been smaller, resembling more a poodle.

In the Sierra region bears were usually hunted in the spring, at the time when they are just about awakening from their period of hibernation. The bear being located in a cave or hollow tree, the hunters, of which there are always quite a party, held before the cave a ceremony, in general similar to that already described as preceding the deer-drive. Several men then took torches and bows and went into the cave. As a result of the ceremony, the bear was supposed not to look at the men. The hunters made an address to the bear, in which he was told that his life had been paid for, and that he must stand up and give them room to shoot. This the bear was then supposed to do, and was accordingly shot in the heart at once. The bear being dead, the arrow was extracted, decorated with beads, and hung to a bush near by.

Grisly bears were hunted only by those who were very fleet of foot, and renowned hunters. The grisly was never attacked except by a number of men together, and in the foot-hill region in the following manner: Four or five men would go in a party, and all but one would hide behind trees or rocks in the vicinity of the bear. One man then went as near the bear as possible, and shot once, or twice if he could. He then ran, followed by the bear, toward the place of concealment of one of the other hunters. Slipping behind the tree or rock, the first hunter would stop; and the fresh runner would instantly jump out, and run toward the place where another man was concealed. The bear would follow this second runner, and as he passed the tree or rock, the first would again shoot at him. The second runner would similarly change places with the third man, who, running toward the fourth, would lead the bear away again. Thus each hunter had time to rest, and to shoot several arrows, while the other men were taking the attention of the bear. By thus changing off, they tried to tire out the bear, and fill his body full of

arrows, until he finally succumbed. It was always, however, dangerous sport, and not infrequently several of the hunters were killed.

Elk were usually run down, being followed for days, and finally despatched with bow and arrow. Squirrels and rabbits were shot with blunt arrows; and rabbits were also taken in nets stretched from bush to bush, and upheld by sticks. Into these nets, which stretched for many hundred feet, the rabbits were driven, and clubbed to death at the nets by men stationed there for the purpose, the rabbits generally getting their heads caught in the meshes of the net.

Quail were snared. In their seasonal migrations they pass from the lower to the higher ridges, and back by well-defined little trails. Along either side of one of these runways, a tiny fence of little twigs was built, standing some fifteen or twenty centimetres high, and extending for perhaps two hundred metres. Every five or seven metres an opening, just large enough for a single bird to pass, was left, now on one side, now on the other. In each of these openings a fine hair noose was set, and a few berries scattered on the ground just outside the gate. The quail, following their usual runways, passed between these fences, saw the bait scattered for them outside the openings, and, passing out to take it, were caught by the hair nooses. In this manner scores of quail were often collected in a single day.

Grouse were usually shot. Pigeons were often snared or netted by stretching nets across certain gaps in ridges, through which the birds were known to fly habitually. The eagle was never shot, it seems; as to do so would be sure to bring bad luck, make the bow warp, and the arrows break.

Geese and ducks were caught in several ways. In the Sierra, among the Northeastern Maidu, they were often shot; but a more common method was to stretch a cord across a stream, and hang from it, every foot or two, a noose, held open by a piece of stiff grass. These nooses hung just over the surface of the water, and many birds were caught as they flew. In the Sacramento Valley another method was in use. Three light props of elder from two to three metres long were

used to hold vertically a net about two metres wide and six metres long. Three or four of these nets were thus set up end to end, the lower corners of the nets being pegged down by sticks. A long cord ran from the props to a grass-and-bough shelter some hundred yards away. One or more decoy geese were placed on the ground near the net. When the snare was set and the geese alighted near by, the string was pulled by the hunter concealed in the shelter, the props gave way, and the net fell on the birds as they rose, and held them till the hunter could reach them. Ducks were, in this region, also caught with nets in another way. The nets were set on bent sticks from the bank out over the water's edge. When the ducks came to sleep, they touched strings which released the nets, and were caught under the nets as they fell. The cord-and-noose method above described was also in use here.



Fig. 49 ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ). Salmon-gig.

Crows were caught in the Sacramento Valley for their skins, which were used in the making of feather cloaks. A low, bushy willow was selected, and in it, at some height from the ground, a small nest or platform was built, reached by a rude ladder. Seated in this nest, a man was completely concealed. Two light sticks, from two metres and a half to three metres long, were then taken, and tied together loosely at one end. These were then spread out like a V, and between the open arms a net was stretched. By opening or closing the V-shaped frame, this net was opened or shut like a fan. One man then hid in the nest in the tree, entering it after dark, and had with him one of these folding-nets. Other men then went about and scared up the sleeping birds, which were driven towards the concealed hunter, who, as the birds passed by overhead, swept out his net, closing the sticks as he did so, and in this way often caught a considerable number of birds.

Eels were speared, and also salmon. In catching salmon, the ordinary salmon-gig is used (Fig. 49), the points formerly being made of bone, but now, as a rule, of a steel-wire nail and

a piece of bone or hard wood. The spearing often took place at openings in weirs built across the eastern tributaries of the Sacramento. Salmon, as well as the other fish, were more often, perhaps, taken in nets. In the Sacramento Valley it seems that the same type of net as that used by the tribes of the Klamath River was in use. The method of fishing with these nets is described as follows: A platform being built out over the stream at a point where there is a strong eddy, the fisherman stationed himself there with a long dip-net affixed to poles tied in a V-shape. Across the mouth of the net several strings were stretched. The net being left in the water, these strings were disturbed by the salmon as they entered the net, while resting in the eddy, and the fisherman was thus advised

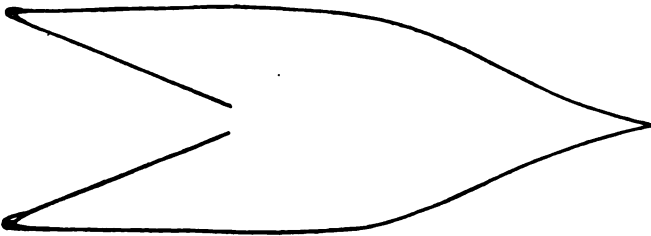


Fig. 50. Section of Fish-trap.

of the presence of something in his net. He at once then pulled up the net, turning it as he did so, to prevent the fish's escape. The fish was then killed with a club. By the Northeastern Maidu another type of net was in use, chiefly, however, for other fish than salmon (see Fig. 13). Here the mouth of the net was held open by an elastic willow wand, a long straight pole being tied to the middle of the opposite side of the net-mouth. The width of the mouth of the net was such that the net stretched across the whole bed of the stream, the bow being uppermost, and the lower side being held down by the pole to the bottom. When fish entered the net, the pole was quickly raised, thus closing the mouth of the net, and preventing the escape of the fish. Fish-traps (shown in section in Fig. 50) were also used, the closed end being untied in order to extract the fish.

Small hooks of two pieces of bone, tied together and pitched at the joint, were used in fishing, but not to a great extent. Fish were at times stupefied by the use of soap-root, which was bruised, and placed in small pools. This method, however, was not much used. It is claimed by the Maidu in the Sacramento Valley that certain expert divers sometimes caught fish by diving with a stick to the end of which a sinew noose was attached, which could be pulled tight when desired. By cautiously swimming toward a large fish, this noose was said to be slipped over the fish's head, and pulled taut, the diver then coming to the surface with his prize. In this section, also, mussels were gathered by divers.

In the region of the foot-hills there was always some little ceremony at the time when the first salmon of the season was caught. The first salmon had to be caught by one of the shamans, and no one else might fish until he was successful. The fish caught was cooked over a fire built on the spot, and was then divided into many small pieces, one of which, with a morsel of acorn-bread, was given by the shaman to each person. After that, any one might go fishing.

There seem to have been no very elaborate rules in regard to the division of game. If two men shot the same deer, it was evenly divided between them. A man who came in from a hunt (not a drive) divided the meat among all his friends and relatives. The chief got no larger share than any one else.

TRANSPORTATION AND TRADE.—Except on the Sacramento River and its tributaries within the valley region, there was little opportunity for the Maidu to make use of any sort of canoe; for the streams were either torrential in their character, or largely dried up in the summer months. In the valley, however, it would seem, strangely enough, that canoes were but little used. When made, they were but rough dug-outs, broad and flat, the ends being abruptly rounded or square. They were propelled by poles, it is said, almost entirely. Rough rafts were also used. Rude balsa-like rafts of reeds but little over three metres long were used to some extent. In the region occupied by the Northeastern Maidu there is again opportunity—limited, however—for the use of canoes.

Here dug-outs were made five metres or more in length, usually of pine or cedar. As a rule, a windfall was chosen, a section of the requisite length burned off, and the canoe shaped and excavated largely by fire. Pitch was utilized to hasten the process, being spread over the parts that it was desired to burn. The canoes were rather roughly finished, it seems, and were shallow, broad, and blunt-ended. They were propelled by means of rude, single paddles, although poles were much used as well. No reed balsas were made in this section, but simple log-rafts were at times constructed.



Fig. 51 ( $\frac{3}{4}$ ). Cord Tump-line. Length, 60 cm.

Goods of all sorts, and at times even old people or invalids, were transported in burden-baskets. These were carried and supported by means of a tump-line of buckskin or cord (Fig. 51). The strip of buckskin, as a rule, was tied to the basket in two places, by running through loops. The skin tump-lines were unornamented, whereas those of cord were generally decorated in simple designs. Network, covering and holding the basket, like that in use among stocks nearer the coast to the west, was not used here; nor do we find the custom of affixing the four stout sticks to the burden-basket, as among the Achomá'wi Indians to the north.

Babies and young children were kept and carried on cradle-frames. The frame was of substantially the same type throughout the Maidu area. In general, a forked stick was

selected to form the basis; and across the arms of the Y, cross-sticks were tied, forming a flat surface wider at the top than at the bottom. At the upper or wider end, a shield or screen was added for the double purpose of shading the child's head and of protecting it from accidental blows (Fig. 52). A layer of soft grass or shredded cedar-bark being placed on the frame, the child, wrapped in a piece of buckskin, was laid on this, and securely laced and tied on by crisscross wrappings of buckskin thongs. Thus secured, the child can only move its head. The cradle-frame is carried on the mother's back by a tump-line passing either across the forehead or the breast. This same strap also serves to hang the frame to a tree or to a

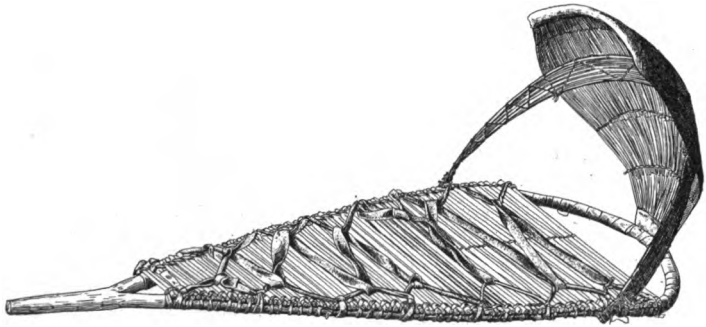


Fig. 52 (4889). Cradle-frame, Summer Type. Length, 87.5 cm.

peg in the wall. The lower end of the Y of the frame is generally some fifteen or thirty centimetres in length, and is sharpened. When the mother is gathering roots or berries, this sharpened end is thrust into the ground, and the cradle-frame is in this manner held upright, the child being kept from harm. The cradle-frame here shown is that used in summer. In winter a similar form is used, except that the head-guard, and also often the pointed bottom end, are lacking. As the child grows, a larger frame is made for it, two or even three frames being made for a child before it is allowed to creep or run about. There was little ornamentation, it seems, of these frames. It is usually customary to make a new cradle-frame for each child, the old ones being kept by the mother or



hung on some tree. This rule, however, is not universally followed.

The whole Maidu area seems originally to have been crossed by a great number of well-beaten trails, connecting the different villages and hunting and fishing grounds. Every year, usually, the underbrush was burned out by fires started here and there, thus keeping the forest open, and making travel more easy, and ambushing by enemies more difficult. The underbrush being kept down made destructive forest-fires very infrequent, as the annual growth of brush and accumulation of pine-needles were insufficient to set the larger trees afire.

Except on their hunting-trips, the Maidu seem not to have been travellers. They rarely went far from home, even on hunts. It seems that twenty miles was an unusual distance to go, and few went to greater distances from their homes. This restriction of travel was in part due to the rugged nature of the ground, and in part to the hostility of the different villages toward each other. Villages were at times abandoned, it seems; but the move was but a few miles at most, and after several years the original site was often re-occupied. The inhabitants of any one village thus knew only a small section of country, and all lying beyond was *terra incognita*.

In the mountains there was, to be sure, the annual change from the settled winter life in the earth lodges and permanent homes along the streams, to the wandering summer life on the ridges in temporary shelters; but the area traversed in the wandering was very restricted, and each village, or group of villages, guarded very jealously the territory it considered its own.

The Maidu do not seem to have been notable in any way as traders. The Northeastern Maidu traded with the Achomá'wi Indians, getting chiefly beads, and giving in exchange bows and deer-hides. With the Piutes and Washos there seems to have been little trade or intercourse. With the Northwestern Maidu, those in the higher Sierra traded for beads, pine-nuts, salt, and salmon, giving in exchange arrows, bows, deer-hides, and several sorts of food. In exchange

the beads were counted, not measured by strings. For each ten beads a stick was laid down as a counter. Tobacco

grew plentifully in the region about Honey Lake, and was traded from there quite extensively. The Northwestern Maidu traded chiefly with the Wintun, and the principal article secured was beads. For currency, the circular, disk-shaped shell beads were the standard. As just stated, they were counted, and not measured in strings, but seem always to have been kept in strings. Woodpecker-scalps appear not to have been used as an exchange medium here, as they were so largely on the Klamath River.

**WARFARE.**—The principal weapons in use among the Maidu were the bow and the spear. The bows made in the mountain sections, where yew could be obtained, were regarded as superior to others, and were quite an article of trade. In type, the bow (Fig. 53, *a*) was similar to the bows of northern California in general. Having a length of about one metre, they tapered gradually from the centre toward each end, being about five or six centimetres wide in the middle. The back of the bow was covered with a layer of sinew, generally the back-sinew of the deer. This sinew backing was prepared and applied as follows: The dried sinew was first chewed or

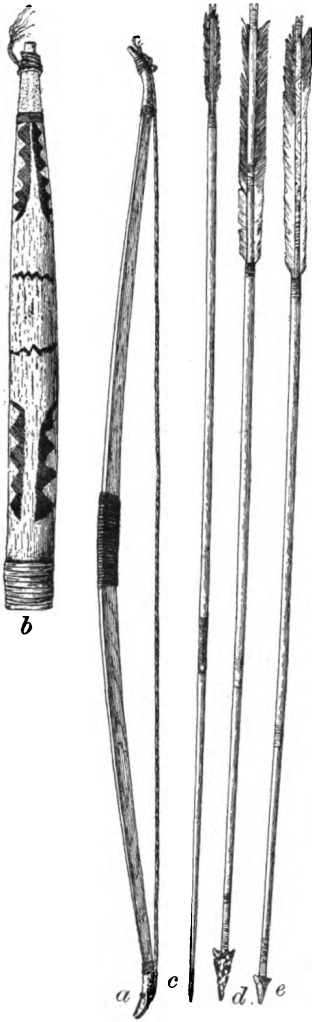


Fig. 53, *a*, *b* ( $\frac{10}{10}$ ), *c-e* ( $\frac{10}{10}$ ,  $\frac{10}{10}$ ,  $\frac{10}{10}$  *a*, *b*).  
Bow and Arrows. Length of bow, 99 cm.;  
length of arrows, 82.5 cm., 87.5 cm., 85 cm.

soaked till perfectly soft. It was split and shredded into small strips, and these were carefully and regularly laid along the back of the bow. At the ends they were wrapped about and tied firmly. Each strip or shred of the sinew, as it was put on, was dipped in glue prepared from scraped and boiled salmon-skins. The layer being thus built up of the required thickness, the bow was placed in the sun and carefully dried, great pains being taken that in the drying the sinew layer did not crack. As soon as a crack appeared, it was at once smoothed over, and the sinew pressed together again. When the sinew layer was wholly dry, the bow had to be painted (Fig. 53, *b*). To this end the paint (most commonly a greenish mineral pigment obtained in trade from the extreme northern boundary of the State, or just across it in Oregon) was mixed with salmon-glue, and applied with the end of a feather. As a rule, the bow was wound with a narrow strip of fur or buckskin at the grip.

The arrows (Fig. 53, *c-e*) used were generally made with shaft and foreshaft, but frequently the foreshaft was absent. The shafts were made of several sorts of wood, syringa (*Philadelphus Lewisii* Pursh., var. *californicus* Gray) and rose-bush-shoots (*Rosa pisocarpa* Gray) being preferred. In all cases where the foreshaft was lacking, the shaft was wound with sinew at the point where the foreshaft would have been inserted. The arrows were feathered with three feathers from ten to fifteen centimetres in length. Arrows were painted according to the individual's fancy, and each man painted his arrows in a slightly different way.

Frequently the shaft had sinuous grooves running its whole length. The points were small, and very commonly of obsidian, obtained largely from the tribes to the north. In straightening the shafts, the teeth were employed in the first instance, and then the shafts were rubbed between two grooved pieces of sandstone. There was no set length for arrows: each man made his any length he pleased.

For quivers (Fig. 54), the Maidu used the skins of the wildcat, fox, coyote, young deer, and raccoon. These skins were turned inside out, and suspended by a strap over the

right shoulder, the arrows being taken from the quiver by the right hand, reaching over the left shoulder. In war, other arrows were also carried under the arm. Generally in the head-end of the animal, which was at the bottom of the quiver-bag, a cushion of soft grass was placed, to keep the arrow-points from injury.

In shooting the bow, it was held horizontally, the arrow being grasped either between the thumb and first joint of the forefinger, or between the thumb and the knuckle of the same finger. The arrow, where it lies on the bow, passes between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand.

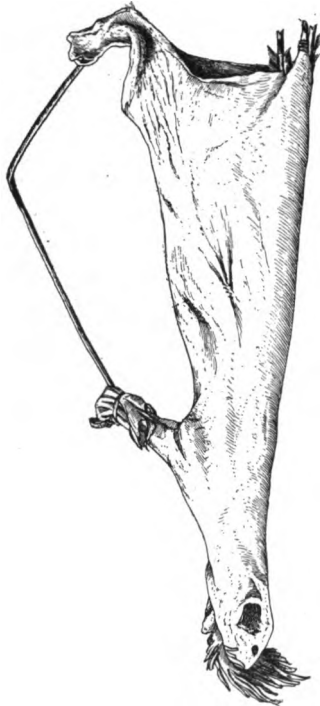


Fig. 54 ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ). Skin Quiver. Length, 87 cm.

The spears (see Fig. 2, *b*) in use were rather heavy, with a shaft two metres or more in length, and were exclusively for thrusting. The shaft was usually wrapped with sinew for four or five centimetres, about thirty centimetres back of the point. The latter was commonly of obsidian, from ten to fifteen centimetres in length, and was securely tied with sinew in a groove in the end of the shaft, and still further secured by pitch.

Clubs in the form of simple sticks were sometimes used, and in the region occupied by the Northeastern Maidu there seem to have been a few stone-headed clubs. The sling was very rarely, if ever, employed in war, its use being chiefly in hunting, where it was utilized for killing small birds.

There is some question as to whether the Maidu made use of any sort of arrow-poison. The very general statement is,

however, that they did, and the Indians' statements are corroborated by several of the early settlers. The only method described is that which has been attributed to several other tribes in this region; namely, that by means of the deer-liver and rattlesnake-poison. The liver is held on a long pole, taken to a rattlesnake den, and the snakes induced to strike at it repeatedly. When the liver is thus thoroughly impregnated with the poison, it is allowed to decay partially, and is then rapidly dried. The arrow-points are then moistened, and repeatedly passed through the dried mass.

For defence, the Maidu had two sorts of armor, — the elk-hide, and the stick or slat armor. The former was but slightly used, and was merely a stiff, heavy piece of skin covering the body from the shoulders to the knees, suspended from the shoulders by cords. The stick-armor was much more in use, and more serviceable. It seems to have been used more by the mountain people than in the Sacramento Valley. It was made, when possible, of straight round sticks of the mountain mahogany (*Cercocarpus ledifolius* Nutt.), about a centimetre or a centimetre and a half in diameter, fastened together by cords twined in and out between the sticks. The garment was in the form of a waistcoat, with a very high and large collar or neck, particularly in front. So high was the front, that the wearer could just look over it, and then, having discharged his arrow, could sink his head between his shoulders, and thus withdraw it completely behind the shelter of the armor.

The warfare of the Maidu was merely raiding and ambushing. Owing to the lack of any feeling of tribal unity, there was little in the way of combined attack on an enemy on any considerable scale. Several villages, indeed, would at times band together against a common enemy, but apparently these unions were not lasting or of any great size. Warning of attacks was commonly given by means of signal smokes and fires; and attacks were usually made at dawn, or just before. In fighting, great reliance was placed on dodging. The fighters stood with their sides toward the enemy, so as to present a small mark, and kept in constant movement from

side to side, dancing about and capering, so that it might be difficult for their opponent to hit them. Prisoners, if men, were usually killed. Women were carried off by their captors, but very often managed to escape after a short time. Many stories of such escapes are told. Slaves were not taken or used. As a rule, the slain were scalped, and, it is asserted, a scalp-dance was held on the return of the party, the scalps being suspended from a pole, while all the visitors and their wives danced about. This dance, however, seems to have been more common in the mountains than in the Sacramento Valley area.

Besides the inter-village enmities, the Maidu had many outsiders to contend against. The Northeastern Maidu were particularly embroiled with the Washo, the Achomā'wi, and the Yana (Kombo). The valley people seem to have had the Yana on the north, and at times the Wintun, as their chief enemies.

In the region of the foot-hills, according to the information obtained by Mr. Spencer, it was the custom to torture captives of the male sex. When captured, they were bound and brought under guard to the camp. If the enemy was still in the vicinity, and other attacks were likely, the victims were held till the affair might occur without interruption. If thus kept, the prisoner was generally placed in the dance-house, securely bound, and no food or water was given him. The torture took place, as a rule, in the dance-house, the prisoner being bound securely to a pole at least ten feet or so in height. In case the prisoner was merely a common man, the torture consisted in burning the body with hot rocks, thrusting burning sticks, previously sharpened, into the flesh, beating with large sticks, cutting off the ears, thrusting burning sticks up the nostrils, cutting off the flesh in strips, and burning the hands and feet.

The body, or what was left of it, was burned. Should the prisoner be a person of note, he was bound to the pole; and only men were allowed to take part in the ceremony. In the case of an ordinary person, women also took part. The lead was taken in the former case by either the shaman or some old

member of the Secret Society. All the men stood, armed with bow and arrow, facing the prisoner. The leader then started a war-song, and all began to dance. At a given signal a number of the dancers stopped, and discharged their arrows at the prisoner. They at once stepped back, and another group did the same, group succeeding group till each had shot several times. The prisoner being dead, each man pulled out from the body as many whole arrows as he could, and preserved them for use in war. Such arrows were never used for ordinary hunting. If a person of distinction were killed in an attack, and the body or head could be secured, it was tied to the pole on returning to the home village, and treated as described in the case of the live prisoner.

Smoke-signals would seem to have been used to some extent, holes being dug in the ground and filled with combustibles which produced a dense smoke, which, by narrowing the opening of the hole, ascended in a column to a considerable height.<sup>1</sup>

GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS.—Apart from the regular gambling-games, there were a number of other games in which the gambling-element, while always present, was not so marked. First among these was football. This game seems to have been much more common in the mountains than in the Sacramento Valley, and was played exclusively by men. Two poles were set up about seven metres apart, and four or six players ranged in line with each pole, the players standing from thirty to fifty metres apart, and forming parallel lines. The two end men farthest from their respective goals each had a buckskin ball stuffed with deer-hair, and varying from fifteen to twenty centimetres in diameter. At a given signal each kicked his ball toward his goal, and ran after it. The second man in the line then kicked it on farther to the third, who in his turn kicked it to the fourth; and thus it was passed from one to another, that side being the winner whose ball was first to reach the goal. The game was the occasion of great excitement, villages playing against each other usually; and it was a great favorite when any considerable gathering of

<sup>1</sup> See History of Amador County.

Indians took place. There is at present another variety of the game much influenced by football as played by the whites. In this game six players take part. The two goals are erected from fifty to two hundred metres apart; and the six players, three on a side, start with the ball in the centre between the goals, and each party tries to carry or kick its ball to the opponent's goal. There is in this form of the game considerable wrestling.

The women had a game somewhat similar to the men's football, played, however, with different implements. It was played usually by six players, though at times an unlimited number took part. The players had a stick about one hundred and twenty-five centimetres long, with which they tossed either a buckskin rope, plaited of several strands, and usually about thirty centimetres in length; or a couple of sticks, fifteen centimetres long and five in diameter, tied to the ends of a buckskin cord about ten centimetres in length; or a rope or bundle of frayed cottonwood-bark. Two goal-posts were set up, as in the men's football game, and the game was played in the same manner, the rope or sticks being tossed from one player to another by means of the poles. In Big Meadows it is said also to have been played by having the goals a hundred metres apart, two players standing at each goal, and two others facing each other over the rope, which was placed in the centre between the goals. At a signal the two struck at the rope, and thus started the game, one or the other being successful in this first stroke; the rope being then passed on by the other players, who tried to throw it over the opponent's goal. In the Sacramento Valley the game was played with two acorns tied together by a string, and was played only once a year, at the time of the annual burning. The men's football was also, in this region, played only at this same time, and both seem to have had somewhat more of a ceremonial character than elsewhere.

Other games, in which the gambling-element did not enter very largely, were numerous. Men and boys shot at a mark made of a piece of bark cut out round, and set up at a distance of forty metres. They also shot at a small hoop or wicket of



wood set in the ground, and rising above it from seven to twelve centimetres. In the Sacramento Valley there was a game played in which a small pebble was batted with a deer's scapula, the winner being he who could bat the pebble the farthest. It was played chiefly by children. No cup-and-ball game, or anything resembling it, seems to have been known. Children played with a "buzzer" and a bull-roarer, but these were not used for any ceremonial purposes. A teetotum of wood was also used by children. Young men and boys also played a game in which they took a long stick and cut notches in it; then, taking a long breath, they tried to see how many notches they could touch before they had to take a new breath. A guessing-game was played by women and children, in which a small piece of twig or grass, about one centimetre in length, was hidden in the second joint of the bent finger; the opponent having to guess, from a scrutiny of the closed fist, in which finger-joint the object was concealed. During this process, the person holding the concealed stick waved the hands about, saying, "Ti'kE1, ti'kE1, ti'kE1!" The guesser, having decided under which finger the little stick was concealed, cried "Tët!" pointing at the same time to the finger in question. If the guess were correct, the guesser won a point, and took the object himself to conceal the next time. If he failed, the same person hid the stick again, and he must try once more. Cat's-cradle games seem not to have been much developed, although the women knew several figures. It was played merely for fun, and not, as among the Shasta, more or less ceremonially. No dice-games of any sort were in use.

The favorite game, however, of the Maidu, was, and still is, the so-called "grass-game," played for a stake, and, like all gambling-games, played with great earnestness, and often for days at a time without stop. The game is played in substantially the same manner throughout the Maidu area; and a description of the method in use in the foot-hill region is given here, the variations in use elsewhere being pointed out afterwards.

The implements used in the game are two sticks or "bones"  
[*May, 1905.*]

about six centimetres in length, and from one to two centimetres in thickness (Fig. 55, *a* and *b*). One of these (*b*) is plain: the other (*a*) either has a thong or cord tied about the centre, or is scratched deeply in a ring, and this filled with pitch and charcoal. The "bones" are generally made of either a deer or mountain-lion bone, although in the mountain regions they are not seldom of wood. The unmarked bone is known as hi'ndukö, and the marked as su'lu. In addition to these bones, there are used counting-sticks known as dē'mi. These are nowadays merely splinters of wood, roughly of the same size and length. Formerly they seem to

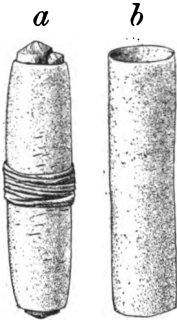


Fig. 55. *a*, *b* (Fig. 55, *a*, *b*).  
Gambling-bones. Length,  
7 cm., 6.5 cm.

have been made a little more carefully, but not to have been ornamented in any way. The chief variations in the game are in the number of these counting-sticks which are used. In the foot-hill region there are two games in use,—the bōm he'la, or "long game," with sixteen dē'mi or counting-sticks; and the la'da, or "short game," with only ten sticks. Different methods of counting are used in these two games. The method of playing is, however, in all cases the same.

In playing the game, two players play on a side; and, as the game is usually played in the dance-house, two sit at the right, and two at the left, of the door, with the fire between them. Before each pair of players is a pile of dried grass, in which the "bones" are wrapped in playing the game. The stake played for may be anything. It may be given by one of the players, it may be contributed to by all the players, or it may be the result of contribution by the players and the spectators together. In the last case, any outsider or spectator who puts anything into the stake is entitled to the same proportion of the winnings, if his side wins; he having to bet, at the time he contributes, which side he thinks will win. All being in readiness, and the dē'mi being equally divided between the two sides, the game commences. Each of the two players

on one side has a pair of "bones." Taking one in each hand, each of the two players begins to sing his gambling song or songs, waving his hands about, changing the bones rapidly from hand to hand, now high in the air, now low down near the ground, now behind his back. He seizes a mass of the dried grass, and, wrapping each bone in a handful of grass, continues to shift and change the bones, singing the while, and swaying his body back and forth and from side to side in time with the rhythm of the song. Both men sing the same song, although sometimes they sing different words. Meanwhile the two players on the other side watch the whole performance with intense earnestness. At last, after perhaps four or five minutes of this preparation, the two players who have been shifting the bones stop, and, holding their hands tightly clinched, and usually pressed tight against the breast, they continue to sing their songs in a somewhat suppressed tone, and sway gently in time as before. Suddenly one of the players on the opposite side claps his hands once, twice, or three times, and shouts, thus designating the hands in which he thinks the marked or unmarked bones are, darting or throwing out his hand or hands violently at the same moment. As each of the two players holding the bones has one of both kinds, it follows that these four bones may be in any one of four possible arrangements. A, sitting on B's right, may have the marked bone in his right hand, while B holds his in the left, the two bones being thus far apart,—on the outside, as it were, of the pair of players; or A may hold the marked bone in his left, while B has it in his right, thus bringing the bones together in the middle; or A may have his marked bone in the left, while B has his in his left also; or each may have the marked bone in his right hand. For each one of these four possible arrangements there are special phrases or cries, and often each arrangement has a dozen or more such. As a rule, the location of the unmarked bones is indicated, although not infrequently the marked ones are guessed, to vary the game. The marked bones, in guessing, are called *těp*; and the blanks *wě*, when they are specified. A complete list of all the cries has not been obtained, but the

following will serve to indicate their nature. In the diagrams below, the two players (A and B) holding the bones are seated on the right side of the door, which is thus at their left. The blank bone is shown by an o; the marked one, by a +.

A	B	
o +	+ o	Guessed as wě, hands clapped and spread out.
		“ yo'no dawā'wa; bōn = blank outside.
		“ mō'wi = marked ones in centre.
		“ hō'ni bō'dau = marked near heart.
		“ ēs'to bō'dau = marked in centre.
		“ tēp, and hands clapped and kept together.
A	B	
+ o	o +	“ dawā'wa, hands clapped and kept together.
		“ wě, “ “ “ “ “
		“ hi'ndukō “ “ “ “ “
		“ he'lin hi'ndukō, hands clapped and kept together.
		“ sē'wi-river.
		“ sē'wim yō'ēn = river is running.
		“ hō'nim yō'ēn = heart is running.
A	B	
+ o	+ o	“ wě, hands clapped, and the right thrown out.
		“ dawā'wa, hands clapped and the right thrown out.
		“ hi'ndukō, hands clapped and the right thrown out.
		“ yā'winai = “I name it,” hands clapped and the right thrown out.
		“ yai'alsip = whites away from door.
A	B	
o +	o +	“ dawā'wa, hands clapped and left thrown out.
		“ wě, “ “ “ “ “
		“ yai'aldau = whites toward door.

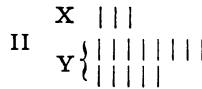
In general, although there are two players on the guessing side, only one does the guessing. As long as he is successful, the other keeps still; but, should the guesser prove unlucky, he ceases, and the other partner tries his luck. The guess having been made, the two players holding the bones open their hands, and show which hands the bones are actually in. If those guessing guess wrongly, they throw over two dē'mi. If, however, they guess correctly, both pairs of bones are tossed across the fire to them, and they, in their turn, become the ones who hold the bones, while those who have just held the bones become the guessers. Should the opponents guess

correctly the location of one blank bone only, then a single pair of the bones is tossed across, and the side which has just "rolled" or held the bones does so again; this time, however, the single remaining pair of bones being used by one of the players only. If the opponents again guess correctly, this remaining pair of bones is tossed across, and the opponents become the "rollers." If they fail, they have to return the first set, and begin all over again.

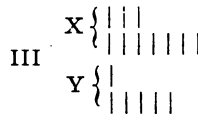
As already stated, the variation in the game is chiefly in the number of the *dē'mi*, or counting-sticks, with which the points won are counted, and also in the manner in which this counting takes place. In the following diagrams, which represent the "long" game, the eight *dē'mi* with which each side starts are represented by vertical lines; and the two opposing sides, by X and Y. The original eight counters with which each side starts are called *dē'm bū'ssi* ("staying or permanent *dē'mi*"), and the opening of a game would therefore be represented as in Diagram I.



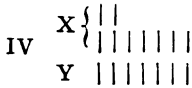
The game being started, X guesses, and twice wrongly, losing thus two points each time to Y; then, guessing once half right, loses one more to Y; finally guesses correctly, and receives the bones from Y. At the end, therefore, of this first stage, X is left with three counters; and Y has gained five, but keeps these separate from the original eight. The counters would thus stand as in Diagram II.



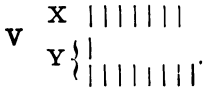
Y now guesses, X having the bones. Y loses two three times in succession; then loses one; finally is successful, guessing correctly, and receives the bones from X. In paying his losses, Y, it will be seen, pays from his original eight permanent counters, not from his winnings, which still remain intact. The condition would now be as in Diagram III.



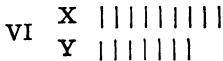
X now guesses, Y having the bones. X loses two, which are paid to Y, and placed



by him with his other winnings. Y then passes over to X the one remaining permanent counter still in his (Y's) possession, for, with but one permanent counter left, X could not pay a loss of two. X, therefore, now has all the permanent counters which are left, his own single one, and the one Y had left. Y has now merely his winnings, the game standing as in Diagram IV.



X continues guessing. He loses one, which goes to swell Y's winnings; then guesses rightly, and receives the bones back from Y. The single permanent counter left after he has paid his loss of one to Y, he now hands over to Y again, so that Y may be able to pay part at least of his losses from the original capital. This condition is shown in Diagram V.



Y now guesses, X having the bones. Y loses two, and, in paying, gives X the single remaining one of the permanent counters, together with one of his winnings, which he can now do, as all the permanent counters are exhausted. He then makes a correct guess, and receives the bones from X. The game is now as shown in Diagram VI.



The same result may be brought about, of course, from the state of affairs shown in Diagram IV in other ways; as, for example, X may lose two, and then two again, finally guessing correctly. Under these circumstances, he pays the first loss of two with the two remaining permanent counters, which are thus exhausted. The second loss of two he pays from his winnings; and the affair then, after his correct guess, stands as shown in Diagram VII.

However, the game may arrive at the point where all the original stock of counters is gone: it then goes on regularly, each side paying its losses out of the counters it has, all of which now represent winnings. When, if ever, the number of counters in the possession of either side gets down to three, the opposing side takes the odd counter and gives it to a

spectator to hold. If the side to whom these three belong loses two points at the next guess, it then loses not only the two which a wholly wrong guess requires, but also this third, held by the spectator. The purpose of this is said to be, that were all three to be retained, and the normal loss of two be paid, the side would then be left with insufficient counters to pay a loss of two at the next guess. Should the side which holds the bones be willing, however, to use but one pair at the next "roll," then the guessing-side may keep the odd counter; as in such case but a single point could be lost, and it would have enough counters to pay in full, and, moreover have the chance of guessing correctly, and thus, by getting the bones, be able, perhaps, to retrieve its fortunes. In any case, the game is played till one side or the other gets all the counters.

This curious method of preserving the original "capital" intact, and separate from the winnings, is the distinguishing feature of this long game. The short game is played in exactly the same way, except that but ten *dē'mi* are used, each side holding five to start with; and none of these are regarded as *dē'm büssi*, losses being paid out of any counters the loser may have, whether they be the original five or winnings, the whole being put together in a common pile. In the Sacramento Valley the number of *dē'mi* used in the game is but eight, and the long game is apparently not known. The same method, however, of paying, is in use; the four *dē'mi* which each side has to start with being *dē'm büssi*, and used to pay all losses from, as described. In the region occupied by the Northeastern Maidu, the *la'da*, or "short game," is different from that obtaining in the rest of the area. Here the ten counters are, in the beginning of the game, all held by the guessing-side. From these, losses are paid. When the bones change sides, the remaining counters are likewise transferred, and are called permanent counters. The guessers thus continue to pay out of this all losses, till the permanent counters are exhausted, when the losses are paid out of the winnings, as in the long game already fully described. The only difference, thus, between this game and the foot-hill form of

the long game, is that the permanent counters are not divided at the beginning of the game, but kept as a single fund, which is passed back and forth as long as it lasts. The sixteen-stick game is also played here, and in the same way as in the foot-hills.

In the foot-hill region the grass-game was often played as follows. A party of men from one village would go to another village to gamble. They would sit down outside the dance-house on arriving, and make sixteen new *dē'mi*. These being finished, they make up a stake, each member of the party contributing something. One of their number is then deputed to take this into the dance-house. The residents then have to add to this stake an equal amount. The chief of the village then calls in the visitors, who come in, and seat themselves on the side of the house nearest to their own village. The new *dē'mi* are then divided, and the game begun. None may eat anything till one game has been won.

Women occasionally gamble with bones like those used by the men, only smaller, and use no grass, merely concealing the bones in the hand, and guessing in which hand the blank bone is. They also have a game in which they have a single pebble, the opponents guessing in which hand it is concealed.

In the regular grass-game the players are always in great earnest. The players who "roll" or shift the bones get into a dripping perspiration from the violence of their movements and the energy they put into their singing. The opponents stare with wide-open eyes, and watch every flutter of an eyelid, in their endeavor to determine in which hand the bone is held. Their faces work, they become much excited, and are absorbed, to the exclusion of all else, in the game. Village plays against village, or parties within the village contend against each other; and at times the games continue for twenty-four or even thirty-six hours without a stop, the long game in particular well deserving its name. Into the myths the game enters constantly; and we find great players mentioned,—those who had passages through their arms and body, so that they could transfer the bones back and forth unknown to the opponents, and thus, by cheating, win all.



The myths all speak of the custom of rival chiefs playing for each other's people, the winner carrying the loser and all his people away as slaves, or killing them. We also find rivals playing for each other's eyes and hearts.

The basket-game of the Piutes is not known by the Maidu; nor do they know the many-stick game played in various forms by the Achomā'wi, Shasta, the Athapascans of California and Oregon, and other tribes to the northward.

CALENDAR. — The Maidu divided the year into four unequal seasons, — spring (yō'meni, "flower month"), summer (ka'ukati, probably related to ka'ui, "dust," "earth"), autumn (sě'meni, "seed month"), and winter (kō'meni, "snow month"). Spring began with the appearance of the first flowers; summer, with the drying-up of the grass; autumn, with the ripening of acorns; and winter, with the first frosts.

Further subdivision into moons or months was also employed; but in regard to these divisions and their number there is considerable difference of opinion. In the foot-hill region of the northern part of the Maidu area there seems to be a division into twelve moons. The year, as such, begins in the spring, with the first appearance of the tassels on the oaks. The list of moons, with their probable meaning, is given below.

- April (?) . . . . . wi'nūti (related probably to ū'ti, or "black oak").  
 May . . . . . tēm dī'yoko (said [?] to mean "having fawns").  
 June . . . . . nēm dī'yoko ("big month").  
 July . . . . . ka'ui tso'n po'ko ("ground-burning moon").  
 August . . . . . ě'slakum po'ko ("middle moon").  
 September . . . . . ma'tmennim po'ko ("bread moon").  
 October . . . . . ba'paboka (meaning unknown).  
 November . . . . . bo'lyě (related perhaps to bō, meaning "trail").  
 December . . . . . sâp (related to either sâ, "fire;" or sâpōi, "four").  
 January . . . . . i'nto ("drying up"?).  
 February . . . . . o'mi hi'ntsūli ("squint-eyed rock"?).  
 March . . . . . ko'no ("wife"?).

In the region occupied by the Northeastern Maidu, only nine moons or periods were known, apparently: at least, no

others seem to be known at present. These are, beginning in the autumn,—

sě'menim po'ko ("seed moon").

tēm tsā'mpautom po'ko ("little-tree-freeze moon").

tetem tsā'mpautom po'ko ("big-tree-freeze moon").

kana'ipinom po'ko ("under-burn moon" [wood burns only underneath]).

bō'mhintsulim po'ko ("squinting moon").

bō'ěkmea po'ko ("trail-breaking-open moon").

bō'mtetnom po'ko ("sitting-down-along-trail moon").

ko'nom po'ko (meaning unknown).

kūlo'kbēpinem po'ko (kūlo'kbě, "old woman"). Old women are said to die in this month from the heat.

#### ART.

DECORATIVE ART.—As has been said, it is to basketry that we must look to find the chief and almost only expression of the art sense of this people. I have previously discussed<sup>1</sup> the designs found on the basketry of the Maidu, pointing out that, in the decorations of their basketry, they used a considerable number of designs, and that these were, as a rule, much conventionalized, and were somewhat differently interpreted by different individuals. In a recent paper,<sup>2</sup> Professor Boas has pointed out that in the study of the art of primitive people we must recognize two mutually antagonistic principles. It appears, from a wide study and comparison of the art of the tribes of the Plains and Pacific coast area, that we find single designs distributed continuously over considerable areas, but that within the area so occupied the design may have several quite different explanations. On the other hand, we find that certain concepts or ideas are likewise widely distributed over large areas, but that these concepts are expressed artistically in quite a variety of ways. Areas of similar design and of similar concepts may or may not coincide. In the case of the Maidu, there is more or less coincidence apparently. The general type of the designs used by the Maidu

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 2-14 of this volume.

<sup>2</sup> Boas, *The Decorative Art of the North American Indians* (*Popular Science Monthly*, 1903, pp. 481-498).

is quite widely spread among the basket-making tribes of the Pacific coast, and in a more restricted sense is most marked among the other stocks of northeastern California (the Wintun, Washo, Moquelumnan, Achomá'wi, and Klamath). The order of ideas expressed by the designs, again, is one common to a number of stocks in this region; animals and plants, together with the arrow-point and feather, being the objects most commonly represented.

Bead-work appears to be of recent introduction among the Maidu, and little of it is done. The triangle design on the necklace shown in Plate XLII is said to be the "arrow-point."

In feather-work, the Maidu were skilful, and the different types of dance-ornaments made of feathers have already been described and figured. Many of the feathered sticks with their woodpecker-scalps and quail-plumes were really of great beauty, as were also the coronets. Characteristic of the feather-work among the Maidu are the small squares of yellow-hammer quills used as pendants on the coronets and "tremblers" (see Figs. 25, 30, 31). In former times the feather belts would appear to have been much more elaborate than at present.

Decorative art, among the Maidu, finds its expression almost wholly in basketry, and of plastic art and painting there is hardly a trace. But a single specimen of carving has been found in the region. This single object, the head of a fish carved in soapstone (Fig. 56), was ploughed up near Trail Gulch, Spanish Flat, El Dorado County. The Indians in the vicinity regarded the object with some awe, and declared that nothing like it was known to them, but that they had heard of such things as sometimes belonging to shamans. Throughout California in general, carving is very little known, if we except the vicinity of Santa Barbara and the islands off

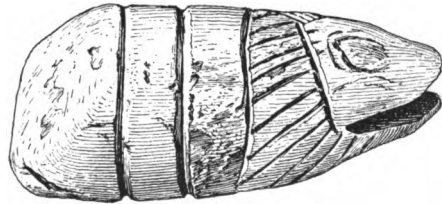


Fig. 56 (1884). Head of Fish, carved in Steatite. Length, 12 cm.

the coast. What carving was done, however, does not seem to show great similarity to the specimen here described. All the stone mortars seen, which were found, or claimed to have been found, in the Maidu region, are without decoration. On the other hand, mortars with incised and other decoration have been found in the Santa Barbara area.

Painting on skin, wood, or stone, seems also almost wholly absent. The decoration of objects, except the bow, with painted designs, was unknown; and no rock paintings or carvings have been learned of in the area occupied by the whole northern portion of the Maidu. The single exception to this rule of absence of painted designs is in the case of the bow. This usually had a design painted on the sinew backing. The design was applied to the finished bow by means of a feather stripped except at the very tip. The pigment used was generally a powdered greenish-blue stone, obtained in trade from somewhere to the northward. The powdered stone was mixed with the same salmon-skin glue that was used in attaching the sinew back. The design shown in Fig. 53, *b*, is from the only bow seen which seemed surely of Maidu make. No explanation of the design could be had from the owner, although the suggestion was made by a by-stander that the figure "looked like a snake." It seems probable that each stock, or in some cases each section of a stock, had its own distinctive designs, which were used on all bows made by members of that stock. Satisfactory evidence has been hard to get, however, on this point, as bows were one of the most common articles of trade, and often are found far from their place of origin. Nearly all the bows of the Sacramento Valley section of the Maidu were made either by the North-eastern Maidu or by the Achomā'wi or the Hat Creek branch of the Achomā'wi.

A single instance of incised designs is that shown on the bone ear-ornament represented in Fig. 38, *a*. This type of ear-ornament seems not to have been uncommon, and all specimens seen were decorated with the same design. It is explained as the "arrow-point," and corresponds quite closely to similar designs found on basketry.

**MUSIC.**—The musical instruments of the Maidu are few. They are the flute, whistle, drum, rattle, and musical bow.

The flute (Fig. 57, *a*) is a simple elder-wood tube, about forty centimetres in length. It has four holes; and in playing, the end of the flute is placed in the mouth, and blown partly across and partly into. There were many songs played on these flutes; but all were, so far as is known, love-songs, or songs played purely for the amusement of the player, and the flute was not in use ceremonially at all.

The whistle (Fig. 57, *b*) was usually made of bird-bones, eagle or goose being preferred. It was generally double, two being tied together, one longer than the other. The ends were closed with pitch. The whistle, as contrasted with the flute, was a ceremonial instrument, and was used by the doctor or shaman, and by dancers on certain occasions.

Drums were simple, and consisted either of a pit dug in the ground and covered with a sheet of bark, or of a section of a log hollowed out by fire. Both sorts were beaten with the bare feet of the performers, who stood on the drum and stamped.

Rattles were of three sorts, — the split or clapper rattle, the deer-hoof rattle, and the cocoon rattle. The first-named (Fig. 58, *a*) was from thirty to fifty centimetres in length, and usually of willow or other flexible wood. Split for three-quarters of its length, the separate halves were slightly hollowed, and then on shaking, or, as was more common, beating the stick against the palm of the hand, a loud clapping-sound was produced. This type of clapper was most in use in the Sacramento Valley and foot-hill area, and was used

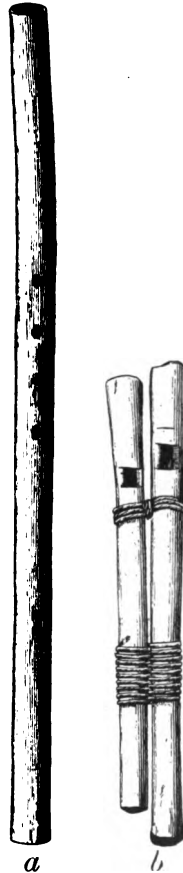


Fig. 57. *a* (1883), Flute;  
*b* Bird-bone Whistle.  
Length of flute, 45.5 cm.

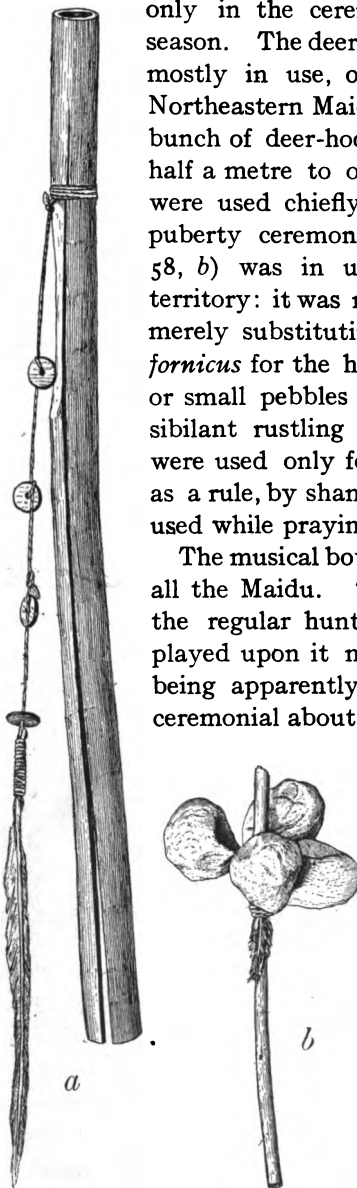


Fig. 58. *a* (11/16 x a), Clapper-rattle; *b* (11/16 x b), Cocoon-rattle. Length, 50.5 cm., 21 cm.

only in the ceremonial dances of the winter season. The deer-hoof rattle seems to have been mostly in use, on the other hand, among the Northeastern Maidu. It was made by tying a bunch of deer-hoofs to the end of a stick from half a metre to one metre long. These rattles were used chiefly by young girls during their puberty ceremonies. The cocoon-rattle (Fig. 58, *b*) was in use in all parts of the Maidu territory: it was made like the deer-hoof rattles, merely substituting the cocoons of *attacus californicus* for the hoofs. The cocoons had gravel or small pebbles in them, and produced a soft, sibilant rustling when shaken. These rattles were used only for ceremonial purposes, and, as a rule, by shamans alone. They were always used while praying to the *kū'kini* or spirits.

The musical bow seems to have been known to all the Maidu. The Northeastern Maidu used the regular hunting-bow for the purpose, and played upon it merely as an amusement, there being apparently nothing that was sacred or ceremonial about it. The Northwestern Maidu,

however, at least in the foot-hills, seem to have considered the faint sounds produced as specially suitable for individual converse with the spirits; and in this region, therefore, the use of the musical bow is restricted to shamans. The bow here, moreover, appears to have been specially made for the purpose, the regular hunting-bow not being used. The bow is about a metre and a third long, thus ex-

ceeding the regular bow somewhat in its dimensions. When made, the bow was rubbed, it is claimed, with human blood. In playing the bow, it is held in the left hand, one end of the bow being placed in the mouth, the other end extending horizontally towards the left. The string of the bow is then tapped gently with a small twig held in the right hand, and the notes varied by opening or closing the mouth to a greater or less degree, thus increasing or lessening the size of the resonance-chamber.

The vocal music of the Maidu is abundant; and there are many types of songs in use, such as love-songs, puberty-songs, dance-songs, shaman-songs, the so-called "basket-songs," etc.

#### SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, LAW, AND FESTIVALS.

**SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.**—The social organization of the Maidu was very simple. No trace has been found of any gentile or totemic grouping. The people lived in village communities, often of some size; and, except for these, there was no definite organization. It seems that the communities were, on the whole, fairly fixed, and that there was little permanent shifting from one to the other. A stay of a year or two was sometimes made in another village, but these absences were more in the nature of visits than anything else.

Each village—or, in the case of small villages close together, each little group of villages—had a head man or chief. The position was in no case hereditary among the Northern Maidu, but seems to have been so among the more southern villages. The chief was chosen largely through the aid of the shaman, who was supposed to reveal to the old men the choice of the spirits. Generally some person of mature years was selected; and wealth, ability, and generosity were strong arguments in favor of a given man's choice. Once chosen, he held his place only so long as he gave satisfaction. Should his conduct be displeasing to the people, he could be deposed, and a new chief put in his place. This was also brought about through the exertions of the shaman, who was supposed to declare the spirits' will in the matter. The

functions of the chief seem to have been largely advisory, although a man of strong character and ability generally had what practically amounted to mandatory powers. There seems to have been, as a rule, a rather indeterminate council, composed of the older members of the Secret Society, and with these men the chief was supposed to consult. Apparently the chief often led the people of the village in war, as did the hū'kū, or head of the Secret Society, although a special war-leader was often selected instead, who was noted for his bravery. Among the Northern Maidu, the chief seems not to have fared much better than the other members of the community. He had to hunt and fish as well as the others; and while he received his share of all meat and fish distributed, yet there seems to have been no larger portion given to him, as a rule, than to others. The Southern Maidu, however, particularly along their line of contact with the Moquelumnan people to the south, gave the chief a more important position in this matter. He had his choice of all meat killed, and sometimes there were young men who gave the chief the whole product of their chase at times. In this there was an approximation to the custom among the Moquelumnan people, where the chief was supplied regularly with food by the village. The chief usually occupied the largest house; and where there was no separate structure for use as a dance-house, the chief's large house was often used for the purpose. In any case, he was regarded as having special rights in the dance-house; and at his death it was not infrequently torn down or burned.

Property was both individual and communal. The man owned his nets, bows and arrows, spears, canoes, clothing, and the house he occupied if it was tenanted by one family only. If by several, then the house was owned in common by the heads of these families. The woman owned her baskets, cooking-utensils, and acorn-pestles, etc., mats, digging-sticks, and supplies of basket-materials. Property in land was never individual, but always communal. Each community or group of communities owned its territory in common, including hunting and fishing grounds. In the case of fishing-places, these were, as a rule, common property, and any member of



the community could fish there. Certain holes, however, seem to have been private property belonging to families, and no outsider could fish there without the requisite permission. This private ownership in fishing-holes seems to have been a little more common among the Northeastern Maidu than elsewhere. Although the hunting-grounds were regarded as belonging to the community as a whole, yet deer-drive fences erected on that land were held to be the property of individuals or families. Thus any one could hunt alone over any part of the communities' territory, but deer-drive fences could be put up in certain places only by certain families.

The area owned by each community was very definite, and its exact limits were known and marked. Practically the same system seems to have been in force throughout the region occupied by the Northern Maidu. There are definite traditions of meetings held by several different communities to agree upon and mark out these boundaries, and at these meetings marks were adopted to designate the territory owned by each community. In the case of the communities occupying the western part of Butte County among the Northwestern Maidu, there were, according to information obtained by Mr. Spencer, four of these communities or "tribes" which thus entered into an agreement. The Bald Rock people adopted as their mark a crescent with upturned horns; the Bidwell Bar people selected a Latin cross; the people about Oroville took three vertical parallel lines; and the villages near Mooretown and Swede's Flat had a combination of the last two designs. The whole area occupied by this group of four "tribes" was divided by boundary-lines, each section forming a rude square, the corners being marked by the designs of the abutting tribes. The method of marking was to peck or scratch the design into a large boulder or outcrop of rock. The lines connecting these corners were carefully determined, and, although apparently not marked, their position was known and remembered with exactness. Each tribe or group of communities kept its boundary-lines constantly patrolled by men, who were to see that no poaching took place, and that the rights of each tribe were respected.

[*May, 1905.*]

These men were, it is said, selected by the chief every week, and two or more deputed to guard each side of the area. The men were chosen for their bravery and steadiness, those who had quick tempers, or had shown lack of judgment, not being thought fit. The men were marked while on duty by a single tail-feather of the magpie, worn upright in the hair. The guards met and exchanged accounts once or twice a day. They were armed with bow and arrow, but only used them as a last resort. Game shot or wounded by a person within his own tribe's territory might be followed by the hunter, if it crossed the line into a neighboring tribe's land, only for a certain distance. If he could despatch the animal within this limit, he was free to take it away with him. Should he fail, or follow it beyond this distance, the guardians along the boundary were supposed to take the meat away. Any person belonging to the tribe into whose land the stranger had thus come could kill such wounded game, and carry it off. The underbrush was commonly burned out every year by each tribe in its own territory, to make hunting more easy. In time of war, these boundaries were said to have been guarded still more carefully; so that, if the attacking party were not driven off, at least an alarm could be given. On the whole, these regulations applied more strictly in the foot-hill region, and the Sacramento Valley area adjoining. In the higher mountains, among the Northeastern Maidu, there seems to have been much less of a system; and game wounded by a hunter could be followed wherever it went, and belonged to the man who was following. This is more in accord with the regulations in force among the Achomá'wi Indians to the north.

Owing to the general custom of burning most, if not all, of the property of a man at his death, there was little that could be inherited. Such things as were not destroyed seem to have generally been regarded as the property of the eldest son, although other children and relatives often shared with him. The rights of fishing-holes and locations for deer-drive fences were inherited in the direct male line.

The division of labor among the Maidu was such that the

men did the hunting, fishing, and trapping; built the houses, particularly the semi-subterranean earth lodges; and made all weapons. The women did all the rest of the work, — cooking, preparing hides and clothing, gathering roots and seeds, making baskets, etc.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS. — The regulations in regard to different crimes were few and simple. Theft and murder, if committed on another tribe, were right, and involved no blame. Theft among one's own tribe was generally punished by reprisal if possible, the aggrieved taking something of about equal value.<sup>1</sup> Murder of a tribesman, or indeed of any person, involved usually blood revenge. In the Sacramento Valley region the murderer is killed, if possible, by some of the members of the murdered man's family. If it be impossible to reach him, then any member of his village will be killed instead. If the family of the murdered man are willing, the revenge may be compounded for by a payment of beads, etc. In case the affair lies between two villages, then a party from each side dresses as if for war; and they then meet, and sit down to a conference, at which the amount to be paid is discussed and settled. In the foot-hills the same general customs were in force. There was a distinct effort, in attempting to revenge a murder, to kill the offender in exactly the same way as he had killed the victim in the first place. If he had used bow and arrow, the avenger would also; if he had used a stone or club, so would the avenger. Moreover, the wound was made, if possible, on the same part of the body. Among the North-eastern Maidu the usages were similar. The murderer had to fast for a week or two after killing a man, eating no meat or acorns. Money-payments were made; but, even after payment, blood revenge was often taken as well. If a woman were killed in an attack on a village or in any encounter between two opposing parties, the aggressors usually gave one of their women in exchange, to prevent further reprisals. This held true also in times of peace, the offender, by thus sacrificing a wife or child, sometimes escaping the blood revenge.

Oaths of any sort were unknown. The worst that could be

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<sup>1</sup> Theft, if unpaid for, gave the right to the aggrieved to kill the thief.

said to a person was to wish that a snake might bite him. Lying was regarded as very reprehensible. The foot-hill people had a saying to the effect that "the man with a crooked tongue is like the man with a crooked arrow."

**SOCIAL GATHERINGS AND FESTIVALS.**—Gatherings of a social as distinguished from a ceremonial nature were common. One village, or a man in that village, would invite other villages to a feast, or, as it is generally called, a "soup dinner." When it had been decided to hold such a festival, the shaman, as a rule, was requested to prepare "strings." These were cords on which a number of knots were tied, the number corresponding to the number of days between the time of sending out these "strings" and the date of the festival. As many strings were prepared as there were families that were to be invited; and when all were ready, they were sent out by messengers, who distributed them to the different families asked. Each day the head of the family untied a knot, or cut it off; and thus all knew when the time had come, and all arrived together. Such notices were usually sent out one or two weeks in advance. At these festivals the chief amusements were gambling, and games of various sorts; and abundant supplies of acorn-soup and mush were provided. This was supplemented by other kinds of food; and after a couple of days of feasting and merry-making, the guests went home. The season most favored for such gatherings seems to have been the summer months; for in winter the food-supply was less abundant, and indulgence in any games except the gambling-games was impossible.

#### BIRTH, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, AND DEATH.

Following is a description of the former customs relating to periods in the life of the individual, as told by the Indians.

**BIRTH.**—During the period of pregnancy, both husband and wife have to observe considerable care in all that they do. During the latter part of the time, neither must eat meat or fish, the husband must not hunt, and the woman stays much at home. When the time arrives for the child to be born, the

woman, among the Northwestern Maidu, goes to the menstrual hut, and is there delivered. Generally she is assisted by one or two old women. Immediately the child is born, the woman takes a large stone, warms it in the ashes, and, lying on her back, places the stone on her abdomen. She keeps the stone there, and remains thus until she leaves the hut. In the foot-hill region the menstrual hut does not seem to be used for the purpose of child-birth, the woman merely going off with an old woman to help her, and giving birth to the child at some distance from the village. She is delivered in a sitting position. Often hot teas of various herbs are given to hasten delivery. In the area occupied by the Northeastern Maidu, the child is born either in the ordinary house, if in winter, or in the summer shelter if the weather is warm.

In all cases both husband and wife have to observe strict regulations at the time of birth and for a varying period thereafter. In the Sacramento Valley region, both must fast, abstaining from meat and fish for five days. During this time the husband has to remain with his wife in the menstrual hut. After the five days are over, both go to the river and bathe, then return for five days more, when, after bathing a second time, their purification is over. In the foot-hills, the husband and wife fast similarly; but the husband does not remain with his wife, merely staying quietly at home, and not going out hunting at all. The period here seems to be less definite, lasting till the woman is able to walk about easily. For the woman the period of such fasting ceases with the flow of discharges. The Northeastern Maidu have similar regulations, the fasting and specified diet being the same as that for girls at the time of the puberty ceremonies, and lasting for both man and wife until the umbilical cord drops off from the new-born child. When this occurs, both man and wife bathe, and are then able to take up their regular life.

The child, immediately after birth, is taken by an old woman, or by the mother if she is able, and washed with warm water. This washing is done repeatedly by the Sacramento Valley people, and less often by the others. The umbilical cord is cut with a sharp shell, and ashes mixed with pounded

shell, rubbed on the cut. When the cord drops off, it is, among the Sacramento Valley people, simply thrown away, it is said. In the mountains, however, it is carefully preserved, and tied to the cradle-board on which the child is placed. The after-birth is carefully buried, as a rule, so that no animal may eat it. Most of these customs have gone out of use.

A still-born child entailed much more strict observances. The period of fasting and dieting was prolonged to a month for both man and wife in the foot-hills, after which time the man might take up his regular life again. The woman, however, had to remain in seclusion, and continue her fast for at least three months. In the area occupied by the Northeastern Maidu, both husband and wife had to go off alone into the mountains, and stay for a couple of months, fasting, bathing, and keeping very quiet. The woman had to stay some time after the man was allowed to return. The body of a still-born child is buried at once. If it is buried face downward, it is believed that the mother will ever after be barren.

Except in the foot-hill area, there seem to have been no especial beliefs in regard to twins. No particular observances were necessary, and it does not seem to have been customary to kill either or both. In the foot-hills, however, the birth of twins was regarded as an exceptionally bad omen. The mother was often killed, it is said, and the newly born children either buried alive with the mother's body or burned. It was thought by the Northeastern Maidu, that if the father wore two caps (*wika'*) at the time the child was conceived, twins would be the result. Barren women went to a certain rock which bore some resemblance to a woman with child. By touching this it was thought they would be sure to conceive. Abortion is said to have been very rare. When practised, it was by means of pressure.

NAMES. — In the names given to children, and the number of names, there seems to be considerable variation in different parts of the Maidu area. In the Sacramento Valley region about Chico, names are said to be given to children by their parents when the children are about one or two years old.

These names are usually those of some relative long dead, or of some friend. When a boy enters the Secret Society, he receives another name, this time from the chief. For this name the boy's parents have to pay handsomely, and this name is also said to be, as a rule, that of some person who has been dead some years; but in this instance the person must have been a member of the Society.

In the foot-hill region the names of children seem to depend largely on some incident occurring at the time of their birth. Thus, if a boy were born on a snowy day, he might be called "Snow-Man." Many children are not given any names while very young, being merely addressed or spoken of as "child," "baby," or "boy," etc. Later, when the child is old enough to give some evidences of his characteristics, he is given a name which describes these, or some trick of manner or habit. For instance, a boy who snores while sleeping may be called "Snoring-Bird." Girls were similarly generally named from some characteristic, as "Running-Girl," or "Climbing-Girl," etc. These names were usually given by some relative. In the case of a boy, the mother and father continue to address him all his life by his child name; *i.e.*, by the term simply of "boy." In the case of girls this is not so. The family term for her varies as she grows older, changing first at puberty, then at child-birth, and finally again in old age. In speaking to a person, it is not customary to use the name which is descriptive of his personal characteristics. There is still considerable reluctance felt about telling names and their meanings. The two following may serve as examples of names of men: So'koti ("Cocoon-Rattle"), Dō'mem ("Shady-Water" [?]). On entering the Secret Society, all men receive new names, which are given to the new members by the older ones. The following may serve as examples: Vomiting-Baskets, Wing-tied-up, Licking-Deer, Defecate-in-the-River, Pine-nut-Eater, Stick-it-in-the-Ear, Licking-Head, Mother's-Stomach.

In the higher valleys occupied by the Northeastern Maidu the customs are as follows: The child receives a name generally at about the age of two years. Until then boys are

simply known as "boy," and girls as "girl." The names, when given, are generally those of ancestors or deceased relatives. The names of the dead may not be mentioned for a year, but after that may be given to children. Owing to the weakness of the Secret Society in this region, there seem to be no new sets of names given later in life. The names seem to be chiefly descriptive of some personal feature or characteristic.

PUBERTY.—Puberty ceremonials are held only for girls among the Maidu, although in one sense the initiation ceremonies of the Secret Society may be considered as puberty ceremonies for the boys. Inasmuch as, however, these initiations may occur at any age up to middle life, it seems they should not be regarded as puberty ceremonies proper. As the usages vary considerably in the different portions of the Maidu area, I shall consider the different forms in order, beginning with those in use in the Sacramento Valley region.

At the time of a girl's attaining puberty, she notifies her mother of the fact, and the latter at once communicates the news to all the relatives and friends. That evening all these friends and relatives, men and women, assemble at the girl's house. The fire is covered with ashes, and all present gather in a ring about the fireplace, sitting on the ground. Each person holds two stones, which they beat together in time to the songs sung. The girl herself sits alone, and some distance apart from the others, in the northwest corner of the house, covered over completely with mats and skins. No man or boy may come near her. The whole gathering now begins to sing, beginning always with the "grasshopper-song." Other songs follow this, in which the different roots, seeds, and food-products gathered by women are mentioned. A mistake made by any singer causes him or her to be sent out of the house at once. These songs are kept up throughout the night; and then at dawn all go out, and, standing on the top of the house, sing the final song, "Elaki yā'mandi lai'dam yowowau'no" ("Manzanita hill-on the dawn shows first;" *i. e.*, the dawn begins to show on the manzanita-hill). This song finished, all return to the house, and are given a feast by the girl's parents. The same proceedings are carried out on the



next night again; and so on for perhaps a week. The ceremony is known as *dō'ngkato* or *yō'pōkato*. The girl is known throughout the ceremony as *dō'mi*. Except during the singing at night, she has to remain in a small separate hut called the *dō'mim ūyi*.

She may eat no meat or fish for five days. She may not feed herself, but has to have her mother, or other older woman, feed her. She has a basket, plate, and cup for her own use. She must use a scratching-stick for scratching her head. At the end of five days she takes a warm bath in the *dō'mim ūyi*, and, while still having to remain in the hut, and use the scratching-stick, she may now feed herself. After five days more she goes to the river and bathes, after which her parents give a big feast. At this feast any person may ask the parents for anything that pleases the guest's fancy, and the parents are obliged to give it. This even goes so far as having to give a daughter in marriage if she is asked for. At the feast the girl in whose honor it is given dresses in her best, and much effort is expended in display at this time. At each subsequent menstrual period the woman has to seclude herself for three or four days in the *dō'mim ūyi*, and must abstain from fish and meat, must not touch or come near a man or boy, and may not handle any food except that which she herself is to eat.

In the foot-hill region the usage is quite different. Here, as soon as the first signs of womanhood are apparent, the girl has five vertical parallel lines made on each cheek. These are alternately red and black, and are painted the first morning after the girl informs her mother of her condition. The lines are about five centimetres long, and one centimetre in width. A ring of pine-needles a metre in diameter is next prepared; and the girl, with another who has already been through the ceremony, stands in the middle of the ring. Both girls then have their heads covered by having skins thrown over them, so that they may not see what goes on. The ring of pine-needles is now set on fire; and when it is burning well, the girls are told to uncover their heads and run out of the ring. They do so, and stop a short distance away. They then

return to the place where the ring was, and find there a crowd of other women, who greet them with much laughter, while some of the older ones sing. A circular embankment of earth is then constructed, similar in every way to that made in leaching acorn-meal. It is filled with warm water, and both girls are then washed. All the women and the girls next repair to the girl's house. At nightfall a dance is begun out of doors, in which, however, only women may take part, although men and boys may look on as spectators. This dance is never performed except as a puberty rite. The dance over, the singing is generally kept up by several old women till nearly morning. In the morning one mark is removed from each cheek of the girl, leaving only four on each. During the day, the girl must abstain from eating fish or meat, and is restricted to acorns, seeds, and roots. She may not feed herself, but is fed by her mother or other older woman. She has to remain quietly, as a rule, in the house. On the second night, the dancing is again started; and as before, after it is over, the old women keep up singing till dawn, when another mark is removed from each cheek. This is continued till the fifth morning, when the last marks are removed. Should the menstrual flow still continue, the last mark is not erased till the time of ceasing. The last mark being erased, the girl is now considered ready to marry.

The dance which forms part of this ceremony is known as wū'lū, or wū'lūng ka'mini. No formal invitations to attend the ceremony are sent, nor are "strings" made. The dancers wear no ornaments. A large circle is formed of old and young women, who hold hands. In the centre of the ring are three or four old women, who form a small ring, but who do not hold hands. Each of these old women holds in her hands a string of beads, or a small skin of some kind. This is held in both hands, one hand grasping each end. In the dance, as the dancers pass around the ring singing, the hands of the old women are raised high above the head, first obliquely toward the right, the right hand being uppermost, then obliquely to the left, the left hand being uppermost. While the

old women in the inner circle raise and lower their hands thus alternately, the women in the outer ring, who are holding hands, swing these alternately in toward the centre of the ring, then outwards, keeping time in this to the motions of the hands of the women in the centre. In dancing, the general direction of movement is dextral, or with the hands of a watch, although it is said that the opposite direction is sometimes adopted, and that in the same dance they go first one way, and then the other. The songs sung are apparently of considerable variety. When the dance has been continued for some time, a rest is taken; and then the old women who were in the centre change places with some who were formerly in the outer ring.

If the weather is unfavorable at the time when the girl actually reaches puberty, the ceremony is curtailed, and only the singing and marking of cheeks take place. At the first opportunity, particularly when a large party happen to assemble, the dance is held in full.

When the whole ceremony of the entrance into womanhood is over for each girl, she and her parents receive many congratulations from friends and relatives, and the whole affair generally ends in much feasting and merry-making. There is no mention in this region of the general license which seems to prevail, as will be seen shortly, in the area occupied by the Northeastern Maidu.

If a girl was taken as a wife before attaining the age of puberty,—a practice which was apparently not unknown,—then the ceremony here described was never held for her. If the girl reached maturity before she was married, however, then she could not marry until this whole ceremony had been performed.

After this ceremony has taken place, the only other observances are simple. At each recurring period the girl must remain quiet for some days, and abstain from animal food entirely, as well as from all sorts of berries. She does not apparently have to absent herself from the hut, although this is sometimes done. The husband, when she was married, had to observe many precautions at this time as well as she. A

specially strong prohibition was placed on the woman seeing blood of any kind during this period.

Among the Northeastern Maidu still different customs were in use, and are kept up to-day to some extent, although in modified form. When the girl finds the first signs of her coming womanhood, she goes off at once, either a short distance from the village into the forest, or to her mother's menstrual hut. The mother at once goes to find the girl, and goes with her immediately into the mountains. The girl must observe all this day, and for the succeeding days of the ceremony, very strict food regulations, comprising complete abstinence from meat and fish, and usually acorns, depending on a few sorts of seeds for food. She must have food-dishes of her own, and her own drinking-vessels, and must use a scratching-stick. Late in the afternoon of the first day, the girl and her mother, who have both gone away from the village into the hills, as above stated, light numerous fires here and there to notify the people in other villages that the ceremony is to be held. The girl carries, during this whole time, a rattle made of a stick from thirty to fifty centimetres in length, with a bunch of deer-hoofs tied to the end of it. She also, besides getting wood for these fires, carries heavy pieces of wood, and places them on logs or bowlders, or in the crotches of trees. The people at the girl's home village, as soon as they see the signal smokes, send out messengers to secure good singers for the dances; and by dark these, with other friends and relatives, have arrived. A fire is then built in the neighborhood of the dance-house, and the first dance is held. In this both men and women take part, all forming a ring about the fire, holding hands. One or two persons are the singers; and these stand with the others in the ring, and hold the yo'kolkö, or deer-hoof rattle, that the girl has had in her hands all day. The girl herself, dressed in her skirt and deer-skin blanket, dances with them. This dance continues for a couple of hours or so, and then, after a rest, is followed by another type of dance. In this the singers sit between the dancers and the fire. The dancers form in a line, facing the east, and holding hands. Then they move backward and forward, keeping the face constantly

toward the east. If there is a large number of dancers, they form in two parallel lines. The girl dances, as before, in the line with the others, and both men and women take part. This dance is continued till dawn, at which time the songs increase in liveliness, and the singers throw the deer-hoof rattle to the girl, who, catching it, runs off at top speed, and the dance is over. The girl soon comes back, after getting a small supply of wood, and, going to the menstrual hut, sleeps for a short time. She then spends the rest of the day quietly, perhaps going out once or twice to dig roots, accompanied by two or three old women, who sing constantly. Toward evening the girl goes again for wood, this time for the fire about which the dance is to be held again as soon as it is dark. She must, as far as possible, all day avoid men and boys, but there is no prohibition as to her looking at the sun or sky, as we find among the Achomá'wi and Shasta. All the water she drinks is mixed with a little clay or earth, and must be taken cold, never warm. As soon as it is dark, the dances of the night before are repeated till dawn; and so on for four nights, in all. During these four nights there seems to have been formerly great license permitted, and couples would drop out of the ring or line, and wander away into the brush, to return later and take their places again in the dance. Young and old, married and single, all appear to have joined in the license; and while a woman might refuse to yield herself, it was considered evidence of bad temper, and widely commented on.

After dancing as above for four nights, there follow two days of rest and quiet, and two nights on which nothing takes place. On the morning following the second of these nights of rest, the ceremony of piercing the ears of the girl is gone through. There is little ceremony apparently in connection with the matter, the operation being performed by the girl's mother at dawn, with a sharp cedar awl. The awl is kept carefully afterwards by the girl herself. That night and the next the dances are held again precisely as on the four nights at the beginning, and during these two nights the same general license is permitted. The following morning the girl paints herself elaborately, the whole body being covered with

spots of red, black, and white, and the face having several streaks or bands of the same colors. She wears only her woso'm, or bark skirt, and, thus dressed and painted, takes part in the final dance of all, known here, as in the foot-hills, by the term wū'lū. In this dance only women may take part. They form an outer ring, as in the foot-hills, and several old women dance and sing in the centre. The whole is held out of doors; and the girl herself dances in the outer ring, though, according to one account, she sometimes joins the old women in the centre. The singers in this dance do not use or carry the deer-hoof rattle, which now is kept by the girl, but have the clapper-rattle, or wa'tdakō. The dance is continued till nearly noon, when the girl, together with several of the women, goes to the river and bathes and swims, while the old women sing the "swimming-song." The bathing over, the girl, and the women who have been bathing with her, have a foot-race back to the camp, the girl doing her utmost to win. The rest of the day is spent in merry-making and feasting, games and gambling. This closes the ceremony. The entire affair is, however, gone through with again at the next period in exactly the same form as described; and then, after this second performance, the whole ceremony is over. Another informant declared that the order of events was somewhat different; namely, that after the first four nights' dance, and subsequent two nights' rest and two nights of further dance, nothing was done till the next menstrual period, and that it was after this second series of eight nights' ceremonies was over that the final wū'lū was held.

The regulations concerning subsequent periods are about the same as in the rest of the region. The woman has to remain for four or five days in the menstrual hut, and eat only a few roots and seeds. She must prepare her own food; and should she eat with others, they would have heart-disease. She has to use a scratching-stick. Any object or weapon touched by a woman during such times is at once unfit for use, and has to be thoroughly washed and rubbed with certain roots, especially *Angelica* (*Angelica Breweri* Gray [?]), before it can be used again. At the end of the four

or five days, the woman has to bathe, and then may go back to her house. The husband, during this time, is also under restrictions, having to live on the same food, and being debarred from hunting.

**MARRIAGE.**—Marriage customs and regulations varied somewhat in different parts of the region. According to reports, some of these seem to be still in vogue. In the Sacramento Valley section, when a man wanted to marry, he sent a friend with a gift of beads to the family of the girl. The present would be given to the father of the girl, who would keep it if he and his wife and the other relatives considered the gift large enough, and the match a desirable one. If it was not favorably considered, the gift was returned. Sometimes the father gave the beads to his brother, and demanded a second gift of equal value for himself. The consent of the girl was always necessary, and was obtained usually by the suitor before sending the gift to her parents. If accepted, the man usually went to live with the girl's family, if they were members of his own village. If his wife was of another village, however, she invariably came to live with him. For a period of some months, at least, the husband hunted and fished for the family of his wife. Often, if she were from another village, the pair would make a long visit with her family about six months after the marriage.

There seems to have been no very general rule as to whether the man should choose his wife within or without the village. On the whole, there would appear to have been a slightly greater practice of local exogamy. Many men were monogamous; but those who could afford it generally had two or more wives, although the chief was the only one, usually, who had as many as four. If a man had more than one wife, there seems to have been no noticeable difference in rank between them, all having equal rights. Should a wife prove unfaithful, her father was obliged to take her back again, and repay the husband the purchase-money or gift made at the time of marriage. The levirate, while not compulsory, was usually complied with. The ordinary customs in regard to the mother-in-law were in force, mother-in-law and son-in-law

not looking at or speaking to each other. The woman always covered her head when she met her daughter's husband.

In the foot-hill region the girl seems to have had little or no choice in the matter of a husband. Should a man take a fancy to a girl, he would go to her lodge, sit down beside her father, and talk with him for a short time. In this conversation no mention would be made of the girl or of the man's intentions. These visits would be made frequently, and then, at the end of a week or so, discontinued. The man would then exert himself to hunt and fish, carrying the game secured to the house of the girl's family, and throwing it down, saying, "I give you a deer," or words to that effect. If the gifts were accepted, it was a sign that the man was satisfactory to the parents. If thus accepted, the man would then continue for some time to bring something at each visit, without, however, going into the house. When he had brought the price agreed upon, or what he considered a sufficient amount in case no figure had been set by the girl's parents, he came into the house once more. A bed would then be prepared for the girl at a distance from that of her parents, and the girl would retire early. When the parents went to bed, the man, now regarded as the girl's husband, went to her bed, and took up his place as a member of her family. The pair usually lived thus at the house of the girl's parents till the girl was old enough to manage a house herself, if she had been married very young, or till the husband could provide a house for her.

Men married as many wives as they could afford, and often girls were given as wives when only six or eight years of age. Old men often had four or five wives, ranging from ten to fifty years of age or more. There was generally much discord in the families where there were many wives. Adultery was said to have been common, and the general moral status low.

The Northeastern Maidu have much the same customs. Here as elsewhere, there seems to have been no definite rule as to endogamy or exogamy. In courting, the suitor goes to the house of the girl's parents, taking no gifts with him. He enters, and sits down quietly. When evening comes, if



the girl permits him to sleep with her, the matter is settled. If she does not care for him, she sits up all night. The girl is guided much in her conduct by what the family tells her. When a man goes thus directly to the house of the girl's parents, he pays nothing immediately, nor does he make any preliminary gift. If accepted, he at once begins hunting for the parents, and the pair remain thus living with the wife's parents for some months. At the end of this time, the husband takes his wife with him, and goes back to his father's house, where they live afterward, unless the man is able to build a new house for himself. For two or three years, he and his wife go now and then to make visits of a week or two in length with her parents, during which visits the husband hunts for them. A man who is a good hunter often has a wife sent to him. Some one hears of him, regards him as a good husband for one of his daughters, and so sends her to the man. Under such circumstances he must accept her. A man can have as many wives as he can support and obtain. There is no difference in rank between them. If one of two brothers marries one of two or more sisters, the other brother has the first right to marry the remaining sister, or sisters, if the first brother does not. Divorce was apparently an easy matter. It was simply an agreement to separate, the initiative coming from the man, as a rule. Both husband and wife could remarry again at once. The levirate was general. Blood relationship, unless distant, was a bar to marriage. If a wife fails to bear children, she cannot be sent back to her family, as among the tribes to the north. In this region, as well as throughout the whole Maidu area, the present Indians deny that there were ever any *berdaches*, or men-women, among them. They were present in considerable numbers among the Achomā'wi, however, to the north.

DEATH AND BURIAL.—There is some difference in the customs relating to death and burial in different portions of the Maidu area. In the Sacramento Valley region the usual custom appears to have been burial, and not cremation. The body of the deceased was dressed in the best the family could afford, and decorated with strings of beads, and with feather  
[*May, 1905.*]

ornaments of various sorts. It was placed on a bear-skin, and, the knees being bent closely, so that the body was in a squatting position, it was then wrapped and roped up by some of the older men into a ball. Sometimes several skins were used, but, as a rule, one was all that could be afforded. The grave was dug generally close to the village, as, were it at a distance, enemies might dig up the body for the beads. The grave was usually from about a metre to a metre and a half in depth, and over it a mound of earth was heaped. Some food was placed in the grave with the body, as well as bow and arrows, pipe, etc. The body being buried, all went back to the house and wailed for some time; and, although the wailing began at once after death, it was now continued with redoubled energy. In some cases a net was first put over the body before tying it up in the bear or deer skins. Generally the objects put into the grave were broken. The body was placed in the grave in a sitting position, usually facing east. The persons who dug the grave, and roped up the body, are said not to have had to undergo any ceremonial purification. Bodies were burned only when the man died far from home. When cremated, the ashes were taken home and there buried. In mourning, the widow cut her hair short, and covered her head, face, neck, and breast with a mixture of pine-pitch and charcoal obtained from charring the wild-nutmeg or pepper-nut. This pitch she was obliged to wear until it came off, generally many months. Often there was a longer period set, as a year or more, and it was then renewed. The widow must remain in the house continually during the daytime, and was allowed to come out only for a short time after dark. This she must continue until the time of the "burning." There are said to have been no food restrictions. A man in mourning had to cut his hair short, and also wore the pitch. He must not gamble or dance till the "burning" was over. During the period while the widow remained in the house, she was constantly occupied in making baskets and other things which were to be burned for the deceased at the next "burning" that was held. Generally all relatives aided her in this.

In the foot-hill region the body was prepared in the same way; and although cremation was somewhat more in use, perhaps, than in the valley, yet burial appears to have been the prevailing method. The grave was dug with the aid of digging-sticks, the earth being thrown out with the hands or with small baskets. As in this region there were regular burial-grounds, usually near or the same as the "burning" ground, it was not uncommon for bones of previous burials to be found in the course of digging a grave. In case this occurred, the other bones were carefully laid aside, and when the grave was finished, they were thrown in first, and the body placed directly over them. The body was placed in a sitting position, and all the personal property of the person was buried with him. Occasionally, instead of burying all, some of it was burned. The body usually faced the west. Pieces of pine-bark were often put over the body, so that the earth might not rest heavily on it. The house of the man was burned, and often the locality deserted for a while. In the case of a chief, the dance-house was pulled down or burned, and a new one built. The same methods of mourning were in use here. The widow or widower wore a peculiar necklace of string and beads, on which the beads were arranged in different ways. This necklace was worn until the mourner stopped "burning" for the deceased, when the necklace was burned, as described hereafter, in discussing the ceremony of the "burning." Here, as elsewhere, the name of the dead must not be mentioned for at least a year after his death.

In the region occupied by the Northeastern Maidu, the bodies of the dead were decked with beads and feathers, and, if the family owned one, an otter-skin was put about the body. It was then placed in a sitting or squatting position on a bear-skin, other small things, personal property of the deceased, and gifts, added, and the whole roped and securely tied up in a ball. Sometimes the body was put first into a large basket, and the bear-skin placed outside of this. The grave was dug as elsewhere, and the body placed in it lying on the back, with the head toward the east. Food and water were placed in the grave, which was then filled in. If the person were a chief or

shaman, then wands (yo'koli), or sticks with pendant feathers (Fig. 59), were set up over the grave. Generally the immediate relatives attended to the preparation of the body, and to



Fig. 59 (1888 a). Portion of a Wand, or Yo'koli.  
Total length, 28.5 cm.

getting the grave ready. Most of the man's property was buried with him here, as among the other members of the stock. The persons who attended to the preparation of the body and dug the grave had to undergo a ceremony of purification. The first time any one took part in these duties, he (or she) must fast, abstaining from meat and fish, for five days. During this time he had to use the scratching-stick, live quietly by himself, although not forced to leave his house, and, when the time was over, must bathe and swim. He must eat alone. The next time the period was only four days, the next three, and so on until it was

reduced to one. After the death of a chief, the dance-house was usually burned, and rebuilt at a short distance. The houses of other people were generally burned, but not always. For a child it would not be done. Persons were not carried out of the house to die. Most of a man's dogs were killed at his death. In mourning, widows cut their hair and wore pitch, as already described. Men rarely showed any outward signs of mourning unless in case of the death of their father, when the whole family, men and women, cut their hair and

put on pitch. A man might do this in the case of the death of his mother, but it was not usual.

When a child of mature years died, if he had been a young man known for his ability, and was much beloved by his father, then the father would cut his hair and put on pitch; but for a young child, or an older one of less reputation, only the mother would do so. Occasionally a man would mourn thus for his wife, but not always. The hair cut off in mourning was, in any case, kept carefully for a time, and then secretly put away somewhere in the brush. It was never made into a belt and worn ceremonially, as was the case among the Achomā'wi and Shasta. Widows wore a necklace of beads of pitch on a buckskin thong. This was worn until the "burning."

When a mother died, leaving a very young child, the child, as a rule, was buried alive with the mother, lying on the mother's breast, as if nursing. If the child were old enough to wean, the grandmother or oldest sister took charge of it, and brought it up. If the body of the mother were burned, the infant was placed similarly on her breast, and burned with her. It is said that, throughout the region, persons who had been invalids for a long time were sometimes buried before death occurred, being roped up and prepared as described.

By far the most important of the ceremonials and customs in connection with death and burial among the Maidu, and one of the most important of all their ceremonials, was the annual so-called "burning," or "ō'stu." The ceremony seems to have varied not a little in the different parts of the Maidu region, being developed to its fullest extent in the valley and foot-hill area, and being less elaborate, and more purely personal in its character, in the higher Sierra. The custom is still kept up to some extent in the mountains and foot-hills, and it is from the latter section that the best descriptions have been obtained.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The summer season is the only one which the writer has been able to spend in the field, as a rule. During the single fall and winter that it was possible to be in the field, every endeavor was made to be present at one of the several "burnings" which were held. A complication of circumstances, however, made every attempt unsuccessful; and for much of the account here given of the ceremonial as held in the foot-hill area, the writer is indebted to the very excellent notes taken for him in 1900 by Mr. O. L. Spencer of Mooretown, and more recently (in 1904) by Mr. S. A. Barrett of Ukiah.

In the foot-hill region every village, or small group of villages, has a burning-ground. The selection of a site for this was largely determined by the topography of the region. As a rule, a position on some rising ground clear of brush was chosen, for a watch could then more easily be kept for an attack by some enemy. The time of the burning was formerly a favorite time for such attacks, as the excitement of the participants, and the great noise made, prevented the attacked from being aware of the approach of the enemy. The soil was also a matter to be considered, for, as in general the burning-ground was also the burial-place, soft earth was a necessity.

As a rule, a burning-ground, once chosen, is used for many generations. Sometimes a burning-ground is abandoned for lack of people, the village or villages to whom it belongs having largely died out. As a rule, however, the ground is kept up even when the number of survivors of a village is very small. A man always desired to be buried in the same place as his ancestors. Several villages generally have a burning-ground in common. Should a man move away from home, he would, when he died, be buried in the burning-ground of his native village. If any section should be practically depopulated, the ground would be abandoned; but if an old person should die who belonged there, he or she would be buried there, although no burning would be held for only two or three persons. There are no ceremonies when a new burning-ground is chosen.

Every burning-ground is ruled by one or more members (generally shamans) of the tribe or village in whose territory it is situated. In case of a death, the family may bury the deceased in the burning-ground of their own village or village group, without asking permission of any one; or the body may be buried, if it is desired, in the ground of some other village; but, under any circumstances, the relatives may not take part in the burning until they have received a membership string or necklace for the ground in which the body was placed. After the body is buried, therefore, the mourners go to those who are in charge of the ground in question, and apply

for such a string, so that they may take part in the next burning which is to be held. The owners or overseers of the burning-ground then give the applicant a string, for which payment has to be made in beads, furs, food, or other things. The so-called "strings" are necklaces of beads and cord, the number of beads and their arrangement varying with every burning-ground, so that from the string one can tell at once to what ground the person wearing it belongs. The arrangements of beads on the cord are varied thus:—

o—o—oo—o—o—oo—o—o  
 oo—o—oo—o—oo—o—oo  
 ooo—o—ooo—o—ooo—o—ooo, etc.

Having received such a string, the recipient is entitled to burn (or "cry") for a period of five years. At the end of this time, if no other member of the family has died, the person may burn the string, or tell the one from whom it was received that he wishes it to be burned. When this occurs, he receives from the original giver the equivalent of the price paid for it. The strings are worn, while they are in the hands of the mourner, constantly as a necklace. Should other members of the family die before the five years are up, the string may be kept till five years from the date of the most recent death. It seems that strings are also given out under somewhat different conditions. From information obtained by Mr. Barrett, it appears that strings may be issued by the individual mourners, to any persons whom they wish to invite to come to the burning which they expect to hold for their dead. The recipient must give in return a few baskets or something of that sort, and is then entitled to attend all burnings by the issuer, until the latter redeems the string. This is done, as above described, by paying back to the person property equivalent in value to that which he originally gave for it. The string, thus redeemed, is then burned. The whole affair of redemption and burning of the string takes place at one of the regular burnings. In some cases, if the person issuing the strings is wealthy, he or she may give property to the recipient when issuing the string, in which

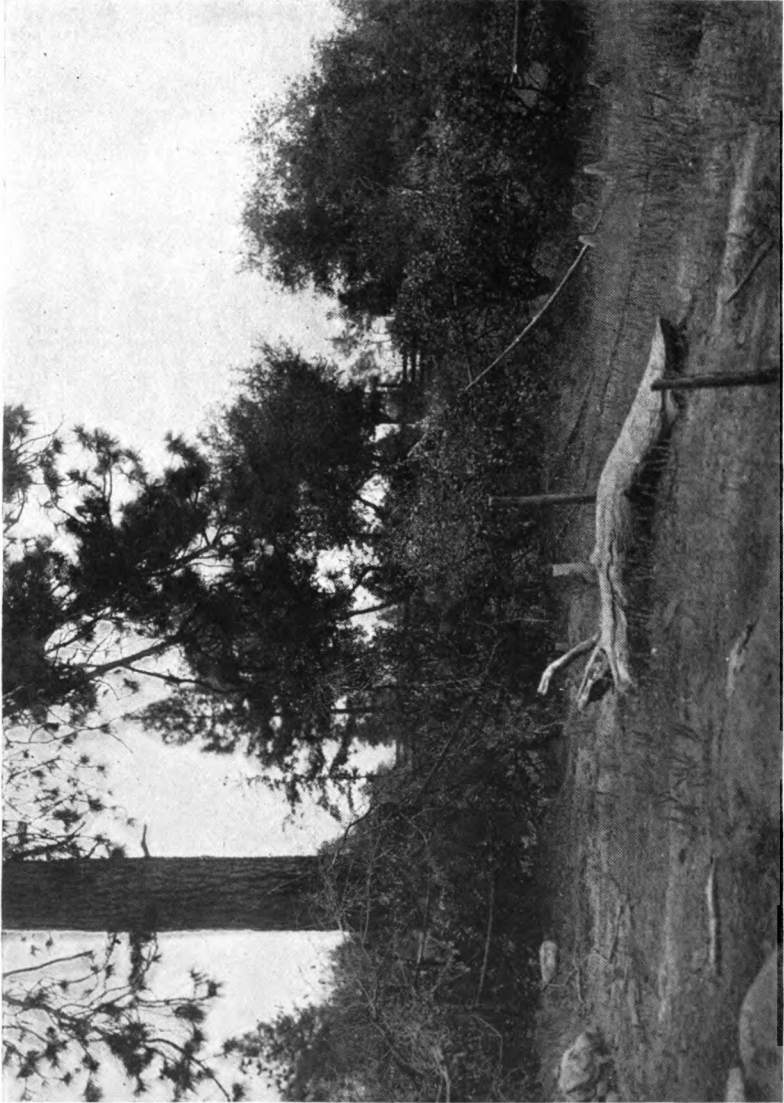
case the recipient must pay this back, when the string is called for to be redeemed. The time of the burning is set by the votes of all who have strings for that particular ground. If a person has many relatives to burn for, the other members will not hasten the matter, but let the person have plenty of time to get things ready. The burning comes, however, as a rule, in the latter part of September, or early October, although it may be put off until somewhat later. Every family may hold one of these strings, but no more. They must be kept with great care, never given away or traded, and never sold.

The date being finally set by the members, as above stated, in consultation with the shaman, knotted strings are distributed to all who are to be present; and, in the usual manner, by untying or cutting off one knot every day, they all arrive together. The village in whose territory the affair is to occur has to supply the guests with food. Each member of the local group gives as much toward this general store as he can. All such food is then collected in baskets in a great pile. The whole number of guests having arrived, the shaman calls for the food to be brought, and then divides it among the people as he sees fit. Usually it is divided with regard to the size of the families, a family of six getting twice as much as one of three. In distributing the food, the chief or shaman calls the name of the oldest male member of that family, who then comes forward, and receives the share for the whole family, which he then divides among them. Any person who comes late, after the food has been distributed, must be looked out for by those who have already received food.

The whole party being assembled, the ceremony begins the evening before the actual burning. This preliminary ceremony is participated in only by the chief mourners. There is little regular order in the affair. About sunset they gather at the burning-ground, and wail and mourn at the graves, crying thus for several hours. Often the graves are covered by the mourners with a thin layer of flour, and then of earth. Members begin and stop when they please, and drop away one by one, going back to the camp to sleep. The purpose of this







INTERIOR OF BURNING-GROUND NEAR MOORETOWN, BUTTE COUNTY, SHOWING PORTION OF BRUSH ENCLOSURE AND GRAVES.

preliminary cry is to give notice to the dead that the burning is to take place.

The following morning and early afternoon are spent in repairing the brush fences about the burning-ground, and in gathering the poles to be used for the suspension of gifts. These brush fences or enclosures (Plate XLVI) are usually from twenty to thirty metres in diameter, or less, and are made by piling up brush of any kind about a low, roughly circular

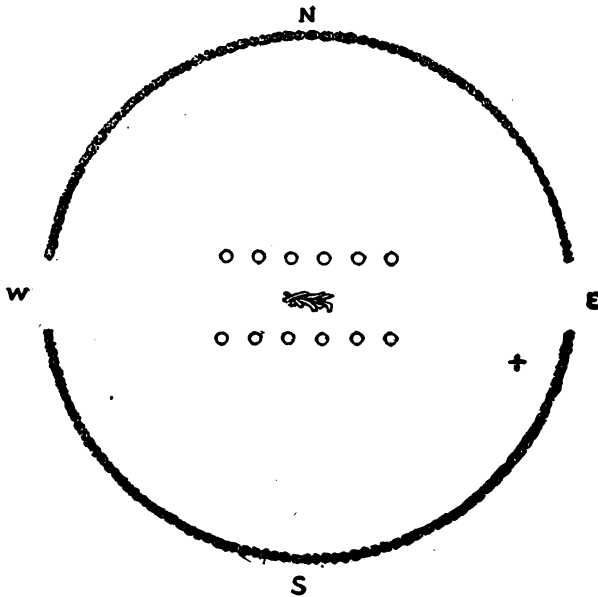


Fig. 60. Plan of Burning-grounds.

earthen embankment about twenty centimetres high. The brush is leaned against poles running between crotched posts, and forms a fence from one to two metres in height. In this fence there are generally two openings left, — one at the eastern and one at the western side, the latter generally the wider. Sometimes but one such opening is made, and then invariably on the western side. In the centre a huge pile of wood is placed for the fire, which is lighted when the ceremony itself begins. The arrangement of the ground is shown in Fig. 60.

The fences having been repaired, and plenty of wood gathered for the fire, all eat their dinner, the local residents partaking of their own supplies of food, the visitors depending on what had been given them, as already described. Each family eats by itself; and, although it may eat with others, it is not customary.

The meal over, the preparation of the poles is begun. Each mourner may have as many poles as he or she wishes and can fill; and each person will be given space according to the amount of property on the poles he has. Some have large quantities to burn, some but little, but the amount of goods does not increase the respect felt for the person. All the property to be burned by each mourner is brought to the burning-ground the day before, but no display is made of it till the evening of the burning itself. If the night is bright, one is supposed to wait till dusk before beginning to prepare the poles and display the property. There is, however, complete individual freedom, and any person may begin to prepare his poles earlier if he desires. Each article which is to be burned in honor and for the use of the dead is, if possible, tied to a pole. Shirts have sticks placed in the arms to hold these out. The shirt is then hung to the pole by a string from the collar. The first shirt is tied at the top of the pole, and others successively below it till the pole is filled to within about one metre of the ground. In a similar manner other articles of clothing for men or women — skins, beads, necklaces, etc., — are tied to other poles. It is customary to have a separate pole for each sort of thing to be burned, all the shirts being on one pole or on several poles, all dresses on others, and so forth. People help each other in the preparation of their poles.

The poles are usually from five to eight metres long, and are either stripped of bark or not, as the person prefers. When these poles are all ready, each family carries its poles, with their loads of goods, to the centre of the burning-ground, and digs a hole about fifty centimetres deep for each group of from five to ten poles to stand in. The poles are then placed in the hole, and earth firmly stamped down about them. The





POLES WITH CLOTHING AND BASKETS ATTACHED. BURNING CEREMONY NEAR MOORETOWN, 1904.

groups of poles are arranged roughly in rows, on the north and south sides of the fire, as shown in the diagram. In 1904 one pole to which baskets were attached was not set in the ground, but thrust into the brush fence, so that the pole leaned inward at an angle of about  $45^{\circ}$ . The baskets on this pole were not used in the ceremony. The poles being thus set, the heavier articles, and such as could not well be attached to the poles, are piled on the ground at the foot. This would include such things as large baskets, flour, acorns, dried meat, fish, etc. The poles as prepared are shown in Plate XLVII. This all accomplished, each family gathers about its poles, and sits by them till all have finished. The large fire in the centre has not yet been lighted, but many small fires are lighted outside the enclosure for cooking purposes and for light. There is usually one such fire for each family.

After some time, one of the members of the local tribe, holding a member's string for this burning-ground, comes forward and lights the fire. The task is usually given to some old man. So soon as the fire is lighted, any member may, if he chooses, sell or exchange any articles he has brought for the burning; and there is often considerable bargaining among the people for a time. If no trading takes place, or, if trading occurs, when it is over, the chief or shaman makes the opening address. Of this the following, delivered in 1900, may serve as an example:—

“Don't fail to hear me! Don't fail to hear me! Light up the fire, it is not long till daylight. Our people are all ready. We have assembled here to mourn and cry again. We want no trouble. We are here to cry, and not for trouble. Do not drink whiskey. Hear me, all you boys! Do not drink any whiskey and get drunk. Come here, every one, and from every place, and help us cry! If you assist us, we, in our turn, will assist you. I, as your chief, will lead you in all things. Come, one and all! While we are here, if any one has a member-string, and he has finished with it, I am ready to receive it. If no one has one to give up, we will begin.”

As soon as this address has been made, the speaker begins crying, and this is the signal for the others to begin also.

The chief or shaman, having begun the crying, throws on the fire a few pine-nuts, acorns, pieces of dried meat or fish. In no case, however, is anything yet taken from any of the poles, or the piles at their bases. All present now join in the wailing. From time to time individuals throw bits of food and small offerings taken from the piles on the ground into the fire, and in this manner the night passes till nearly dawn. The mourners stand back to the fire; and after gently swinging the article to be burned to and fro before the body, it is then swung over the fire and dropped in, the right hand being at the same time thrown up above the head, or simply to the head. In wailing, some moan or wail in a low tone, others scream loudly, and all use different expressions and exclamations, which are addressed to the dead. Some of these are the following: "Pity my poor boy!" "Where are you, my darling girl?" "Why, oh why, did you die, my boy?" "Oh, my husband!" "Come back, my poor sister!" "Brother, brother, brother, no more!" "My child, my child!" "Father, father, father, pity me!" At early dawn the stripping of the poles begins. Any person may start when he wishes, without waiting for the others. The poles are lifted from the holes, and the articles removed, either by the person who is giving them or by any friend who is willing to assist. As the objects are removed, they are thrown into the fire, singly or in armfuls. This is done always by the person who is giving the things. At this stage in the ceremony generally, the member and invitation strings are redeemed. Baskets and other property for this purpose are brought and placed on poles, just as other property is. New strings are also given out at this time. As soon as any one thus starts to take down the poles, it serves as a signal for all to begin, and a general stripping of poles at once takes place. It is at this time that the ceremony reaches its climax of excitement and importance. The older men and women sway their bodies from side to side, and sing and wail, and there is intense excitement among all. The fire is often nearly smothered by the great amount of things thrown into it; and, under these circumstances, a halt must be called till the fire can burn up



again. While the things from the poles are being put on the fire, and to a less extent during the earlier wailing, the mourners pat their heads rapidly with the hands, and blow forcibly every now and then, expelling the air from the lungs violently, as if to blow away unseen things. As the dawn approaches, and the last of the goods are being thrown into the fire, the wailing and moaning increase, if possible, in intensity, and the older women try to throw themselves into the fire, having to be restrained by the men. Old men are wiping away the tears that stream down their faces, and many are prostrated by the fatigue and excitement. As soon as all the poles are stripped, the remaining articles piled at the bases of the poles are thrown on; and this continues till all has been destroyed.

After a short interval, during which the assembly secures a little rest, the chief or shaman makes his closing address: "Don't fail to hear me! Our burning is ended. I command you all to go to the dance-house. We are all tired. At the dance-house we have food for all. There we will eat, for it is not well to go home hungry. You may gamble there. The fire is burning in the dance-house, and the house awaits your coming. Gamble and make merry, but let us have no trouble or disturbance. Let us go! I will lead the way." This speech over, the assembly adjourns to the dance-house, and there, after a little food and sleep on the part of the men (the women being usually scattered about in the various other houses), there is for a day or more a constant succession of games, gambling, and feasts. Then one by one the visitors start for home, and the village returns to its former quiet life.

At the burning held at Mooretown in 1900 there were about a hundred and fifty poles filled with objects, so the amount of property sacrificed was not small. There were dresses, shirts, baskets, two poles of ear-rings, one of knitted caps, three bear-hides, one coyote-hide, one pole of raccoon-skins, and one of chinchilla-cat skins, etc. There were about three hundred pounds of flour, birch-seed flour, pine-nuts, dried eels, dried fish, etc. There were also a number of hats for boys, men, and women. The approximate value of the goods

burned was about two hundred dollars; the value in baskets destroyed was about equal; and in skins the money-value was about thirty-five dollars. Thus nearly five hundred dollars' worth of property was burned at this single burning. In this same year there were burnings held at four or five other places in Maidu territory; and while the amount of property consumed was probably considerably smaller in all cases, yet the aggregate must have been over a thousand dollars.

The purpose of the whole ceremony is to supply the ghosts of the dead with clothing, property, and food in the other world. Each family gives to its dead what it can afford; and the whole ceremony is distinctly individual, in that there is no general offering for the dead as a body, but each family offers directly to its own relatives only. As already mentioned in speaking of the burial-customs, there is considerable property placed with the body in the grave, and sometimes some is burned at the time of burial. The main reliance is, however, placed on the supplies offered at the annual burning. After sacrificing thus for three or four years, it seems to be felt that enough has been done; and, as a rule, the family does not continue to offer property for a relative at the burnings for more than four or five years. Occasionally, however, some will continue the offerings for a long period; and one case was noted of a woman who had burned for ten or twelve years for her husband, and she had declared that it was her intention to continue to "burn" every year until she should die.

In some cases the ceremony is considerably more elaborate. This is when use is made of an image representing the dead, for whom the offerings are made. The image is made only when the person offered to, if a man, was a member of the Secret Society, or, if a woman, if she were of wealth and importance. The figure (Plate XLVIII) was constructed, in the former case, of a lynx or wild-cat skin stuffed with dry grass or leaves. If no wild-cat or lynx skin could be had, the skin of a gray fox would be used, but never that of a red, black, or silver fox, all of which have white hairs on the tail. The nose of the skin is tucked down inside, a piece of otter or mink skin



IMAGE FOR A MAN, USED AT THE BURNING CEREMONY.





IMAGE FOR A WOMAN, USED AT THE BURNING CEREMONY.



wound around to form the neck, and in place of the head is put a netted cap stuffed with grass. Around this, and over the place where the face would be, is placed one of the regular yellow-hammer feather bands. Sometimes this is made, instead, from the feathers of the speckled woodpecker. The band is affixed only in the central portion, the ends being allowed to stand out from the head on either side. Bunches of hawk-feathers are attached to the "head," also a vertical plume-stick, and a horizontal one as well, these marking the individual's rank in the Secret Society. A bone whistle is hung about the neck. The claws are carefully removed from the fore-paws of the skin, and sticks put into the legs to make them stand out straight like arms. At the end of each arm is suspended a tiny basket containing acorn-meal and birch-seed flour respectively; or a head-plume is, as in the one here shown, substituted for one of the baskets. The hind-legs and tail of the skin are concealed from view. At the lower end of the skin a row of feathers is sometimes tucked in, which may be of any bird except the eagle or a bird with white feathers. These feathers (not used on the specimen figured) form a sort of ruff or skirt. Images made for women differed considerably from that just described. One of these is shown in Plate XLIX. The differences are chiefly that the head is formed of stuffed buckskin in place of the netted cap; that the face is painted with stripes, representing the painting used by girls at their puberty dances; that the quail-plume ear-ornaments are worn, as well as a pair of bone ones; that a woodpecker-scalp head-dress is used in place of a feather band; that a mass of shredded tule or maple-bark is affixed to the back of the head, presumably to represent hair; that a much more elaborate necklace or necklaces are worn; that the feather belt is added; and that two sorts of yo'koli are placed in the hands of the figure, which also carries a small burden-basket on the back. There should be a feather rope running from one hand to the other to make the image complete. In the making of both sorts of images, considerable variety existed, wealthy families lavishing ornament where poor persons had to content themselves with but a few simple

beads. The maker of an image must give a "soup" either when he begins work or after the image is finished.

The figure, when completed, is fastened to a stake, which is set up, facing the fire, inside the burning-ground enclosure. The figure is always placed either on the east or west side of the fire, near the opening in the fence (at the spot marked by a cross in the diagram, Fig. 60), and is generally put on the side nearest to the place where lived the person for whom it stands.

The greater part of the ceremony of the burning is the same, whether or not there is an image present. When the image is present, however, during the earlier part of the proceedings it is common for a member of the Secret Society to approach the figure, and act as if feeding it with acorn-bread, saying, "Here is bread! eat it, old man." Then, breaking the bread in pieces, he holds it to the place where the mouth of the image should be. As a rule, there are several baskets of meal and food placed on the ground at the base of the pole which supports the figure. When the end of the burning comes near, the chief or shaman goes up to the image, followed by several members of the Secret Society. One of these takes the figure by the right arm, and another by the left; and thus they lead or carry the image to the fire, making it move as if walking. Should a bow be among the objects to be burned for the figure, one member walks in advance of the image, carrying the bow with arrow on the string, and jumping rapidly from side to side as he walks, aiming now here, now there, stopping frequently, stooping, crouching, hesitating, and trying for a better aim. All his motions are as if he were trying to shoot an unseen enemy. If a bear-hide is to be burned, it is carried before the image by a member of the society, who holds it high above his head, and makes several circuits of the fire thus, crying loudly the while. Behind the image come other members of the society, carrying baskets of acorn-flour, birch-seed flour, acorn-bread, etc. As soon as the procession reaches the fire, the image is thrown on at once, and also the bow, bear-skin, and food. This occurs always as the very final part of the ceremony, just as dawn is breaking, and is the signal for frantic bursts of wailing and crying.



The image is known as *ku'kini bü'sdi* ("spirit or ghost stays within"), and is regarded as having within it during the ceremony the spirit of the man for whom it was made. It may be made at any time previous to the evening of the burning, and by any member of the Secret Society. If the person who makes the image is not one of the local residents, he must be paid by the family of the person for whom he makes it. The image is regarded as very sacred, and any one offering an insult to it formerly paid the penalty with his life. On one occasion, still within the memory of middle-aged persons, over thirty Indians were killed as a result of some one having broken an image. At the burning held at Mooretown in 1900, a drunken half-breed boy fell against the figure, and he was obliged to give as penalty a big soup-dinner and feast to all present. At a burning where such an image is present, no gambling of any kind is allowed, and no one may clap the hands, under penalty of a heavy fine.

The ceremonial of the burning in the region of the Sacramento Valley was, so far as known, substantially the same as above described from the foot-hill area. The ceremony has at present, however, gone almost completely out of use. The member-strings seem, perhaps, to have been somewhat differently arranged, the necklace being made by a brother of the deceased, and by him placed about the neck of the mourner, usually here a woman. She wears the necklace till the burning, or till a subsequent burning; and then the giver of the necklace cuts it off and burns it himself, paying to the woman beads, which she keeps for herself. A widow may not marry again till the first burning is over. She may do so, however, that very night.

The night after the burning a dance was held in the dance-house. All persons took part in it: there was no special costume, and but one man sat at the drum to beat time. The dancers formed a ring about the fire, and danced four times around, in sinistral circuit. After this dance, the next day a feast and gambling party were held. If the deceased had been a chief, his successor was selected at this time.

In the higher Sierra, among the Northeastern Maidu, the  
[*May, 1905.*]

burning is much simpler, and somewhat different. In both the Sacramento Valley and the foot-hills the ceremony is an annual one, and at it all who have lost relatives during the last few years take part together. It is otherwise among the Northeastern Maidu. Here the burning is a ceremony held for a single person alone, and occurs at an interval of a year or two after his death. It is held once, and then repeated the following year, when the matter is over, and no further offerings are made. Others than the immediate family of the deceased of course take part, but offerings are made, it appears, only to the single individual. A burning is not held, moreover, for a child or young person, and often not for an older person, the affair being rather restricted to those who have been notable, and, as the people say, "good Indians." A further point of difference is, that so far as ascertained, no image, or anything resembling it, is ever used. When held, the general ceremony is very similar to that described, the ground being prepared in the same way, the poles arranged, and the property thrown into the fire just before dawn. Similar addresses are also made by the shaman. Among this portion of the Maidu, thus, the burning shows quite a different type; and no ceremony may occur for several years, should there be a prolonged period during which no deaths occur. Among the rest of the stock in the north, however, it occurs regularly each year. It is to be regretted that more detailed information has not yet been secured in regard to the form of the ceremony in the Sacramento Valley region. Owing to the greater degree of civilization of the Indians in that region, however, and their consequent abandonment of the old custom earlier than in the mountains, together with the accompanying dislike to discuss the subject, it has not yet been possible to secure as much information as desired. When such material shall have been obtained, however, it is believed that it will show some points of difference from the form as described in the foot-hills, — differences which, in the light of further study of the Wintun tribes, may lead to conclusions of some interest. The greater simplicity of the whole affair among the North-

eastern Maidu connects this form of the ceremony with the ceremonials of the Southern Maidu. Here, again, unfortunately, the material is as yet rather fragmentary; but enough is known to show that there the burning becomes even more simple, keeping the while its character, more or less, of a purely individual offering, and along the southern limit of the stock fading by degrees into the type characteristic of the Moquelumnan peoples. To the north, among the Yana, Achomāwi, and Shasta, the whole ceremony is unknown.

#### RELIGION.

✓ BELIEFS REGARDING THE SOUL. — The ideas still held by the Maidu in regard to the soul, while substantially similar throughout the area under discussion, may perhaps better be taken up, at least in part, geographically. All human beings, and all animals as well, are supposed to have souls. These are generally spoken of as "hearts;" and often, in speaking of the death of a person, it will be said that "his heart has gone away." This "heart" seems to be regarded as identical with the ghost seen occasionally by shamans and other persons. They are said to be gray in color, and to resemble exactly the person or animal whose life they have been. The ghosts or spirits of the dead often appear to people in dreams, and only shamans see any other kind of supernatural beings. Ghosts are most frequently seen near the burning-grounds at night, or may be heard whistling shrilly in remote and lonely places. To meet one is, among the Northeastern Maidu, a sure sign of death, as the mere sight is enough to kill an ordinary person, if some powerful shaman does not interfere. Shamans themselves even, in this region, feel some fear of ghosts. One must not whistle at night, lest by doing so he call the ghosts. If a ghost is particularly troublesome, it may be "laid" by a powerful shaman. In the foot-hills, ghosts are sometimes seen at the time of the burnings, dancing slowly around the fire while the offerings are being burned. A person's ghost or soul may leave the body in a swoon or in dreams. Sometimes shamans

can recall the ghost of a dead person by the help of their guardian spirits.

In the Sacramento Valley region, when a person dies, the soul or ghost stays in or near the body for three or four days. Then it starts off, and travels everywhere that the man or woman has ever been in life, tracing step by step his or her journeyings throughout their whole extent, and in particular visiting every spot on which the person had spat. Besides thus traversing once more the scenes of the earthly life, the ghost is apparently supposed also to act over again every deed performed in the flesh. This done (and it would seem that it is accomplished with miraculous rapidity), the ghost sets out toward the Marysville Buttes, a group of volcanic peaks in the centre of the great expanse of the Sacramento Valley opposite Marysville; and here, entering a mysterious cave which is often spoken of in the myths, finds a supply of spirit-food, of which it partakes, and then passes up to the Hi'piningkódo ("the above-land"), to the Yō'ngkódo ("the flower-land"), to the Ku'kinimkódo ("the spirit-land"), whence it never returns. The ghosts seen by people, by shamans, and, it would seem, perhaps also those who are supposed to be present at the burnings, are the ghosts of persons who have not yet finished the pilgrimage described as preceding their departure. Another slightly different account has it that the ghost, departing toward the Buttes, follows in its procedure that of the first man who died. That first man, dying, carried with him a great load of the offerings made to him at the burning, and sought the Buttes, where, still earlier, the Creator (Kō'domyēponi) had lived for a time. A being came out to meet the ghost, led him to the cave, and bade him throw down his heavy load of goods. On the south side of the cave, which was a huge dance-house in reality, was water, in which the being washed the ghost; and, being washed, he was led across to the north side, where lay a huge black-bear skin. On this the ghost sat down, and at once "became a person again." Thus it was in the beginning, and thus it is now, with every man who dies. It is said that, besides the trail that leads to the Buttes, there is

another, which leads to a bad place, but not much is known about it.

In the foot-hill section there is some variation in the beliefs. The soul leaves the body at death through the mouth, and is "like wind." There seems to be some confused idea in regard to the sun sending down something that causes the person's soul to take flight. As in the Sacramento Valley, the ghost has to retrace every footstep taken in life before it can leave for the other world. During the period of its stay in this world, it frequents or haunts certain well-known places in the vicinity of the different villages. At last it starts on the way to the other world, and sets out toward the east. As it journeys, it comes to water, which has to be crossed. Finally it reaches the other world. Good people travel thither all the way by a well-lighted trail, plainly marked; whereas those who have been wicked travel in the darkness, over a trail so indistinct that they have to crawl on hands and knees painfully all the way, feeling for the road. All, whether good or bad, eventually reach the same place. This is the Hīpiningkoyo ("the valley above," or "Heaven Valley"), a beautiful region where lives Wō'nōmi, the Creator, and where there is an abundance of food, all of which is easy to secure. Wō'nōmi has a tiny basket full of delicious food, from which all who wish may eat; and although a hundred may eat from it, yet it ever remains full. The ghosts of bad people, although they go also to the Heaven Valley, yet go to a less desirable portion, where all is not so charming and comfortable. Another account has it that when a man dies, his ghost follows the sun till it reaches its highest point, when the spirit leaves the sun and continues its way straight upward to the Heaven Valley. Should a man die in the afternoon, then his spirit would follow the sun as it sank to the west, and, continuing with it in all its under-world journey, would rise with it in the morning, and then at noon depart upward to its final resting-place. The Milky Way is often pointed out as the path to this other world. Where the Milky Way forks is the parting of the ways for good and evil. The left-hand trail is the easier, and is travelled by the good. It is also stated that bad

people do not go to the Heaven Valley at all, but are changed into rocks and bushes.

The Northeastern Maidu have slightly different beliefs. When a person dies, if he is sorry for his friends and family, and fond of them, he stays ("blows about") for a time, crying constantly. He does not look at people, for this would be fatal to them. Even shamans may be killed if a ghost looks directly at them. After lingering thus as long as he pleases, the ghost leaves. There is, however, no necessity of remaining, and the ghost is at liberty to set out for the other world at once after death. Just before a man dies, the spirits of his father and mother, or some ancestors, come to him; and when the ghost is ready to leave this world for the next, these ghosts of his ancestors serve as his guides. Children cry all the time they are on the way thither, and are met part way by several of their ancestors and relatives. The ghosts, in going to the other world, go off toward the east, for it is there that Kō'domyēponi, the Creator, lives. Before they can get there, they have to pass through a sort of gate or entrance. At this is a spirit who guards it. If the person is not really dead, but merely in a stupor from which he ought to recover, his time to die not having come as yet, this spirit then turns the ghost back, and refuses to let him through the door. If, however, the man is really dead, and his time has come, the spirit washes the ghost's face, and allows him to pass in. There is an idea that after a long time, the world will, as it is expressed, "turn over," and all the dead will come to life again. This it is thought will happen only when the last Indian dies. The other world to which the dead go is, as in the rest of the Maidu beliefs, a paradise of food and pleasure.

As already mentioned, the house in which a person lived was usually burned at his death, partly to serve as an offering, and partly to prevent the lingering of the ghost. Of other means to keep the ghost away, the only one noted was the sprinkling of salt in a ring around the house, by the people of the Sacramento Valley.

CONCEPTIONS OF THE WORLD. — The general conceptions as to the shape of the world and its character are pretty uniform.

The world is supposed to be an island, nearly circular in shape. It is floating on the surface of a great sea, but anchored by five ropes stretched by the Creator, which hold the island steady, and prevent it from drifting about. Occasionally some being seizes these ropes and shakes them, and this causes earthquakes. The world was flat when first made from the bit of mud brought up from the depths of the primeval sea by the turtle or from the robin's nest floating in the sea. Later the Creator and the Coyote went about over the world, making the rivers and mountains. Coyote was in general responsible for the latter, and for the extreme roughness of the country. As recounted in one form of the creation myth,<sup>1</sup> the world was formed from a bit of mud brought up by the Turtle from the bottom of the sea. The Turtle, with another being, was floating on this sea in a canoe, when a shining being came down from the sky on a rope, entered the canoe, and, from the mud brought up at his request, made the world. At first small, it grew miraculously, till the canoe ran aground near the present town of Durham, near Chico, where the mark of the canoe in the soft mud may still be seen as a huge slough. By this radiant Creator the first people were made, who, after a long period, were transformed, in one way or another, into the various animals we have in the region to-day: By another account the world was formed from a robin's nest found by the Creator floating on the primeval sea. After the world was made, the germs of the present Indian people were prepared by him also; and after ineffectual attempts to overcome the maliciousness of Coyote, the Creator departed from this world, travelling towards the east, into which he disappeared. Various relics of his presence in the world are pointed out, among them the stone canoe in which he and all the other people took refuge, when, in his third and final unsuccessful attempt to destroy Coyote, he caused a great flood to cover all the world. This canoe is still to be seen, it is said, on the summit of Keddie Peak, just north of Indian Valley. The sites of his and Coyote's dance-houses may be seen as huge circular depressions at Durham,

<sup>1</sup> See Part II of this volume, p. 39.

and the scenes of many of his adventures are accurately known and pointed out.

In speaking of the ropes with which the world was firmly anchored, it will be remembered that five of these were referred to. The sacredness of the number five is much stronger and more apparent in the mountain sections of the Northern Maidu area than in the Sacramento Valley. In the latter region the number is given as four or five almost indifferently, with perhaps a little greater frequency of four. Among the Northeastern Maidu, however, five is the only number, and it is clearly here the only sacred number. This insistence on five is carried even to the cardinal points, and among these Northeastern Maidu there are five points of the compass. These are, in order, west, northwest, north, east, and south.

Thunder is thought to be a man or boy of miraculous abilities. He eats trees chiefly. Had it not been for Mosquito, however, Thunder would have preyed on people. Mosquito deceived him, and refused to let Thunder know whence the blood and meat he brought came. Had Thunder found out that Mosquito obtained these from people, they, and not the trees, would have been his prey. Fire was, as usual among savage people, once in the possession of some one who kept it selfishly to himself. From him it was stolen by strategy, and made the common possession of all. Moon and Sun are brother and sister. Several slightly varying accounts are given of them. In the Sacramento Valley the belief seems to be rather that they were brother and sister of the Creator. In the mountain region this belief does not seem so clear. Sun at first was to travel by night, but she was frightened at the darkness, and so exchanged with her brother, who went at night, while she went by day. They travel over a well-made road, and, when they set, return to the east underground, by way of the south, Moon and Sun travelling by different, although parallel roads. The stars are said to be made of something soft, like buckskin. In the mountain region the Dipper is known as O'koikō ("looking round"). The group known as "Job's Coffin" is called Hě'muimū (hě'mo, "to roast"?); the Milky Way is La'idam-



lülüm bō ("morning-star's trail"); the Pleiades are called Do'todoto (?); falling stars are called Sā'toio ("taking or carrying fire"); the rainbow is thought to be the urine of Coyote.

The Maidu believe that the whole country occupied by them is thronged with mysterious powers or spirits known as ku'kini. These spirits are particularly associated with prominent rocky peaks, crags, or cliffs, with rapids or waterfalls, and with lonely mountain lakes. There are spirits under the earth who are very powerful; there are also many in the sky. These beings are regarded as residing at definite spots, to which in particular the shamans go to gain power. Every shaman must have one or more of these as his guardian spirit or spirits, and they aid him in all that he does. He also, of course, may have the different animal spirits. Those of the rocks and little lakes are, however, very powerful. At times the shaman calls them to the dance-house; and they are supposed to enter by the smoke-hole, and hang head downward therefrom. They are in appearance like people, but always have the tongue lolling; and, as they hang head downward, the tongue reaches to the ground.

There seems to be no very clear belief in any giants or dwarfs. In the foot-hills they speak of curious one-legged beings, who are rather small, and who were found in or about water. They could jump to immense distances, and always induced deep sleep in persons who were able to catch them or get near them. In the mountains there is the Snow Man, apparently something of a giant and cannibal. He cannot be seen, but the creak of his snowshoes is sometimes heard. He is in some way associated with the Yana by the Maidu of Big Meadows and Indian Valley. Mythical or mysterious animals do not seem to be very important in the Maidu beliefs. There is often mention of a gigantic bird, larger than an eagle, that used to prey on people. It is said to have killed them with a blow from its wing. This may refer to the California condor (*Cathartes californianus*).

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS.—To stop storms, feathers or wild-pepper wood are burned, or the leaves of various sorts of

oaks. — To cause rain or storms, recourse is had to smoking ceremonially, and praying for rain by the shaman. — Rain is also sure to result from the telling of stories about the water-snake, or from chasing frogs. — If one tells stories in the day-time, many believe the narrator will become crooked. — The spots in the moon are thought to be a frog.<sup>1</sup> Others recognize in them the face of the Creator. — If the moon, in its first quarter, stands with the points of the crescent upwards, it denotes a good season for fruit, good weather, freedom from sickness; should it stand with points directed horizontally, it denotes a poor season, bad weather, and sickness.

The first teeth of a child are always put down a gopher-hole. If this were not done, the second teeth would not come quickly.

Yellow-jackets' nests must not be eaten by young people. If this regulation is not followed, the young people will have ear and tooth ache.

The mountain-lion is supposed to catch deer with its tail.

The root of *Angelica Breweri* Gray, if rubbed on the legs, will keep rattlesnakes away. If one chews the root, and spits toward a rattlesnake, or blows toward it, it will be blinded.

Whenever a person is bitten by a rattlesnake, it thunders at once. It does so also when a great man dies, or when a woman has a miscarriage.

Old people, before eating, always say, *Maka'd wisi'lsiltsono* ("Spider, shake it away over"). It is also said when an old man is brought water by a child. He shakes a few drops in the child's face while repeating the words.

CHARMS. — Charms of various sorts were used for hunting and gambling. — Stones found inside a deer are the favorite charms for deer-hunters. They were worn about the neck, as were other hunting-charms (Fig. 61). — Shamans had charms of various sorts, which they used to rub gently on the seat of pain, after the sucking-out of the pretended object that was causing the trouble (see Fig. 11, a). — Gambling-charms were also much used. Some were similar to that

<sup>1</sup> See Part II of this volume, p. 76.

shown in Fig. 11, *b*. — Any strangely shaped or colored stone or object found was picked up, and its powers tested. If, after finding it and carrying it, the man had good luck in anything, the stone or object would then be preserved carefully as a charm for that purpose. — Roots of different sorts were also used as charms.

**SHAMANISM.** — The shaman was, and still is, perhaps the most important individual among the Maidu. In the absence of any definite system of government, the word of the shaman has great weight: as a class they are regarded with much awe, and as a rule are obeyed much more than the chief. As the beliefs and customs in connection with the shaman vary considerably, they may best be considered geographically.

In the Sacramento Valley region it is not necessary for a man's ancestors to have been shamans in order for him to become one. Sometimes, while out hunting, he may see something in the woods that makes him fall down unconscious. The being or animal, whichever it is, then talks to him while he is in this trance, and tells him what he is to do. When the man recovers, he spits blood and a whitish secretion of some sort, and then feels perfectly well again. He goes home, but tells no one of his experience, and goes without meat for some days. He never tells any one what he saw till he grows to be an old man. After this first meeting, the same animal or being constantly appears to the man, and gives him advice and help. In other cases a man dives for a fish or for shell-fish, but fails to come up. He is thought to have seen something mysterious under the water, and is hunted for, and pulled out. If he revives, he is sure to become a shaman. Soon after the experience he falls sick, and has to be sung over by other shamans. He lies on the north side of the fire,

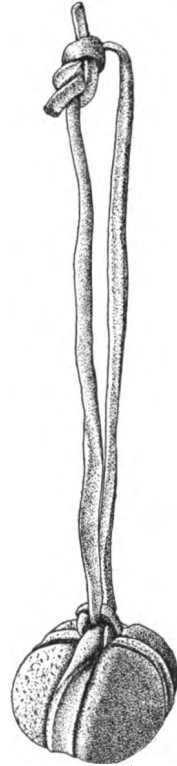


Fig. 61 (3887). Amulet or Luck Stone. Length, 21 cm.

feet toward the blaze. One shaman sits by his side all the time, while others sit about, singing. This is continued all night; and then at dawn two of the men lift the patient, and hold him in their arms, while all present dance. All this time blood is running at intervals from the patient's mouth. There seems to be in this region considerable instruction of the young shamans by the older ones. The older shamans are supposed to have something about as long and as large as a finger, sharp at each end. This they are supposed to insert in the candidate's nose. If he can get it out without help, he will be a shaman; if he has to have assistance, he is a failure. A shaman can by means of these *sī'la*, as they are called, tell whether a man is a real shaman or not. He simply throws it at him: if it makes him bleed, the man is an impostor.

In doctoring a patient, the shaman has always to fast for a time. He wears a netted cap and a raven-feather stuck into it. The pain or disease is sucked out, and is shown to the patient and friends. It is usually a small object with feathers on it. As soon as this object (the *ō'meya*) is extracted, it is at once buried. Should the first shaman be unsuccessful, a second is called. Immediately on getting the *ō'meya* out of the body of the patient, the shaman falls to the ground insensible. He revives after a while, and spits the *ō'meya* out. Should a shaman fail to cure a patient, he gets no pay, but is not killed as a penalty, as was the case in the region to the north. If a man frequently has bad dreams, he is taken to the dance-house, and the chief has to dance and sing over him. He uses, in this dance, a long-handled cocoon-rattle, called *so'lōya*. The patient lies on the ground, head away from the fire and toward the east. All the important men and shamans come in; and the chief, in dancing, stands by the main post in the dance-house. When all is over, he washes the man's face, and pours water over his head. Then the man must go and swim and bathe, as also must the chief. Then both may eat meat again, from which they are debarred while the ceremony is going on. For such a ceremony a very large price is asked.

To kill an enemy, a shaman must be highly paid. To accomplish the result, the shaman merely goes to the enemy, and allows his own shadow to fall on the man. Then he goes to the river and bathes, and prays to his spirit guardians, saying, "I want so and so to die;" or the shaman may, as if in fun, merely touch or poke the victim with an elder-stick, which is hollow, and contains some sort of "medicine." This method causes death very quickly. Formerly there was a special rattlesnake shaman in every village, who sucked the poison out, and cured people. These rattlesnake shamans had special ceremonies of their own.

In the foot-hill region the shaman is, in his nature and functions, generally similar to those in the valley. Here, however, there seems to be rather more of a tendency toward the hereditary character of the profession. The person who is to become a shaman first becomes aware of it by dreams, in which the ghosts of the dead, and various spirits or ku'kini, appear to him. The beings seen in the dreams tell the candidates what they are to do, and how they are to sing. For months the novice sings and dances in the dance-house, gradually acquiring the arts of his class, and getting on better and better terms with the spirits who are his guardians and helpers. At the ceremonies in which the shamans sing and dance, the animals who are the guardians of the shaman come to the dance-house, and may be heard by the persons present talking to him in strange voices. They are never seen. Spirits of other sorts also come, some from cliffs or mountains, others from the underground regions. These spirits know everything that is happening even at great distances, and through them the shaman learns of both present and future. In their singing and dancing, the shamans use the cocoon-rattle, and wear various sorts of skin and fur bands, with feathers.

There are female shamans known, but they are not as numerous as the male. A patient who is to be treated by a shaman for pain or disease is, as a rule, left alone in some spot apart from the camp, where the shaman's doings will not be disturbed. The shaman, being told where the

patient has been left, goes thither, and, approaching on all-fours, acts, as well as he is able, like a bear or other animal, uttering the while low growls. Slowly approaching the patient, he applies his lips to the seat of pain, and sucks violently. After some minutes, he crawls away, acting as if suffering greatly. Returning to the patient, the sucking is repeated, and again the shaman crawls away. This process is repeated several times, till at last the shaman remains by the side of the patient, making great efforts apparently to extract something from his throat. At last, after prolonged retching and effort, the supposed cause of the pain is successfully gotten out, generally with some force, and either through the nose or the mouth. The shaman, in choosing the object or objects to be extracted apparently from the man's body, as a rule, bears in mind the habits of the patient. If, for example, he is addicted to chewing tobacco, he may extract a piece of tobacco; if the man is known to be over-fond of fish, the object may be a bundle of sharp fish-bones; etc. Such things as broken glass, broken crockery, arrow-points, bugs or worms of various kinds, young mice, deer-bones, fragments of rock, buttons, bits of wood, bear's-teeth, squirrel bones or teeth, grasshoppers, or bits of iron or nails, — these and many other things are among those apparently removed from the sufferer's body. The worms, insects, etc., are always alive when extracted. The patient is allowed to look at the object, whatever it is; and it is then buried by the shaman. The latter often pricks his nose with a bit of sharp stick or bone, and smears the blood over his face in the course of his performance. If the pain is in the patient's head, recourse is had always to the pipe. The patient is placed in a sitting position; and the shaman, having filled his small, tubular stone pipe, lights it, and then strokes the head of the man gently for some time. Then he blows whiffs of smoke on the forehead of the patient, saying as he does so, in a low voice, "Begone afar off!" "Do not stay!" "To another country!" "Come out!" "Go away, evil pain!" The patient is now allowed a whiff or two from the pipe, and is then supposed to be cured. Most

shamans wear a charm suspended from the neck. These charms are very often obsidian knives or spear-points of some size.

There are apparently at least two sorts of shamans, — one the shaman proper (or yō'mi), whose main duties are the cure and causing of disease; and the other the "dreamers" (or nē'fdim mai'dü), whose abilities are largely those of being able to communicate with the spirits, and with ghosts of the dead. A man may be a "dreamer" and not be a shaman, but nearly all shamans are also "dreamers." These "dreamers" hold meetings during the winter months, usually every few weeks. The meetings are held in the dance-house, and the affair is always preceded by a feast or "soup." Strings are sent out as for a burning or other ceremonial, and the knots cut off or untied daily, till the date set has arrived. Guests are expected to arrive at the place where the affair is to be held a day or so before the ceremony proper. The day and night before the ceremony are given up to games, gambling, and trading. At dusk on the day set, men, women, and children all gather in the dance-house; and then, after an hour or two of chatting and quiet, the shaman declares himself ready. The smoke-hole is then partly covered, the fire completely banked with ashes, and the interior of the dance-house made perfectly dark. No one is allowed to smoke, to speak, or to leave the house. The ceremony is described as follows: Taking his position at the main post of the dance-house (the one back of the fire), the shaman begins to sing, shaking his cocoon-rattle and beating with it on the post. The lips are given a peculiar quivering motion, making the voice tremble and quaver. After some time spent thus, the spirits are supposed to arrive, and answer the questions the shaman puts to them. The tone of his voice changes, and in an assumed tone he answers his own questions, the answers being supposed to come from the spirits who are present. Besides the shaman, there is always present at these affairs a pehei'pe or "clown." He apes the shaman in everything, repeats after him everything he says, and in every way tries to make the spectators laugh. It is

considered a compliment to laugh, and a sign of appreciation. After a while, the shaman grows tired, and stops for a time; and during the intermission the spectators may smoke or leave the place, if they so desire. Later the singing and questioning are resumed, and are kept up till nearly dawn, when the shaman declares the meeting over. At these meetings the ghosts of the dead are often present, and convey their desires to their relatives. They and other spirits give directions as to when feasts are to be held, hunts made, or raids on neighboring villages undertaken. In no case do they attempt to foretell the future. No one but the shaman may interrogate the spirits, or may speak during the ceremonies. On these occasions, and on the day after, so-called "basket-songs" are always sung. They are sung by two men, generally, although not necessarily shamans. The songs are accompanied by beating with sticks on the bottoms of large baskets, turned bottom upward on the ground.

The *hū'ūkū*, or leaders of the Secret Society, are, as a rule, powerful shamans, and exceed the other shamans in their abilities. They have in their possession charms known as *yō'mepa*, which cause death to persons if they are touched on the bare skin with these objects. The cure is, as usual, by sucking; and the place sucked is touched and rubbed with the obsidian knife (*lō'mim bosō'*) afterwards.

Among the shamans of this section there was formerly, it seems, an annual dance, at which each shaman endeavored to overcome the others by means of his "poison" or charms. The dance was held in the dance-house, and shamans from all about were invited to attend. Women shamans were present as well as men. During the ceremony every shaman tried to overcome all the rest; and, although there were spectators present, they were not in danger, as the charms were directed only against the shamans. Each dancer had his or her peculiar dance and motions. Before the beginning of the dance, all fasted for a day or more. The shamans being assembled, the head shaman of the village where the dance was held announced the beginning of the ceremony. Certain rules had to be followed. No person who was not present at



the beginning of the dance was allowed to enter it at a later period. No arms, knives, arrow-points, sharp bones, sticks, or mysterious packages were allowed to be brought in, and none could be used as ornaments. Any person touching another was debarred from the remainder of the dance, and any one who should draw any blood from another was killed. The dancers were allowed to wear any sort of feather ornaments they chose. The rules being stated, and all being ready, the shamans from each village gathered together in little groups by themselves. A fire was lighted with the fire-drill, and fed with dry manzanita-wood, which had been carefully inspected by all the shamans to see that no poisonous roots had been mixed with it. The pehei'pe was the leader, and danced naked. No songs were sung, nor was there any beating of time with drum or sticks. Shamans held cocoon-rattles, but that was all in the way of musical instruments that was allowed. In dancing, the body was swayed from side to side, and the hands held against the breast, and then thrown forcibly out and away from the body, palms out, as if warding off evil influences. The throwing-out of the hands was used also to throw "poison" at the other dancers, an object also accomplished by breathing strongly and forcibly. As the dance continued, after an hour or two one shaman after another dropped out of the circle. Some were taken with violent pains in the stomach; others in the back, breast, head, or limbs. Some bled from the nose. Those who first recovered from their attacks, supposed to be the effect of the charms and "poison" sent out by the other shamans, attended to those who succumbed later, sucking out the "poison" or pain that had been thrown at them. Thus the dance continued till only one man was left, and he was declared the chief shaman of all. When the number of shamans was reduced to two or three, who, by their ability to continue so long, were therefore of great power, the fire was allowed to sink very low; and then it is claimed that bluish light, and flames, were seen to surround the shamans who yet held out. At such times these remaining dancers would produce in a mysterious manner lizards, mice, small birds, etc., and,

[*May, 1905.*]

after exhibiting them to the spectators, cause them to disappear.

When the dancing came to an end, all having succumbed but one, all the participants went to a spring near by, and washed themselves carefully. All then returned to the dance-house, and, seated in a circle, smoked the stone pipe and prayed, thus removing all traces of the charms and "poisons" which had been used in the dance. That no evil influence might survive, one shaman was deputed to remove such lingering traces as might be left on the body of the clown. This was done by blowing smoke over his body, as he sat near the centre of the house; and the action was accompanied by exhortations to the "poison" to go away, and leave all free from ill effects. The women shamans taking part, as a rule, failed to endure till the end, although some cases are remembered where a woman has been the last to succumb, and thus shown herself superior to all the rest. The tobacco smoked at the dance was grown and prepared by the resident shaman. At the conclusion of the purification of the pehei'pe, a feast or "soup" was given, and all gambled, and many games were played. This ended the whole ceremony.

In the region occupied by the Northeastern Maidu, the following are the beliefs and customs in regard to shamans and doctors. Here, if either of a man's parents is a shaman, he must inevitably be one also. Even if a shaman have half a dozen children, all must become shamans sooner or later, and would die if they did not. A shaman's children do not become shamans, as a rule, until he himself dies. While the children of shamans must become shamans in their turn, other people, whose parents have not been shamans, may also become such. There were women shamans as well as men; the former being, however, more numerous in Big Meadows, where the Maidu came nearest in contact with the Achomā'wi, among whom women shamans were very numerous. As the methods of becoming a shaman varied somewhat, according to whether the parents of the man were shamans or not, the two cases will be discussed separately.

If either of the parents of a man was a shaman, he is bound,

as has been said, to become one a short time after that parent's death. Dreams come to him frequently, and in these he sees numerous spirits of various sorts. This, in a short time, makes him ill; and with his illness the dreams increase, and the spirits come more often and in greater numbers. They talk and sing to him, and they are the cause of his sickness. If he does not answer them, make them presents, and become friendly with them, they will kill him in revenge. These spirits that appear to the man or woman are those dreamed of by the parent or parents, and the same ones stay in the family for generations. As soon as the man's condition is apparent, his friends and family help him to collect food enough for a feast. They also make for him wands of three kinds. These wands (yo'koli), described in more detail in speaking of ceremonial objects, are sticks or wands of willow, as a rule, some of them from a metre to a metre and a half long, from the end of which depend strings of feathers and acorn-shells, or bunches of two or more feathers. Those made for the novice shaman are white, red, and mottled. When made, they are set up on the roof of the house, and also inside, over the spot where the man sits or lies. The man himself places them, as a general thing.

The house being prepared thus, the old fire and ashes are carefully carried out, and the floor swept and covered with fresh earth. A new fire is kindled by means of the fire-drill, and the friends and relatives of the man assemble. When all are seated, one of the shamans present takes half a bead in one hand, and a little tobacco in the other, and talks to the spirits thus: "Be good, be friendly, help us! I will pay you this red wand, this white wand, this mottled wand. I pay you this new fire, this good food. Look down and see us! Look down and see these gifts! These beads come from far away. I will pay you all these things if you will be good." Then he names one by one all the spots in the whole region about, where the spirits are known to live, mentioning every great rock, mountain, lake, water-fall, etc. The long list completed, the half-bead is thrown into the fire, and the

tobacco likewise. If the bead crackles, and flies to pieces, it is a good sign; for the spirits accept the gifts, and the man will soon recover. When the bead flies to pieces, all present say, "M-m-m-m-m!" This is supposed to be pleasing to the spirits. All the time the shaman is thus talking, all present must smoke.

The ceremony begins usually about noon; and when it is all over, the family and friends eat, and offer a sacrifice of small amounts of food, which they throw into the fire. When the sun has almost reached the horizon, the next part of the ceremony begins. Again all the spots known to be inhabited by the spirits are named. During all this and the previous ceremony, the man who is to become a shaman lies on the ground, back of the main post of the house. An old shaman sits or stands by the same post, on the north side. All being assembled in the house, as soon as the sun has completely set, the older shaman tells the people to be very quiet, to behave themselves, to make no noise all night. When it grows really dark, several older shamans sit near the novice, and talk to the spirits one after another. They try to appease them, and beg them to be gentle with the man. The spirits which the new shaman inherits are supposed to be present, but angry, and liable to harm him. When a shaman dies, his spirits are angry, and are apt to revenge themselves on the successor until they come to know him. So the older shamans try to pacify the spirits who are to be the guardians of the new shaman; and their own spirits help them in this, holding those of the new shaman, and preventing their hurting him. Sometimes the spirits of the new shaman are very strong, and those of the older men weak; then it sometimes happens, that, if the young man has not done just as the spirits desire, they seize him at this time, take him bodily out of the house through the smoke-hole, and kill him. As the spirits get acquainted with their new charge, they grow fond of him, and cease to attempt to harm him.

After talking long thus, the fire is covered, a cocoon-rattle is put by the foot of the novice and at the base of the main post, and the next stage of the ceremony begins. The

novice begins to cry, if indeed he has not been crying and weeping all the time so far. Sometimes he cries so much that he can hardly sing. He is generally very much frightened. He gets up now, however, and, taking the rattle (so'koti), sings the songs that the spirits have revealed to him in his dreams. He pounds the post with the rattle, and the spirits reach down from the smoke-hole, where they are supposed to be gathered, and seize the rattle, making it mount to the very top of the post, even carrying it outside and pounding with it on the roof. When they do this, flashes of light are seen, and strange sounds are heard. The singing is kept up till nearly dawn, when the novice rests and sleeps. He sings in this manner every other night, or every few nights, all winter long. If the spirits which he inherits are weak and few, he need only sing every week or ten days; if they are powerful and many, he may have to sing almost every night, for a time at least. Gradually the spirits are tamed, and become more and more friendly to the man. In the beginning of the period, the novice may not eat meat, and must fast quite rigorously. As time goes on, however, these regulations as to food are relaxed, and after a month or two he may eat what he wills. The longer a man is sick or "crazy," the more powerful will he be as a shaman. If the spirits who are his guardians are very powerful, he may have to have a large number of wands (yo'koli) about him all the time.

A part of the ceremony consists in the piercing of the novice's ears. This is done after the first dance and feast; or it is done in the spring, after the man has spent the whole winter dancing. As soon as his ears are pierced, the man has to go at once to the mountains, and to lakes known to be the residence of spirits, and there perform various ceremonies to be described later. Whatever animal a man dreams of during his first set of dreams when he is just beginning to be a shaman, that animal he may never eat or kill. Should he do so, he would die. "If he kills his dream, he kills himself." In many cases men do not dream of animals: mountains and rocks and lakes are more usual. A shaman may have not

only one guardian spirit, but a large number of them. Some shamans have a dozen or more.

If a man wants to be a shaman, and has not had parents or relatives who were such, he takes white and red wands, a fire-drill, a cocoon-rattle, and some beads, and goes up into the mountains alone, to a spot where it is known that a spirit lives. He leaves his house in the afternoon, as the sun gets low, and is dressed always in new, clean clothes. He must run all the way. As soon as the sun goes down, he stops and lights a fire just at the moment when the sun disappears. He goes on again immediately; and when he has nearly arrived at the place where the spirit lives, he lights another fire. Leaving this also, he goes directly to the spot, and at once pierces his ears, using for the purpose the sharpened end of the cocoon-rattle. As soon as the blood runs, the spirit living there sees and knows that some one has come who wants to become a shaman, and he tells the leader of the spirits of that place. As soon as the ears are pierced, the man takes the wands that he has with him and places them on the rock which is always used for the purpose, and on which all who come to this spot place wands. This done, he must go and swim or bathe, if the spot is anywhere near water. If it is not, the man must light a fire and sing. The wands which are placed on the rock "pay" the spirits, and are the equivalent of the wands set up by the novice who inherits his spirits, as described above. In case the spot is near water, the man, after swimming, must dive. He then loses consciousness, and, when he comes to himself, is lying on the shore, having been brought there by the spirits. The cause of his losing his senses is generally something which touches his belly as he is diving or swimming. It is not known what it is. It is always soft and slippery. After coming to himself, he lights a fire, and spends the rest of the night in singing and walking about till nearly dawn. Then he lies down beside the fire and sleeps a little. After a short time the spirits wake the man up, and he is then "crazy," hears the spirits talking together and to him, but cannot see them. At dawn he swims once more, and then, when he comes out, hears the spirits singing or

talking at some other place some distance away. He starts at once for that place, and again hears them in another direction. Thus he follows from one place to another for two or three days. All this time he goes entirely without food. At the end of two or three days he goes back to his home, but stops about a hundred metres from the village. A small amount of food is then brought out to him by some of the women of his family or by his wife. This food is always some sort of seeds or acorn-soup, never meat or fish. He takes the food and eats it, and spends the night at a little distance from the village. Next day he comes back to his house, and begins to dream. The spirits have known when he came, from the blood and from the smell of his fires, on which he puts aromatic roots, particularly the wild angelica. He also puts beads into the fires as offerings. They, knowing his desire to become a shaman, follow him back to the village, and then begin to appear to him in dreams, precisely as in the case of the man who has inherited spirits, as already described. The procedure from then on is exactly the same as in the case of the hereditary shamans, and the same ceremonies have to be gone through. Any one who goes out thus may get spirits, and become a shaman: none ever fail. In the case of the hereditary shamans, when the spring comes, after their long winter of singing and dancing, they go off to the mountains, as just described, and by so doing acquire more spirits, and perhaps more powerful ones, than they had inherited. Not till a year or two after the first beginnings of the ceremony does the man try to cure patients. Then he gradually takes up all the duties and prerogatives of his class.

The ornaments and rattles, etc., belonging to a shaman, are handed down to his children. If his children are old enough, he tells them before he dies where he has hidden them. If the children are too young, he tells their mother; and she keeps the secret till they are older, and have begun to be shamans.

Shamans can walk through fire unharmed. They can cause people to grow sick and die in several ways. There

are things called *yō'mpa*,<sup>1</sup> made of roots, feathers, beads, etc. With these they point at people; and a part of the *yō'mpa* enters the body of the victim, and travels about inside him till it reaches the heart, when the man dies. In pointing the *yō'mpa*, the shaman has to sing certain songs. If, when some one has had a *yō'mpa* pointed at him, he can get another shaman who is powerful enough to extract the object, he will recover. The shaman, in curing the patient, sucks the thing out, and shows it to him and to those who are present. In doing this, the shaman puts some charm into his mouth to aid him. This is often a piece of rock-crystal to which a feather is attached. Such charms are known as *yō'nkō*. One of the worst ways that a shaman can hurt another person is by means of the *si'lam itu'm*. The *i'tū* are the "pains." By throwing one of these at a person, a pain is caused in some spot, and sooner or later the man dies. The shamans throw these at each other sometimes; and if the victim cannot throw the "pains" up, he has to call in a third shaman to suck them out. These "pains" are tiny things, the size of flies, and in the shape of little lizards, frogs, etc. Some are small and thread-like, looking like a white hair. Others are like bits of sharpened bone (or ice ?). The pains are alive. As soon as they are sucked out by a shaman, they die. They speak of the shaman who sent them to attack the victim as "father," and always name him before they die, after being sucked out. When removed, they are either made to disappear by being rubbed between the hands of the officiating shaman, or are taken out and buried under a stone. If the pain is successful in causing the death of the victim, it at once, on the death of the man, flies back to the shaman who sent it. When a shaman sends one of these pains, he tells it to go to so and so, and to kill him in such and such a way. After killing the man, the pain is told to come back to a particular spot, which the shaman marks. The shaman then tells some of his guardian spirits to guard the place; and when the pain returns there, the spirits seize it or surround it, and prevent its escape. The shaman knows at

<sup>1</sup> Compare p. 272.



once of the death of his enemy, and goes to the place to which he has told the pain to return, lights a fire, talks to the pain and to the spirits who are his guardians, tells the pain to be good and not to try to harm him, and then suddenly seizes it in his hands. He puts it carefully into a bunch of feathers which are worn at dances, known as *ba'tsawi*, and, thus protected, he hides it securely under some large stone or in a hollow log at a considerable distance from the village. When a shaman has one of these pains with him, he must not smell any meat, or fat, or cooking, nor must he eat meat or fat. He must travel entirely alone, and camp alone to the windward of the fire. The pain and also the spirit, both call the shaman "father." These pains are obtained or made by the shamans far up in the mountains, after much fasting, praying, and talking to the spirits. Only the great shamans could find or get them. Smaller shamans, who had only one or two weak spirits, could not have them, as their spirits were not strong enough.

All the great shamans have many spirits, some of whom are animals; and others, again, are such as live in rocks, lakes, etc. The shaman must always do exactly what the spirits tell him, otherwise he will be killed by them. When the shamans dance in the dance-house, and sing their songs, or when dancing and singing to cure a patient, the spirit whose song they sing is supposed to come to the smoke-hole, and there make its characteristic noises. A shaman will sometimes sing several songs, and thus call several such spirits. In speaking to the spirits, the shamans use words that are not used in every-day speech. These words are kept very secretly, and it has been possible to secure but a very few.

Many stories are told of the punishment overtaking those who do not believe in what the spirits say, or who do not believe they really come to the dance-house when the shaman sings. Once a half-breed man from the foot-hills, who was visiting in the mountains, resolved to test the matter. He took with him, to a meeting where the shaman was to talk to the spirits, a pitch stick. As usual, the lights were all put out, and the fire covered; and in the dark the fellow heard the

spirits talking, and singing, and beating with their rattles on the main post. Very softly he crept toward the post and felt of it. He could feel it tremble, but could not feel anything there. The shaman was lying quietly on the ground, and yet the spirit was singing and beating the rattle violently at the top of the post. Suddenly he reached over to the fire and lighted the pitch stick, which blazed up brightly. Instantly the singing stopped, but he saw nothing. The meeting, of course, at once broke up. The man was much excited to think he had not seen anything, as he had never believed what the shamans said about the spirits. He started to go home to his camp for the night, but had gone only about two hundred steps when he began to waver, then walked around and around in circles, and finally fell over dead. Another tale is to the effect that another man similarly lighted a pitch stick, and saw the spirit in the shape of a man, hanging head downward from the smoke-hole, his tongue being very long and reaching down to the ground. As soon as the stick was lighted, this object fell to the ground and disappeared. The man who had lighted the pitch stick fell over dead in a few minutes without saying a word.

Other stories are told of shamans acquiring for guardian spirits the spirits of animals introduced by the whites. One case is described where the shaman thought that, inasmuch as the whites were evidently so much more powerful than the Indians, their animals must have more cunning spirits than those of the Indians. So he resolved to acquire the spirit of the honey-bee. This he did, and then was able to secure whiskey in unlimited quantities, as the bee could insert its proboscis through the corks of bottles, or through the closed bung-holes of barrels, and suck out the liquor, which it afterward put into other receptacles for the Indians' use. The bee could also enter anywhere, as it could unlock all doors by inserting its proboscis. For a time the shaman was extremely popular, for he was able to substantiate his claims as to the whiskey. His control over the spirit of the bee, however, suddenly was lost. Among the white residents of the region, this was ascribed to their discovery of a loose board in the wall

of the saloon, which opening, when found, was firmly nailed up. With the sudden cessation of the supply of whiskey was also connected the blowing-down by a high wind of an old oak-tree, in the hollow stump of which several dozen bottles of liquor were found concealed.

Some shamans dream of thunder, and then become weather-prophets. Others are more like the "dreamers" of the Sacramento Valley and foot-hills, in that their main occupation is to converse with the spirits and find out favorable places for hunts, etc. One famous shaman in Big Meadows is everywhere claimed to have "dreamed" the coming of the first white people many years before they came. He described their dress, manner of doing things, and the place where they would be first seen.

Shamans, in their ceremonies, generally wear few ornaments. Most wear a band of otter or mink skin about the forehead, and carry cocoon-rattles. When the case is serious, they put on instead the yellow-hammer feather band, and use whistles of bird-bones. These latter are generally used when talking to the spirits at a meeting. Some shamans are particularly successful in curing certain diseases. Some are able to cure the bites of bears, others those of snakes, etc. This specialization, and particularly the close connection of dreaming of the bear with curing bear-bites, etc., does not seem so much developed here as just to the north, among the Achomā'wi.

CEREMONIALS AND DANCES. — The ceremonies and dances of the Maidu, other than the burning and the shaman ceremonies, still remain to be discussed. The construction of the various types of dance-ornaments used has already been described. As the dances and ceremonies are most fully developed in the Sacramento Valley, it is there that we find the most elaborate decorations, and the greatest variety of them. A few words as to the manner of wearing the ornaments are here necessary.

The most common form of feather band (see Fig. 25, b), and the one which is worn perhaps more widely and frequently than any other, is of a type having a wide distribution in

California. At points about ten centimetres on either side of the centre, a string is attached, and the band tied by this to the head, as shown in Plate XLVIII. The ends are free to flap and wave with every motion of the wearer, and are sometimes further decorated with small squares of quills, to which a few beads are attached. Sometimes the bands are worn fastened simply by one end, and hanging down the back.

The feather belts are less important, apparently, than the other decorations, and are worn either as a belt or bandolier passing over the left shoulder. Frequently they are worn only by women.

The feather bunches (ba'tsawi) are among the most important decorations, and are made of a variety of feathers, the ones most used being those of the snow-goose, barn-owl, crow, and hawk. The details of construction have already been noted. They are worn in various ways. In some dances they are pinned far forward on the forehead, in others they are on the top or back of the head. Only one is worn at a time

The feather plume-sticks, or di'hyo (see Fig. 19), are generally worn by the more important members of the Secret Society only. These sticks are worn upright in the hair, as a rule, and are insignia of rank in the society.

The "tremblers" (see Figs. 20, 21, 25 c) are stuck in the head-dress in pairs usually, one on each side, standing out horizontally. Sometimes they are placed more nearly in front.

Of the feather coronets and crowns (see Figs. 29 a, 30) there seem to have been several kinds. Few survive, however. Descriptions were given of a more elaborate type still, said to have been made wholly of woodpecker-scalps, and to have much resembled a helmet or tall hat with a wide brim. They were worn, it is claimed, only by the highest members of the society, and the last one known in the Sacramento Valley region was buried with its owner some eight or ten years ago.

The feather cape (see Plate XL) is either worn over the shoulders or tied under the arms. The cloak (see Plate XLI) is used only in certain dances of great importance, and by

one individual alone. It is much longer and larger than the cape. While the latter is only large enough to cover the wearer's back and sides, in many cases but just meeting in front, and does not extend below the thigh, the cloak covers the wearer from the top of his head to the ground, and is made in one piece, with no opening except at the bottom; *i. e.*, it has to be put on over the man's head. The cape, on the other hand, is like an ordinary cape, and is tied by a cord. Moreover, the cloak, or *má'ki*, has at the top a large feather bunch, which covers the place where the net is gathered together at the top and is placed over the wearer's head.

The feather ropes, or *pō'kelma* (see Fig. 23), were formerly of white feathers exclusively, although at present there are often feathers of other colors mixed with the white. They are used only in a few dances, and also are among the things burned at the "burning." Several other sorts of ornaments and objects worn and used in the dances will be spoken of when the dances in question are described.

Certain general features characteristic of the dances may advantageously be considered before taking up in detail the description of the dances themselves. As a whole, there seem to be two different types,—those dances in which no animal representations occur, and those in which these representations are an integral part of the ceremony. Where animals are represented, particularly in the region of the Northwestern Maidu, the dancers wear either the skin of the animal in whole or in part (as in the Bear, Deer, and Coyote dances), or ornaments which in some way symbolize the animal or bird in question. In none are any masks worn. In these dances, the personators of the animals endeavor to imitate the actions of the animal, and to utter its characteristic cries. The purpose of these animal dances (confined very largely to the Sacramento Valley area) is said to be varied. Some—like the Deer, Duck, and Turtle dances—have for their purpose the increase of the animals in question, that food may be plenty, and seem to have as an important feature a prayer or address in which the animal is besought

to multiply and increase. Other dances, such as the Bear dance, are to soothe and pacify the animal, and render it less likely to attack hunters. Other dances still, like the Coyote dance, seem to refer to the Coyote myths at times, and the part the Coyote played in the creation and during the time of the "first people." One of the dances of the Sacramento Valley people, although not an animal dance, seems to have for its purpose the one which was referred to in the first class of animal dances; namely, the increase of the food-supply of the people, acorns here being desired instead of game. We may, I think, reasonably regard the striking of the main post, therefore, by the dancers in the ā'ki dance, as symbolical of the striking of the branches of the oaks in the autumn in the process of gathering acorns.

An interesting feature of both types of dances in the Sacramento Valley region is that of the bringing of a bundle of sticks by one of the participants in the dance, which bundle is presented to the chief or head man, so far as there is any. There are as many sticks in the bundle as there are men in the village; and each of these men subsequently has to make a payment to the chief of a few small skins or some beads. At least in the area occupied by the Northwestern Maidu, the dances seem to be under the direction of a leader or master of ceremonies, who himself takes part at times. The same person seems to fill the place every year, but this is not certain. Another person of importance is the clown. He is both clown and speaker for the chief or leader, mimicking the words and actions of the dancers, and, when the leader or chief wishes to speak, serving as his spokesman. As a clown he is constantly performing knavish tricks, and attempting to induce the spectators to laugh. He has his regular position in the dance-house, at the foot of the front post; whereas the leader stands just back of the main post, near the drum and the men who are beating it. In the creation myth we find the clown mentioned with the Turtle as occupant of the canoe into which the Creator descended, and as playing a minor part in the events of creation.

In all the dances, and among all sections of the Maidu,

great importance is attached to the main post of the dance-house. As stated in speaking of the shaman ceremonies, the guardian spirits, when they appear, always sit on the top of this post, or cling to it, and the semi-sacredness which the post has may in part come from this fact. The post before the door is important, but not nearly so much so as the main post. In the dances, at least, of the Northwestern Maidu, the dancers as a rule, when not circling the fire, are formed into two lines, — one on the north and one on the south side of the fire, — on the left and right hand sides respectively of the door. When this is not the case, the dance is first held on the one side, and then repeated on the other side, of the fire. The rattles used in the dances in this same area, and in general throughout the whole Maidu territory, are always the split-rattle or clapper variety. They are carried by the dancers, and struck on the palm of the hand.

Throughout the whole series of dances, particularly among the Sacramento Valley people, four is very clearly the sacred number, and most individual features of the dances are repeated four times. The ceremonial circuit is also plainly sinistral or contra-clockwise. The introduction of comic interludes (apart from the antics of the clown) is a feature of considerable interest among the Northwestern Maidu, and, from rather uncertain hints, may once have been much more common than the descriptions given me declare.

As stated already, the dances are most numerous and elaborate in the Sacramento Valley region; and it will be best, therefore, to speak first of these. The dance-season being in winter, and the Indians of the valley having to a large extent given up their ceremonies, the writer was unable to witness personally any of the dances here described, and has had to rely on the statements made by a few old men, who remembered the different dances and the approximate order in which they came. The greater part of the information was obtained from the last leader of the dance-ceremonials at Chico, where the celebration of the ceremonials was kept up later than elsewhere. Even there they have not been held in any completeness for many years, owing to the small number of

Indians left who were able to take part, and the strong efforts made by local residents to christianize the people, and induce them to give up all their old ceremonies. A large part of the whole dance series was obtained directly from the Wintun Indians by the Maidu; and at present many of the latter annually repair to Princeton, and other Wintun rancheries on the west side of the Sacramento River, and celebrate the dances with the Wintun.

In the Sacramento Valley region occupied by the Maidu, there seems to have been a regular dance-season, beginning some time in October, and continuing through the winter until April or May. The season began and ended with a dance known as the hě'si; and between these came two or three other great dances at stated periods, and a host of lesser dances, each of which might, it seems, be danced more than once, if desired, in the course of the season. The greater dances, however, were held but once a season.

The hě'si was in some ways the most important of all the dances. It is still danced by the Wintun, and known to them by the same name, which is said to be their name for it, and to have been adopted by the Maidu with the dance. In it, as in the other greater dances, there seems to be a distinct attempt to represent various spirits and mythological beings. The dance is held in October or early November, the exact date being set by the chief and the leader of the Secret Society. Only men are allowed to be present in the dance-house, although women and children sit outside on the roofs of the houses, and watch what they can. The men of the village being assembled in the dance-house, in the early morning the ceremony begins by the approach of the mâ'ki and his attendant yō'hyōh. The mâ'ki wears the long feather cloak, which is itself called mâ'ki, and has already been described (see Plate XLI). Besides the cloak, he wears stuck in his hair, or rather in the feather bunch which covers and conceals his head, two sticks, to the end of each of which a single eagle-feather is tied firmly. These two sticks are stuck in, one on each side of the head, pointing backward, and resembling, as described by my informant, the horns of a goat. He is followed by a yō'hyōh,



who wears similar (?) feather sticks in his hair, is painted black, and, except for a skirt of shredded tulle about his waist, is naked. A feather collar of some sort is worn around the neck. Both mâ'ki and yō'hyōh have dressed at some hidden place, and come slowly to the door of the dance-house just at dawn. They enter, and the mâ'ki addresses the men assembled. He has brought with him a bundle of small sticks, one for each man present; and these sticks he gives to the chief. He then removes his feather cloak (it is uncertain whether publicly or behind a mat hung up at the back of the dance-house), and each man present gives to him beads, feathers, or other property, according to his ability. This is all immediately handed over by the mâ'ki to the chief, and it becomes his property. The yō'hyōh then goes out, but returns to the dance-house about the middle of the morning, and dances. He carries a split-stick rattle in each hand. He is accompanied by another being, called mā'si. This person wears a feather band about his forehead, feather plume-sticks in his hair, and a black feather bunch at the back of his head. In his right hand he carries an arrow, and in the left a bow. He wears a breech-cloth only. The yō'hyōh and mā'si dance side by side on the left side of the fire. They dance here twice; i. e., dance and rest, then dance again. This over, they pass around back of the fire, and dance similarly twice on the right or south side. In the afternoon, about two o'clock, a new sort of dancer appears, known as sī'li. These sī'ling kŭ'kini are six or eight in number, and wear feather bands on the forehead, feather plume-sticks in the hair, and have a long fringe of women's hair tied about the forehead under the feather band, this hair fringe hanging down over the face, and concealing it wholly. They also wear a net (with feathers attached ?) over the shoulders, head, and body, extending to the ground, and belted at the waist with a feather belt. In their left hands they carry bows; and in the right, spears. Their bodies are painted black all over. One after another they file into the dance-house, and dance in line around the fire, contra-clockwise. The leader of the ceremonies puts angelica-root (ta'sū) into the fire at this

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time. After the root has been put in the fire, the *sī'li* cease their circling, and dance slowly on the same spot for some time. After this has gone on a while, they stop, put away their feather ornaments, bows, etc.; and all present sweat, dancing around the fire the while. They dance thus for a time, then rest, then dance again, and again rest, till they have danced four times, when all suddenly rush out of the house and plunge into the river. The following day the *yō'hyōh* comes in the morning again, accompanied, as before, by the *mā'si*. This time, however, there seem to be two *yō'hyōh*. One stops outside, and the other comes into, the dance-house. The *sī'li* come again, as before, and dance, and then come the *yō'mpui*. Of these there are a dozen or more, each dressed and decorated a little differently from his fellows. All, however, are painted red all over, some having white streaks or spots also. They wear the feather band, and also apparently skirts of shredded tulle. They come one at a time, and dance similarly to the *sī'li*. No angelica-root is, however, put in the fire. When their dance is finished, every one, as before, sweats, and jumps into the river. While all the people have thus gone to the river, the *mā'ki* and *yō'hyōh* come out of the dance-house, and pass in procession around it four times contra-clockwise. This is for the purpose of preparing the dance-house for its occupancy during the winter, and to make it "good." This over, they go to a secret spot, remove their costumes, and go back to get them at night, when they will not be seen.

The next dance following the *hē'si* is said to have been the *lū'yi*. The following story is told to account for its origin. A man's wife died. One night he saw her ghost outside the village. She spoke to him, told him she was alive, and asked him to go home and attend to the children. He refused: so she wrapped him in her blanket and carried him into the dance-house of the ghosts, — a conical hill some three miles to the south of Oroville. Here the man saw many ghosts, and quantities of skins and objects that had been sacrificed to the dead. The ghosts were dancing; and the man, looking out from his place of concealment, watched them. Soon one of

the ghosts said, "I smell a living being." At this moment, fortunately, a bird whose eyes gave the light in the dance-house closed his eyes, so that all was dark for a few moments. In this darkness the man's wife took him out of the house, and again told him to go home and attend to the children. He refused at first, and said he wanted to stay with her, and sleep with all the other ghosts under the water. He tried to do this, but couldn't endure staying under water so long, and was therefore forced to go back home. When he did so, he taught the dance he had seen among the ghosts to the rest of the people. That dance was the *lū'yi*. To the dance, women are admitted, and they take part also. The men dance naked except for a breech-clout; and the women stand behind them, wearing the usual dress. No feather ornaments are worn.\* The older people dance first; and all, in dancing, stand in a ring, and dance where they stand, not circling about the fire at all. They dance four times, with rests between, and then cry and weep.

Following this dance comes the *lo'li*. This is taken part in by women only. They wear the feather band, and feather-and-bead belt, strings of beads about their necks, also the "tremblers" and the form of the feather crown known here as *unū'ni* (see Fig. 30). They also sometimes wear a feather bunch as well. A dozen or more women take part, and all hold in their hands one of the long feather ropes, or boas, made of white goose-feathers. All hold the same rope, and form a circle apparently. Further details of this dance unfortunately could not be secured.

The next dance in order is the *sala'lungkasi*. This is danced by the men, who wear the feather cape (*si'kli*), the "tremblers," the feather crown (*unū'ni*), and the feather band. Generally about six dance at once. In their right hands they hold a stick or cane; and in the left, a bunch of tules. In the mouth is a whistle. The dancers dress in the dance-house, back of and to the right of the drum. They come out, passing around the fire contra-clockwise to the door. Arrived there, they stop and hold up the canes or sticks, then turn and go back.

There is some uncertainty as to the sequence of dances from here on. The order given, however, is the nearest to the actual which could be ascertained. Apparently following the above comes the Quack dance, known as the wa'imangkasi, or ha'tmangkasi. On the first day of this dance, the mâ'ki and yō'hyōh come as in the hě'si. The mâ'ki stays outside, while one of the yō'hyōh comes in, and, without dancing, passes around the fire and out again. The yō'hyōh comes in a second time; and then the mâ'ki comes to the door, and talks to the chief, saying that in coming he ran over logs and fell into holes, and that he brings acorns, fish, and food of all kinds. The people then go out and bring the mâ'ki in, and all cry and wail. As in the hě'si, the mâ'ki gives the chief a bunch of sticks, one for each man present, and the men pay as before. The dance then begins, at which women may be present, but in which they do not take part. The leader wears tremblers and a feather plume-stick, and carries a bow and arrow in his hands. One of the dancers wears the peculiar head-dress known as dō. This is constructed as follows. A bunch of shredded tules is placed on the top of the head, the ends of the shreds hanging over the face. Into this mass of shredded tule, as a cushion, are stuck from twenty to fifty long slender twigs, about three-quarters of a metre in length, near the bases of which white feathers are attached. A bundle of these is shown in Fig. 62. These long feathered twigs are stuck in regularly, so that they stand out at right angles to the head in every direction, making a huge head-dress almost two



Fig. 62 ( $\frac{1}{11}$ ). Bundle of the Sticks forming the Dō Head-dress. Length, 81 cm.

Fig. 62. These long feathered twigs are

stuck in regularly, so that they stand out at right angles to the head in every direction, making a huge head-dress almost two

metres in diameter, and one which, with every motion of the wearer, trembles and quivers violently. The wearer represents a *kū'kini*, or spirit, and often in the *hě'si* the same person appears. The other dancers in this dance wear tremblers, feather bunches, feather plume-sticks, and feather bands, and are painted black from head to foot. They are completely naked. On the head, as a basis for the feather decorations, they wear, instead of the ordinary netted cap, one made with the addition of white down (Fig. 63). While they dance, they continually shout "Hät, hăt, hăt!" imitating ducks. The dancers, to the number of a dozen or more, assemble between the main post and drum, and form in line, facing the fire.

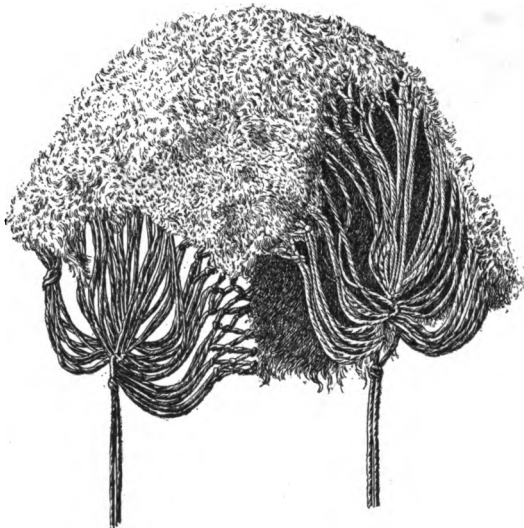


Fig. 63 (1/2). Netted Cap with Interwoven Down.

In front of this line, and thus on either side of the main post, are two other persons known as *wū'lū*. They wear the feather cape (*si'kli*), have a bunch of tules in either hand, and hold whistles in their mouths. They are, like the dancers, painted black, and are completely naked. They squat on the ground, and keep time with their feet to the song, and also move their hands in time. The leader, known by the same name (*mă'si*) as the personage in the *hě'si*, stands back of the post, near the drum, and holds in his hand a cocoon-rattle, with which he keeps time. In dancing, the line of men separates into two parts, one going slowly around to the north side of the fire, the other going around to the south. They then return to their original

positions. This is done four times; and then the parties reverse, those who went to the north before, now going to the south, and *vice versa*. After the four dances on each side have taken place, the leader suddenly calls out, "Yüh!" and at this signal the two wū'lū dance forward, one on each side of the fire, as far as the post which stands between the fire and the door, then dance backward to their original places. While they do this, the leader dances contra-clockwise completely around the dance-house, and ~~returns to~~ his original place. The line of dancers who first took part, and who have during this time remained quiet, then suddenly rush forward in a body to the door, crying, "Hāt, hāt, hāt!" They then return to their positions, and again dance, as in the beginning, four times to the north, and then change places, as already described. The leader next goes out and brings in the yō'hyōh, who has dressed outside. Both stop by the front post; and the leader then conducts the yō'hyōh once contra-clockwise around the house, leaving him again at the front post, while he himself goes back to his original place at the drum. The yō'hyōh then dances alone, north and south, near the front post, till the leader cries, "Wě!" when the latter goes around the north side of the fire, motions to the yō'hyōh, who joins him, and they both dance together on the north side of the fire. Each goes back to his place, and then the performance is repeated. It is then repeated twice on the south side, after which the yō'hyōh removes his dress and ornaments in the dance-house. The dance then goes on as in the beginning, with the line of dancers and the wū'lū, and is kept up till the afternoon, when all sweat. That night the yō'hyōh again comes in and dances, with the repetition of the line and wū'lū dance. The following morning, two men wearing the dō come in, and having also the feather cape and the feather belt, and carrying a bunch of tules in each hand. They are naked also. They dress in the dance-house, and then dance in front of the drum. At first one dances toward the north, while the other dances toward the south, and *vice versa*, thus meeting and passing each other. Following this, they dance, one on each side of the main post, and at a signal go forward to the

forward post, and back, repeating this four times. In the evening of this same day, the mâ'ki and yō'hyōh come again, dressing, however, in the dance-house. The yō'hyōh sits by the drum; while the mâ'ki dances four times contra-clockwise around the fire, and then goes out, followed by the yō'hyōh. As soon as he is outside the dance-house, the mâ'ki turns to the left, and goes four times around the house contra-clockwise, and then runs off toward the woods, followed by the yō'hyōh. When they have disappeared, all the spectators put on all their feather ornaments and beads, and collect on the roof of the dance-house, singing, "Nuui yane, nuui yane" (meaning unknown). This ends the ceremony. This dance may be repeated again during the winter, if desired.

The Bear dance (pa'nongkasi) is described as follows. One dancer has a bear-hide, and, going off into the woods, he puts this on, and early in the morning comes to the dance-house, and cries out from a distance. The clown, who generally mimics the actions of the dancers, and attempts to make the spectators laugh in those dances in which he takes part, now answers the call of the bear, and bids him enter the dance-house. The clown wears only a common netted cap, with no ornaments of any sort. The bear then enters, bringing a bundle of sticks, just as the mâ'ki does in those dances in which he appears; and these are, as in the case of the mâ'ki, given to the chief, and all the men present have to pay to him what they can. The payment having been made, the dancer removes his bear-hide, and the women are now allowed to come in. The men now dance, to the number of half a dozen or more. They wear feather bands, and sticks to which a single feather is attached; in the right hand they carry a staff or cane, and in the left a bunch of shredded tule (si'li). In this dance there is no leader (mā'si). The dancers dress in the dressing-space back of the drum, screened off by a few mats, and then pass twice around the interior of the house contra-clockwise, then reversing, and going around twice clockwise. The dance is then taken up by a number of women, who wear a strip of badger-skin around the head, and have feather bunches on their heads at the crown. Each has

two bunches of shredded tulle, one in each hand, the hands being held close against the breast. The women dance as the men did, twice around in one direction, and then twice in the opposite direction. When they have finished, the men dance again, and then the women again; and so on for some time. Toward midnight the man who personated the bear dresses again, and dances once more, the people all jumping up, and clapping their hands, and crying and shouting. The bear runs around the house once contra-clockwise, and then returns to his dressing-room; comes out again, and repeats. A third time he comes out, and this time rushes up to a log that has been placed on the ground, and seizes it as if it were a man. He then, finding it a log, and not a man, throws it about, and "worries" it. He returns to the dressing-room, and then for the fourth time appears, this time dancing on the south side of the fire, holding his hands with the palms toward him, and vertical. He dances with his back to the fire always. He returns to the dressing-room, and comes out again backwards, and, as before, dances on the south side of the fire. This he does four times, and then the whole is over. The bear is always personated by the same man, who has a helper to aid him in dressing. The person who acts thus as helper has to pay the one taking the part of the bear quite heavily. When the latter dies, his helper succeeds him as the person to act the bear. No one can be a helper who is not a member of the Secret Society.

In midwinter, apparently, comes the Coyote dance (olá'lingkasi). The dance is said to begin like the Duck dance (wa'ima). One man goes off into the woods and dresses in a feather cape (si'kli), for this dance, made rather longer than usual. On his head he wears a coyote's head to which is attached a feather band. Early in the morning this person comes to the dance-house, and, as in the case of the bear, brings a bundle of sticks, which he gives to the chief, and the men present pay as before. He then goes behind the screen, takes off his costume, and eats breakfast, while a helper takes the costume back again to the woods. His breakfast over, the man who took the part of the coyote goes



out, and in the woods again dresses up as before. He again comes to the dance-house, and, entering, stops by the front post, and here pretends to catch a gopher, acting exactly like a coyote, — listening with head on one side, and then suddenly jumping and pouncing as if on a gopher. All the people then immediately begin to sing, “Coyote, . . . Coyote, . . . to the Marysville Buttes.”<sup>1</sup> (“Hě’nom lu’iwitō, hěnom lu’iwitō, hěnom lu’iwitō, hěnom lu’iwitō, ě’stōyamannak”). The leader then leads the coyote around the fire clockwise to the north side, where both dance twice. They then go on to the south side, and again dance twice; then they go to the dressing-room and remove their costumes and decorations. Next several women dance. They hold a short bunch of shredded tule in each hand, the hands being held pressed to the abdomen. On their heads they have a downy cap, worn over a peculiar head-dress, which seems to be composed of two cross-sticks about fifteen centimetres in length, to which are fastened a pair of long slender twigs or light sticks, perhaps fifty centimetres in length. These two long sticks have feathers tied at the ends, and the whole affair is securely affixed by a string passing under the chin. The head-dress is known as the *kā’we*. The women so dressed are divided into two parties, — one standing on the north and one on the south side of the fire. There they dance, standing in line; while the leader, dressed in the same manner, dances back and forth in front of the drum. They all dance four times (*i. e.*, dance and rest, then dance and rest, etc.). Next all go to the front post of the dance-house; and the leader then dances up and takes one woman at a time back to the position before the drum. When all have thus been led back, they take off their decorations. All then go and have their supper, after which the clown, standing on the roof of the house, calls to all to bring food of all kinds for the *ka’mini yo’kōn*, which terminates the affair. When it is dark, all return to the dance-house, bringing food, which is left outside. The women dance as before; and then the food is brought in, and all have a feast. This ends the dance.

<sup>1</sup> This may refer to the myth given in Part II of this volume, p. 45.

Another dance is known as the "Creeper dance" (tsā'-myēmpingkasi), named from a small bird which runs spirally up and down around the trunks of pine-trees. In this, only men dance, about a dozen at a time. They wear the feather bunches and feather bands, and have their faces covered with a long fringe of small cords about thirty centimetres long, to the ends of which white goose-feathers are tied. In their mouths they have whistles. They come out from the dressing-room, and go around the fire contra-clockwise, jumping now to one side, now to the other, and moving or waving their hands first to one side and then to the other. They make a single circuit, and then go on around till the leader of the line is at the door, the others being in line behind him, toward the fire. Here they dance for a time, holding their hands with the palms down, and moving them slowly up and down before their bodies, their arms bent sharply. Suddenly the leader calls "Yo'hōhi!" at which they all turn toward the fire, and dance again, now raising and lowering their elbows as if flapping wings. All this time they whistle with the bone whistles in their mouths. Then they go back to the dressing-room, and repeat the whole a second time. When they have gone back the second time, two other men come out, painted black all over, with raven-feathers in their hair, or tied to sticks which are stuck in the hair. About their heads also is wrapped or coiled a feather rope, also of raven-feathers. One of these two men hides; and the other attempts to find him, pretending to be blind. He comes to some one, and seizes him; but is told that he is mistaken, that that is not the one he is looking for. All make much fun of him. Finally he succeeds in finding the other man, and both then go back to the dressing-room. Then the first set of dancers come out again, and do as before, to be followed again by the two; and so on till each has appeared four times. The fire is then covered; and all present, except the dancers, lie flat on the ground in a row or rows on the south side of the dance-house. The leader then comes out, wearing swan-feather sticks in his hair, and holding a rope of white goose-feathers in his hand. He tells one of the men who formed part of the first

set of dancers to climb up the main post. This he does; and when he reaches the top, or nearly the top, he clasps the post firmly with his legs, loosens his hold with his hands, and hangs head down, in some way swinging around and around the post, and thus spiralling down to the ground. One after another the men of the first set follow him. When all have done so, the fire is relighted or raked open, and all dance as at first. After once dancing thus, the whole is over. The climbing of the pole, and swinging spirally about it, head downward, are clearly here an imitation of the actions of the bird, apparently the nut-hatch or creeper, for which the dance is named.

About this time of the winter, apparently, the Turtle dance (anō'smangkasi, aktco'lmangkasi), is held. The men wear the regular kā'we described in speaking of the Coyote dance, feather "tremblers" (wa'hyeti), and badger-skin head-band (pā'pi). Their faces are painted black; and they hold in their hands short bunches of shredded tule, which are moved in vertical circles, one hand about the other, as the gambling-bones are in the grass-game. On this account the dance is by some called Gambling dance (hēlā'ngkasi). There are eight dancers thus dressed. When they come out from the dressing-room, four go to the north and four to the south side of the fire, and dance there, facing the fire. Then two leaders (mā'si) come, dressed like the other dancers except for a feather belt worn about the waist. While the other dancers stand four on either side of the fire in a line, the two leaders proceed as follows. The first to come out passes around the main post, going around to the east and then the north side, and so to the south side, where he stops. The second passes directly to the north side, and stops. Then the two dance forward to the door, and, turning, dance back, passing thus between the fire and the line of four dancers on either side of it. They return to the dressing-room, and, after a wait, repeat; and so on for four successive times. Next the four dancers on either side of the fire gather in a group by the door. The two leaders come out, as before; and first the one on the north side of the post dances forward to the door, takes one of the others, and dances back with him

to the dressing-room; he then returns for another; and so on till all four have been taken back. He then stands at the north of the post; while the leader on the south side does as he did, and leads his four dancers back. Then both leaders return to the dressing-room. A dance by women follows. They wear the *kā'we*, the feather belt, and have strings of beads about their necks. They also have bunches of shredded tule similar to those carried by the men. In their hair they often wear, in addition, feather tremblers. The women are brought out one by one from the dressing-room by the leader, who holds his hands, palms together, before his chest, and moves them away from his body and back, keeping the hands vertical. The women clasp the hands on the abdomen or sides, and sway the body from side to side, twisting the body now to the right, and then to the left. In taking the women out, the leader takes the first woman to the north side of the house by the door, the second woman he takes to the south side, and so on alternating till all are brought out. They then stand in two lines,—one on the north and one on the south side of the fire. The leader then takes up his place by the main post, and the women dance where they stand. They dance and then rest, and do this four times. All the women then go to the door again; and the leader, going alternately to the north and south sides, takes the women back to the dressing-room one by one. The next night, apparently, two men dress in the *kā'we*, feather belt, and also a fox-skin (on the shoulders?), the tail of which hangs down behind. One of the two has, in addition to the *kā'we*, a single tall stick standing vertically, and with many feathers tied to it. The two men who dress thus are those who were the leaders the day previously. They come out, singing, "*Niye niye hana!*" (*Niye niye hawi nai?*, "I, I, a fox am I"), the one with the vertical stick being in advance. They turn abruptly to the north, turn again to the south, again to the north, and again to the south. They turn again finally to the north, and go to the north side of the fire. The one in advance goes on around to the south side; while the other, lying flat on the ground, moves his head from side to side, all the time

watching the leader, who dances by himself on the south side of the fire. Both are striped with black paint on the face and arms, like raccoons (?). The leader dances facing the fire, twitching the fox-tail from side to side, and moving his hands as if gambling. All the time he dances, he is moving very gradually towards the main post. The other man, who is lying flat on the ground, also moves slowly to the same post. The two slowly get nearer and nearer the post; and then, at a signal from the man who stands by the drum, and beats time for the two men who are beating the drum, the two dancers spring for the post, and seize it, and then in a squatting position dance around and around it, holding it all the time in their hands. They continue to dance about it thus till the time-beater stops them. They then go back to the dressing-room, and all is over.

Another dance held about this time is the *alō'lingkasi*. Some fifteen or twenty people take part. There are two leaders called *otō'si*, who wear *dō* of chicken-hawk feathers, and are painted black all over. They carry long bunches of shredded tule. It is not clear how the other dancers dress. The main body of the dancers comes out, and divides into two parts, — one on the north and one on the south side of the fire, — standing in lines. The leaders then appear; and one on either side of the fire, north and south, dance forward to the door, and back to the main post; all the other dancers then following them, and standing behind them, next the drum. While dancing, all sway their bunches of tule from side to side. The whole is repeated four times, as usual. Then two men and two women come out, both wearing badger-skin bands about the head, beads around the neck, and feather belts. Two white goose-feather ropes hang from the roof, on the south side of the main post. On this same side of the post, the two men and two women sit down, the women nearest the fire, and in a line running north and south. Then each of the two men takes one of the feather ropes and swings it from side to side. At the same time an image representing a baby, placed in a cradle, is held by the man at the south end of the line; and he sways and swings the make-believe infant

in its cradle from side to side, as he swings the feather rope. While he does this, he sings. He then passes the cradle, with its imitation-child, to the woman in front of him; and she, after swaying it about, passes it to the other woman, who, in her turn, passes it to the second man. He returns it to the first man, and it is then passed about once more; and so for the usual four times.

Still another dance held in the winter period is the yo'ko-langkasi (?). In this only men take part, wearing the feather bands, feather bunches, and buzzard-feather tremblers. They also have a fringe of strings similar to that worn in the Creeper dance, only longer, in this case reaching to the knees. Tule bunches are not used; but the fists are clinched, and held, palms down, above the head. In this dance they stamp with a single foot only. As the dancers come out of the dressing-room, they turn to the left, and go around the fire clockwise, then twice in the opposite direction.

There was another dance known as mo'lokongkasi. The mo'loko was a semi-mythical or fabulous bird of immense size, which, it is said, lived in the water or in the high mountains. It figures prominently in some of the myths, and probably the California condor (*Cathartes californianus*) is meant. This dance has now been wholly forgotten, and it was not possible to secure any further information about it.

The ~~Deer~~ dance (sü'mingkasi) is held, it would seem, generally about March, and is one of the most important of this class of dances. It begins at night, when, all women being out of the dance-house, the fire is covered; and two men, without decoration or ornaments, go around and around the fire in the darkness, while the others present say, "Hoi, hoi!" After thus going around for some time, the spectators say, "Ts, ts, ts!" The two men then stop. After a while they again go around, and again stop; and this is done four times. Next morning very early these same two men go off to the woods; and one dresses in a feather cape, wearing on his head a deer's head with the antlers on. In each hand he carries a stick, painted black and white to represent the fore-legs of the deer, and held thus, the man leaning on them as on two

canes. The second man is merely the helper, and aids the deer-man to dress. They come to the dance-house, and, as usual, bring the bundle of sticks, and the usual payment takes place. Then the dance proper begins. Two men wear a head-dress known as bo'topi, consisting of two long sticks, perhaps seventy-five or a hundred centimetres long, projecting forward. A very long feather band is worn, and also a feather crown (?), or perhaps only buzzard-feather sticks. Two other men wear the immense dō head-dress, with its thirty or forty radiating twigs, in this case the twigs being feathered with chicken-hawk feathers. They also have feathers of the tail of the magpie stuck in their hair, and a band of badger-skin about the forehead. The two men wearing the bo'topi come out from the dressing-room first, and, following the leader, first go toward the fire, then turn sharply to the left, make a complete turn, and then, going in front of the drum, pass around the fire contra-clockwise back to the point where the sharp turn was made. The first of the two men stops here; the second goes on, and takes a position on the north side of the drum, symmetrical with that of the first man on the south side. The two men wearing the dō now come out, and, omitting the first turn and circle, pass around the fire as did the others, one stopping on the south and the other on the north side of the drum. Other men then follow, wearing the dō head-dress, but with white goose-feathers instead of those of the chicken-hawk. These take their position behind the pair of men on either side of the drum, and then follow them, as they dance slowly forward to the door and back. The next night the young men go out to the woods and paint their bodies black and white in spots, like fawns. The two men who wore the bo'topi paint themselves in stripes of black and white, as do also the two men wearing the dō. The two bo'topi enter first, followed by the dō; and, last of all, the crowd of young men painted to represent fawns. These latter form in line, half on the north side, half on the south side, of the house. The two bo'topi and two dō then dance back and forth east and west, between the two lines. They dance four times, and then stop. Apparently six or eight

men then appear, wearing feather capes and deer-heads. They dance in a squatting position, keeping the back to the fire, and going around contra-clockwise. After four circuits, they stop, and turn their faces to the fire. They then go back to the drum, and lie on the ground; while the leader (mä'si), holding tule bunches in his hands, sings. They then get up and dance again, and again stop and lie down, repeating the whole four times. Then every one cries; and the shaman, taking his cocoon-rattle, sits by the foot of the main post and prays. The prayers are apparently that the deer may be numerous, and that people may get many.

About April, when the leaves are well out, a dance called ā'ki is held. The description of this dance is somewhat confused. The essential parts of it seem to be the following. A man comes out from the dressing-room wearing a single feather-stick. He sings or cries "Yū'hě, yū'hě, yū'hě!" Then he takes a few steps forward, and again stops and sings. Thus he passes gradually toward the front post, going on the north side of the fire. After four stops, he returns to the dressing-room. Then another man comes out, carrying a bow in his left hand, and an arrow in his right. He does as did the first man, and returns to the dressing-room. All the time this is going on, the clown is sitting at the foot of the front post. The dancers, when they reach this post on their fourth stop, talk to the clown, and ask him if he has seen deer. He answers that he has not, but that they may have gone by during the time he was asleep. The man carrying the bow and arrow, when he is told this, says, "I'm going to kill —," naming a man who lives far away. Then he makes motions with the bow and arrow as if shooting the man, and then says, "I've killed him." He then dances back to the dressing-room. Ten or twelve men then dress with tule skirts (Fig. 64), and a fringe of tules covering the whole face. On their heads they have feather bands and feathered plume-sticks. All hold white feather ropes in their hands, holding the hands with the palms up. They come out from the dressing-room, and pass around to the south, to the front post, where the leader stops. At a signal all jump to the north side, and there



dance. Then they go back again to the dressing-room. The mâ'ki seems to appear in this dance also, and to follow the dancers above mentioned as they pass to the front post and back. He goes slowly, jumping about, and making feints as if going back to the dressing-room. When the rest have all gone back to the dressing-room, he dances about the fire alone contra-clockwise, holding both hands and arms first to one side, then to the other. Finally he too goes back to the dressing-room. Next two leaders come out. Each carries swan-wings in his hands, has a white-goose or swan feather

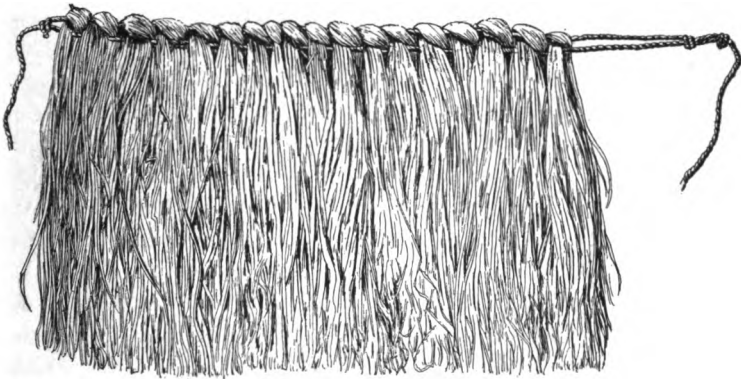


Fig. 64 (5118). Tule Skirt.

rope wound around his head, and goose-feather ear-ornaments. They dance with their backs to the fire, in front of the drum, and sprinkle a little acorn-flour at the base of the main post.

At a signal they turn, and, facing the fire, one goes on the north and the other on the south side. They then return to the dressing-room; and the mâ'ki again comes out, stands on the north side of the fire, and talks. He says he wishes his chief to have plenty of acorn-flour. Then he returns to the dressing-room, and the whole thing is repeated four times. All the spectators then, both men and women, take long poles in their hands, and say to each other, "Let's go fishing!"<sup>1</sup> They are not dressed in any particular way, and wear no

<sup>1</sup> I am inclined to doubt the correctness of this phrase.

ornaments. Each, however, has a whistle. They gather in a ring about the main post, holding the poles in their hands, and then dance. When they stop, they strike the post with the poles. They do this four times (dancing and striking the pole), and then stop. Then several men come out, each with a feather rope, as before, and dance around four times, jumping about and toward the main post as they dance. It is not quite clear whether this ends this dance, or whether the following ceremony is a part of the dance here described. At any rate, the ceremony that follows is closely connected with the dance.

In this ceremony a being is represented called "Cloud-Spirit" (Yā'ting kŭ'kini). He is painted red all over, wears a form of *kā'we* in which the two long sticks are replaced by a single stick, covered with feathers, worn vertically, and not projecting horizontally. A fringe of hair is worn over his face, and he carries a bow and arrow. He dresses outside the dance-house in the woods somewhere, and in the latter part of the afternoon comes to the dance-house, and makes a bundle of sticks similar to those brought by the *mā'ki*, and by various other dancers already described. This bundle he drops at the door of the dance-house, and then at once runs away. A swift runner is at once despatched after him, bearing the payments from each man, required by the bundle of sticks. When the runner has nearly caught up with Cloud-Spirit, the latter turns, and chases the bearer back to the door of the dance-house. Here he stops, and beckons with his hand slowly, first to the south, then east, then north, and last to the west. He then beckons to the zenith and to the nadir, and, taking the payment which the runner had brought, carries it away, and goes to the river. Here he washes the paint off, and while so doing prays that the runner who brought the payment may die. This is done, because the latter, having been scared by Cloud-Spirit, would pray for his death. If both do this, neither is harmed.

Some time after this, in May, the *hē'si* is held once more; this being the dance with which the dancing-season began. It is held in exactly the same manner as before; and when it is

over, the dances stop, and there is a gap or intermission till the following October, when the series begins again with the *hě'si*, as before.

Mention might be made here of the ceremony known as the *Yō'ngweda*, held every year just after the *Sū'mingkasi* or Deer dance. At this ceremony the chief, counting up carefully the number of "big men" in the village, makes for each a wand (*yo'koli*). These wands are from one metre to two metres and a half long; to the end is attached a string, and to the string one or two feathers, either of chicken-hawk or goose. All the men being assembled in the dance-house, the chief takes the wands, and, while all sing, "*Mō'sönō lō'haiye*," (?) carries them to some bush near at hand, and places them either in the bush, or in a circle on the ground at the base of the bush, planting the sticks so that they stand upright. He then returns to the dance-house, singing. These wands must under no circumstances be disturbed, or even approached by any save the chief or the clown. New ones are made annually, and the old ones allowed to rot. Within the circle formed by the wands, all old and worn-out dance-ornaments are thrown and allowed to moulder away. The ornaments, having been worn in the dances, are sacred, and must be placed in a sacred spot, and thus guarded from profanation. At this ceremony, also, every one of the "big men" gives to the chief a quantity of beads. Of the amount given (which is the same for every man), the chief returns a part, and each man then makes a *wi'ssukoli*. This is a string about seventy-five centimetres in length, with beads tied along it at intervals of an inch or so. A few white goose-feathers are also attached. The whole is enclosed, then, in a fringe of shredded tulle, and to the upper end are attached two feather bunches. The *wi'ssukoli*, when all completed, are hung to the roof of the dance-house, being attached to the radial rafter on the southeast side, at the point where it rests on the southernmost post on that side. It is at this spot that the "big men" sit during all dances and ceremonies. The *wi'ssukoli* are allowed to hang there until about July, and must under no circumstances be touched. Then, when the time is up, they are taken down, and placed in the ring

of wands, together with all other worn-out or old ceremonial things.

The names of several other dances named for animals, such as the rabbit and rattlesnake, were obtained from various informants; but the older men, and in particular the former leader of the ceremonials at Chico, seemed to be in doubt regarding them.

It is much to be regretted that it has thus far been impossible to witness the performance of any of the dances here described, and thus secure a more reliable account; for the descriptions given, while fairly complete apparently, almost certainly contain errors and misunderstandings. It is even more to be regretted that more satisfactory explanations of the dances, and the symbolism connected with them, could not be obtained. It seemed wise, however, to give the information at hand, rather than to hold it longer in the hope of being able to secure additional material, for it at least gives an idea of the elaborateness of the ceremonial, and of its general type. No attempt, therefore, will be made at present to enter into the detailed explanation of the dances and ceremonies just described. It is hoped, however, that, with the aid of full material from the Wintun, from whom in large part the series of ceremonies are said to have been received, this side of the religious life of the Northwestern Maidu may be made clear.

From the foregoing accounts, it seems that we may, however, draw the following general conclusions. The Maidu of the Sacramento Valley had a definite dance or ceremonial season, lasting from some time in October till the following April or May. During this period there were a large number of different dances and ceremonials celebrated, of which some at least were to be held but once a year, and seem to have come at stated times. The other dances could, it appears, be held more than once in a season, but were not always so held. In the *hě'si*, the dance which opens and closes the dance season, and in many other dances, mythical or supernatural beings seem to be represented, of which the most important are the *má'ki*, the *yō'hyōh*, and the *sí'lin kú'kini*. The *má'ki*

is a being sometimes seen in the forest by hunters, who at once fall into a deep sleep, in which they dream. No ill effects are said to follow the encounter. The *yō'hyōh* are also seen occasionally; but to see them is far more dangerous, for a person almost always dies shortly afterward. What the nature of the *sī'lin kū'kini* is, is not clear. The *mā'ki* is apparently always impersonated by the same person at the dances. He has a helper, who assists him in dressing. This helper always succeeds the *mā'ki* when the latter dies. At the death of a person who has impersonated the *mā'ki*, the helper for the first time puts on the costume of the *mā'ki*, and follows the body to the grave. When the grave is dug, the new *mā'ki* gets into the grave with the body of the former impersonator, and, while the members of the Secret Society form a circle about the grave to conceal the proceedings from the uninitiated, the feather costume of the deceased is placed upright on a pole in the grave, the new *mā'ki* secretly joining the ring of members of the society. When the grave is filled in, it appears to the other spectators as if the *mā'ki* had been buried with the dead. The new *mā'ki* then proceeds at once to make a new costume for himself. None of these beings have been mentioned in any myths which have thus far been secured. The *yō'hyōh* are sometimes spoken of as "ghosts," but satisfactory information as to the nature of these three classes of beings has not yet been obtained. The beings are regarded as actually present at the dances, and all details as to the costume and ornaments are kept strictly secret from all but members of the Secret Society.

Connected more or less intimately with these ceremonies are those which are held at the time of building a new dance-house. At such times the whole population of the village aids in the building. All who are able assist in excavating the site for the new house, help to cut or collect the posts which are to stand along the sides of the house, and aid in securing, and putting in place, the slabs of bark or wood which form the walls of the structure. This done, the mass of the people leave; and the remainder of the work is done by the chief, and members of the Secret Society. These go to

some distance, and secure the post to be used for the main post of the whole house,—the one at which the leader stands, and on which the shamans and others strike their rattles. This post, like the others, must be of oak. The tree being all cut, and the post prepared, it is dressed with beads and feathers, and painted with ashes and acorn-meal. The post is then carried in procession back to the site of the new house. The line is led by a man wearing a white-feather rope (pō'-kelma) as a tail, having on his head feather tremblers of white swan-feathers, and a feather plume-stick which has quail-plumes and woodpecker-scalps on it. In his hand he carries a long cocoon-rattle, which has attached to it feathers of several sorts. Behind this leader comes the post, carried by several men. Behind the post follows a shaman, with rattle, who sings all the time the post is on the way. Arrived at the dance-house site, the procession circles around it four times in contra-clockwise direction, and then takes the post within the excavation prepared. Two men then dress with the white-feather tremblers and the feather plume-stick, and hang many long feather bands all over their bodies, besides wearing large and costly feather belts. In their ears they have bunches of white swan-feathers. The holes for the posts having been dug, and the posts (both the main one and the one nearest the door) having been set up in these holes, one of these two men thus dressed climbs the main post, while the chief and the other men climb the other, and tie the main rafters and beams of the roof securely to the posts. Coming down from the posts, they then undress, and call the other people to come; and all begin to work as rapidly as possible in order to complete the roof, which must be finished before night. The roof completed, that evening the whole village assembles in the new dance-house, and for an hour or more all cry and wail. The clown then lights the fire,—a duty which is always his at all dances. The fire being lighted, the clown then dances. All persons then bring beads and throw them into the new fire as offerings. Outside the dance-house another fire is lighted, on the west side of the house; and here bear-skins, furs, and dressed skins of other sorts, and feathers, are

burned. All then dance around the fire in the dance-house, and sweat. This being over, one man dresses with a feather belt, a feather rope about his head, and bunches of swan-feathers in his ears. In his hands he holds a tray-basket. Another man dresses with a long fringe of yellow-hammer feathers over his forehead and face, and seats himself in the centre of the south side of the dance-house, moving his head from side to side as he sits. The first man, holding the tray or plaque basket, has his face painted with acorn-meal, and then stands before the seated man, holding the tray out as if to receive something. He turns to the right, and then to the left, and repeats this four times. This being concluded, all go to sleep. The next night the chief and some of the prominent men of the Secret Society bring in the drum, dressed with feathers just as the main post was, and painted with acorn-meal in white stripes. Like the post, the drum is carried four times around the dance-house, and then is brought in, and placed first just to the north of the door. The chief then stands on the drum. All the prominent members of the Secret Society gather around him, and he then calls out the names of all the different sorts of acorns, and the men repeat these after him. They then all dance. The list of acorns is then called over again, and again the men dance; and so on for four consecutive times. This done, the drum is carried on, around to the north of the fire, to its place behind the main post. Within a few days after this, the hě'si dance is held, no matter what the time of year may be.

Information in regard to the dances held by the Maidu of the foot-hills is by no means as full as in regard to those of the valley. So far as has been gathered, many of the dances already described are lacking in the foot-hill region, and those which are held would appear to be more or less changed or abbreviated. There would appear to be more meetings and ceremonies in which the shamans conversed with and obtained information from the spirits, and fewer of the regular dances. So far as known, the apparently regular cycle of dances is absent in the foot-hills. A ceremonial known as yo'koti is held by these Maidu at the time of the dedication of a new

dance-house. It is regarded as one of the most important and sacred of their dances or ceremonies.

So soon as, in the opinion of the shaman, it is proper to receive guests in the new house, which seems to be constructed with far less ceremony than in the valley, knotted strings are sent out by runners to all villages friendly to the one where the new house is to be dedicated. As usual, the knots are untied or cut off every day, till the time is indicated for leaving. So soon as the strings are received by a family, the women at once have to refrain from all animal foods, and begin to prepare their acorn-meal and their feather head-dresses for the ceremony. During all the time preceding the ceremony, and between it and the date of sending out the strings, the shaman in charge of the affair holds meetings nightly in the new house, communing with the spirits and singing. To these meetings, only the shaman and members of the Secret Society are admitted. The guests arrive generally a day before the day set for the ceremony. All the women guests bring with them supplies of acorn-meal. In ordinary ceremonials or "soups," each woman or family prepares the flour in a separate filtering-ring, as already described when speaking of the preparation of the flour. In this ceremony, however, all prepare the meal for the soup in one huge ring. Wood and stones are collected, and a suitable spot is selected for the filtering-ring, the requisites being earth that is porous and ground that is level. The meal is sweetened in this large ring in just the same manner as in the smaller ones, all the women working together, and pouring in water from all sides at once.

As soon as the meal has been sweetened and removed from the ring, several wands (*yo'koli*) are set up in the ring. These wands, a portion of one of which is shown in Fig. 65, are about a metre and a half long, and have pendant from one end three strings to which are attached white feathers and halves of acorn-shells. Generally three or four are placed in one of these large rings. They are placed there by the shaman himself or by some member of the Secret Society. After these wands have been in place for some



time, the shaman calls the members of the society, and all stand about the filtering-ring, two or more being armed with poles and fish-lines. With these they pretend to fish in the ring, and, when they pretend to have had a bite, act just as if a large fish had been caught, and are aided in landing the imaginary fish by men who stand behind them. In this way the fishers continue for several hours, some pulling in fish, others deer-meat, acorn-bread, etc., and thus an imaginary pile of food is accumulated. Towards sunset, when the women have finished making the soup from the meal prepared in the ring, the men return to the dance-house, each acting as though carrying a heavy load of food on his back. They stagger along, with bent backs, stopping now and then to rest, and are followed by the women, who act in a similar manner. The imaginary loads being thrown down inside the dance-house, a fire is lighted, and a short rest taken.

The shaman then tells every one to prepare for the dance, in which, as a rule, only the older men and women take part.

Both women and men wear feather ornaments, the women having yellow-hammer bands, the men having two tremblers stuck into the netted cap, one above each ear. The tremblers are slightly behind the ear, and are placed so as to stand almost vertical. The shaman then gives the signal when all are ready, and the dancers assemble about the main post. All grass and leaves are removed from the floor

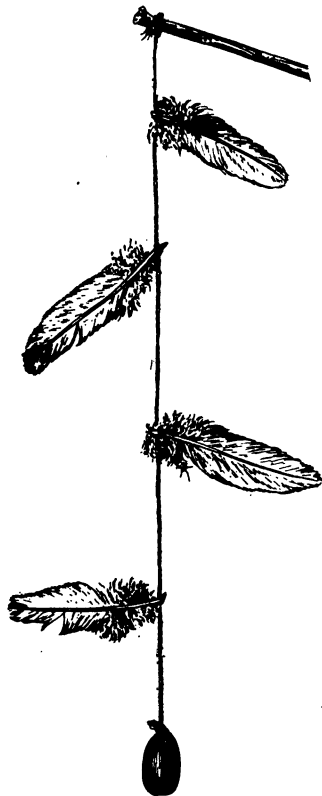


Fig. 65 (1888). Portion of a Wand, or Yo'koli, with Feathers and Acorn-shells. Length of string, 39.5 cm.

about the fire, and the dance begins. Two of the men carry clapper-rattles, two have bone whistles, and one takes his place on the drum. The shaman and the men with the rattles remain at the main post; the men with the whistles, together with other men, take part in the dance. In the dances, women take the advance, and the men are generally nearest the fire. The male dancers stand on the south side of the fire, and dance there, stamping and turning, and blowing the whistles. The women start from the main post, and dance slowly around toward the post before the door, keeping always to the north of the fire, and following a curved course. Arrived at the post nearest the door, the women turn, and dance back again to their starting-point, this time keeping to a straight line instead of a curved one. As soon as the women start on their return, the men, gathering near the door-post, dance back toward the main post, following along behind the women, and pursuing a zigzag course, now to the north, and now to the south, of the fire. They keep up an incessant blowing on their whistles the while, and motion with the right hand as if driving the women before them. During the whole time of the dance the spectators have been shouting such phrases as "Not yet!" "Not yet worn out!" Arrived at the main post, all stop for a few minutes, and then, when sufficiently rested, begin again as before. Thus the dancing is continued till all are tired out, and the shaman declares the dance over. When the dance is over, the women all form in a circle about the main post, sitting on the ground. The shaman then proceeds to remove the food prohibitions from them, that have been in force since the time when the first notice of the dance was given. The prohibition is removed by the shaman, beginning at the left-hand side of the circle, and taking the left hand of the first woman in his right hand, and her right hand in his left. He strokes her hands for some time, saying, "Now you may eat deer-meat, and squirrels, and quail, and rabbits, coon, bear, angle-worms, yellow-jackets, robins, grasshoppers, and all other sorts of flesh foods." He then passes to the next woman and repeats the same actions and words, and thus goes around the whole circle.

This completed, the men and the shaman take branches of pepper-wood, and hold them over the fire for a few minutes, until the strong odor characteristic of the wood is given out. With these branches they then proceed to whip and brush everything in the dance-house, with the intention of cleaning out all evil influences or spirits. This ceremony of purification being completed, the whole ceremony of the yo'koti is over.

The clown, who plays so important a part in most of the ceremonies of both the foot-hill and Sacramento Valley people, is a personage of much interest. He always wears a necklace of "crooked acorns" (see Fig. 37, *b*), and is much respected by all persons. He seems always to be eating; and at the beginning of a dance, when he is called for, he generally appears munching a huge piece of acorn-bread. Very strong arguments are generally necessary on the part of the shaman to induce the clown to stop eating, and take his proper part in the ceremony. The following is given as a typical dialogue between the shaman and the clown.

*Shaman.* Where have you been, Clown?

*Clown.* I have been lying down. I am ill, and have pains in my stomach. I found some medicine that never fails, if there be only enough of it (here he takes a bite of the bread, and sits down by the fire).

*Shaman.* Why don't you put away that bread, and wait till the dance is over before eating?

*Clown.* Then I can't get any.

*Shaman.* Who is going to steal your bread?

*Clown.* I don't know. Perhaps you might.

*Shaman.* Where did you get your bread?

*Clown.* I brought it with me. Didn't you see me coming in with a big loaf?

*Shaman.* I saw you come in with nothing but your cane.

*Clown.* No, no! I had the bread under my arm. On the other hand, I would not lie about a loaf of bread.

*Shaman.* Put away that bread, and go out on top of the

dance-house. I am going to talk to our people, and you must help me.

*Clown*. No, it is dark, and I am afraid.

*Shaman*. What are you afraid of? Are you a woman?

*Clown*. Yes, I am a woman. Would you like to marry me?

*Shaman*. Stop your joking and go out at once. I will take care of your bread until you have finished. (Here the clown breaks off a piece of the bread, and, putting it under his arm, gives the rest to the shaman. He then goes out and gets up on the roof of the house.) Are you there, Clown?

*Clown*. Yes, I am here. Don't eat my bread! Oh! the ants up here are eating me up.

(The shaman here begins his speech to the people.)

*Shaman*. Don't fail to hear me! Don't fail to hear me! We are going to have a dance in which both women and men must take part.

*Clown*. Don't fail to hear *me!* Don't fail to hear *me!* You are going to have a dance in which you all must take part.

*Shaman*. We come here not for trouble.

*Clown*. I came here not for trouble.

*Shaman*. But we came to dance and feast.

*Clown*. But you came to dance. I came to eat and gamble.

*Shaman*. Bring on the soup.

*Clown*. Bring on the soup! Bring on the bread! Bring on the fish! Bring on the meat! Ha, ha, ha! Don't fail to hear *me!* Don't fail to hear *me!*

*Shaman*. Bring on some wood! How can we gamble without wood?

*Clown*. Bring on wood, all of you! How can I gamble or keep warm?

*Shaman*. Bring on the soup! Bring on the bread! Bring on the fish! Bring on the meat! We are all hungry.

*Clown*. Haa-a-a-a-a! I am going down! (Here the clown comes down from the roof, and re-enters the dance-house. As he enters, he speaks again.) Bring on the soup! Bring on the bread! Bring on the fish! Don't fail to hear me! Haa-a-a-a-a! Come on, come on! Fill up my old woman's burden-basket! Haa-a-a-a-a!

The clown then goes to the base of the main post, where his pipe is always placed. This pipe (Fig. 66) has a peculiar form, and is larger than other people's. He fills it, if possible, from the shaman's supply of tobacco, and then smokes, puffing out as much smoke as possible. Between the puffs he calls out, "I like acorn-bread! I like deer-meat! I like fish! I like soup! Be good to me, be good to my old woman!"

Here men enter, bringing the food. At once the clown jumps up, puts away his pipe, and shouts, "Haa-a-a-a!" He then goes from one basket to another, tasting of each, and endeavors to steal for himself the one that tastes best. He is, however, detected by the shaman, and forced to put the basket back. The shaman reprimands him sharply for his actions, but the clown pays little attention, and continues doing all sorts of knavish tricks. When the dance begins, the clown starts off with great vim; but as soon as the shaman turns his back, the clown's efforts become less vigorous, he dances half-heartedly or on one foot, and often produces a piece of acorn-bread from under his arm, and eats that. As soon, however, as the shaman's attention turns toward him, he at once begins to dance frantically again.

What is known as the "Daylight Speech" is made by the clown during the celebration of many of the different dances and ceremonies. It is delivered from the roof of the dance-house. The following is an example of such a speech.

"Daylight, Daylight, Daylight, don't fail to hear me! Daylight Daylight, Daylight, bring on the soup! we are hungry. Bring on the fish! we are hungry. I call on all of you to gather here, that you may all eat. We come to eat and be merry, not for trouble. We are all good people. I only proclaim the voice of the dead. It was

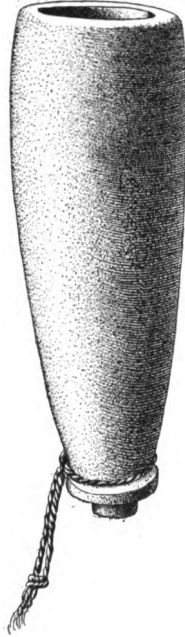


Fig. 66 (1882). Clown's Pipe, of Steatite. Length, 20 cm.

thus that they used to do. My voice is heard by them, and the sound shall go by the trail that is under the ground, by the trail that is over the country, and by the trail that is on the ground. The gambling-songs must be heard to-day in the dance-house. If any are waiting without, come here, come here, come here! We are trading-people, and will trade with you. Many are here, and our hearts are glad. We are not angry, but all are glad. Come on, that you may eat and talk with our people! The smokes from our fires are many. We have food in abundance for all. We will all dance, we will all dance! Come on, come on! Yes, yes, yes! Here, here, here! This was the way those who are dead used to do.<sup>1</sup> Haa-a-a-a-a! Welcome, all! Don't fail to hear me!"

The clown may be connected in some way with the brother of O'nkoito, known as Pe'myeponi, a prominent figure in some of the myths. The Maidu term for "clown" (pehei'pe, pē'pe) is apparently derived, like that of Pe'myeponi, from the usual root for "eating" (pe); and the fact that it is part of the clown's functions and characteristics to be always eating, or referring to eating in some way, strengthens this opinion. A similar clown and spokesman is known to other tribes in this central region of California; and when details from these tribes are available for comparison, the origin and position of the clown among the Maidu may be made more clear. There were often several clowns in a village, and they seem to have held the position for life. The position was not, however, hereditary.

The dances and ceremonials of the Northeastern Maidu seem to be still less developed and numerous than those of the foot-hill people. Apparently all trace of the large series or regular cycle of dances known in the valley is lost; and while one or two of the dances with elaborate feather and other decorations are known, it would seem that they are known only in an abbreviated state. By far the most important of the dances of these Maidu is the wē'da-bōyem, held every spring, about April. The date is set by the relative advance of the trees and flowers, for all must be green and budding when the dance is held. Knotted cords are sent out, as elsewhere, by the shaman, one string being given to the head of every family. Apparently each village celebrates for itself, and it is not the custom for people to go very far to

<sup>1</sup> "This is the way of mortal men" (wonom-maidu).

the ceremony. It is felt, that, when only three or four days remain before the time set, it is almost sure to rain.

All having assembled, a day or two is passed in games and gambling. In the morning, then, of the third day or so after the gathering has begun, the women prepare to dance. They wear wreaths of grass and flowers, bunches of fresh green leaves, and vines. In their hands they carry bunches of grass. Standing in a circle out of doors, they dance slowly round and round in contra-clockwise direction. Several others stand outside the circle as singers, and beat time with clapper-rattles. This having continued for some time, a man dresses in a whole bear-skin. He must be a person who has never attended to a dead person or dug a grave. He walks on all-fours, growling, and acting as much as possible like a bear. All the other people stand about and look on, as he thus walks through the village, the children



Fig. 67 (a & b). Portion of Wand, or Yo'koli, with Maple-bark Tassel. Total length, 39 cm.

teasing him and shouting at him. After a short time the man throws off his bear-skin, and another man puts it on. The chief then forms all the people in line, with himself at the head, followed by the man wearing the bear-skin, this time walking upright. The men follow, roughly in order of age, and are succeeded by the women and children. All wear flowers and garlands of leaves and grass, and the chief and older men carry wands of various sorts. The man wearing the bear-skin carries

wands of maple (Fig. 67), many small tassels of the bark being hung from a wand from one to two metres long. Shamans carry feather wands, or those from which small squares of yellow-hammer feathers depend. The procession now passes slowly around the whole village, in sinistral circuit, the chief at the head, all the while praying and "talking to the country," naming all the spirit places and all the animals, and begging all to be kindly during the ensuing year, asking the bears not to chase people, and the snakes not to bite. On the last circuit every one shouts and throws stones at the houses; and then, at a signal, all run at full speed to the river, and, tearing off their flower, grass, and leaf wreaths, jump in and swim. The wreaths are thrown into the stream, and then all return to the village; and for a day or so gambling and games of various sorts are in order.

When the wě'daböyem is being held, on some night either before or after that ceremony, another ceremony is performed, which may also occur at any great gathering of the people at other times of the year. It is always held, however, in connection with the wě'daböyem. This other ceremony is known as ka'udom sökō'ndom. A man takes a burden-basket, and accompanied by two or three singers, and several other men carrying long, strong staffs, he goes at night to every house in the village. On entering, the singers stand near the fire. The man with the basket approaches the fire, and sets the basket down. He then dances for a time, as do all the men who carry the sticks. While dancing, he then takes the basket, and, going to every man and woman in the house in turn, presents the basket for a gift of food. If a person refuses to give, one or more of the men with sticks come forward, and, placing the sticks under the reluctant giver, pry him from the ground, and refuse to let him sit in peace until he has given something. Every house having been thus visited, the basket, with the food collected, is taken to the dance-house or largest house where the older people are gambling. Here the food is distributed to the old people. The man wears no ornaments of any sort, nor do the singers or other men who accompany him.



During the winter season, the Sweat dance (ku'mlaidu) is held from time to time. No women may be in the dance-house, although they may look down through the smoke-hole. The men wear only a small grass apron, and, gathering at night, dance in two sections, — one on one side of the fire, and the other on the other. One man is the singer, and stands by the main post, which he strikes with a clapper-rattle. The two parties of dancers, each try to outdo the other in their endurance, and the dancing consists mainly in jumping up and down without moving from the spot. When all is over, all rush out and jump into the river.

In addition to these dances, there are a few of what are called "Feather dances," in which feather decorations are worn. These dances are said to be of several sorts, and seem to resemble the dances of the Northwestern Maidu; but satisfactory information in regard to them has been very difficult to secure. These dances are known collectively as ka'mini, and may be danced at any time, and several times in a season. They are held in the dance-house; and while women may not take part, they may be present inside the house as spectators. In addition to wearing feather bands, feather tremblers, and also apparently feather bunches, the dancers have stuffed mink or otter skins, and hold these in their hands while dancing. When a dance is over, the leader calls out "Enough!" and all cease instantly, holding their stuffed skins high up in front of them. In the dances there seem always to be two parties, both of whom start from the main post, and dance, one on one side of the fire, and the other on the other. It is said that they had feather capes in one dance, but not the mâ'ki costume. A Goose dance is spoken of, but no good description could be obtained. There seems to be no trace of the dances in which the dō head-dress is worn.

It was distinctly stated by the Maidu of this section, that the few "Feather dances" they had were introduced from the foot-hill people in comparatively recent times. How recent the bringing-in of these dances is, is a matter which is hard to determine; and I should be inclined to believe, that, while some may have been borrowed within the period since the

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coming of the whites, there were always traces of these dances present in this region. Of the clown, there seems to be here no trace, and, as already remarked, the entire dance system is simple and unsystematic. In place of the long, definitely arranged schedule of dances which existed among the Sacramento Valley Maidu, with their varied and elaborate decorations and rather complicated evolutions and imitations of various animals and birds, we have here no schedule at all, merely a single spring festival held out of doors. There is little elaboration of costume, there seems to be little or nothing in the way of representations of spiritual beings, and, except for the single case of the bear in the *wé'daböyem*, no attempts at representing animals or birds. The Sweat dances, and the shamans' meetings, where the shamans conversed with the spirits, played the most prominent part, it would seem, in the ceremonial meetings of this section of the stock. More or less intermediate between this paucity of ceremonial here, and the abundance in the Sacramento Valley region, are the foot-hill people. Among them, although the shaman ceremonials were prominent and of importance, yet there was more of a scheme of ceremonies; and, although they had but a portion of the many dances known to the Chico people, yet they had more than did the mountain people. A more or less gradual transition, then, may be noted in regard to the dance organization of the Maidu, from a definite, elaborate, and extensive series of ceremonies among the western members, to an indefinite, simple, and brief series among the easternmost. From this standpoint, then, we have again evidence of the considerable degree of variation within the limits of this single stock,—a variation which characterizes nearly every feature of its culture, emphasizing again and again the extreme degree of variety which exists in the Californian area.

THE SECRET SOCIETY.—In discussing the various ceremonies of the Maidu, as well as in other connections, mention has been frequently made of the Secret Society. It remains to consider this very characteristic feature of the religious and social life of this people, before passing to a discussion of the mythology.

Among the Sacramento Valley and foot-hill members of the Maidu in the northern portion of their area, there was a society, or series of societies, membership in which was obtained only by a regular initiation, and the position and power of which were considerable. At the present day the institution has to a large extent become extinct, no new members having been initiated for some years, and there is everywhere a strong desire to keep all information in regard to the society secret. The fullest information has been obtained, through the aid of Mr. Spencer, in the foot-hill region, but sufficient has been gained at Chico and elsewhere for purposes of comparison.

In the valley region we find that the Secret Society was an institution of great importance. Its leaders were the leaders, in reality, of the tribe or community, and to a very large extent, if not wholly, regulated the dance organization. Boys were initiated into the society generally at about the age of twelve or fourteen, although in some cases a man was twenty or over before he was selected for a member by the older men. The time chosen for the initiation was during some one of the more important dances. The old men, members of the order, having decided which boys or young men were to be initiated, went at night to their houses, and dragged them out without a word of explanation. They were carried to the dance-house; and the chief and the leader of the society, called here apparently *ku'ksū*, took each neophyte in turn, and, each holding him by an arm and a leg, walked slowly around the dance-house, swinging the boy gently from side to side as they walked, and singing "*Ō'hiya hano*" (?). The door of the house was fastened, so that the candidates might not escape. Each candidate was carried thus once around the house, and then placed on the floor, to the north of the drum. When all had been thus treated, the older members of the society danced. If the initiation took place at the time the *hē'si* was being held, the clown talked, turning to the south first, saying, "*Wadilna we*" (?); to the east, saying, "*Pū'na we*" (*Wintun, būyi*, "east"); to the north, saying, "*Wai'lna we*" (*Wintun, waii*, "north"); and to the west,

saying, "Nō'wina we" (Wintun, nom, "west"). As he spoke thus to each point of the compass, the boys were sent out of the house, under guard each time, and shouted toward that point to which the clown had just spoken. When the four points had been thus addressed, the boys re-entered the house, and the doors were again fastened. For some time the boys had to remain in the house, refraining from all flesh foods, and subject to various regulations not specified. At the close of this period of seclusion, during which the older men had been instructing the boys in the myths and traditions of the people, the hě'si dance was held, and the new members were taught the various dances. They had, when they danced for the first time, to dress outside, and come to the dance-house early. They had always to pass to the north of the fire. The older members of the society sat on the south side, and tried to urge the new members to come over to that side. Should any yield and go to the south side, all the new members were driven out, and had to come in again. Each new member came in dancing in a different way. The members of the society alone might wear the netted cap and the feather plume-stick; and there was a special form of this stick which could be worn by the head of the society only. All shamans were, as a rule, members of the society; and most of the men became members sooner or later. Members were known apparently by two terms, either Yō'mbüssi or Yě'poni; the former term being used in general for the younger members, the latter for the older.

In the region of the foot-hills the members of the Secret Society, or Yě'poni as they are in general called, were, as in the valley, of great importance, and the society still continues more in force here than there. In general, it may be said that each village, or group of villages, had its society, or branch of the whole perhaps, the shaman of each village being usually the leading spirit in the society. No time was set for the initiation into the order; but the candidates were usually over fifteen years of age, and sometimes were middle-aged. Men who were regarded as "bad Indians" were in particular sought for, to initiate; for, if they were not members, they felt freer

to harm the people and members than if they were tied to them by the bonds of the society. Hence, if a "bad Indian" could be initiated, the people felt that he was not likely to do them any more harm.

The time for initiating a person, or group of persons, was always at the conclusion of some dance or shamans' meeting. Following is a description of the ceremony. The shaman, seeing one or more persons whom he is desirous of initiating into the society, says to one of the old members, while all are sitting about the dance-house at the end of some dance, "There is so and so, and so and so. This will be a good chance to catch them, and initiate them." The old member then, with an attempt at casualness, moves toward the door, and closes it. All others present then, except members of the society and the persons it is desired to initiate, are made to leave; and the shaman then tells the boys of his purpose to make them members. Should the candidates, however, suspect that the shaman has planned their capture, they may try to run out before the doors can be closed, and thus escape for the time being. Once the doors are closed, however, they may not try to get away. If they succeed in getting away, they laugh at the shaman, and joke him on his failure to secure them; and he, in his turn, declares that he will be more careful another time, and will catch them surely then. The selection of the boys or persons to be initiated is supposed to be made by the spirits; for, immediately preceding the attempted capture, the shaman holds a ceremony in which he asks the spirits to tell him the names of the persons they wish to become members.

As soon as all who are not members of the society are out, and the door again closed, the shaman gives to each of the candidates a wand. This is then hung up in the dance-house, and remains there until all have been fully initiated. All then sit down; and the shaman, taking some sacred meal (composed of a mixture of acorn and birch-seed meal, prepared by the shaman, and prayed over), sprinkles it on the head of each neophyte, and rubs it thoroughly into his hair. All the boys then lie down; and the shaman, taking a lighted

brand from the fire in his hand, runs around them as they lie, and around the dance-house several times, passing thus around the boys, and also around the other members present. All then sit up, and water is brought in in a large basket. The shaman next sprinkles some of this water on the face of each candidate, and then wipes their faces dry. This done, the shaman goes out, and tells the people of the village to bring food; and, this being done, all the rest of the food, after the neophytes have been fed, is put in a pile, and one of the new members must call some old member; and the whole is then given to him, to be by him distributed among the old members present. When it is thus divided, each eats his share at once. Then blankets or skins are thrown over the heads of the neophytes, and they are led out to attend to the wants of nature. They may not go outside the dance-house during the whole period of their initiation without having their heads covered thus. When the candidates return to the dance-house, some old member is called on to decide whether all shall smoke on the following day; and then the spirits, speaking through the shaman, ask for some one of the new members to call a "soup" or feast for the tribe. The shaman selects one to do this, and, calling him by name, tells him he must call a "soup." Generally this is given on the next day, and the house is thrown open to all persons; and the new member must pass the soup to all. Then all the new members must be taught the various dances, which occupies several days. The usual time consumed in the initiation is eight days; and when each member has learned the different dances, he is given a new name. During the period of eight days while the initiation is going on, the neophytes may not eat any flesh food. They must use a scratching-stick for their heads. On the third or fourth day one of the older members removes all his clothing, and sits down near the centre of the house. A large basket of water is then brought in; and all the new members fill their mouths with water, and spurt it over the naked man. This done, the clown, who is present at the whole affair, comes forward, and says, "Ho, ho! what is the matter? You have wet this man all

over!" He then proceeds to wipe the man dry. This done, the clown washes the face and hands of each new member, and dries them. In the instruction in dancing, each day the candidates must practise much, and are taught generally by the shaman himself. Outsiders may come in and watch. No new member may, during the whole time of the initiation, clap his hands or shout. Every night during the period of initiation, the shaman communes with the spirits, and is supposed to receive from them the new names which the members are to receive at the end of the whole ceremony. When the eight days are up, these new names are given to the new members by the shaman; and he tells them at the same time that they must not hunt or fish for several weeks, neither may they clap their hands or shout loudly. He gives then to each member just admitted a netted cap and a feather plume-stick (dī'hyo), which are the insignia of members. The head may not be washed, nor the sacred meal removed, for several weeks. The wand (yo'koli) given to each at the beginning, and hung during the period of the ceremony in the dance-house, is now given to each member. With this the ceremony is practically over. Some one of the new members, however, now goes to the drum, and, stamping on it for a few moments, announces that he is going to call a "soup" or feast. So soon as this is done, all present exclaim, "That is good! We are all hungry for soup!" Then the new member, assisted by the shaman, makes the strings for his soup, and sends them out. As a rule, each new member gives a soup; and the period after the initiation is therefore one of feasting and prolonged merriment. A common feature of such feasts given by new members is the "grass fight" which closes them, men and women pelting each other with balls of grass. The sacred meal used in the initiation is made by the shaman with much ceremony, apparently, and is kept in a stone mortar, with another inverted over it as a cover. This mortar and meal are regarded as quite sacred, and this is practically the only use to which the mortars are put.

As already stated, each village, or group of villages, sometimes had its section or branch of this Secret Society; and

each such unit had its leader or head, known as *hū'kū* (*hū'ūkū*?). His functions were to some extent judicial, as he was expected to settle all such disputes as could not be settled in other ways. His power as a shaman to cause disease and death to single individuals or whole villages was great, and exceeded that of any ordinary shaman. To incur his displeasure was greatly feared. Each local section or branch of the society had in its possession a sacred object, which was always kept by the member who was in the position of leader or *hū'ūkū*. This object was a sort of waistcoat or cape, made of feathers, shells, and pieces of stone (obsidian?), and had in the centre a small mortar of stone. These sacred objects were known as *lō'mimūsemtsī*, and it was certain death for any one except the leader to touch them. When not in use, the leader's cape was kept, by him in a tule mat or bag secreted in some secure spot far away from the village. At the death of its keeper, it was always buried or burned with him. If, as was sometimes the case, the leader was deposed from his position for failure to act as was thought right, he was still allowed to keep this cape, as no one else would dare to touch it.

The leader was elected or chosen from among the members of the local society, the most noted shaman being always the leader in the ceremony. A "soup" or feast would be called, and to it all members would come. They might not know that this was the occasion of the election of a new leader; but the shaman would have dreamed that it was time for the installation of a new one, and the "soup" would be called really with this end in view. All having assembled, some trifling matters would be discussed till all fell asleep; the meeting being held, of course, in the dance-house. When all were asleep, the shaman would go from one to the other, and place on the forehead of each member a white stripe. When the members awoke, they would then know at once that the real object of the meeting was the election of a new leader, and would be so told by the shaman. At once they began to fast, and only acorn-soup and bread, birch-seed, and wild-oats could be eaten. When all were awake, the shaman began



the ceremony by a speech, in which he told his dream, and then sent out several members to get soup for all to eat. In bringing in the soup, they were obliged to use only small baskets, and to go in single file. Women were on no account allowed in the house. All members of the society had to attend such a meeting; and, if any remained away, he had to pay for his absence by giving a "soup" to the whole village. The food having been brought in and partaken of, the members sat on the floor; and the shaman, taking some of the sacred meal, such as was used in the initiation of new members, from the stone mortar wherein it was kept, sprinkled it upon the heads of all present. He also gave to each a small stick to use in scratching the head. Then, taking firebrands in his hands, he ran several times about the seated members, just as in the initiation ceremony. In this case, however, the members, instead of lying down, were seated with hands clasped over the knees. The fire-circuit being completed, the shaman next took his stone pipe, and, filling it with tobacco, blew smoke on the head of each member, rubbing their foreheads at the same time, and saying, "Away off, go away, do not get sick, go away from here, do not stay here!" A basket-song was next sung by two of the best singers. They were seated with a cooking-basket between them, and each held a stick in each hand. With these sticks they beat the basket, which stood inverted. This basket-song was kept up for some time, perhaps an hour or two, and then the shaman made a second speech to the members; and if a clown were present, he would repeat every word after the shaman. During the whole ceremony, from the beginning, no loud talking or clapping of the hands was allowed.

During the first half of the second night, all danced about the fire in silence, no songs or music being permitted. During the latter part of the night, the fire was covered, and the shaman held communion with the spirits, asking them to select from the members present the one who should fill the office of leader. At dawn he would sleep for a short time, and was supposed in this period to dream of the proper person to be chosen for the position. When the shaman waked, he

would say, "Ha, ha! I have dreamed. The spirit has told me. All is now plain. Our work has been done well." During the rest of the day, soup would be eaten, and basket-songs sung. At dusk all again danced about the fire, and again the shaman would talk with the spirits. This being over, he would uncover the fire, and start a bright blaze. He then went to his private store of ornaments, and brought out the sacred cape which he had made for the new leader. For some minutes he would swing this over the fire, and address the spirits; and then, going to the member who he had dreamed was to be made leader, he placed the sacred ornament about his neck. Immediately all the other members jumped up, and ran in a circle about the new leader. When they had become quiet, the shaman would talk to the new leader, and tell him what his duties were. He was particular to ask him if he knew the stars of the Dipper, and could by them tell the time at night. Should the new candidate or leader say "No," the shaman would have to sit up alone with the new leader and teach him how to determine the time by the position of this constellation. It was of great importance for him to be able to do this, as at the burnings and in warfare the period just before dawn was the one of greatest importance, and the leader was the person who had to determine when this time had arrived. The ceremony concluded by a feast or "soup" given by the society to all the rest of the village except those members of the society who had not attended the meeting. These were not allowed to take part in any ceremonial or feast until they had each given a "soup" to the whole village at their own expense. Members absent on fishing or hunting parties were excused if they were not present.

Besides the duties already mentioned, the leader had others to perform. He was supposed to look for the most favorable spot for the gathering of acorns, and to make known to the village in a speech where this place was. He had to find out if the trees were within the limits of the land controlled by the village, and, if not, had to negotiate with the village on whose land the trees were, for the privilege of gathering

acorns there. This permission was obtained only by means of paying. He was also supposed to make rain when it was needed, to insure a good crop of acorns and a good supply of salmon; and evil spirits and disease or epidemics were driven from the village through his aid. He was also instrumental in inflicting death and disease on the villages of enemies. To do this, he selected certain roots, and, taking these with his sacred cape, he would repair to the vicinity of the village which it was desired to afflict. Selecting a spot whence the wind blew towards the village, he would remove the cape, place it on the ground with the small stone mortar a few centimetres above the earth, and, putting the roots under the mortar, would place some coals on them. As the smoke rose, he would blow it toward the doomed village, saying the while, "Over there, over there, not here! To the other place! Do not come back this way. We are good. Make those people sick. Kill them, they are bad people." When this had been done, he would take the cape, and, going to a stream near by, would place the whole under water, beneath some stone. In going to or coming from such a ceremony, he could not follow any trail, as evil would in such case come to any person passing along. When the sacred cape was thus well hidden, the leader would go to the dance-house, and, holding his cocoon-rattle, he would fast for several days, and sing frequently to the spirits, imploring them to cause sickness and death to the other village, and to protect his own. Should the leader be discovered in his nefarious occupation by persons of the doomed village, the village would at once take steps to try to avert the evil. The shamans of the village would hold a meeting, and roots would be burned in the dance-house for several nights, and dances held in which all the old members of the society and shamans took part. Pepper-wood would be burned, and every house in the village swept with the half-burned branches of this plant. Also various roots would be pounded fine, and blown through flutes toward all parts of the village. All the members of the society would smoke stone pipes, and the shamans sang and shook their cocoon-rattles continuously. None but members were admitted during such

times to the dance-house, and the spirits were appealed to continually to remove the evil spell that had been cast. The leader of the village took the most prominent part in the whole affair; and the ceremonies were not intermitted until, in the opinion of the members of the society, the spell had been completely neutralized. When this had taken place to the satisfaction of all, the meeting dispersed; and then for several nights each one, in his own house, sang, and shook the cocoon-rattle.

The further duties of the leader were to light the fires at the burnings and meetings at which the shamans communicated with the spirits. This was always done by the use of the fire-sticks. He was supposed to take a prominent part in war, and the first indication of hostility by any other village was reported at once to him. He had then to look into the matter, and see to the protection of his people. He knew all smoke-signals, and all the signals in the shape of bird or animal cries. He took a prominent part in the war-parties sent out, and often had to lead them in person. He was the repository of the myths and lore of the people; and it was his duty to instruct them in these things by frequent speeches, in which myths would be told, and the various arts known to the people taught to the young. He took to himself all credit for good crops and seasons. He also was supposed to sing at dawn every day certain songs, standing on the roof of the dance-house. The songs were regarded as those of different birds, and there was more or less distinct imitation of the characteristic notes and sounds of several birds singing regularly at daybreak. His duty it was, again, to prepare a poison for the arrows, when the village was going to war with some enemy. The poison was prepared from the mixed bloods of various animals; and when the mixture had begun to decompose, various roots were ground and mixed with it. The arrow-points were then dipped in this, and were regarded as certain to cause a fatal wound.

If the leader were a shaman, he was always called in, in case a person of importance was ill, and assisted any other shamans who might be there. If he were not a shaman him-

self, he would aid by the singing of songs, and the use of various roots, and the smoking of his stone pipe. If the leader were not a shaman, and desired to become one, he was put through a ceremony known as *yō'mekusū*. Some shaman who was a member of the society would, either by touch or by placing something in the food of the leader, cause some small animal to enter his body. Such animals or insects were generally mice, crickets, grasshoppers, etc. Should the leader succeed in expelling the animal or extract it himself, he was considered as eligible for the position of shaman or *yō'mě*. If, on the other hand, it required the assistance of some shaman to extract the object, by sucking, then the leader was thought not to be fitted for the task, and was regarded merely as the leader of the society.

The term *hū'ūkū* is the name used also formerly, it is said, for the pine or boomer squirrel. The name now used for this animal is *tū'ūkū*. He was, it is said, of great service to the people, in the beginning, in helping them gather pine-nuts and acorns.

Formerly the leader was a person of importance when a village or party of people went to another village for any ceremonial or festival. The entire body of visitors would gather some distance from the place where they were going, and then, formed in procession, under his leadership they would enter the village. This custom has now, however, long been given up.

#### MYTHOLOGY.

A series of Maidu myths has already been published in an earlier part of the present volume, and a few others in a separate paper elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> A considerable number of additional myths have since been collected. It is intended to publish all of these later in full as texts, with translations.

From a consideration of the myths of the Maidu thus far obtained, the points of greatest interest are, I think, the considerable degree of system and sequence which is shown by the mythology of this stock; the importance given to the creation

<sup>1</sup> R. B. Dixon, *Some Coyote Stories from the Maidu Indians of California* (*Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. XIII, pp. 267-270).

episode, and the events connected with it; the sharply contrasted characters of the Creator and the Coyote; the absence of any migration myth; and, lastly, the variety shown within the stock.

The systematic quality of Maidu mythology has been noted elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> It was there stated, that, taking the whole series of tales told by the stock, they appeared to follow one another in a more or less regular and recognized order. Beginning with the creation, a rather systematic chain of events leads up to the appearance of the ancestors of the present Indians, with whose coming the mythic cycle came to a close. This mythic era, the *betē'ito*, seems to fall into a number of periods, with each of which a group or set of myths has to deal. "First, we have the coming of *Kō'dōyanpē* (Earth-Namer) and Coyote, their discovery of this world, and the preparation of it for the 'first people;' next, the creation of these first people, and the making and planting of the germs of the human race, the Indians, who were to come after; third, the long period during which the first people were in conflict, and were in the end changed to the various animals in the present world. In this period Earth-Maker<sup>2</sup> tries to put an end to Coyote, whose evil ways and wishes are in direct contrast to his own. During this period Earth-Maker is aided by *O'nkoito* the Conqueror, who puts an end to many an evil being and monster who would make life dangerous for men when they should come upon the scene. Lastly comes the period of final conflict, during which Earth-Maker strives for a last time in vain with the Coyote, his defeat, and disappearance toward the East coincident with the appearance of the human race, which bursts forth from the spots where the original pairs had been buried long before."<sup>3</sup>

Of the stories told, a large part belong to the third period, that of the contests and conflicts between the "first people," by which, and because of which, they were nearly all changed into animals. Although within this large group of tales there is not so great a degree of order as prevails in the whole series

<sup>1</sup> R. B. Dixon, *System and Sequence in Maidu Mythology* (*Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. XVI, pp. 32-36).

<sup>2</sup> An alternative name for Earth-Namer.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

together, yet even here certain tales follow each other in order, and thus keep within the group that systematic quality observable in the groups as such. Indeed, in this group complete or even partially complete system would be almost impossible, as the tales deal with so large a number of characters that their doings could only at times be interrelated. The whole body of myths, however, appears to form really a unit, and throughout to be connected and logical.

The importance given in the Maidu mythology to the creation is another feature characteristic of the stock. The problems of the origin and beginning of things seem to have appealed strongly to the Maidu imagination; and they have not been content to assume a world already created, and ready for occupancy when the ancestors of mankind should reach it after an earlier sojourn elsewhere, as did to a great extent the tribes of the Southwest, for example. Nor is the creation here merely an episode,—a re-creation after a deluge brought on by one cause or another,—as it is in some mythologies. Here the creation is a real beginning: beyond it, behind it, there is nothing. In the beginning was only the great sea, calm and unlimited, to which, down from the clear sky, the Creator came, or on which he and Coyote were floating in a canoe. Of the origin or previous place of abode of either Creator or Coyote, the Maidu know nothing. The Achomá'wi, living next north of the Maidu in the Sierra region, carry their speculations back considerably further, however. They recount how, in the beginning, there was only the illimitable sea and the cloudless sky. Slowly in the sky a tiny cloud began to form, and grew till it reached considerable proportions. Then gradually it condensed, and, becoming solid, became the Silver-Gray Fox, the Creator. Then arose immediately a fog; and from this, as it condensed, and coagulated as it were, arose Coyote. By a process of long-continued and intense thought, the Creator created a canoe, into which both he and Coyote descended, and for long years floated and drifted aimlessly therein, till, the canoe having become moss-grown and decayed, they had, perforce, to consider the necessity of creating a world whereon they might take refuge.

Not only are the origin and creation of the world explained, but also the human race, who, in the form of the myth current among the Northeastern Maidu, were made as tiny wooden figures by the Creator, and planted here and there in pairs, that they might grow in secret and safety during the time of monsters and great conflicts, to burst forth in full strength and stature with the final disappearance of these enemies, and the ending of the mythic era.

One of the most striking features of the myths is the sharp and consistent contrast of the characters of the Creator and Coyote. Throughout the whole series the Creator is uniformly dignified, benevolent, never stooping to trickery, and always striving to make life easy for man, and to render that life deathless and happy. On the other hand, Coyote is at all times opposed to him, striving to render life hard, and insisting that man must die and suffer. Not only does Coyote thus consistently at all times oppose the benevolent desires of the Creator, but he is mischievousness personified, a prince of tricksters, playing tricks on others, and as frequently being tricked himself, and led into innumerable scrapes by his greediness and sensuality.

We have here, it would seem, the complete disassociation of the culture-hero, or Creator, and the trickster elements, which are so often, in American mythology, found more or less closely combined in one person. In his introduction to the "Traditions of the Thompson River Indians of British Columbia,"<sup>1</sup> Dr. Boas has discussed the question of these two motives, and has shown clearly how we may discern practically all stages,—from the complete association of the two in one personage, without consciousness of their discrepancy, to almost complete disassociation. He suggests that the early single culture-hero, embodying both elements, was gradually, with the development of civilization and growth of ethical feelings, differentiated into two beings,—one retaining the good elements, the other the bad. This theory,<sup>2</sup> that the change was due to increasing culture, seems, in the present

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 1-18.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.



instance, to be a little difficult of application, as the general stage of culture of the people is certainly not very high. As compared with the Micmac myths, the Maidu show, at least as strongly, this disassociation of the two elements; and in their elaboration, and the uniform benevolence of the Creator, and the persistent opposition of Coyote (both contending, not for their own comfort and convenience, but for that of mankind yet to be), we come near a rudimentary dualism. It is to be noted, that, in the contests between the Creator and Coyote, the latter almost invariably comes out the victor. This is, however, not because of his greater power, for it is repeatedly stated that the Creator is in reality all-powerful. Coyote's success is due either to cleverness and trickery, or simply to his insistence on his wishes, and the reiteration of them until, from sheer weariness of contradiction and argument, the Creator yields.

Throughout the myths there is nowhere any suggestion that the Maidu had any knowledge of any other region, that they were immigrants in the land where they live. This complete absence of any migration tradition is a feature which is very characteristic, and serves to differentiate the mythology not only of the Maidu, but of most Californian tribes, from that of the Southwest, and much of the eastern portion of the continent.

A last point worthy of mention is the diversity in the mythology, not only within the stock, but within merely that portion of the stock with which we are here chiefly concerned. In the northern portion of the Maidu area we find the myths of the northeastern and those of the northwestern sections differing considerably. In the creation myth, for example, there are important variations; such as, to mention but one or two instances, the absence in the former area of the turtle, and the episode of the diving for the mud, and the absence in the latter region of the incident of the planting of the germs of the human race. Again, while certain tales are common to both regions, there are others which are known apparently only in one, and which, while unknown to the other portions of the stock, are well known in some of the contiguous but

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linguistically unrelated stocks. That differences as great as these should exist in a region of such limited extent, is of some interest, and in contrast to the much greater uniformity and wide distribution of certain myths throughout much of the rest of the continent. Here, within the area of a single stock, one may pass within twenty miles from one group of myths to another, in which possibly one-half or even two-thirds of the tales are either wholly or noticeably different. Elsewhere, notably in the Plains or on the Northwest coast, the same tales, or even groups of tales, are found extending over several different stocks, in substantially the same form, for many hundred miles. Thus in mythology, as in many other features, the diversity characteristic of California is apparent.

Owing to the paucity of available material from adjacent areas, the time is not yet ripe for a systematic and widespread comparative study of the mythology of the Maidu. From the material available, however, comparisons of some value may perhaps be made. Considering first the immediately contiguous stocks, it is to be observed that we can hardly as yet make comparisons to the east or south. The only material available from the Shoshonean peoples is from the Ute, who shared largely in the culture of the Plains. From the Piutes, Snakes, Bannocks, and other nearer members of the stock, material is almost wholly lacking. Washo and Moquelumnan are in a like plight, so that little or nothing can be done in either of these directions. As regards the Wintun, Yana, and Achomā'wi, the situation is more satisfactory. Beside the material from the first two of these stocks published by Curtin,<sup>1</sup> a considerable mass of myths has been collected by the writer and other members of the Huntington Expedition from all three of the stocks, and from the Shasta as well. Comparisons may therefore be made with more advantage in these directions.

In view of the diversity obtaining within the Maidu stock itself, it would be expected that equal or greater diversity would prevail between different stocks. To a certain extent this is true; and each of the five stocks, Maidu, Wintun,

<sup>1</sup> Curtin, *Creation Myths of Primitive America*. Boston, 1898.

Achomā'wi, Yana, and Shasta, shows a rather definite individuality. On the other hand, a considerable degree of similarity would naturally occur. Thus, as regards the creation myth, the Maidu, the Achomā'wi, and the Yana agree in their general type; in all, the Creator and Coyote are the chief figures; in all, the primeval sea is the beginning of all things, and on its surface the world is floating; in all, the Creator and Coyote strive for mastery, the former a consistently benevolent being, the latter uniformly a trickster and knave; in all, Coyote wins, checkmating the Creator at every turn, and is successful in his attempts to make the world one of distress, pain, and death. There is abundant difference in detail, but the underlying thought seems in all these stocks to be the same. With the Wintun there is, strangely enough, less in common as regards the creation myth. The so-called "Patwin," or southern section of the Wintun, show indeed some agreement with the forms of the myth current among the Northwestern Maidu, yet on the whole differ rather strongly, most noticeably in the relative absence of the struggle between the Creator and Coyote. The Northern Wintun, so far as material available indicates, are still less in accord, and in their creation myth diverge markedly from the Maidu type. The Shasta also have a creation myth, not only quite different from the Maidu, but also very brief and undeveloped. It shows, moreover, almost nothing of the antagonism between Creator and trickster, Coyote here being to a great extent Creator and trickster in one.

Passing to other myths, we find, on the whole, the same general relationships between the stocks. The theft of fire, for instance, assumes somewhat variant forms, but in the group including the Maidu, Achomā'wi, and Yana, is constructed always on very similar lines. In all, the fire is held by a man and his daughters, and is discovered largely through the agency of the Lizard; the fire is watched and guarded by a sentinel bird, is stolen in consequence of his sleeping while on guard, and pursuit by the women is hindered by the strings of their skirts being cut as they sleep. The fire is brought back by a group of animals, among whom the

fire is divided for safety; and the pursuers, who are usually Thunder, and his two daughters Rain and Hail, are put to flight. In this case the Wintun shows considerable similarity in the southern section; but in the northern portion, and also among the Shasta, the myth is quite different. Other tales showing equal or greater similarity are found within the group mentioned, such as the stories of the Loon-Woman,<sup>1</sup> the Bear and Deer,<sup>2</sup> the sisters sent to marry the stranger, etc.

In the stories told of Coyote, where his character as a trickster and knave comes out clearly, particularly those relating to his amorous escapades, the agreement is particularly strong. With the Wintun the agreement in myth and incident is much less marked, the Northern Wintun showing little or nothing in common with Maidu forms. The same holds true to a considerable extent in the case of the Shasta; although here we find the Loon-Woman in a modified form, as well as several of the typical Coyote stories.

So far, then, as the myths are concerned, the similarity is most marked between the Maidu, Achomā'wi, and Yana; and these seem to fall into a group distinguished rather clearly from the surrounding stocks. The Shasta myths are closely connected, in some cases, with those of the Achomā'wi, but the points of agreement are generally precisely those in which the Achomā'wi differ from the Maidu. Thus, while there is connection between the Maidu type and the Shasta, it is not close. As regards the Wintun, the southern portion seems to show some likeness to the immediately adjacent section of the Maidu, whereas the Northern Wintun are of a quite different type.

Many tales, although common to several stocks, are known, however, only in the immediately adjacent portions of those stocks; as, for example, the Loon-Woman, which seems to be known only to the Yana, Achomā'wi, and Northeastern Maidu, no trace having been yet found of it among the remainder of the stock.

In attempting to extend comparisons northward or west-

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 71 of this volume; Curtin, *Creation Myths*, p. 407.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 79 of this volume.

ward, we are again met by the difficulty that little or no material is available. From the stocks lying to the westward a large body of material has been collected by Dr. A. L. Kroeber and Dr. P. E. Goddard.<sup>1</sup> It would appear that, in general, the mythology of the Hupa, Wishosk, and the Lower Klamath River stocks was quite different in type from that which is characteristic of the Maidu group. Pomo and Yuki, on the other hand, show some relationship with the Southern Wintun, and are through it thus distantly related to the Maidu.

Northward almost a complete blank exists. Except for the few myths published by Gatschet,<sup>2</sup> from the Klamath, and which seem to differ considerably from the Maidu type, there is nothing available till we reach the Columbia, where, with the Chinook,<sup>3</sup> the Kathlamet,<sup>4</sup> and the Tillamook,<sup>5</sup> comparisons may be made. Comparing the Maidu myths with those of these tribes, and of others farther afield in Washington, British Columbia, and elsewhere, it appears that nowhere within this area do we find quite so complete a disassociation of the trickster and culture-hero elements as exists among the northeastern Californian tribes; nor, moreover, do we find that the creation anywhere assumes such an important place. Considering specific myths and incidents, it appears that some have a wide distribution. The two tales which have perhaps the widest range are those of the Bear and Deer<sup>6</sup> and the girls who married the stars. The former has been recorded among the Kwakiutl,<sup>7</sup> the Klamath,<sup>8</sup> the Kathlamet,<sup>9</sup> the Catloltq,<sup>10</sup> and the Thompson River Indians;<sup>11</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> Goddard, *Hupa Texts* (University of California Publications, Amer. Arch. and Ethnol., I, No. 2). Berkeley, 1904.

<sup>2</sup> A. S. Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. II, Part 1). Washington, 1890.

<sup>3</sup> Franz Boas, *Chinook Texts* (Bulletin Bureau of American Ethnology, No. 20). Washington, 1894.

<sup>4</sup> Boas, *Kathlamet Texts* (Bulletin Bureau of American Ethnology, No. 26). Washington, 1901.

<sup>5</sup> Boas, *Traditions of the Tillamook* (Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. XI, pp. 23, 133).

<sup>6</sup> See p. 79 of this volume.

<sup>7</sup> Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 168.

<sup>8</sup> Gatschet, *Klamath Indians*, p. 118.

<sup>9</sup> Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 118.

<sup>10</sup> Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 81.

<sup>11</sup> Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians* (Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, Vol. VI, p. 69).

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latter, among the Quinault,<sup>1</sup> the Lkungen,<sup>2</sup> the Chilcotin,<sup>3</sup> the Dakota,<sup>4</sup> the Micmac,<sup>5</sup> etc.

If we consider incidents instead of whole myths, we find, that whereas a few similarities to the Maidu may be traced among the Chinook and Salish tribes of the coast, a much larger number are apparent among the Salish of the interior, particularly the Thompson River Indians. Among the Chinook and Kathlamet and the Tillamook and Quinault, almost the only incidents in common with the Maidu are those which relate to the exploits of Coyote. We have, for instance, his asking advice of his excrement,<sup>6</sup> the raping of the girls in bathing,<sup>7</sup> and of the sick girl whom he pretends to doctor.<sup>8</sup> The resuscitation of the dead by placing the bones or bodies in water is also common.<sup>9</sup> Turning to the tribes of the interior, we find greater similarity, both of myth and incident. Not only do two entire myths occur here which are closely like the Maidu, — the Grisly Bears and the Black Bears,<sup>10</sup> and the Mosquito and the Thunder,<sup>11</sup> — but a number of incidents. The similar incidents deal in part with Coyote, but also refer to other personages, such as the ferryman who kills travellers who have to jump into his boat,<sup>12</sup> or the suitor who is forced to spear a monster that drags him into the stream.<sup>13</sup>

It appears from this, that the analogies between the Maidu myths and those of other stocks to the north are rather closer with the tribes of the interior than with those of the coast; and that in general, the Maidu, with the Achomá'wi and probably the Yana, are to be classed, from the mythological standpoint, with the stocks occupying the northern portion of the interior plateau or Great Basin area.

<sup>1</sup> Farrand, Traditions of the Quinault (Memoirs American Museum of Natural History, Vol. IV, p. 107).

<sup>2</sup> Boas, Indianische Sagen, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Farrand, Traditions of the Chilcotin (Memoirs American Museum of Natural History, Vol. IV, p. 31).

<sup>4</sup> Riggs, Dakota Grammar (Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. IX, p. 83).

<sup>5</sup> Rand, Legends of the Micmacs, pp. 160, 308.

<sup>6</sup> Boas, Chinook Texts, p. 101.

<sup>7</sup> Boas, Traditions of the Tillamook, p. 140.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

<sup>9</sup> Farrand, Traditions of the Quinault, p. 83.

<sup>10</sup> Teit, Traditions of the Thompson River Indians, p. 69; cf. also p. 79 of this volume.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39; cf. p. 48 of this volume.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40; cf. p. 70 of this volume.

## CONCLUSION.

The Maidu, whose culture has here been described, may to a great extent be taken as typical of the Indians of the central portion of California. A sedentary people, living in numerous small villages of circular, semi-subterranean, earth-covered lodges, they were a people among whom the arts, except that of basketry, were but slightly developed, and who depended on the chase, and the native nuts, fruits, seeds, and roots, for food. Possessed of a social organization of a simple kind, they show no trace of gentile groupings. They have, however, in some parts at least, secret societies which are partly religious, partly social, in their character. With the shaman the dominant figure in their religion, they have, where in contact with the Wintun tribes, developed elaborate dance ceremonies, and everywhere celebrate important ceremonials at which offerings are burned for the dead. Their mythology is moderately voluminous, characteristically systematic, and lays much stress on the creation, both of the world and of mankind.

As stated already, no tribe is wholly typical in a region of such diversity as California; but in the general simplicity of their culture, lack of development of the arts, dependence on roots, acorns, seeds, fruits, and game for food, rudimentary social organization, and general character of their ceremonial life, the Maidu represent as well as any the culture of this portion of the State.

Yet, as has been pointed out again and again, even within this single stock, significant variations occur; so that the Northeastern, the Northwestern, and the Southern Maidu show in many features differences as great as, or greater than, those to be noted between the Maidu and the neighboring stocks. Culturally, indeed, the several sections of the Maidu are closely affiliated to their immediately adjacent neighbors; the Northeastern having much in common with the Achomā'wi, the Northwestern with the Southern Wintun, and the Southern Maidu with the Moquelumnan.

In the midst of such variety, it is difficult to say what are

the real characteristics of this stock. Are we to regard the Maidu of the Sacramento Valley, with their elaborate dances and secret society, as the type from which the Northeastern Maidu have differentiated by assimilating themselves more and more to the type of the Achomá'wi and Shoshone, the type of the interior plateaus or Basin area? Or are we to consider the simpler, more typically Basin culture of the Northeastern Maidu as characteristic of the stock, and the elaborate dances and secret-society organization of the Northwestern branch as due to contact with the Wintun tribes of the middle and lower Sacramento Valley? Again, what relation do both of these northern sections bear to the Southern Maidu, where we find the culture in many important regards much different from that in the north? Should the variations be explained as due in part to migration, or as having wholly arisen by a slow process of differentiation and assimilation to neighboring types? From the comparison of the myth cycles of the Northeastern and Northwestern Maidu, I have already pointed out<sup>1</sup> that we might suppose there had been a movement of the former section eastwards from the area of the Sacramento Valley. Taking the whole mass of the myths from the Northeastern Maidu, references to the north are almost as common as those to the west and southwest; but whereas the former are in nearly all cases in myths which refer to times considerably after the creation, the latter are almost wholly in the creation myth. As has been already pointed out, there is a complete absence, apparently, of any sort of a migration legend, all portions of the stock declaring emphatically that they originated precisely in their present homes. While placing the creation of the world uniformly in the vicinity of Durham, in the Sacramento Valley, the Northeastern Maidu, for example, declare they are the descendants of the pairs of human germs planted by the Creator in the lands which they now occupy, and that from that day to this they have continued to live in the region where their ancestors came into being.

If any weight be given to the evidence above referred to

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<sup>1</sup> Dixon, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. XVI., p. 35.



from the myth cycles, of an easterly movement of the stock, this movement would seem to have taken place either before the acquirement by the Maidu of the secret-society organization and elaborate dances, or so long ago that all knowledge or remembrance of these has passed away from the members of the Northeastern section.

The variety in culture, both within and without the stocks in California, is certainly one of the most striking features of the region. In large measure this would seem directly traceable to the environment. As compared with regions farther south, east, and north, the sharp contrasts in environment, both topographic and climatic, are marked. All intermediate types may be found between the immense, perfectly level plains of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys, and the rugged topography of the Sierra, with its sharp steep ridges, separated by canyons of great depth; and all varieties, from the cool, wet climate of the northwestern coast to the arid heat of the Mohave Desert. Within the Maidu area alone, there are, as has been said, great differences; and in addition, each of the three main sections of the stock were more or less isolated from one another. The Northeastern Maidu were cut off from their westerly neighbors, during the winter by the great snow-belt of the western flanks of the Sierras, and in summer by many a mile of ridge and forest. The different villages of the foot-hills were in many cases separated effectively by the deep, rugged canyons which intervened, and often villages located within sight of each other on opposite sides of the same canyon had minor differences in custom and in speech. Placed in such varying environment, often much isolated, in some cases by natural features, in others by lack of tribal feeling such that each village almost regarded its neighbors as enemies,—under such conditions, it is not surprising that differentiation took place, and that what may have been in the beginning a unit in culture and speech, became in course of time split up into many variant forms.

It is to be noted, also, that not only among the Maidu, but among practically all the other stocks within the State, the varied forms of culture observed are in all cases in harmony

with the environment, and that the areas of similar culture are continuous, all of which tends to strengthen the belief that in the main such differences as are found have been of slow local growth, and are not due to movements of population on any considerable scale. Moreover, the accordance of culture with environment, and the continuity of the areas of similar culture, irrespective of linguistic boundaries, are evidence of long-continued occupation of the region by its present occupants. It is, moreover, in these very features, that the Maidu, and with them most of the other stocks of the Californian area, differ from the stocks and tribes of the central and eastern portions of the continent; for whereas the tribes of the latter areas have been migratory on a large scale, and show over great areas a considerable degree of uniformity in culture, the Californian peoples, of nearly all of which in these particulars the Maidu may stand as a representative, exhibit, on the contrary, great stability, coupled with a correspondingly great variety.

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