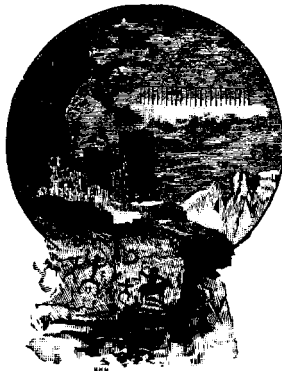


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INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA

BY
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THE PENUTIAN FAMILY.

Inclusion, 347; organization, 347; topographical relations, 349.

INCLUSION.

The Penutian family has recently been established by a union of five stocks—Wintun, Maidu, Miwok, Costanoan, and Yokuts. Two of these, Miwok and Costanoan, indeed had long been suspected to have affinity, and certain resemblances had also become apparent between Wintun and Maidu and Maidu and Yokuts. A systematic comparison revealed a unitary basis underlying all the languages. Miwok and Costanoan form a subgroup in which some form of the vocable *uti* is employed in the sense of "two." In the three other languages this numeral is *pene*, *ponoi*, *panotl*. They may therefore be designated as the "pen" subgroup. From the combination of these two words comes the appellation of the whole family: Pen-uti-an. It is always unfortunate when names must be arbitrarily coined, but native terminology offers no assistance, there is no suitable geographical term available, and an artificial designation of some sort was inevitable.

ORGANIZATION.

The territorial disposition of the two subgroups is quite different. (Fig. 33.) The "Pen" languages are stretched in a long north and south belt; the "Uti" dialects follow a broken horseshoe curve. The former occupy practically all of the great valley proper, with tracts of adjoining upland. The latter are dialects of the mountains, hills, and coast.

The Miwok and Costanoan dialects are most similar where they are in contact on San Francisco Bay. From this region the one set becomes more and more specialized as the horseshoe is followed inland, the other as its alternative arm pursues its southward coastwise way. The Miwok idioms of the Sierra, therefore, and the most southerly of the Costanoan tongues, are the most different, though they are not far apart in geographical distance. They were and remain the best-known languages of the subgroup; and it seems chiefly to have been ignorance of the transitions that prevented an earlier recognition of their common source. Much the same can be said of the "Pen" tongues. They, too, were recorded and studied mainly at their peripheries: Northern Wintun, northeastern Maidu, southern Yokuts. As the records of the more centrally located dialects of the same three languages are examined, it is found that many of the peculiarities of the outlying idioms disappear. There is thus ground for the anticipation that if exact knowledge of the most southerly Wintun and Maidu and northernmost Yokuts dialects is ever recovered, they will prove to furnish strong links that now can only be suspected between the three allied members.

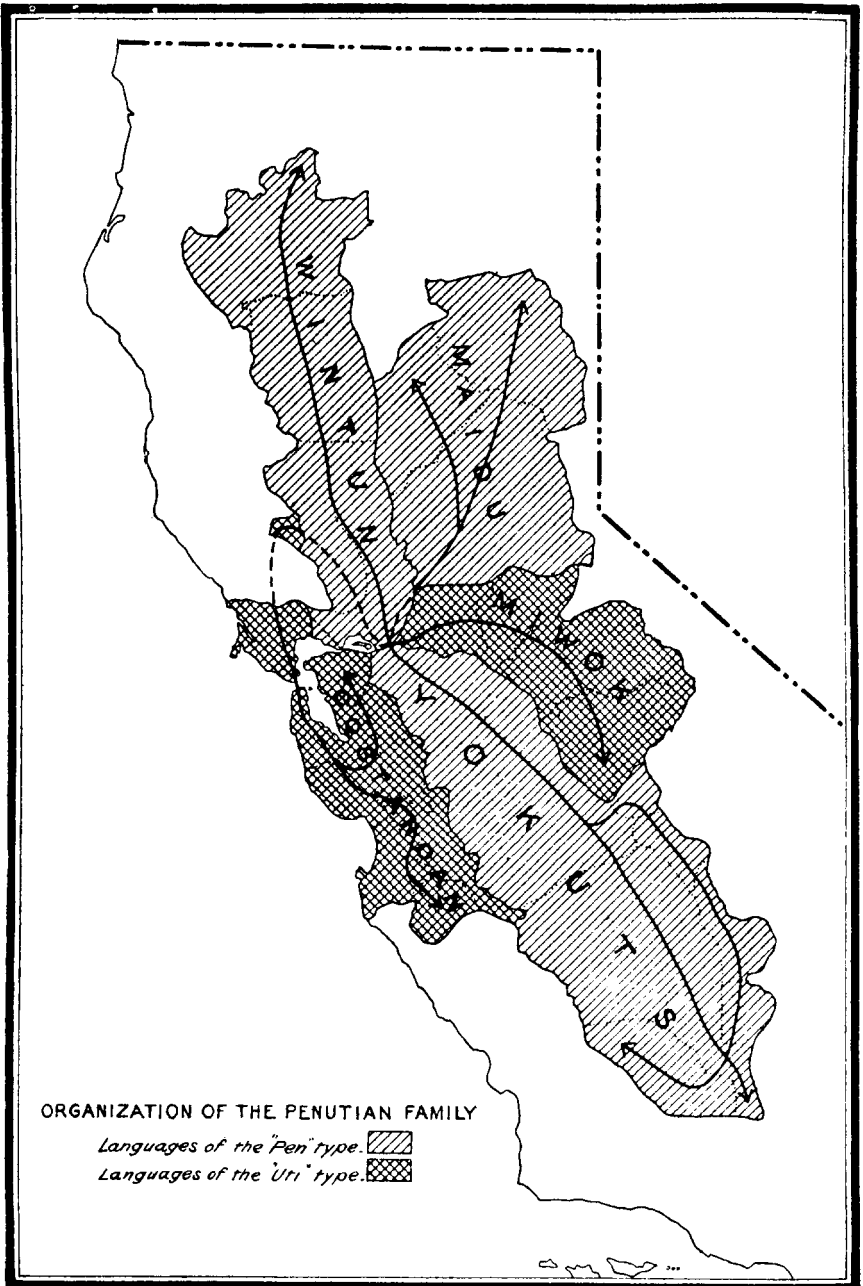


FIG. 33.—Penutian languages of "Pen" and "Uti" types. Arrows indicate degree and direction of dialectic variation.

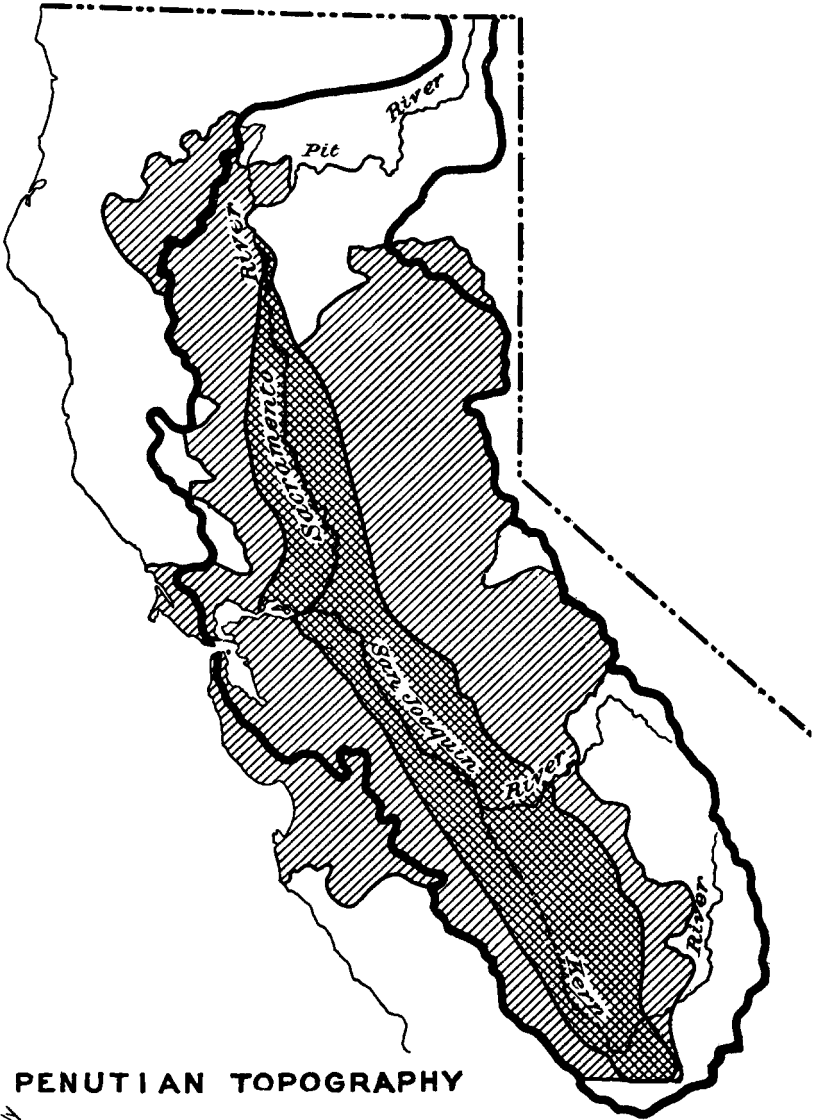
The hearth of the "Pen," as well as of the "Uti" group, and consequently of the entire Penutian family, is therefore the spot at which all five of the principal languages abut, namely, the region where the conjoined Sacramento and San Joaquin debouch into the

head of San Francisco Bay. Here or near this point is the philologist's center of gravity, and in this vicinity, too, the ethnologist must look for the greatest interchange of customs. The historian, however, need be on his guard against assuming this overflowed region of sloughs and tule swamps as the original home of the Penutian family. Natural conditions would render such a conjecture extremely unlikely to be true. This central point is one where rising differentiations were most efficaciously prevented by international contact or covered over by new assimilations. The speech and perhaps the customs of this half-drowned region, where the two great rivers of the State meet tidewater, are likely to be more similar to Penutian speech and customs of a thousand years ago than the tongues and habits of any other Penutian area, and that is all. The first seat of the family while it was yet undivided is entirely unknown.

TOPOGRAPHICAL RELATIONS.

The Penutian family occupied nearly half of California. It also held the core of the State—not only in a spatial sense but physiographically. This heart and kernel is what the geographer knows as the Great Valley of California and the resident as the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys, together with the flanking and inclosing mountains—an unbroken plain 400 miles long and a stretch from crest to crest of nearly 500. On one side is the Sierra Nevada, the highest range of mountains and in many aspects the most impressive in our country. On the other side the lower but sharp Coast Range stretches parallel. In the south both chains swing toward each other and meet in the semicircular Tehachapi Range, so that the wall remains continuous. In the north the Sierra breaks down, the Coast Range becomes higher and more irregular; the great volcanic peak of Mount Shasta is roughly where the two systems may be said to meet. Every drop of water that falls within this inclosure flows into the ocean through the channel of the Golden Gate, above which San Francisco sits clustered to-day. There are few regions of the same size that nature has endowed with greater diversity of surface, altitude, humidity, soil, and vegetation than this one. But there are also few that have been so distinctly stamped by her as a compact and indissoluble unit. This unit was the Penutian empire.

Figure 34 reveals with what fidelity they adhered to its limits. In the southeast, Shoshoneans and Chumash occupied a border of highlands inside the oval; in the northeast, Hokan tribes—Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Yana—held the elevated lava plateau through which Pit River has cut its way. But to compensate the Wintun have drifted over their barrier to the northwest and hold most of the drainage of the Trinity; and in the center Miwok and Costanoan long ago spread out from the Golden Gate, where they first came face to face with the roll of the Pacific, over 150 miles of coast. One



PENUTIAN TOPOGRAPHY

- of the Penutian Family { Sacramento-San Joaquin Watershed.....
- { Valley Division.....
- { Foothill, Mountain and Coast Divisions.....

FIG. 34.—Penutian valley and upland dialects in relation to the drainage system of the interior valley of California.

can see them on the map crowding the Hokan tribes away from this outlet, leaving the Pomo a remnant on one side and their kinsmen, the Esselen, a fragment on the other.

CHAPTER 25.

THE WINTUN: GEOGRAPHY AND CULTURE.

Territory, 351; divisions and dialects, 353; designations, 355; settlements, 355; wars, 356; numbers, 356; culture, 357; arts and customs, 357; the dead, 359; shamanism, 361; traditions, 362; dances, 363.

The Wintun, the first of the five groups of Penutian affinity to be encountered in this survey, were, both as regards numbers and territory, the largest nationality in the northern half of California, and, next to the Shoshoneans and Yokuts, in all the State. They were also one of the most important in the development and diffusion of customs. It is thus regrettable that they are less known than nearly all their neighbors. The account that it is possible to present here is little more than a series of miscellaneous items, introduced to shed some light on the status of the Wintun in comparison with the neighboring peoples. A more systematic description has been attempted only of the ritualistic aspects of their religion, which has been selected, as being central and probably primary in its region, to serve as a point of departure for a comparative examination of the whole central California cultus.

TERRITORY.

The territory of the Wintun is long from north to south and narrow from west to east. It consists, substantially, of the west side of the Sacramento Valley, from the river up to the crest of the Coast Range. In some parts, however, the Wintun had not fully reached or retained this natural boundary; in others, they had transcended it.

From the mouth of Feather River, or more likely from a short distance above it, up to the mouth of the Pit, the Wintun lapped over on the east side of the Sacramento in a fringe that averaged perhaps 5 miles wide. The exact limits of this belt are difficult to draw on any map that does not show contours in detail. In the south, where the valley is broad, the Wintun appear to have held the tule marsh that fringes the Sacramento. With dry land began Maidu territory. The marsh was permanently habitable at a few knolls or mounds, especially at the river bank; and it furnished a splendid seasonal hunting ground for ducks and geese. In the north, where the valley narrows, the Wintun seem to have owned its entire level floor, the authority of the Yana commencing with the rather abrupt foothills. In the intermediate region, about Chico, the exact eastern limit of Wintun occupation can only be surmised.

It has been customary to assign the whole east side of the valley to the Yana and Maidu. A civilized person inevitably thinks in this way: A narrow overlap across the river which makes the central topographical feature of the map seems arbitrary. We put our counties on one or the other side of the stream: Butte balances against Glenn, Sutter with Colusa, Sacramento with Yolo. But the Indian knew the land with the soles of his feet; he thought of it in terms of its actual surface, of its varying plant and animal population, not as a surveyed chart on which certain great structural traits stand out. The valley offered him one mode of progress, food, occupation, and materials to work with, the hills another; and the same difference existed between the long, reedy marsh and the solid plains. Thus it was almost inevitable that different nations should come to occupy each tract. It will be seen below that where diverse peoples did not suffice, a single nationality generally split into groups marked off from each other by distinctions of customs as well as dialect. On the other hand, the great river as a convenient political boundary meant little to the native because he had developed scarcely the rudiments of our political sense.

From the mouth of the Pit north, the Wintun, here turned hillsmen because there is no valley left, had penetrated farther east from the Sacramento. They held the whole right side of the lower Pit, including the lower courses of its affluents, the McCloud and Squaw Creek, up to the commencement of the big bend of the Pit, about where Montgomery Creek comes in; thus uniting with the Yana on the south side to shut off from the mouth of this lengthy stream the Achomawi who are so identified with its drainage as to be usually known as the Pit River Indians.

The uppermost 20 or 25 miles of the Sacramento, where it flows a tumbling course through a picturesque wooded canyon, were not occupied by the Wintun but by the Shastan Okwanuchu. The boundary between the two stocks was in the vicinity of one of the several Salt Creeks of the vicinity; probably the northern one.

West and southwest of this alien tract on the headwaters, the Wintun occupied a large, rugged tract outside the Sacramento drainage: the whole upper waters of the system of the Trinity, the greatest affluent of the Klamath. These holdings comprised all the territory watered by the main Trinity above Big Bar, with its numerous tributaries and forks; nearly the whole of the South Fork; and all the Hay Fork. In fact, the Trinity may almost be denominated a Wintun stream, the only other natives within its sphere being the Chimariko, Hupa, and New River Shasta, owning restricted areas on its lower reaches.

There are some statements to the effect that the Wintun had drifted across still another chain of the Coast Range, and lived on the very head of Mad River, scarcely 30 miles from salt water as the crow flies. This is entirely possible; but other reports assign the region to the Lassik or some related Athabaskan group; and Mad River being in the main an Athabaskan stream, the latter statements have been given preference in the delineation of the map.

Toward the south, in the region of the headwaters of the Fel, the main Coast Range served as boundary between the Yuki and the Wintun; but from here south, the heads of all the western tributaries of the Sacramento were in the possession of a variety of non-Wintun groups.

First, upper Stony Creek, above Little Stony Creek but not including this, was northeastern Pomo, these people being wholly surrounded by the Wintun except where the Yuki backed them behind the mountains.

Next, the beautiful Clear Lake basin, the source of Cache Creek, was also in possession of the Pomo, who lived here in two groups, perhaps representing distinct drifts of occupation.

Farther south, in part in the same basin, but mainly on upper Putah Creek, were the Coast Miwok, a little isolated group with all its nearest relatives to the south and southeast.

Then, and last, came the Wappo branch of the Yuki: in the hills on the headwaters of Putah Creek and the Sacramento affluents to the south, and on Napa River.

We are now close to San Francisco Bay, whose upper divisions, Suisun and San Pablo Bays, are only the drowned lower reaches of the united Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers. The flow, so to speak, here is west, instead of south; so that the western or Wintun side becomes the northern shore. This the Wintun held all along Suisun Bay and along part of San Pablo Bay; the Suisun "Valley," and the Napa Valley to the end of tidewater, being theirs. On the map this is the farthest territory downstream accredited to them, and the divide between Napa and Sonoma Valleys has been set as their limit. There is, however, much doubt about Sonoma Valley, whose native inhabitants are extinct. The Wappo held its very head; but its bulk, according to some accounts, was Wintun; according to others, Coast Miwok. If the former are correct, the Wintun extended almost to Petaluma Creek, or to within a scant score of miles of the ultimate goal of the Sacramento, the sheer defile of the Golden Gate into the broad Pacific.

DIVISIONS AND DIALECTS.

Wintun speech is very imperfectly known, and its ramifications have been determined only in the rough. Three great areas of distinct dialect are clear, which may be described approximately as consisting of a central block in Glenn and Tehama Counties, and a northern and a southern in the modern counties respectively on those sides. Beyond this basic classification, information quickly fails us; but it is clear, both from fragmentary evidence as well as from the size of the tracts involved, that these, like the corresponding Maidu divisions, are areas of groups of dialects, not of single, uniform idioms. In other words, the basis of customary classification is different for the Wintun and Maidu on the one hand, and stocks such as the Athabascan, Yuki, Pomo, and Miwok on the other; and there is no reason to doubt that when the two former tongues are recorded with the same nice discrimination of petty differences that has been directed to the other languages, the same conditions of local diversification will become evident, and the abnormal extension of the Wintun and Maidu "dialects" will be seen to be more apparent than actual. It is probable that the true status of speech among both Wintun and Maidu will ultimately be found to approach somewhat that existing among the remotely allied Yokuts, where the number of slightly different dialects is great, but these fall readily into half a dozen obviously distinct groups.

The northern form of Wintun speech prevailed down the Sacramento to Cottonwood Creek and over the whole Pit and Trinity areas. From all the

evidence available, the language was remarkably uniform for a tract of this vastness, as it may justly be described under California conditions. But the very size of the territory precludes absolute identity of tongue. The Wintun of the McCloud and of the South Fork of the Trinity certainly never came in contact, possibly did not know of each other's existence. They must have been separated at least for centuries; and it is therefore impossible that every word and grammatical form in their languages should have been the same.

Cottonwood Cr ek is the boundary usually mentioned toward the central Wintun, and in default of any more precise knowledge has been so entered on the map. But the true line very likely followed the minor watershed on one or the other flank of the stream.

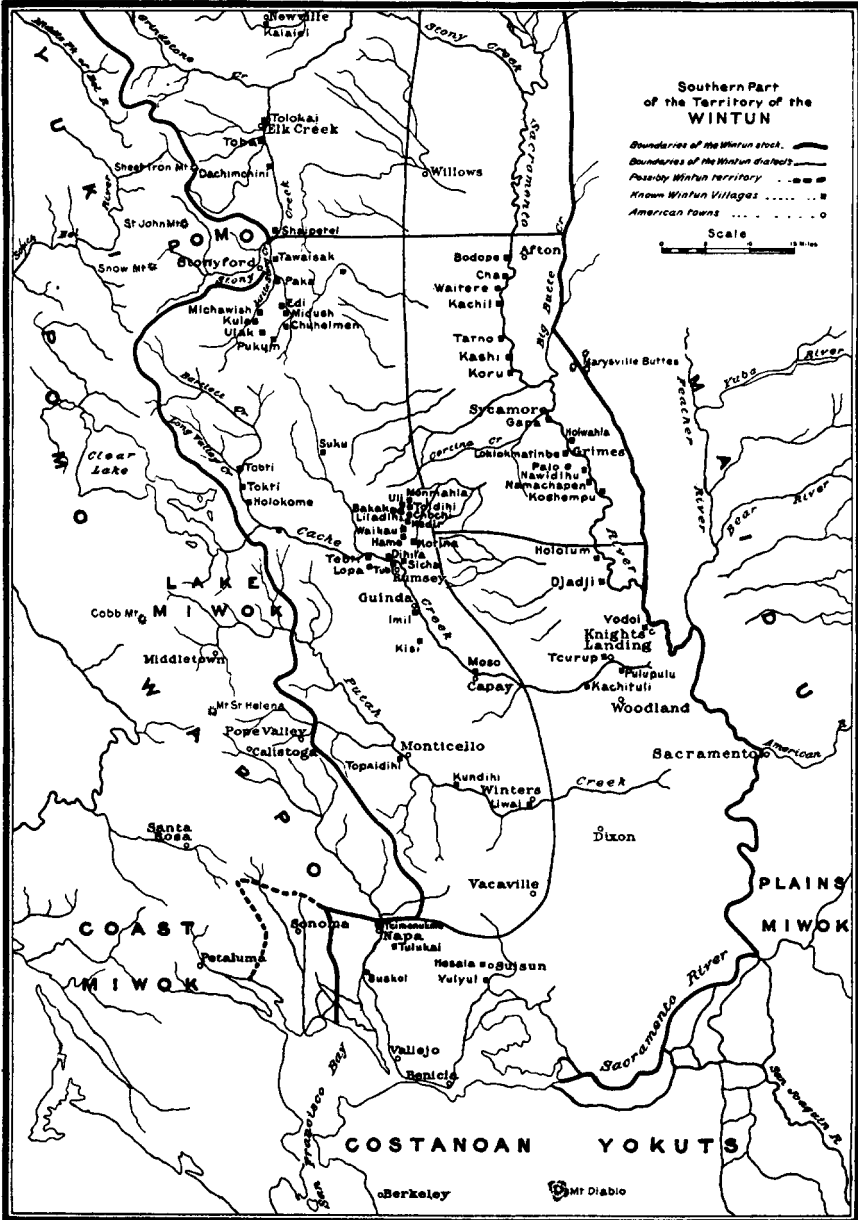
For the central Wintun one subdivision is known: that of the valley dwellers and the hillmen. But their dialects were not very different, and there may have existed equal or greater divergences between northern and southern settlements within the group. On the great map of the State, which alone shows the whole Wintun territory (Pl. 1), no attempt has therefore been made to indicate any internal demarcation.

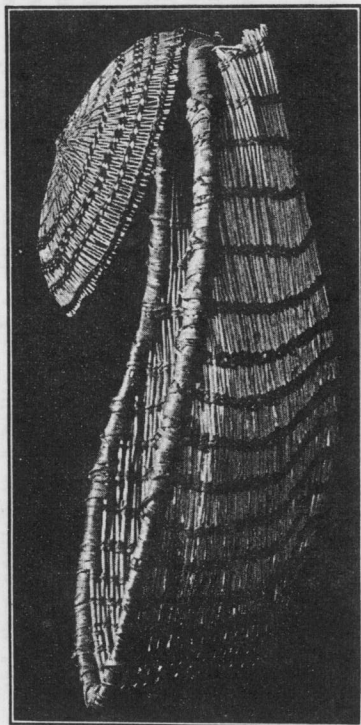
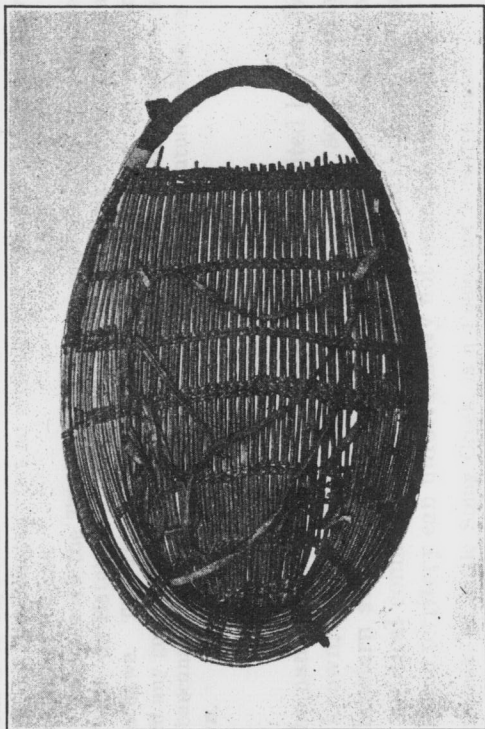
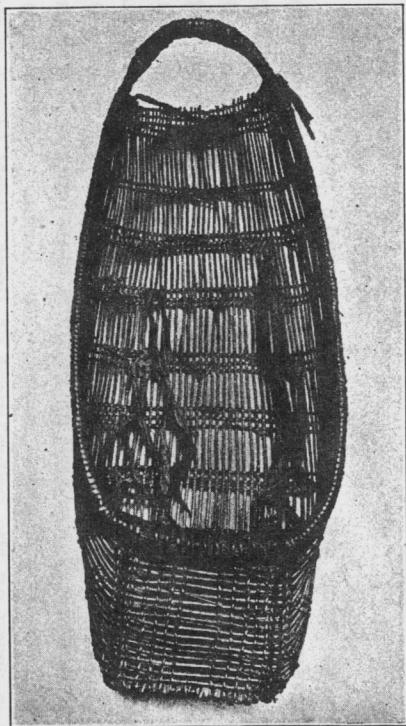
Among the southern Wintun the cleavage between plains and hills, continues, in fact is accentuated; and this block has therefore been represented not as a unit, like the others, but as consisting of a southeastern and a southwestern half. This gives, then, four instead of three primary Wintun languages and groups of people.

Both the southern dialect groups were subdivided; but the areas of these minor dialects are known in only two or three instances, which are recorded on Plate 37. The impression must be guarded against that these dialect areas were the only ones; from Knights Landing downstream usable data are almost nil, the Indians having disappeared.

The habitable sites in the Sacramento marshes were favorable places in winter, on account of the immense number of water birds which they drew, besides being in proximity to the salmon fishing in the main river. In summer the swampy plains were hot, malarial, and infested with swarming insects, while the hills were correspondingly attractive and productive. There was consequently much seasonal shifting of habitation. This can hardly have extended all the way from river to mountains: friendly people of diverse dialect may have visited each other freely, but if each had lived on the other's territory for half the year, they would have been a single nationality. The dialectic diversity between hills and valley, therefore, is evidence of the restriction of the regular movements of the separate communities to limited areas. The valley people evidently had their permanent villages on the river itself—that is, in the marsh belt—but appear to have left this during the dry half of the year to live on the adjacent plains, mostly by the side of tributaries. The upland people built their winter homes where the streams issue into the open valley, or in favorable spots higher on these creeks, and in summer moved away from the main water courses into the hills or mountains.

A distinction has often been made between a Wintun group proper in the north and a Patwin group in the south. This distinc-





CRADLES, "SITTING" TYPE

Left to right, Yurok, Wintun (Pomo type), Northern Wintun

tion is based on the employment of these terms, in the dialects of the two regions, to denote "person" or "people." There is no doubt that in the north *win-tun*, or perhaps more correctly *win-tu*, is in use where the southerners say *pat-win*. The "Wintun" of this nomenclature seem to correspond rather closely with what are here called the northern and central divisions, the "Patwin" with the southeastern and southwestern. The terminology, being native, is likely to express a line of cultural cleavage of some consequence. It would therefore be desirable to follow, were it not for the confusion that might ensue from the use of "Wintun" to designate sometimes the entire stock and sometimes the northern half alone.

DESIGNATIONS.

The Wintun stock has sometimes been called Copehan in technical literature. This name is supposed to be derived from that of a village. Kope is grapevine in southern Wintun; but no settlement of this designation can be recalled by surviving Indians.

The Shasta knew the Trinity Wintun—the only ones they were in direct contact with—as Hatukwiwa or Hatukeyu; the Chimariko called them Pachhual or Pachawe. The Yuki named the Nomiaki Titkaieno'm, but seem to have lacked any generic designation for the stock. How the Maidu, Yana, Achomawi, Athabascans, Pomo, and Costanoans called their Wintun neighbors is not known.

SETTLEMENTS.

The names and locations of some 60 sites inhabited by the Wintun are known, mostly in the northern part of the southwestern and southeastern areas. These are shown in Plate 34. Their grouping into political communities such as have been established for most of the Pomo territory can unfortunately not even be attempted.

Tawaisak, on Little Stony Creek, is a Pomo, not a native name.

Kotina, north of Cache Creek, is also not aboriginal. It appears to be the modern Indian adaptation of Cortina, the name of a chief, later used for his group, and then applied to a valley and a stream, or rather three streams. Whether this chief was simply labeled "Curtain" by the Spaniards, or whether his native name suggested this familiar word to them, is not known.

Many of the village names appear with the ending *-hlabe*; but this appears to be a suffix or added word, not a part of the name of the place.

The inequality in distribution of sites on Plate 34 reflects the incompleteness of knowledge, not any notable unevenness of occupancy.

A number of Wintun group names have been reported, but these nearly all refer to directions and boil down to merely relative designations like those used by the Miwok, the same people being northerners and southerners to their several neighbors. Where the directional terms fail to appear, elements like *ol*, "up" or "above," enter into these shifting designations.

Among the names are: Waikenmok, Waikosel, Wailaki (applied to themselves as well as to the Athabascan division on whom the name has crystallized in American usage). From *nai*, "north."

Nomlaki, Nomkehl, Nummok. From *nom*, "west."

Normok, Norelmok, Norbos, Noyuki, Nuimok. From *nor*, *no*, "south."

Puimok. From *pu*, "east."

Of similar type: Olposel, Chenposel, Wilaksel, Daupum-wintun.

Other cited names are those of places outright: Napa, Liwai-to, Yodetabi (for Yodoi-hlabe). Probably of this class are Suisu-n, Karki-n, Tole-n, and Ulula-to or Ula-to, which appear to have been important villages in extreme southern Wintun territory, in the vicinity of the modern similarly named places; and a few others in the same region: Malaka, Sone-to, Ansak-to, Akluto, Churup-to, and Puta-to. Puta or Putah Creek has generally been derived from Spanish *puta*; but the ending *-to* (compare Napa-to) is native. Either the Wintun of a place on Putah Creek accepted the Spanish epithet or the Spaniards put their own interpretation on a native place name.

Places in the north were Waidal-pom, at Ydalpom; Tsarau, at Stillwater; Paspuisono, at Redding; Hin-pom, probably at the mouth of Slate Creek; Tayaunorel, at Trinity Center; Tientien, at or below Douglas City; Haien-pom, at Hyampom. Wini-mem, "middle river," and Pui-mem, "east river," do not denote tribes as sometimes stated, but the McCloud and Pit Rivers.

In Central Wintun territory Paskenta is probably named from a native settlement. The word means "under the bank."

A few terms seem to be group names formed on localities; as Topaidi-sel, from Topai-dihi; and Lol-sel, the "tobacco people" of Long Valley east of Clear Lake. Designations of this sort are parallel to the Pomo group names ending in *pomo* or *napo*.

WARS.

The Cortina Valley people fought the northeastern Pomo, with whom the neighboring Wintun of Little Stony Creek were probably allied. They were also in feud with certain of the Sacramento River people. The hill Nomlaki of Thomas and Elder Creeks also warred with the plains people below them. The latter in turn were unfriendly with the valley people of Stony Creek and southward, if their name for this group, No-yuki or "southern enemies," may be depended on. Another feud prevailed between the Lol-sel of Long Valley and the Chenpo-sel of middle Cache Creek.

Scalps (in the south more probably whole heads) were taken in war, hung on poles, and celebrated over with a dance, but no details of the procedure are known. The Trinity Wintun, like all the northwestern tribes, took no scalps, and may therefore have made the war dance of preparation in place of that of victory. They are said to have fought with slings. This seems to be a mountaineer's accomplishment whenever it occurs in California.

NUMBERS.

If the Pomo aggregated 8,000 and the Maidu 9,000, the former Wintun population may be set around 12,000. To-day, however, the Wintun have shrunk to a less figure than either of these neighbor-

ing stocks. The census, which reports only 710, more than half of mixed blood, does not do them full justice, because many of the Wintun of Shasta County have no doubt been returned as "Shasta," ethnic designations being replaced in local American usage by names based on localities. Thus the Shasta become the "Yreka tribe," or "Scotts Valley Indians," while the northern Wintun are turned into "Shastas," "Trinity Indians," and "Hayforks." At best, however, the survivors of this once great nationality may come to a thousand or so.

The Franciscans drew converts from identifiable places in Wintun territory at least as far north as Puta Creek, and direct Spanish contact and influence extended to about the latitude of Clear Lake, say Cortina Creek or beyond.

CULTURE.

The unusual length of Wintun territory brings it about that this group is exposed to most diverse contacts of social environment. Divisions that live only a short day's walk away from the Hupa obviously will not observe the same customs as those which adjoin on the Pomo; and the Wintun bordering on the Achomawi and those in touch with the Yokuts can have had few specific habits in common. It is probable that the northern, the central, and the southern Wintun differed more from one another than the Pomo did from the Yuki. There is therefore little theoretical justification for a discussion of the culture of the stock as a whole; and such a summary method is followed here only because the available information is so scant that its segregation into three or more bodies would render each of these without shape or coherence.

In certain respects, however, the continuity of basic speech may have operated in favor of a more considerable uniformity of civilization than would be expected. Thus, northern Wintun mythology certainly inclines to the "creator" type that elsewhere is associated with the occurrence of the Kuksu religion which they did not follow.

The uppermost Wintun on Cache Creek and those in near-by Long Valley were cut off by the long canyon below them and the secondary range on their east from the bulk of their kinsmen, and stood in correspondingly closer intercourse with the Miwok and Pomo of Clear Lake, whom they influenced in several traceable particulars, and by whom they in turn were no doubt affected.

ARTS AND CUSTOMS.

Face tattooing for women, which seems to reach its acme in the Yuki vicinity, was practically lacking among the southern Wintun of the Sacramento. Ornamentation of the breast or stomach was

more common. In the north the northwestern style of three lines or bands down the chin was in vogue.

The southern house was of the dance-house type, earth covered and dome shaped, at least in the valley. In the hills the conical bark house, and perhaps thatched structures, were in use. The Trinity Wintun used the bark dwelling. The custom of those in the upper Sacramento region is unknown.¹

Among foods may be mentioned pounded and sifted manzanita berries, cooked; a cider made from the same; and young clover herbage, eaten raw. The inner bark of trees was sometimes resorted to in the hungry time of early spring. All these foods had a much wider distribution than Wintun territory.

Wintun basketry possesses little that is distinctive. In the north it is of the overlaid twined type characteristic of the border region of Oregon and California. On the McCloud the shapes and pattern arrangement are more nearly of Achomawi than of Yurok-Hupa type, as might be expected; along the South and Hay Forks of the Trinity, no doubt the reverse.

The southern limit of all-twined basketry among the Wintun is not known, but can not have been far from the boundary between the northern and central divisions.

In the central group, and among the northerly members of the southern one, baskets were, in a generic way, of Pomo type, but without most of the distinctive traits of the ware of that people. Among the Wintun bordering on the Pomo, as well as those of the extreme south, western influences were stronger. Feathered baskets have been reported from Yodoi on the Sacramento.

The Pomo type of baby carrier prevailed through southern Wintun territory: it is found without material modification on the Sacramento River. The central type is not known, but is likely to have been similar. In the northern group, a crude, shallow form of the sitting cradle was used, flatter even than the Shasta one; but carriers rather similar to the Pomo ones also occur. (Pl. 35.)

¹ Southeastern and central Wintun buildings in the Sacramento Valley were earth covered, elliptical rather than round, and uniform in construction, but of four sizes and functions: the dance house, *hut*, about 50 feet in length; the sudatory, *chapa-kewe*, larger than the dwelling, and slept in by unmarried men and sometimes by their elders; the living house, *kewe*, 20 to 30 feet long; and the menstrual house, *kula*, up to 20 feet in diameter. There was but one dance, sweat, and menstrual house in a settlement, the first two in proximity at either the upstream or downstream end of the village, the latter at the opposite end. All buildings normally faced east—riverward—but the dance house also had a rear exit. Roof entrance and ladder are not mentioned. The dwelling was shared by several households, each with recognized floor space. There were no partitions, but there were raised bed scaffolds, and a common mortar hollowed in a log lying transversely at the rear, corresponding in position to the drum in the dance house. Summer camping was under rectangular brush roofs, without walls. See McKern, *Patwin Houses*, in bibliography.

The tule raft was used on San Francisco Bay and no doubt in the marshes all along the Sacramento.

Fishing in the northern streams is often from a scaffold out over the water; but this is simpler than among the Yurok and Shasta, and for spearing rather than netting.

The salmon harpoon runs to three times a man's length; and forks at the end, with detachable points, as in all the northern half of California.

The villagers on the Sacramento used decoys to attract ducks, then scared them into nets. The decoys are said to have been carved and colored, but this was scarcely the way the California Indians exercised their fingers, even in pursuit of a practical object. Models made of bound rush stems, possibly with ducks' heads set on them, are more likely.

Money came from the west, that is, the Pomo. Of late years the shells have been traded, and even the river Patwin know how to round and bore them. In the old days, it is said, only finished beads came in. Beads were counted, not measured. The reckoning was by units of 80 in the south. The thinnest disks were rated 80 to an American dollar, good beads 80 to 4 dollars, exceptionally thick ones 5 to a dollar. This is a quadruplicating count: 320, 80, 20 to 4 dollars. As the latter amount is the fee for each ceremonial initiation or degree, it perhaps represents a native unit of valuation, or at any rate evinces a southern Wintun inclination to reckon by fours.

The northern Wintun must have had and prized dentalia.

All the Wintun used their terms of solar direction freely on the most trivial occasion. "North of you" or "west of the door," would be spoken where we should say "behind" or "to the left." The tribes of northwestern California follow the same usage, except that they think in terms of water: "Downstream," "toward the stream," and the like, with the absolute direction changing to accord with the drainage of each locality.

THE DEAD.

In general, the Wintun buried the dead. This is established for the northern division; for the Nomlaki of the central group; and at least for the northern members of the southern Wintun, of valley and hills alike. The groups near upper San Francisco Bay, and some of those in immediate contact with the Pomo, may have cremated.

The precise customs in the extreme rite are not known; but the Nomlaki and the people about Colusa hunched the body, wrapped it with strings of money, bundled it in a skin—a bear skin if possible—and then wound it around and around with ropes. The grave, which was dug with sticks, was undercut toward the west. The body was dropped in, not lowered, then pushed with rods into the little cave.

The earth was slowly stamped down to the accompaniment of wailing songs. Property was buried with the dead in large quantities, and, in some regions, burned near the grave. Altogether the public ritual of burial and mourning was showy and slowly elaborate, and thus in some ways approximated a substitute for the anniversary burning of the Maidu and southern tribes, which the Wintun knew but did not practice. This statement holds without qualification for the southwestern and southeastern divisions. The central group, and those in the north about Redding, are said to have postponed the burning of property for a month or two after the funeral, a practice probably to be interpreted as an approach to the Maidu custom of annually holding a communal burning of valuables in commemoration of the dead of the year.

The native motive for the destruction of property was pure sentiment rather than a desire to equip the dead. People who did not sacrifice all the belongings of a relative were looked upon as having more regard for falling heir to his valuables than for him and his memory. This seems to be a powerfully rooted idea among all the California Indians. So far as magico-religious concepts enter into the burial or burning of property, they appear to run along the line of not retaining any object that might bring about the return of the dead person, rather than a desire to provide for his spiritual existence, although the Maidu are reported as specifying the latter purpose.

Somewhat similar are the motives that crop out in the universal taboo of the name of the dead. Fear of calling the ghost no doubt existed, at least here and there; but primarily the name was not spoken because its utterance would shock the family. For this reason a nameless reference, if direct enough to be unmisunderstandable, was almost as much to be avoided. No one who has even seen the effect produced on a group of Indians by the well-meant ignorance of a white man who inquires after a relative who in the meantime has died, or by any allusion to the parents of old people, can doubt that their sensibilities are roughly and deeply wounded. It is as when among ourselves the dead are spoken of slightly or with condemnation; the only difference being that the Indian, feeling far more keenly or morbidly than we, regards any reference at all as an outright slight. Hence the unforgivable nature of the offense if there is the least suspicion of its having been intentional; and among natives, who know native custom and its strength, the breach can not well be other than deliberate. On the other hand, the names of the dead are freely spoken by those not related to them, at least to white men, if only the Indian has confidence that the information will not be allowed to go farther, and is sure that no other native can overhear

him; which confidence would not be in him if he seriously feared that utterance of the name would call the ghost. Knowing that uncivilized nations believe in souls and follow magical practices, we are often inclined to rush to the conclusion that all their actions are influenced by these preconceptions, and to divest these people of some of the profoundest and most common human emotions.

Burial was in little graveyards not more than 100 yards from the houses of the living, and often in the village, perhaps in front of the dance house. The reason assigned for this proximity is prevention of grave robbery. Ordinary people would not touch anything that had been in contact with a corpse; but certain shamans were reputed so powerful that they had nothing to fear, and were likely to be tempted by the valuables underground.

Widows applied pitch to their close-cropped hair and their faces during the entire period of mourning.

SHAMANISM.

The southeastern Wintun, like the Pomo, recognize the transfer of shamanistic ability. Among the hill people, they say, each doctor acquires his own power; but among themselves, a man sometimes receives, not only knowledge or amulets, but the actual shaman's faculty, from a brother or relative.

In the north, shamans are "finished" in a dance held in the sweat house at night. Older doctors suck the novices' bodies clean; then call the *yapaitu* or spirits, who enter the neophytes and render them temporarily unconscious or maniac.

The disease-causing "pains," as the Yurok or Shasta or Maidu call them in speaking English, are named *dokos* by these Wintun, which word means flint or obsidian arrow point. The Yuki hold very similar beliefs. The *dokos* are evidently spirit missiles, and can be extracted, through sucking, only by a shaman who has a spirit stronger than the one which dispatched the death-dealing object. It is specifically stated that the *dokos* are sent into human bodies by benevolent but offended spirits; or by inherently malignant ones; or by such as are controlled by an evil-minded shaman. The sun, stars, clouds, salmon, coyote, dog, wolf, and sucker are all shaman's spirits; the first three benignant, the last three particularly powerful to bring death.

The were-bear shamans exercised their powers chiefly to destroy those whom they disliked. When in the form of the animal, they had the faculty of drawing their victims to them. Grizzly bears were not eaten.

Charm stones were hunting amulets, as among all other California Indians who recognize them. An American, finding one in a slough—they are almost always found in or near water—gave it to a Colusa

Wintun. An older Indian carried it away on the ground that it was too dangerous an object to have about, and then, in order to retain undisturbed possession for himself, pretended to have lost it. The old fellow was a constant fisherman and goose hunter, and the stone was known to be of value in attracting game. This incident, in addition to the instances already on record, should dispose of the tenacious but utterly unfounded interpretation of these artifacts as sinkers. They were undoubtedly often suspended; but a charm can be hung as well as a net weight. There is no evidence that any recent California Indian ever made one of these objects; but since they looked upon them as magical, it is quite possible that their prehistoric shapers manufactured them for magical use also.

TRADITIONS.

Wintun mythology is represented in the available records by a series of tales of very unusual form, apparently obtained in the region of Redding or above. The chief deity and creator is *Olelbis*, "he who is above," or in literal idiom "up-in-sit." He makes streams, game, clouds, mountains, acorns, and shells, or sanctions their production, and reobtains water after its abduction. Daylight, fire, and flint are all secured from their chary possessors by theft, which is obviously a favorite mythic motive. A world fire is recounted. The existing human race supplants the first people, who are endowed with animal or natural attributes. Coyote causes death and is its first victim; but the antithesis between him and the creator is vague. Much in the world is brought about through the power of beings who are direct personifications: Water women, Flint, Fire-drill child, Old man white oak acorn, Wind, the Cloud dogs. There are many episodes in all this to suggest the mythology of the Sacramento Valley Maidu; but again, much of the essential spirit of the systematized traditions of that people is lacking.

The Southern Wintun equivalent of *Olelbis* is not known, except that the hawk *Katit* is said to have been opposed by Coyote, and when he had yielded to him in the matter of death for mankind to have laid the *Equisetum* rush *sohi* in the path of Coyote's son at the burning of property for the dead. The rush turned into a rattlesnake, which bit the young man as he ran; and when Coyote wished to reverse his law, *Katit* refused. A world fire is told of; but this idea is Pomo and Yuki as well as northern Wintun. The attribution of the origin of the earth to the turtle, which dived through the primeval sea, is a bond of affinity with the Maidu, with whom many more may be expected.

DANCES.

An adolescence ceremony for girls has been definitely reported only from the northern Wintun, and even there details are lacking. In general, this rite seems to wane in proportion to the development of the Kuksu cultus which is discussed in the following chapter.

The war dance and shaman's dance have already been commented on.²

² W. C. McKern, *Functional Families of the Patwin* (see bibliography), distinguishes (1) the household; (2) the *sere* or paternal family, a lineage of kin reckoned in the male line only; (3) the family social group, consisting of a headman and those who acknowledged his authority, viz, his wife, descendants, brothers and their wives and descendants, and young men recently married into the group and not yet returned to their natal one; but excluding older female members living in their husbands' homes and young male members still living in their wives' homes. Names, ceremonial objects, and household utensils were hereditary in the *sere*; strictly personal property was buried or burned at the owner's death.

The chief usually succeeded his father, sometimes a brother or uncle, but always a relative within the *sere*; an unqualified son might be passed over in favor of a more distant relative on his father's death, by agreement of the older men of the community; once in office, he could not be deposed. He consulted formally with the headmen of the family social groups (who evidently corresponded to the lesser chiefs or "captains" of the Pomo and the "town chiefs" of the Yuki) but made his own decisions and was not disobeyed; the dissatisfied left the community. His house stood in the middle and he wore only holiday attire. He is said to have assigned "picking grounds" annually to each family according to its needs, divided all larger game among the family headmen, directed communal hunts, and fixed the first day of fishing. He authorized the holding of the *Hesi* ceremony and gave a ritual name to each initiate. Councils were held, with sweating, in his house; gambling on ceremonial occasions took place in it; he was buried in it and it was then burned.

Each *sere* possessed an esoteric ritual, plus individually inherited charms, which qualified one or more of its members for certain religious, official, or trade functions. Thus the *hlapeta* family fished with the *hlapi* seine; the *chapentu* built salmon dams; the *chakotu* netted ducks; the *kapitu* flaked arrow points; others netted geese, made salt, made feathered or oval baskets or woodpecker crest headbands and belts. Nonmembers of these families were not prohibited from following the same occupations, but specialization and success went with the family medicine. Official and religious families, on the other hand, were monopolistic and provided the *chapatu* or *Hesi* fire tender; *koltu* or song leaders; *holwatu* or *Sika* drummers; *yaitu* or ritual shaman and instructor; *K'aima*, *Sika*, *Loli*, *Toto*, and *Kuchu* dancers; and the *maliomta* or shamans, who were taught by older relatives to influence the spirits. The chief, the war leader, the *chimatu* or *Hesi* manager, the *moki* or *Hesi* head, attained their positions through merit and not because of family charm or ritual. The strict rigor of patrilinear inheritance in these functional families was frequently modified by adoption of unrelated individuals of special aptitude or qualification.

Something of this type of organization would seem to have existed also among the Pomo, since it explains many of their statements; and in some degree among the Maidu and perhaps other groups; and it is evident that further studies along the line of this one will have to be made before the precise relation of the Kuksu organization and rituals, as described in the next chapter, to native society becomes clear.

CHAPTER 26.

THE WINTUN: KUKSU CULT.

THE CENTRAL CALIFORNIA KUKSU CULT, 364; distinctive traits, 364; relation to other cults, 367; distribution, 368; the esoteric society, 371; the influence of the modern ghost dance, 375; ceremony, dance, and impersonation, 376; the dance series, 379; the kernel of the cult, 381; mythological relations, 382; minor equivalations, 382; motives of the cult, 383. THE PATWIN FORM OF THE KUKSU CULT, 384; the Patwin Hesi, 388.

THE CENTRAL CALIFORNIA KUKSU CULT.

Among the Wintun, or more specifically in the Patwin half of the Wintun stock, appears to be found the hotbed of the central Californian cult system based on a secret society and characterized by the Kuku or "big-head" dances. It happens that the Wintun practices in connection with this organization are rather less known than those of their neighbors the Pomo and the Maidu; but as all indications point to their having exercised the most prominent influence in the shaping of this system, it is advisable to consider its general features here.

It must be clearly understood that "Wintun" in connection with Kuku cult means Patwin only. Few if any non-Patwin Wintun followed this religion until after the white man came.

DISTINCTIVE TRAITS.

The presence of a male secret society must be taken as the first test character of the central Californian religious cult. This means that there is a set of esoteric rites participated in only by those who, usually as boys, have been initiated and instructed.

Hand in hand with secret societies in many parts of the world goes the use of masks and disguises, both traits springing from the same impulse toward concealment. True masks have not been reported anywhere in California; but it is clear that wherever the secret society prevails at least some of its members have their identity concealed during dances. This is accomplished either by crude and heavy coats of paint, or by face curtains of feathers, down, grass, or shredded rushes. As almost everywhere else, these disguised dancers of central California represent spirits or deities, in

fact are believed to be such by the uninitiated children and younger women. The lack of an actual mask, in the form of a false face, is probably the result of the much weaker technical inclinations of the Californians than of other nations given to secret associations.

A certain type of place of assembly is a nearly constant feature of this cult: the large earth-covered house, approximately circular, with its domed roof resting on posts and beam logs. Structures of this general type are widespread: the Plains earth lodge—of which the Sun-dance lodge is only the unroofed and unwallled skeleton—the winter house of the interior Salish, of the Modoc on the California border, are all similar in fundamental plan. But these are dwellings. In central California the structure is a ceremonial chamber.

It is true that the living houses of some of the tribes that possessed the Kuksu society were often made like their dance houses, except that they were smaller. It is also true that several of the groups adjoining them on the north, such as the Wailaki, Yana, northeastern Maidu, and Achomawi, built the same kind of structure without devoting it to the uses of a society. But in general, the geographical correspondence of the two traits is close. The Wiyot, Chimariko, and Shasta, who are all but a short distance north beyond the confines of the secret society area, did without the earth lodge. To the south, again, the earth lodge has not been reported from the Yokuts, who had no secret society. They did construct sweat houses covered with soil; in fact, such structures prevail south practically to the limits of the State; but these were comparatively small buildings, devoted to sweating and sleeping, and not employed for dances, initiations, or assemblies. Again, an earth-covered house appears in much of southern California; but this is the living house, and ceremonials are held outdoors.

In the main, then, the spread of the earth house as a ritualistic chamber coincides with that of the Kuksu cult, except toward the north. So far as the correspondence fails in details, the variance can be corrected by consideration of an accessory, the foot drum. This is a large, hollowed slab, 6, 8, or 10 feet long, placed with its convex side up, above a shallow excavation in the rear of the dance house, and stamped on by the dancers. So far as available information goes, this drum is used only by secret society tribes.

The earth-roofed ceremonial chamber is frequently called a sweat house. It is this, at times, though smaller structures, used only for sweating, stood by its side. In uncomfortable weather it probably served as a lounging place for men. It seems sometimes to have been inhabited, sometimes, like the Yurok sweat house, to have

been used as sleeping quarters by men only. It differs radically from the sweat houses of northwestern, south central, and southern California, first, in being much larger, and second in being the principal site in which dances and public rituals were held. In the other regions dances were performed in the open, or under booths or shades; an occasional exhibition or practice in the sweat house by disease-curing shamans is no real exception. Neither "sweat house" nor "dance house" is therefore accurately descriptive for the structure of the Wintun area; but the latter term is far more distinctive.

It can hardly be doubted that there is a connection between the dance house and the fact that so far as knowledge goes the secret society rites were prevailingly if not exclusively held in winter. Whether this custom drove the central Californians to build a structure that would afford them shelter from the rains, or whether the splendid roof of the earth lodge and its subterranean warmth drew the ceremonies indoors and therefore into the wintry season, is of course not to be decided offhand. But the latter seems more probable; both because religion may in general be assumed to be more likely to accommodate its details to industrial and material considerations than the reverse; and especially because the dance house, built smaller, served also as the permanent dwelling of the tribes in question. It would seem, then, that because groups like the Wintun and their neighbors lived in suitable houses, they came to conduct their ceremonies indoors and in the period of rains. This fixation in place and time, in turn, could hardly have any other effect than an elaboration of ritual. The same dance performed in the same spot for half a year would have palled even on the decoratively repetitive mood of a California Indian. Much of the systematization of the Kuksu dances and their bewildering ramifications, so unique in California and so reminiscent of Hopi and Kwakiutl, can therefore have its origin laid, with a fair degree of likelihood, to the fact that the people of the environs of the Sacramento Valley lived in good-sized, permanent, and waterproof houses.

At any rate, a causal correlation between buildings and ritual season is clear, because elsewhere, to the north as well as the south, where dances were held outdoors, or under flimsy sun shelters, all evidence points to the dry summer months being the usual time for ceremonies. This applies both to the northwestern tribes and to the Yokuts. The Modoc had the earth house and danced in it in winter, or outdoors in summer. For the southern end of the State, the custom is not so clear; but in this warm arid region every season is reasonably pleasant in the open.

RELATION TO OTHER CULTS.

The secret society, the pseudo-masks, and the semisubterranean dance house with its foot drum are, then, the regular recognition marks of the Kuksu cult that centers among the Patwin.¹

Not one of these features recurs in the developed ceremonial system of the northwestern tribes. In fact, almost every aspect of ritual is diverse there: dances are occasions for the manifestation of wealth, and the participant enters them to display on his person the valuable splendors owned by his friends or kin, with no more notion of representing a spirit than when we go to church.

The southeastern or desert or Yuman religious system is also organized on a totally distinct plan. The dance is quite incidental, almost immaterial, often rudimentary. Hence the place where it is held, and the regalia worn, are of very little consequence. The center of interest is in the song, which comes in great monotonous cycles, whose words relate mythic events "dreamed" or spiritually experienced by the singer. He tells of the god or repeats his chant and speech, instead of enacting him: the ritual is essentially narrative, as that of the Patwin is dramatic. Again the whole ceremonial technique is fundamentally another one.

The fourth and last of the organized cults of California, that which appears to have originated in the coast or island region of southern California and to have spread north as far as the Yokuts of the San Joaquin Valley—the jimsonweed or toloache religion—has one point of similarity, as it has also geographical contact, with the secret society system: in both, an initiation is a fundamental feature. A group of initiates is in itself a kind of society; and in this sense, the southern religion can be said to be characterized by the presence of an esoteric society. However, the toloache cult stresses the initiation, while the northern appears to have more feeling for the organization as such, for its activities irrespective of the introduction of novices. Thus, the jimsonweed ceremonies are everywhere clearly puberty rites in some measure; among some groups elements taken from them are extended to girls as well as boys; and their avowed intent, as well as obvious purpose, is to render each neophyte hardy, strong, lucky, wealthy, and successful. It is the novice's career in life, rather than membership in an organization, that is thought of. The same qualities attach to the activities of the societies. These, in the south, are directed predominantly to either initiations or mournings, while in the Sacramento Valley prolonged

¹ Recent data suggest that among the tribes in the San Joaquin as opposed to the Sacramento half of the Kuksu territory—in other words, the Miwok, Yokuts, Costanoans, and Salinans—the secret society was either unimportant or lacking.

and involved ceremonies like the *Hesi* are practiced which either are an end in themselves or have as their purpose the benefit of the world at large, and are in no direct relation to the making of new members or the commemoration of the old. A difference in emphasis or meaning is thus quite clear between the half-society of the toloache using Yokuts, Gabrielino, and Luiseño, and the typical Pomo, Patwin, or Maidu society.

At other points the gap is complete. The narcotic and dangerous drug introduces an entirely new element into the southern cult. There is no approach to masks or disguise—in itself a suggestive indication that the true esoteric society feeling is weak or lacking. The southern dancer acts as the god acted or taught; he does not pretend to be a god. A slight and uniform costume suffices where the northern imagination revels in a dozen or more kinds of attire—one for each deity.

The associated mythology is quite different in sentiment as well as in substance. In its most developed form finally, the Chungichnish worship of southern California, the southern cult possesses features, such as the ground painting and a type of symbolism, that are wholly unrepresented in the Sacramento Valley.

DISTRIBUTION.

The one recognizable point of approach between the *Kuksu* and the *jimsonweed* cults may account for the fact that they seem to overlap territorially. As nearly as can be determined, the Salinan group and the northern Yokuts followed both systems. But inferences may be drawn from this circumstance only with extreme caution. Both groups are extinct for all practical purposes. The survivors are very few, and of their culture only memories of the grandfathers' times remain. With the Salinans, evidence for *Kuksu* practices is slight and for toloache of the slightest; especially as regards the latter there is no positive means of deciding whether the recorded mention refers to natives or to Yokuts foreigners imported to the Salinan missions. About the northernmost Yokuts, even less is on record. We barely know that they danced *Kuksu*, and the attribution to them of *jimsonweed* drinking rests wholly on statements of their Miwok neighbors. On the whole, therefore, there is likely to have been less commingling or co-existence of the two systems than the map appears to indicate.

Between the *Kuksu* and the northwestern rituals, on the other hand, there is an absolute geographical gap. Over a belt of 50 miles or more of rugged country nothing pertaining to either cult was followed, the rude natives contenting themselves with shamanistic practices, adolescence ceremonies for girls, and war dances.

The distribution of the secret society cult is shown in Plate 74, but requires some amplification.

Actual records of the rituals among the Wintun are chiefly confined to the northerly members of the southeastern and southwestern divisions of the stock. The southerly villages, down to San Francisco Bay, unquestionably adhered to the cult. For the central Wintun, information is doubtful. The Colusa Patwin declare that the characteristic Kuksu forms, such as the Hesi ceremony and Moki impersonator, were not known beyond uppermost Stony Creek, in the region adjoining the northeastern Pomo. This is the end of southwestern Wintun territory. Beyond, on Grindstone and the middle course of Stony Creek, and about Paskenta, only "common" dances were made, the southerners declare, until the ghost dance of about 1872 coming in—the *bobi* dancing, as they call it in distinction from the ceremonies relating to the *saltu* spirits—it became connected with some of the old rituals, and carried them north into these regions of the central Wintun.

These central Wintun are situated between the Yuki on one side and the northwestern Maidu on the other. Both these groups followed Kuksu cults in ancient times. The central Wintun are therefore rather likely to have practiced some form of the same religion even before 1870, in spite of the statements of their southern kinsmen. It may be presumed that those of the hills, who have chiefly survived, adhered to a form of the rituals which did not include the most special manifestations of the religion, such as the Hesi and the Moki, and perhaps did not even make use of the name Kuksu; in short, that they were much in the status of the Yuki. The central Wintun of the valley, particularly those on the Sacramento, may have been one with the uplanders; but their contact with the Chico Maidu, as well as with the southeastern Wintun downstream from them, make the conjecture more likely that they shared in some measure in the more numerous ceremonies of Hesi-Moki type. But there is no direct evidence to this effect.

Beyond them, among the northern Wintun, the Kuksu cults almost certainly did not prevail. Neither the mythology of these people, which is rather adequately known, nor any of the more scattering notices as to their customs, contain the least reference to any known phase of the religion. The ghost dance, however, carried the "big-head" impersonation and other Kuksu elements to them also, no doubt in a bastardized form.

From the northern Wintun, one branch of the Shasta, the group resident in Shasta Valley, learned the "big-head" dance since 1870. The Shasta are so overwhelmingly northwestern in their mode of life and point of view that these elements of the central religion would have been wholly in conflict with their civilization before American influences disintegrated it.

All of the Yana are ignorant of the characteristic old costumes, and fail to recognize names like Kuksu.

Of other northern tribes, the Wiyot, Chimariko, Shasta of Scott Valley, Achomawi, and presumably Atsugewi knew nothing of the system.

Among the Maidu, the valley villages of the northwestern division made substantially the same dances as did the Patwin. In fact the fullest information extant upon the complexities of the cult is derived from these people. The northwestern foothill Maidu possessed the same society but less elaborate ritual and a less systematic organization. For the southern Maidu or Nishinam direct data again fail us, but the position of these people, together with their close cultural relations to the northwestern Maidu on the one hand and the Miwok on the other, make their inclusion in the cult a certainty. They had probably developed it in intensity proportional to their proximity to the valley. For

the northeastern Maidu, a race of highlanders, a doubtful negative must be recorded. They held indoor dances, among them a goose dance, in which an abundance of feathers was worn, and which are said to have been recently introduced from the northwestern Maidu. But there is no reference to disguises or to impersonations of spirits; the dances are said to have been made randomly and not in sequence; the "big head" costume was unknown; characters like *Kuksu*, so important in the northwestern creation myth, are unmentioned in northeastern tradition; and above all, the secret society organization is not known to have existed. If, then, the northeastern Maidu came under the cult at all, it was but very slightly and may again have been only since the arrival of the white man.

On the Washo there are no data. In spite of their living across the Sierra Nevada, it is not wholly precluded that they had borrowed something from the *Kuksu* cult; they knew of the earth lodge.

For the Pomo, there are direct accounts for nearly all of the divisions; and circumstantial evidence, such as the presence of dance houses with drums, for the others.

The Yuki ceremonies, which appear to have been only two, have been described in detail. It must be recalled that the two most northwesterly divisions of the Yuki proper, the Ta'no'm and Lilshikno'm, did not perform the impersonations of the other Yuki, and replaced their society by an "obsidian" initiation, of shamanistic inclinations, derived from the Wailaki. The Yuki *Hulk'ulal* and *Taikomol* dances were learned from the Huchnom, and the former ceremony reappears among the Coast Yuki under another name. Thus both these tribal groups must be included also. For the Wappo, nothing is known, but their location renders their participation in the cult certain.

One Athabaskan division, the Kato, the southernmost members of the family, practiced the esoteric rites of the society, in fact, helped to convey them to the Yuki, it is said.

The Wailaki followed the just-mentioned "obsidian" cult. This possesses an initiation, but is essentially shamanistic and without impersonations. A *Kuksu* cult is therefore lacking; but a *Kuksu* stimulus may be suspected.

The Miwok on the coast and on Clear Lake were so identified with the Pomo in all their customs that they must be reckoned with them in this matter also. As regards the interior Miwok groups on the slope of the Sierra Nevada, definite data are available for the central division, and the character of these leaves little doubt that similar rites prevailed among the other three divisions. What is known of Miwok ceremonies gives them a somewhat different color from those of all the tribes so far enumerated. There is more mention of dances and less of a society organization. But Plate 74 reveals that those of the Yuki, Pomo, Wintun, and Maidu divisions about whom there happens to be information form a compact and continuous group, from which the central Sierra Miwok are removed by some distance; so that a considerable diversity of the latter would have to be expected.

On the large Costanoan and Salinan groups there is only the scantiest information, which in effect reduces to the fact that at both missions San Jose and San Antonio the *Kuksu* dance and one or two other dances with characteristic *Kuksu* names were performed. This would be sufficient, were it not for the fact that San Joaquin Valley natives were brought to both missions. This circumstance would seriously jeopardize all conclusions, except for one saving grace. The interior Indians settled at the Salinan missions were largely if not wholly central Yokuts tribes such as the Tachi and Telamni, whose survivors in their old homes are totally ignorant both of *Kuksu* and of

any esoteric society, while they do follow the southern jimsonweed cult. The *Kuksui*, *Htwei*, and *Lolei* dances at San Antonio are therefore more probably indigenous or long acculturated among the Salinans. With the system established there, the likelihood is increased that it prevailed also among the Costanoans, who lived between the Salinans and the Patwin. The particular *Kuksui* danced near mission San Jose until a generation ago may well have been an importation by Plains Miwok; some native form of the cult would nevertheless be likely to have existed among the Costanoans.

As for the Esselen, it is the same story as in everything else: ignorance. But they can hardly but have belonged other than with the Costanoans and Salinans.

The Yokuts, or the bulk of them, including practically all the survivors, are a toloache-drinking people. It is only the northern valley tribes, and perhaps only the northernmost block of these, that come in question for the *Kuksu* cult. There is so little known of these natives that there is really nothing to go on in the present inquiry, other than Miwok statements that many of their ceremonies of *Kuksu* type came to them from these Yokuts of the adjacent valley. Furthermore, the position of these people, between the Miwok on one side and the Costanoans on the other, and actually though barely in touch with the Patwin, makes it difficult to believe that they could have escaped taking up more or less of the ritual.

The secret society or *Kuksu* cult thus was followed by all or most of the members of eight stocks: the Yuki, Pomo, Wintun, Maidu, Miwok, Costanoan, Esselen, and Salinan, and by fragments of two others: Athabascan and Yokuts. On a wider view, the cult thus appears to be essentially as well as originally a Penutian systematization.

THE ESOTERIC SOCIETY.

Of the society itself our understanding is slight. There seem to have been two grades, although the second may have been entered after a less formal initiation. The first took place when boys were of a tender age, the second when or after they reached puberty, perhaps in early manhood. This has been previously noted for the Yuki; other groups have distinctive names for the two grades, as Pomo *muli* and *matutsi* (or *matutsi* as member versus *yomta* as head of the society), Patwin *yompu* and *yaitu*, Maidu *yombasi* and *yeponi*.

These two age steps were perhaps characteristic of the organization everywhere. There are some indications of further subdividing. Among the Patwin, some men are said to pass through 12 successive "degrees," each preceded by instruction and payment, and leading to knowledge of a new *saltu* or impersonation. There was a seat for each of these *yaitu* stages along the southeastern wall of the dance house, while the *yompu* novices sat on the southwest.

The northwestern Maidu of the foothills called the head of the society in each village *huku*. The valley people in the same group use the term *yeponi*. This term seems to be sometimes used specifically of the individual of highest authority; at other times, to be the designation of any fully initiated adult. The near-by Yahi, who

did not have the society, regarded *yeponi* as the Maidu equivalent of their word for "chief" or important person in the ordinary sense, *mudjampa*. So, too, the Colusa Patwin translate *yeponi* as *sektu*, "chief," and identify the Maidu *yombasi* or preliminary initiate with their *useltu* or night-prowling witch.

An initiate who has never risen to the highest rank is called *beipe* by the Maidu. The word is also used to designate the individual who assists the head *yeponi*. The same conflicting vagueness appears here, to our minds. Whether this is due merely to native etymological undifferentiation, or whether in reality there was only one person, or perhaps a few individuals, who carried the full secrets of the order in each locality, is a tantalizing problem.

The valley Maidu use three other terms that indicate some measure of systematized organization. The *ba'api* is an expelled or degraded initiate. The *kuksu* is the instructor of the *yombasi* or boy novices. The *hinaki* teaches the impersonators of the *Yompui* spirit. The southeastern Wintun do not seem to know the terms *ba'api* and *hinaki*, declare that any full initiate taught the boys, and add that if a member proved refractory he was magically poisoned by his fellows.

There is another side from which the organization can be approached, though here, too, the available information does not carry us far. The Maidu and the Patwin universally accord the highest rank among their spirit impersonations to the *Moki*. They state that for a man to make the *Moki* implies his having enacted all other characters and being acquainted with everything concerning them. Now this, if there are degrees and ranks within the society, looks like an instance of it. And yet the *Moki* performer attains his post not by any tested proficiency or service to the society, but by having acted as assistant to the individual who was the last incumbent, and having been designated by him as successor.

That is, so far as can be seen, an avowed principle of private arrangements here cuts into the society plan. The same holds true of the Maidu *peheipe* or clown, who retained his position for life or until age induced him to transfer the office to a successor of his own selection. Similarly among the Patwin, the singers, who appear to have been repositories of particular knowledge but who did not impersonate spirits in the dances, and thus almost formed a caste within the society, inherited their office in the male line. It is thus clear that a plan of recognized personal privilege, almost feudal in type, and rather at variance in spirit with the principle of a society of comrades, coexisted within the system.

The Patwin add that there are certain impersonations, such as the *Moki*, *Sili*, *Kot-ho*, *Temeyu*, and *Sika*, which many men receive instruction for but are afraid to enact. Possibly, they think, the

teacher was offended at not receiving more pay and in resentment gave erroneous instructions, which, if carried out, would bring death to the performer. They placed full confidence, in such dangerously sacred matters, only in a near kinsman; so that the enactment of these spirits usually descended from father to son. The *T'uya*, *Dado*, *Dih'i*, *Wit'ili*, and *Kuksu* impersonations carried much less risk, and were freely assumed by all initiates.

Still another point of view antagonistic to the fundamental scheme of a universal religious society is obvious as having intruded among the northwestern foothill Maidu. The *huku* or head of the society in each locality was a person charged with enormous responsibilities and privileges, but he was selected, not by any esoteric or ritualistic procedure on the part of the society, or any designated element within it, but by the leading shaman. That there is no misunderstanding of the reports on this point, and that it was the shaman as shaman and not as a member of the organization that made the selection, is clear from the fact that he based his choice upon consultation with the spirits—apparently his own private spirits and not the deities presiding over the organization. This status was reenforced by the circumstance that the new head of the society was expected to be a shaman himself, and that if he were not, he would be made such by having an animal or disease-bearing object introduced into his body by some acknowledged shaman.

It may be added that in the Chungichnish religion of southern California it is also often difficult to distinguish between the initiated as such and the shamans; and that the name of the former, *puplem*, appears to be only a reduplicated or collective plural of the word for shaman, *pul*. Evidently, the failure to differentiate completely is in this case in the native mind, and something of the sort appears to have been true also of the foothill Maidu and other northern tribes. For instance, the *huku* had as badge of office a cape, to which were attached objects of a fetishistic character. This cape was made for him by the principal shaman, and buried or burned with him at death. It was fatal even for other members of the society to touch it. When enemies in another village were to be destroyed, magic ceremonies were performed with the cape by its possessor. It is true that the society was less organized among the foothill people than among the valley Patwin and Maidu. But the interweaving with shamanism in the hills is so close that it can scarcely be doubted that in some measure the same processes must have been at work everywhere. Thus, at least some of the Miwok dances pertaining to the cult were made to cure or prevent disease; as has already been noted of the Yuki and Pomo.

Again to return to the *huku* or society head of the foothill Maidu, we have attributed to him functions not only of the shaman but of

the governmental chief. He found the best sites for acorn gathering and announced them to the public; if the trees belonged to another village, he negotiated the payment for the crop. Besides inflicting sickness on foes, he warded it off from his own people. He made rain when it was needed, insured abundance of seeds, and a favorable run of salmon. He lit the fires at the anniversary mourning burnings. He knew and taught myths and more recent lore. Enmities were at once reported to him, that he might protect the people. He must understand all smoke signals. He advised about fighting, prepared arrow poison, and accompanied or led all war parties. In fact, his reported duties and prerogatives were so numerous that he must have been priest, shaman, and political and military chief all in one, and it is difficult to see where any room could have been left for the true chief except in matters relating to money and wealth, which it is significant are not referred to in connection with the *huku*.²

Now, when the dividing line between the priest and the shaman becomes obliterated in any primitive society, the matter may seem of no great moment to some students, in spite of the ideal difference between the two statuses, because after all both personages are religious functionaries. But when the priest is also the political head, especially as regards all foreign relations of the community, a commingling of what is normally distinct can not but be acknowledged; and this commingling means that social elements possessing no integral relation to the scheme of an esoteric and impersonating religious society have entered and profoundly affected that society.

All these indications together reveal at once the complexity of the connections and functions of the secret society, and its ill-defined vagueness as an organization. Elaborateness is present, indeed evidently in greater degree than we yet have specific knowledge of; but it is not a formally exact elaboration. Here lies perhaps the deepest difference of spirit between the organization of religion in its highest form in California and those expressions which it assumes among the Pueblos, the North Pacific coast Indians, and even those of the Plains.

For this reason the impression must be guarded against of looking upon the society of each village as a branch or chapter or lodge of the society as a whole. This is our modern way of organizing things. There is nothing whatever to show that the California Indian arranged affairs in such a way, and a great deal to indicate that he did not. The society existed only in separate communities. Each communal society no doubt recognized the others as parallel and equal.

² The difficulties about the *huku* are partly cleared up by the assumption that the foothill Maidu society organization was similar to that of the Pomo as disclosed by recent data: a limited membership drawn chiefly from one lineage in each community, and a marked centering of its authorities in the one person of its *yoma* or head.

In this sense there was a general society; but its existence remained a purely conceptual one. The society custom was widespread and recognized as international. The only societies were those of the town units. They were not branches, because there was no parent stem. Our method, in any such situation, religious or otherwise, is to constitute a central and superior body. Since the day of the Roman empire and the Christian church we hardly think of a social activity except as it is coherently organized into a definite unit definitely subdivided.

But it must be recognized that such a tendency is not an inherent and inescapable one of all civilization. If we are able to think socially only in terms of an organized machine, the California native was just as unable to think in these terms. When we recall with how slender a machinery and how rudimentary an organization the whole business of Greek civilization was carried out, it becomes easily intelligible that the American Indian, and especially the aboriginal Californian, could dispense with almost all endeavors in this direction which to us seem vital.

It is therefore not surprising that no name has been reported for the society. There probably is none. The dance house or ceremonial chamber is *k'um* in Maidu, *hnut* in Patwin, *shane* in Pomo, *iwil-han* in Yuki, *lamma* in Coast and *hang'i* in Interior Miwok. No doubt these words are often used in the sense of the society rather than the physical structure itself. So, also, there is everywhere a name for the members as a class: *yeponi* in Maidu, *yaitu* in Wintun, *matutsi* in Pomo, *lashmāl* in Yuki; and these terms, in the plural, again imply the organization.

In just the same way there is in southern California a name for the instituting and protective deity, *Chungichnish*, for the initiated, *puplem*, and for the place of ritual, *yoba* or *wamkish*; and there the vocabulary ends. It may even be recalled that among ourselves, who can not dispense with names of organizations as such, terms denotive of membership, like Masons, Foresters, Odd Fellows, and Elks, underlie our designations of the orders themselves. The Indian merely seems to have lacked any abstract word corresponding to our "society" or "order."

THE INFLUENCE OF THE MODERN GHOST DANCE.

The vagueness of purpose and technique which allowed the seeping in of such extraneous features as shamanism appears also in the introduction of "ghost dance" elements in the modern society rituals among the Pomo, southern and central Wintun, and in some measure the valley Maidu. These infiltrations are a consequence of the ghost-dance movement initiated in Nevada in the beginning of the seventies by the father of Wovoka—the Northern Paiute messiah of two decades later. The earlier prophecies came at a time when

the great mass of tribes in the central United States was not yet ready for them—the last of the buffalo were still roaming the plains, and the old free life had not yet disintegrated. The consequence was that this earlier dream religion, instead of sweeping like a blast over half the country, spent itself in Nevada and northern California, and drew almost no attention from Americans. It ran, for a brief time, and in typical ghost-dance form, with dreams of the dead and expectation of their impending return and the end of the world, through northern tribes like the Achomawi, Shasta, Karok, and Yurok; and may possibly have had some effect in fomenting the Modoc war of 1873. Its course in the Sacramento Valley region is not well known; but it attached itself to the soil and became endemic, modifying the old society ritual. The Patwin distinguish between their old worship and the modern *boli* or *bole* or “spirit” religion—*boli* signifies ghosts or spirits of the human dead, as contrasted with *saltu*, the ancient spirits or divinities. This distinction does not imply a separate organization and ceremonial existence. In fact, the *boli* rites have perpetuated themselves, where they survived at all, only as part of the secret society rites. But the older men are aware of the difference between the form of religion practiced in their youth and that prevalent now. Similarly among the Pomo: recent ceremonies are in charge not so much of the head *kukusu* official, as of a *maru*, a messianic priest or dreamer or “fortune teller,” who communicates with the spirits of the dead. Among the Pomo the old society rituals perhaps went to pieces rather more completely than in the Sacramento Valley; at least, the new cult obtained a firmer foothold, and seems to have supplanted the ancient rites more.

CEREMONY, DANCE, AND IMPERSONATION.

A distinction of considerable importance between what may be called the ceremony and the dance, or a ritual and a rite, appears in native terminology. The Wintun call a ceremony *huya* (“gathering,” “assembly”), a dance *tono*, a song *muki*; the Pomo, according to dialect, call a ceremony, which they describe as a four days’ affair, *hai-kil* (*hai-kil-ga*, *hai-kil-ba*) or *hai-chil*, “stick-hanging,” and the individual dances performed in the ceremonies, *he* or *ke*, “singings.”³ It may be added that the native words which we translate by “sing” and “dance” are used with far less distinction of meaning, or with a different distinction, in some Californian languages, than we make between them.

In the idioms other than Wintun and Pomo, the same discrimination between ceremony and dance may be expected, though it has not been reported. As compared to *wok*, “dance,” the Yuki say

³ Another account calls both a ceremony and an impersonation *hai*, but distinguishes a dance without impersonation as *he*.

wok-nam, "dance-lying," for "initiation." *Lit* they translate as "doctoring" or performing on the sick by means of spirit impersonations. This word may really denote "rite" or "ceremony"; especially since the *lit* is said to continue four nights.

Among the Maidu the distinction has not been recorded. This omission is perhaps the reason for the appearance, in the records concerning them, of an unusual elaboration of their dance cycle, and for the conflicting nature of their testimony as to its details.

On the other hand, Maidu accounts make it clear that there is a difference, of which the native is conscious, however difficult he may find it to express in general terms, between the dance or ceremony on the one hand, and the acts of spirit impersonation that enter into the ceremony on the other. Thus the Maidu separate the *loyeng-kamini* or "pay dances," in which payments are made because spirits appear in them, from the *weng-kamini*, which they translate as "common" or "profane" dances, in which there are no disguises.

This provides three elements for consideration: the ceremony, the dance, and the impersonation. Thus, with the Pomo, the *Kuksu* impersonator performs the *Kuksu* dance as part of various ceremonies. It is plain that relations such as these afford broad opportunities for confusion in presentation and apperception of facts known to us only by hearsay; and they have no doubt helped to obscure understanding of the ritual system. It is probably only accident, in other words imperfection of the record, that has led some students to distinguish the *Kakini*, or spirits impersonated by the Maidu, from their *kamini*, but to use the latter term indiscriminately for individual dance performances and for ceremonies that are complexes of dances and other activities; while among the Pomo and Patwin, other students separate the dance and the ceremony, but leave vague the relation of the spirit impersonation to each. The discrimination of these three factors, and of any others that there may prove to be, will have to be pretty accurately accomplished before we can hope to conceive the organic plan of the secret society cult with justice.

So far as the fragmentary knowledge allows, however, the principal ceremonies, dances, and impersonations have been brought together for comparison in the appended tabulations; the ceremonies (including perhaps some of the more important dances), as contrasted with the nonspirit or subsidiary dances, in Table 1, the impersonations or dance characters in Table 2. These lists embody all ritual performances that can be accepted as common to two or more stocks, either through similarity of name, identification by the Indians, or the possession of the same features. In addition, there is a long array of dances that are peculiar to the Pomo, Patwin, Maidu, or Miwok, or whose interrelations remain obscure; such are mentioned in the sections devoted to each of these stocks.

TABLE 1.—PRINCIPAL DANCES OR CEREMONIES ASSOCIATED WITH THE SECRET SOCIETY SYSTEM OF THE CENTRAL TRIBES.

CEREMONIES OR MAJOR DANCES.

Meaning.	Yuki.	Pomo.	Patwin.	Valley Maidu.	Central Miwok.	Costanoan.	Salinan.
(1).....	Taikomol.	Guksu ²	Kuksu ²	(³)	Kuksuyu...	Kuksui ⁴ ..	Kuksui.
.....	Hesi.....	Hesi.....	.....	.....	.....
Duck ⁵	Waima ⁶	Waima.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	Aki.....	.....	.....	.....
Grizzly Bear.....	Silai.....	Pano.....	Uzumati.....	.....	"Bear."
Deer.....	Sümi.....	.....	.....	.....
Coyote.....	I'wi, Gunula.	Sedeu.....	Oleli.....	.....	.....	.....
Goose.....	K'aima.....	K'aima.....	.....	.....	.....
Ghost.....	Hulk'ilal.	Hah-luigak.	.....	.....	Sulesko ⁷..	.....	.....
Thunder ⁸	Kalimatoto.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Feather Down.....	Dama.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

MINOR DANCES.

(⁹).....	.....	Hiwe.....	.....	.....	Hiwei ¹⁰	Hiwei ¹⁰	Hiwel.
(11).....	.....	Lole.....	Lole.....	Loli.....	Lole.....	.....	Lolei.
.....	.....	.....	Keni.....	Kenu ¹².....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	Toto.....	Toto.....	Toto.....	Totoyu.....	.....	.....
(12).....	.....	Salalu.....	Salalu.....	Salalu.....	.....	.....	.....
Grasshopper ¹³.....	.....	.....	.....	Ene.....	Salute.....	.....	.....
Creepers ¹⁴.....	.....	.....	.....	Tsamypempi.	Akantoto.....	.....	.....
Turtle.....	.....	Hela-hela?..	Anosma.....	Yelimi.....	.....	.....	.....
Condor.....	.....	.....	Moloko.....	Moloko.....	Moloku.....	.....	.....
(15).....	.....	Gilak.....	Gilak.....	.....	Kilaki.....	.....	.....

¹ A deity or mythic character among Yuki, Pomo, Patwin, and Maidu; and perhaps among the other groups also. See the table of dance impersonations.

² Described by the Maidu as being a "Yombasi making," or initiation of boys among the Patwin, rather than a dance. The Patwin call *Kuksu* a *salu* or spirit, but deny any *Kuksu* ceremony. The same seems to be true of the Pomo.

³ The first man and instructor of the first people; head of the secret society and instructor of novices among the valley Maidu. Among the majority of tribes the *Kuksu* ceremony heads the list in sacredness. Among the Maidu and Patwin the *Hesi* is accorded this place. The Maidu and Patwin lacked a separate *Kuksu* ceremony. Among the other tribes the "big-head" headdress is used by the *Kuksu* impersonators; with the Wintun and Maidu the wearers of this headdress have other names.

⁴ Reported from mission San Jose, whether among native Costanoans or introduced Miwok is not clear.

⁵ Said by the Maidu to mean "duck" (*wai*), though whether in their own or the Wintun language is not certain. The *Hat-ma* ceremony is the same as the Waima. Probably one is a Wintun and the other a Maidu name of the same dance. Possibly "crane"—northern Wintun *kat*, northwestern Maidu *waksi*—should be substituted for "duck." Compare the crane-head staffs used by the Pomo "ash-ghosts."

⁶ Also given as *Wat-saltu*.

⁷ Means the same as the Yuki and Pomo terms; a specific identification of the ceremonies is not established. See notes 11 and 12 in the following table.

⁸ Thunder is important in Maidu mythology, but no thunder ceremony has been reported from any group but the Pomo. The Kato associate Thunder with Nagaicho—their equivalent of Yuki Taikomol—in the creation and the Coast Yuki replace Taikomol by Thunder.

⁹ The *Hiwei* is specifically a man's dance among all the tribes from whom it is reported and is more or less contrasted with the women's *Lole*.

¹⁰ The central Miwok state this to be a recent dance among themselves, introduced by a Costanoan or northern Yokuts individual.

¹¹ Among Pomo, Maidu, and Salinans the *Lole* is a woman's dance; for the Patwin data are lacking; with the Miwok men are said to participate. See note 9.

¹² Performed by women and children only; the Patwin fashion is not known.

¹³ *Ene* means grasshopper, *salute* grasshopper or katydid. *Salute* suggests *salatu*, which in turn is close to Patwin *salu*, "spirit."

¹⁴ Probably the nuthatch, at any rate a bird. Some of the features of this dance reappear in the Pomo *Dama* ceremony.

¹⁵ *Kilaki* denotes a small hawk in Miwok; it is not known what the meaning of Pomo and Patwin *gilak* is.

TABLE 2.—PRINCIPAL SPIRIT IMPERSONATIONS IN THE CEREMONIAL SYSTEM OF THE CENTRAL TRIBES.

Meaning.	Yuki.	Pomo.	Patwin.	Maidu.	Miwok.
.....		Shalnis ¹	Moki.....	Moki ²	Mochilo. ³
Cloud.....				Yati.....	
.....			Sili.....	Sili.....	
"Big head" ⁴	Taikomol ⁵	Kuksu ⁶	T'uya ⁷	Yohyo ⁸	Kuksuyu. ⁹
"Woman" ¹⁰			Dado.....	Dü.....	Osa-be.
Ghost ¹¹	Hulk'ilal.....	Hahluigak.....			Sules-be. ¹²
Ash-ghost ¹³		No-hahluigak.....	Temeyu.....		Temayasu.
Grizzly bear.....			Silai ¹⁴	Pano.....	Uzum-be. ¹⁵
Deer.....				Sümi.....	
Coyote.....			Sedeu ¹⁶	Olell.....	

¹ The eastern one of six deities of the cardinal directions.

² *Wüt'a* was obtained as equivalent and is perhaps the native Maidu synonym. It is said to mean "insane."

³ Mentioned as a personage appearing in the *Kuksuyu* and *Mochilasi* dances. The impersonator is called *Mochil-be*. It is probable, but not certain, that the *Mochilo* corresponds to the *Moki*.

⁴ This is the current English designation used by Indians and whites. It appears that none of the native terms means "big head." The characters in question are those wearing the typical headdress of a huge ball formed by innumerable feathered sticks.

⁵ "He who goes alone," the creator. The Yuki identify him with the "big head" of the Pomo, but at east in some of his appearances he wears a long feathered net mantle like the Wintun Moki.

⁶ The southern one of six deities of the cardinal directions.

⁷ The Patwin know and some of them impersonate a *Kuksu* spirit, but if so only in minor ceremonies. The *Hesi* dancer, who wears the big-head costume, is called *T'uya* or *Tonpa*.

⁸ A spirit whose sight causes death.

⁹ A personage in what seems to be the most sacred Miwok dance, which is also named *Kuksuyu*. The impersonator is called *Kukus-be*.

¹⁰ The current English designation. *Osa* is "woman" in Miwok, Maidu *Dü* and Patwin *Dado* are untranslated. They might possibly be from eastern Pomo *da*, northern and central dialects *mata*, "woman." The Patwin state that the impersonated spirit is female.

¹¹ That is, the spirit of a dead human being. There is no connection with the modern ghost dance.

¹² *Sule*, a ghost; *sulesko*, a kind of spirit. There is a *Sulesko* dance, said to have been introduced recently to cure sickness caused by ghosts, and a *Sule yuse* "ghost hair," or *Sule sikanui* "ghost scalp," a dance of revenge with a scalp. *Sulesbe* is the leader in the *Sulesko* dance.

¹³ So literally. They play with coals of fire. The Miwok *Temayasu* does the same; otherwise nothing is known to connect him with the Pomo *No-hahluigak*. The Patwin *Temeyu*, who wears a long feather cloak and dances in the *Toto* and *Hesi*, is not known to be similar except in name.

¹⁴ Impersonator and ceremony; at some places in Patwin territory, *Sika*.

¹⁵ The impersonator in the *Uzumati* or "grizzly bear" dance.

¹⁶ Impersonator and ceremony.

THE DANCE SERIES.

As to the sequence of the cycle of ceremonies, there is information from the Patwin and the Maidu.

The southwestern Patwin begin with the *Hesi* about October and end with a repetition of the same ceremony in May, with several other dances, such as the *Toto*, *Keni*, *Lole*, Coyote, Grizzly Bear, and *Wai-saltu* celebrated on a lesser scale during the winter. The particular dances introduced into any one ceremony are not prescribed. The Coyote dance, for instance, must come in the Coyote ceremony, but the Grizzly Bear, the *Lole*, or dances such as the Gilak that have no ceremony named after them, may also be inserted in the Coyote ceremony. Since the modern decadence, the initial *Hesi* has been dropped in some localities and commencement is made with the *Toto*.

The southeastern Patwin of Colusa began with the *Hesi*, followed with the *Sika* or Bear ceremony—which has long since gone out of use and been replaced by the *Toto*—and then made the *K'aama* and *Yuke*. The remainder of the series is not known, but it concluded with a second *Hesi* in spring. When a dance house is built, it is dedicated with the *Hesi*, and the entire cycle must then be gone through. At Grand Island, downstream from Colusa, the *Waima* takes the place of the *Sika*. Although it has no reference to the bear, the two ceremonies are considered similar and called *hlanpipel*, or brothers.

According to the Maidu of Chico also, the *Hesi* is the most sacred ritual; and they, too, make it twice, in October and in May, as the beginning and end of their cycle. The first *Hesi* is closely followed by several profane dances, the *Luyi* and *Loli* and *Toto*, which may almost be reckoned as part of it. Then comes the *Waima*, and, corresponding to it, shortly before the spring *Hesi*, the *Aki*. These two ceremonies are next in importance to the *Hesi*, and are visited by most of the spirits that enter the *Hesi*. Between them come two other spirit dances, the Grizzly Bear and the Deer, and between these again two dances that are somewhat uncertainly reckoned as spirit dances, the Coyote and Goose ceremonies. It is evident that a system is observed here: dances are paired and other balanced pairs of successively less import are inserted between them, the whole sequence—*Hesi*, *Waima*, *Bear*, *Coyote*, *Goose*, *Deer*, *Aki*, *Hesi*—thus forming a first descending and then ascending scale of sacredness.

The order ascribed to the remaining ceremonies, which are without spirit characters and therefore better described as dances, varies greatly according to informants among the Maidu, and was therefore evidently not rigorously fixed, although there was probably some plan. Thus the *Salalu* appears to have belonged early in the cycle, the Creeper dance near the middle, the Condor and *Yok'ola* toward the close. There is also some associating of the dances, partly corresponding to the balanced pairing of the spirit ceremonies: *Kükkit* and Grasshopper, Coyote and *Oya*, *Yok'ola* and *Aloli*, seem to have been made in juxtaposition. In the main, however, all these dances might be performed at any time, or with much latitude of selection of period, between the major ceremonies.

It is possible that the Patwin and Maidu cycles would agree better if contemporary studies of them had been possible. The dances of the former people were continued until recently, but in altered form; the Maidu performances went out much earlier, and their recollection, though less clear, is accordingly purer.

At any rate, incompletely though we can trace it, and fluctuating as it may have been in its less conspicuous features, a definite arrangement pervaded the order of ceremonies made by both tribes between autumn and spring. The same plan will perhaps appear among other stocks, though as yet there is no evidence in this direction, other than that the Yuki initiations and accompanying ceremonies were protracted throughout the winter. But too close a correspondence must not be expected, since each district made and left unexecuted dances which its neighbors respectively omitted or practiced, as shown by the differences between the southeastern and southwestern Patwin.

THE KERNEL OF THE CULT.

One geographic diversity is clear within the system as outlined in Tables 1 and 2: the Pomo and Yuki form a subunit as against the Patwin and Maidu. Among the former the *Kuksu*, or "big head," and the ghost ceremonies are easily the most conspicuous. From the marginal Yuki, in fact, no others are known; and among the Pomo these two easily transcended all the remainder in importance, as is evident from the fact that the others are scarcely known. In the Sacramento Valley, on the other hand, the ghost ceremony appears to be almost unrepresented. *Kuksu*, too, is not a ceremony here but an impersonator or an official. The leading ceremony is called *Hesi*, a name not known elsewhere. The typical costume of the Pomo *Kuksu*, the "big head" itself, reappears in the *Hesi*, but under other names, and as the disguise of a personage of subsidiary rank. In its place the mantle-draped *Moki* has the primacy, accompanied by other spirit characters, the *Yati* and *Sili*, that have not been reported from other tribes.

The Miwok of whom we have information, and apparently the Costanoan and Salinan stocks, seem to have participated rather in the Pomo than in the Patwin form of the ritual. Their *Kuksuyu* is a dancer and a ceremony; they do not use the term *Hesi*; there is some indication that they practiced a ghost ceremony; and the status of the *Hiwei* and *Lole* among the minor dances suggests the Pomo rather than the Patwin-Maidu type. On the other side, as Sacramento Valley resemblances, can be listed only the presence of the minor Condor, Creeper, and Grasshopper dances; of the "Woman" spirit; and of the *Mochilo* as a possible though doubtful equivalent of the *Moki*.

The inference is that the valley Patwin and Maidu, although centrally located with reference to the distribution of the whole dance system, possessed it in an aberrant form, and that the border tribes, which customarily evince cultural traits in their most pared-down condition, are in this case the more representative. This can mean only one thing. The Maidu and Patwin once shared the generalized or Pomo-Yuki-Miwok form of the cult, perhaps even originated it. Either because of this earlier start, however, or because of a more rapid progression, they developed the generalized form of the system to its limits and then passed beyond it to their own peculiar *Hesi-Moki* form, leaving the outer tribes, such as the Pomo and Miwok, adhering to the older rites, and the extreme marginal Yuki perhaps attaining only to the rudiments even of these. There is thus a ritual superimposed upon a ritual in this cult, a *Hesi* system laid upon an older *Kuksu* system. This crown attained in the *Hesi* belongs only to the

Patwin and Maidu, and it almost certainly is a Patwin product; that the generic *Kuksu* basis also had its origin among the Patwin, at least largely, is therefore a reasonable possibility.

There may have been some secondary specialization also among the Miwok. The great number of their dances points in this direction. But more must be known of the systematic relations of their ceremonies and of their spirit enactments before this clue can be followed with profit.⁴

MYTHOLOGICAL RELATIONS.

The relations of the secret society cult to mythology, among all the tribes, promise to be exceedingly interesting once they are known. A few hints in this direction are embodied in the notes to Table 2. The modern southwestern Patwin place their ceremonies under the guidance of a spiritual *Katit*, a species of hawk, and possibly the equivalent of the northern Wintun *Olelbis*; but *Katit* may be the same word as *K'ütit*, the name of a Maidu dance. The most sacred spirits in Patwin and Maidu ceremonies, the *Moki*, *Yati*, and *Sili*, have not been reported in any narrative myths. They appear to be spirits that are believed still to roam the world and to be sometimes encountered, though only with risk. The Pomo *Kuksu* and *Shalnis* are rather deities, and the Yuki *Taikomol* is the creator himself. The Maidu *Kuksu*, on the other hand, is only the first man. It thus seems that the tribes that follow the cult in its simpler forms connect the ritual rather directly and crudely with the creation, while the more advanced ceremonialists weave it more lightly and subtly into their traditions.

It is, however, evident that there is a connection between the specific creator mythology of north central California and the *Kuksu* cult, the former being generally found in its purest and most extreme form only among tribes that possess the secret society. In fact, the distribution of the society is perhaps the broader, taking in the Costanoans and Salinans who seem to have known no spiritual or anthropomorphic creator; and with them, perhaps, must be included the Miwok; although for the northern Wintun the reverse condition held.

MINOR EQUIVATIONS.

The intertribal integrity of the cult may be further illustrated by a few references to one of its most obscure phases, the nomenclature and functions of the various officials of the society and ceremonies.

⁴ If they lacked the society, their historical status in the cult would be more dependent and marginal, and their type of ritual more primitive, than those of the Pomo.

The eastern Pomo call the general manager of a dance, who directs the movements of the participants, *Habedima*, "stone-hand-hold," that is "stone-carrier," or *Habe-gauk*, "stone person." Among the Yuki a similar personage, at least in minor dances, is known as *Lil-ha'-o'l*, "stone-carrier." Some informants assert that the *Habedima* belongs not to Kuksu, but to the modern *Maru* dances.

The central Pomo name of the same personage or of the singers is *Helima*. The central Miwok have *Helika* and *Helikna* dances. Perhaps this is only a coincidence.

The Maidu name of the *Habedima* is *Meta*. He is said to "coach" the dancers. The Maidu *Mesi* or Patwin *Chelihitu* leads or conducts the dancers into the house and about it. The Pomo *Metsi* or *Medze* was the fire tender or housekeeper, responsible for the care of the dance house during a ceremony. With the Maidu, the clown seems to have been fire tender.

The *Mesi* is frequently referred to by the Maidu, who also use *Huyeyi* as equivalent, which may be connected with Patwin *huya*, "ceremony." Compare central Pomo *kuya-shane*, "ceremonial earth-house," or *ke-shane*, "dance earth-house," as opposed to *ho-shane*, "fire earth-house," the name of the sweat house. Again, the northern Pomo word corresponding to *Hahlwigak*, the eastern Pomo designation of the ghost impersonators, is *Kuya*. As northern and central Pomo replace eastern Pomo "h" by "k" and the latter language is in geographical contact with the Patwin, a connection seems more likely in this case than a coincidence.

The Maidu called the leading singer, who also prayed and harangued, *Yukbe*.

The clown or licensed parodist of the dancers and priests, the *Yohos* of the eastern Patwin, the *Pehepe* of the Maidu—the word is from *pe*, "eat," and gluttony is one of his principal affectations—is a specific and important personage in the Sacramento Valley, but without direct equivalent among the Yuki and Pomo. Certain of his functions are exercised by the ghost impersonators of the latter two tribes; but these represent spirits first, and ridiculous characters only incidentally. On the other hand, the practice of welcoming a distinct comic personage into ceremonies has penetrated farther south than the ritual system as such. The central and southern Yokuts—who know nothing of *Kuksu*, *Hesi*, *Moki*, ghost impersonations, "big head," or foot drum—call their clown *hiauta* or *hiletits*.

MOTIVES OF THE CULT.

The purpose of the Kuksu ceremonial organization is probably not altogether clear to the natives themselves. They appear so thoroughly to accept it as established and unalterable that in the old days any cessation from it would have seemed equivalent to a general catastrophe, perhaps directly productive of a disintegration of the physical world. The purpose of the initiation is generally stated to be to make the boys healthy, long-lived, hardy, swift, strong, and enduring. Again, the general effect, and that primarily a material one, is uppermost in the Indians' consciousness.

In much the same way the specific cycle of dances was thought to bring rains, nourish the earth, and produce a bountiful natural crop; perhaps also to ward off epidemics, floods, earthquakes, and

other disasters. The Patwin state that the making of their spring ceremonies results in an abundance of bulbs and greens, and that when the *Hesi* has been properly held in October the fall harvest of acorns will be favorable.

Game was no doubt believed to be affected much as plants. The number of animal dances in the complete cycle suggests that these dances may have been made with such a purpose. That such a concept was lacking from the native mind it would be extreme to deny. But on the other hand there is little to show that the Indians inserted the deer ceremony into their series specifically in order to increase the number of deer. It is clear that such ideas are but little developed in the central Californian mind. The paucity of definitely appropriate symbolism points strongly to this conclusion. One has only to recall the degree to which corn is directly referred to in the ritual of the southwestern agricultural tribes, to realize that the California Indians' thoughts do not run readily in such directions. Questions put to the native are likely to bring deceptive replies: of course the deer dance produces deer; any dance helps to produce everything desirable. Before any conclusion can be drawn as to the notable presence of the factor of exactly applied imitative magic in the animal dances of the Patwin, Maidu, or Miwok, objective evidence to this effect must be available. As yet, such evidence is most sparsely represented.

Moreover, any interpretation of the ceremonies on the basis of a considerable magical symbolism must explain the presence of dances referring to animals that have no appreciable food value, such as the coyote, grizzly bear, condor, nuthatch, and turtle, as well as the absence of ceremonies relating to animals like the rabbit and salmon, which are economically important. Above all this, however, is the fact that the most widespread, spectacular, and sacred of all the rituals, the *Kuksu-Hesi* and the ghost ceremony, have no reference in name, and little if any in symbolic content, to any particular animals and plants. In fine, the dances are spirit dances. Their reference is to spirits or deities, whose control of the food supply is but an incident of their wider powers.

THE PATWIN FORM OF THE KUKSU CULT.

The sequence of ceremonies and the full series of impersonations are much less known for the Patwin than the Maidu, so that the following notes find a fuller significance in reference to the subsequent chapter upon the latter people.

The complete cycle of ceremonies varied not only between stocks but from dialect group to group, and even between villages. A

Patwin town sometimes sold one of its dances to another, the payment going to the chief.

The valley Patwin of Colusa held the *Hesi*, but not the next two most important ceremonies of the Maidu at Chico, the *Waima* and *Aki*. The other Maidu dances which these Patwin admit as being also their own are the *K'aima*, *Toto*, *Lole*, *Keni* (borrowed from them by the Chico Maidu), *Salalu*, *Moloko*, and *Silai* or Grizzly Bear, which last, however, they called *Sika*, and made in the place of the *Waima*. The *Wai*, *Waima*, or *Wai-saltu* was a Grand Island ceremony, and the *Gilak* was made there and at Knights Landing. The *Yuke* was an unidentified Colusa dance or ceremony.

At Cortina Valley, in the foothills, the known dances are *Hesi*, *Toto*, *Lole*, *Keni*, Coyote (*Sedeu*), Grizzly Bear (*Silai*), Duck (*Wai-saltu* or *Waima*), *Salalu*, and *Gilak*.

The Grand Island *Waima* is said to have been more like the Colusa *Sika* than like the Chico Maidu *Waima*. The *yaitu* or initiate who is the chief performer lies in the dance house without moving for two nights and two days, except that nightly he pays a visit to his sacred paraphernalia. On the second afternoon a sweating dance is held to four songs. When these are concluded the recumbent performer at last sits up. By this time the dancers are in a frenzy and bleeding at their mouths. Shouting *ho, ho, ho*, they plunge through a little side door in the north wall of the dance house and rush northward. Men standing on the roof answer with the same call, to guide the delirious dancers back, while the singers, who have mounted to the same station, chant a long song which begins by naming all the places within the dance chamber, then the parts of the exit, and proceeds northward, enumerating each slough and spot to the end of the world. The last words are *wanaiyelti yeduro mitalmu mato tawaihla pute tawaihla*, "at-rear-end (the north of the world) on-back you-lie your bed feathers bed"—as the chief performer has been doing. The dancers are followed on their northward course by their relatives, who finally calm them and induce them to return. A man who was not headed off would keep running and never come back, it is declared, and some are said to have been lost in this way. Once a dancer was found two days after with his head in a swamp, and another one drowned. Both were carried back to the dance house, sung over, and restored to life. Even the runners who return on their feet fall insensible at the door and must be treated before they regain their strength and faculties. The same evening the dancers, now enacting deer, are hunted with nets amid great excitement.

This performance seems to be the enactment of a myth. The *Hesi* cycle is said to have originated among the animals at Onolaitotl, the Marysville Buttes. The deer people here sang four songs while they sweated, then rushed to plunge into the water. Their foes used this

opportunity to ambuscade and exterminate them, for which reason there are no deer on these peaks.

While there are 12 steps of *yaitu* membership at Colusa, only 10 impersonated *saltu* have been recorded, and it is unlikely that each "degree" corresponds with a spirit enactment, especially since the Patwin, like the Maidu, seem to have no clear idea of ranking the impersonations beyond the two or three most sacred.

The *Moki*, who wears a full-length cloak of crane or heron (*wakwak* or *doritu*) feathers, is the highest. Besides appearing as this spirit, the performer directs the *Hesi*.

The *Sili* comes next in sacredness, and like the Maidu *Sili* wears a fish net around his body. About his head are ropes of black feathers.

The *Yati* is known to the Colusa Patwin from Maidu ceremonies, but was not enacted by them.

The *Kot-ho* is wholly plastered with mud.

The *Sika* appears in the Grizzly Bear ceremony of the same name. There are other performers, called *Napa*, in this dance, who carry staves named *shai*, which are cut at designated places. There they sometimes find bears, who attack them. If a man is killed by the bears he is left unburied until the ceremony has been concluded. This was the practice for any death that occurred during a ceremony. These *Napa* dance but are said not to represent spirits.

The *Temeyu* comes in the *Toto*, a fact that elevates this rite from the rating of a minor dance to that of a fairly important ceremony among the Patwin, as is also indicated by its replacing one of the two annual *Hesi* in recent times. The *Toto* is directed by the *Kuksu*. The *Temeyu* wears a cloak like that of the *Moki*, but made of raven feathers and hung with little tablets of yellow-hammer quills.

The foregoing are the dangerous impersonations. Of the safer ones, those which any initiate undertakes without hesitation, the *T'uya* or *Tonpa* or "big-head" is easily the first or "heaviest," and with it is associated the female *Dado*. A young man first assisted the *T'uya*, then appeared with him as the *Dado*, then was ready to assume the *T'uya* costume. Boys, it is said, were "caught" for the *Hesi*, kept in the dance house until its conclusion, and made to carry regalia and serve the men; but this was not considered an initiation and no payment was rendered for such knowledge as the youngsters might pick up. It was not until they were adult that they really were instructed and became *yaitu*.

The *Dihli* wears long feathered sticks like those that make up the enormous headdress of the *T'uya*, but arranged in a horizontal plane. The one arrangement resembles a magnified pincushion, the other a hat brim.

The *Wi'ili* had grass hung over his face and on his body, and wore two flowing yellow-hammer bands from the back of his head.

The *Kuksu* occupies a special rank. He directs the *Toto* dance, is reckoned a *saltu*, but does not enter the most sacred ceremonies; he serves as messenger and punishes people that misbehave. Anyone that he has punished is thereby qualified to enact the *Kuksu* himself. Among the central Wintun of Grindstone Creek, who did not possess the *Hesi* until after 1870 but with whom the *Kuksu* character is likely to have been ancient, it is said that the man who enacted this spirit received his power by going into the hills and calling upon the *Kuksu* himself. The spirit appeared, cut him into small pieces, and those who followed and were versed in the procedure restored him to life.

Except for the *Kuksu*, none of the most important impersonations of the Pomo are enacted by the Colusa Wintun—the *Shalnis*, Ghosts, and Ash Ghosts.

The *Chimmatu*, or clown, is an important personage, but is not reckoned a spirit, probably because his identity is unconcealed. He is a carrier of news.

The southeastern dance house faces east, with a rear door at which women look in (Fig. 35). In old days they were forbidden to view the *Hesi* and during less sacred ceremonies were allowed in only on the first and last nights. Since the *boli* dances came into vogue the restrictions against their presence have been moderated. The floor, *wole*, is carefully allotted. The left or northern edge is occupied by the uninitiated, or at least by nonparticipants. The south side is subdivided. By the drum, *holwa*, and rear door sit the *yompu*

novices. In the middle of the south side is the place of the chief, the owner of the dance house. This position, therefore, is the *sektu wole*, the "chief's floor."

By him sits the particular initiate who has charge of the ceremony that is in progress. Between the novices' and the chief's station is the *yai-wole*, consisting of three separately named places for dancers. The *yaitu wole*, or full initiates' place, is by the front door. Between the chief and the full initiates are a number of places or seats, each named after its

"degree," in ascending order to the right. During the *Hesi* the rule is that each of these seats must be occupied by at least one member of the proper rank, otherwise the spirit impersonators become angry and *djurpiri*, that is, throw things about. A boy thus begins his ceremonial life at the rear of the house, moves gradually to the right, and concludes his career at the front entrance. When he begins, his father makes a payment which entitles him to this succession, so that as he advances to a higher seat he may eat there without danger.

The southern Wintun are reported to have possessed one characteristic feature of the Pomo ghost ceremony: the introduction of women into the dance house in order to meet the spirits of their dead relatives or husbands and make gifts to them. Unfortunately there is no hint as to the place in the

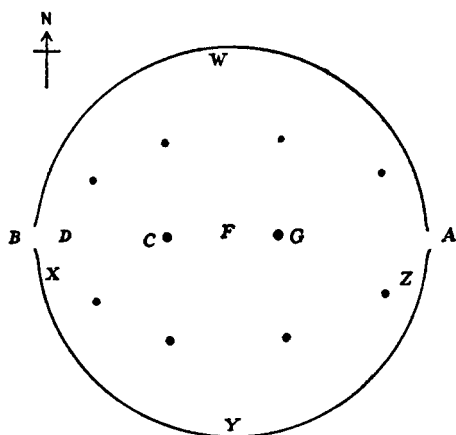


FIG. 35.—Patwin dance house. A, Dancers' entrance, replacing ancient roof entrance; B, rear door; C, chief post; D, drum; F, fire; G, second main post; W, uninitiated spectators; X, *wole* or floor of *yompu*, novices; Y, of *sektu*, chief; Z, of *yaitu*, initiates. (Compare Figs. 19, 39.) (After Barrett.)

system at which this enactment was introduced; and the Colusa people deny the practice.

THE PATWIN HESI.

The *Hesi* of the western Patwin begins in the evening and lasts for four days. The modern "ghost dance" rites that have been added to it seem to center about a pole erected in front of the dance house. This pole is wound with cloth of different colors, and carries a species of banner. The Patwin say that these recent elements in their worship relate to the *boli*, who seem to be the spirits of dead human beings, whereas the *saltu* who are impersonated in the older ritual are spirits of more or less divine character. It may be added that flags and wound poles were used elsewhere in the ghost dance of 1872.

The head and general manager of the *Hesi* among the modern hill Patwin is an old man who at times dances in the long enveloping feather cloak of the *Moki*. The identification of the official with the *Moki* impersonator may be an ancient practice.

The *T'uya* or "big-head" dancers are arrayed in the brush at some distance from the dance house, and calls are interchanged between them and the director on the roof. They approach the entrance in a ritual manner, and dance into the house backward. Besides the characteristic headdress, the dancers wear a skirt of feathers or rushes and carry a split-stick rattle in each hand. Each set of dancers is accompanied by one or more *chelitu*, who may be called leaders. The *chelitu* signals the beginning and end of the songs, and directs the steps and motions of the dancers. Part of the time he also dances with or opposite to the "big-head." His costume comprises a head net filled with white down, a tall crown of magpie feathers called *laya* by the Maidu, and the inevitable headband of yellow-hammer quills. In one hand he carries a bow, in the other a quiver filled with arrows. It is evident that the modern *chelitu* is a combination of official and dancer; he does not seem to impersonate any spirit.

Each "big-head" dances a quarter of an hour or more, stopping for brief intervals during which the leading singers, who are armed with cocoon rattles and carry the air, continue, while the chorus, whose main function is to shout *he he he* to the shaking of split-stick rattles, cease temporarily. One "big-head" succeeds the other until the entire set has danced, whereupon they retire to undress at a distance. In a full set of dancers, the "big-heads" are accompanied by one or more "women."

The first dance of the ceremony is made by the people of the home village. By the following day the residents of other towns have arrived, each in a body, and made a formal approach in file to the dance house, headed by their own "big-head" dancers in costume. As things went in the old days of Indian prosperity, there were often enough large villages represented to make the dancing almost continuous after all had assembled.

It is probable that spirits other than the "big-head" and the "woman" appeared either with these or between the big-head dances, since such was the Maidu custom.

Early each morning a fire was built in the dance house, and a song started to which the participants in the ceremony danced, as close to the fire as

possible, until they reached a profuse sweat, whereupon they rushed out and into the near-by stream. Except for the dancing and the larger number of participants, this act did not differ from the ordinary daily sweating.

Visitors to the *Hesi* did not live in the village but camped outside. After they had fled into the dance house they were assigned seats in a particular section of it.

The clown wore no special dress. He imitated the *Moki*, or director, in voice and manner of speech, and ridiculed him as well as the dancers and singers. There was one in each village, besides a minor personage who played a similar part in dances of less sacredness. Both positions were for life, and the holders were always addressed by their title in place of their names.

The *Hesi* songs normally consist of a phrase of a half dozen words repeated four times or a multiple thereof. Such a "stanza" may itself be repeated indefinitely or may be varied by the substitution of new words for two or three of those first sung. Part of the language, but usually only a part, is archaic or of esoteric significance, so that the song does not make complete meaning except to the initiated.

Somewhat similar to the songs are speeches made by the *Moki* or person in authority. These are delivered in a very high voice and jerky phrases. Here again an ordinary person can understand perhaps half the words, but others being beyond his comprehension, and some of even the intelligible ones being used in a metaphorical sense, the exact meaning can not be clear to the populace, although the setting of the speech must help to indicate its drift. While the form of these orations is strongly ritualized, the subject matter is prescribed only in the most general way, and they are largely composed on the spur of the moment. The following will serve as examples:

piruboti.....	Be thus!
piruboti.....	Be thus! thus!
layakaroboti.....	Be good!
layakaroboti layakaro.....	Be good! good!
pima weyuro.....	That be glad of!
pima lamuro.....	That rejoice in!
e t'ewe lamuro.....	This speech rejoice in!
e lamuro.....	This rejoice in!
e chahal lamuro.....	These roses rejoice in!
wile chahal lamuro miletihla.....	Healthy roses rejoice in on you!
ouraboti.....	Approve! (say yes).
ouraboti.....	Approve!
outa pele were.....	Approve we come!
outa pele were.....	Approve we come!
aura pele pluto.....	Thus we shall do!
outo.....	Shall approve!
weyuto.....	Shall be glad!
we tache uto.....	Father will be glad!
we apacha uto.....	Mother's brother will be glad!
we labacho uto.....	Older brother will be glad!

aura pele huyahla.....	Thus we when gather!
aura pele huyahla.....	Thus we when gather!
pihla pele lamuto.....	Thus we shall rejoice!
peleno t'ewe.....	Our speech!
peleno t'ewe.....	Our speech!
pira weyuro.....	Thus be glad!
weyusha chu weyusha.....	Was glad I, was glad!
chu lamusha.....	I rejoiced!
lamuro opuro.....	Rejoice say it!
lamuro weyuro.....	Rejoice glad!
pima ouro.....	That approve!
pima lamuro.....	That rejoice in!

Another:

wuuu wuuu.....	Wuuu, wuuu!
wile sektu.....	Healthy chief!
wile sektu.....	Healthy chief!
wiledachu.....	Healthy!
nanu wiledachu.....	My healthy!
nanu wilechu.....	My healthy!
wiledachu helairachu.....	Healthy sway! (or shake).
lilainma wile lelorochu.....	Children healthy made!
loibama wile lelorochu.....	Girls healthy made!
seribama wile lelorochu.....	Youths healthy made!
pidachu nanu wiledachu.....	That my healthy!
chalal wiledachu.....	Roses healthy!
bole wiledachu.....	Ghosts healthy!
pidachu pulakiboti boai.....	That come-out with!

The constant *-chu* may mean "I;" the *-da*, like the *-ro* in the preceding sermon, seems to be a grammatical form used chiefly as a formal expletive. It is clear that these series of ejaculations are not addresses in the sense of our speeches, but ritual frames of somewhat variable content. The type of oration is probably old; the content has been made over to accord with mannerisms of the modern ghost-dance propaganda. Thus, the constant *chalal*, "rose," in the sense of "beautiful," is said by the Indians to be a *boli* word. *Wile*, "healthy," seems to belong to the older *saltu* stratum, since the older people were wont to utter: *he'some wileda* when a person sneezed (compare Yuki *yoshimi*). Both in the old and in the modern speeches there are many cryptic words. Thus, *hamak*, dried and pulverized salmon, was called "water meal," *mem gori*; for *hnut*, dance house, *kul'a* was said; for *depi*, emerge, *pulaki*; for *djoki*, salt, *paharakma*, with reference to its cracking or crunching sound when chewed.